'The Great Oracle and Commander of His Time',

An Intellectual Biography of

Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, 1582-1648.

A thesis presented to the University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

John A. Butler

Department of English

September, 1987

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'THE GREAT ORACLE AND COMMANDER OF HIS TIME'

AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHIRBURY, 1582-1648

BY

JOHN A. BUTLER

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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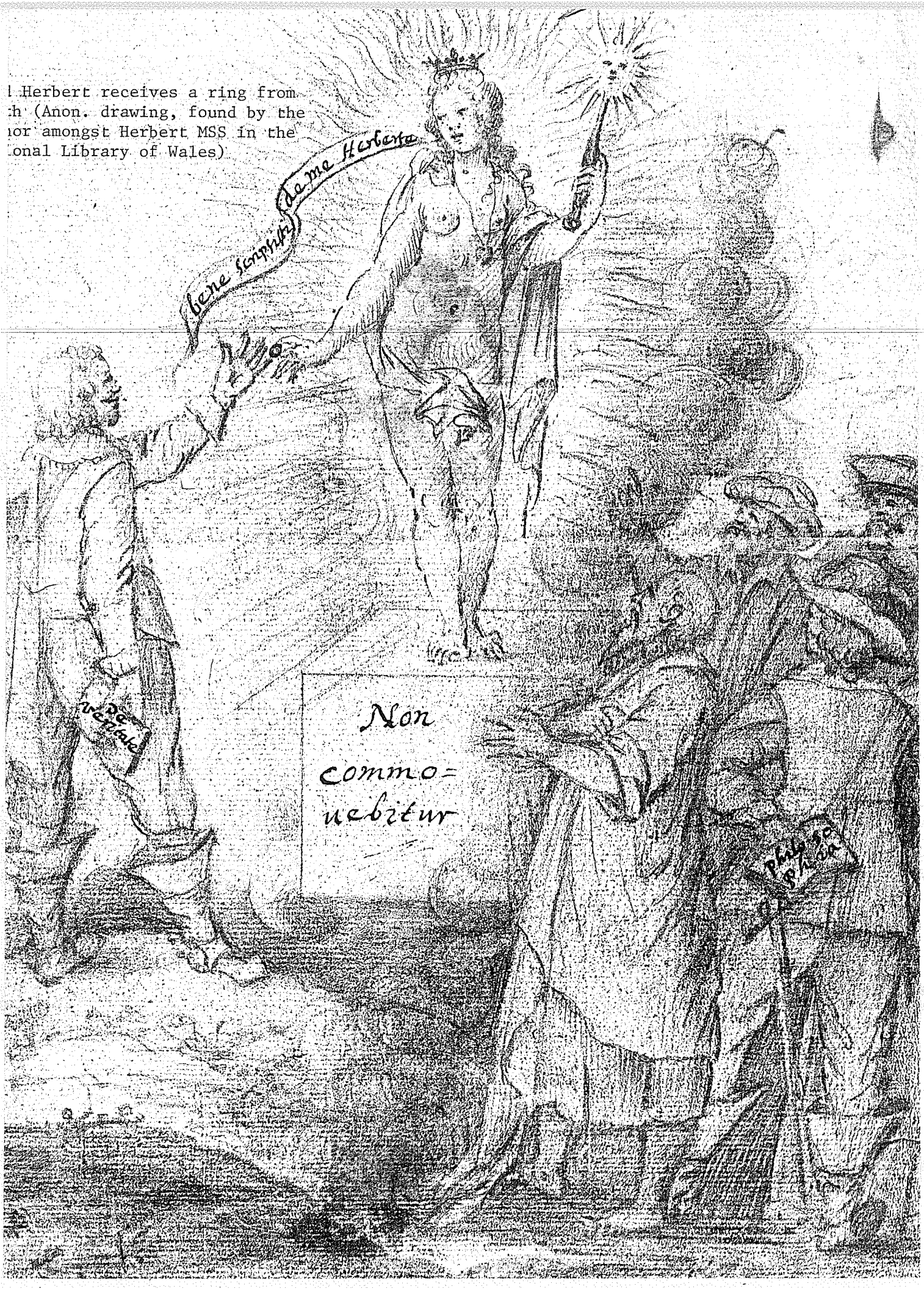
For S.I.K.

Che pensieri soavi,
Che speranze, che cori, o Silvia mia!
Quale allor ci apparia
La vita umana e il fato!

Count Giacomo Leopardi, "A Silvia"

l Herbert receives a ring from
:h (Anon. drawing, found by the
ıor amongst Herbert MSS in the
ional Library of Wales)



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INTRODUCTION

The name and reputation of Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, which once figured prominently in the areas of philosophy, poetry, history and diplomacy, has now all but been forgotten. As a poet, he suffers from having been the elder brother of George Herbert, and as a philosopher he was unfortunate (according to twentieth-century evaluations) to have lived at the same time as Descartes and Hobbes. Herbert's writings have been rarely studied and infrequently translated, although he occasionally appears in books on the history of ideas or poetry anthologies. As an historian he is completely neglected, and even a recent edition of his lively *Autobiography* is now, sadly, out of print. There is no currently-available full-length study of all his works in English, and the Italian one, published in 1947, is all but unavailable, not to mention inaccessible to most readers, who have no Italian.

Such neglect could mean either that Herbert was never really worthy of much consideration as a serious literary or philosophical figure, or that scholars are, for whatever reasons, guilty of neglect. That the latter is the case, not the former, is the contention of the following study.

First, Herbert was very well-known and highly respected during his own lifetime by many of the foremost philosophical minds in Europe. His books were read and commented upon by Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Mersenne, Campanella, Grotius,

Comenius and Meric Casaubon. Secondly, Herbert had a profound effect on the Cambridge Platonist movement, which flourished in the decades following his death in 1648, and he was studied by Locke and by eighteenth-century deists, including Blount, Toland, and the Earl of Shaftesbury; Thomas Halyburton dubbed him "the father of English deism." At the same time Herbert was attacked, denounced and excoriated by Lutheran clergymen in Europe, who saw him as part of an unholy trinity with Hobbes and Spinoza. In England, Richard Baxter took issue with Herbert over the doctrine of the Incarnation and over salvation, and any writer studying deism had to reckon with Herbert of Chirbury.

Herbert was the first English philosopher to write an epistemological treatise, and the first Englishman to propose that all religions were founded on a few rational tenets with which all sects could agree, thus removing the reason for contentions and intoleration. He was not the first eirenicist, but he developed a powerful movement for religious toleration based on philosophical and rational, rather than religious principles. Herbert did not, moreover, assert the primacy of Christianity, or even the special place of Christ himself, and in his assertion of rationality he intended to reduce the power and influence of the priesthood.

As an historian, Herbert was the first Englishman to use "modern" methods in his research. He hired assistants and amassed a huge body of documentation on the reign of Henry VIII, and worked directly from sources in the royal archives.

Unlike previous historians, however, Herbert used few secondary sources, and tried to base his evaluation of the King solely on his own assessment of contemporary evidence and the mores of Henry's time rather than his own. He made some use of the inductive method devised by Bacon, and his portrait of the king, while ambiguous, is nevertheless convincing, and has provided a model for more recent assessments.

Lastly, there is the curious portrait of himself which Herbert draws in the *Autobiography*. Here he presents his public image, not a philosopher or poet, but diplomat, lover, soldier and courtier, the memories he wanted to pass on to his posterity, and the celebration of his own esteem in the midst of times which placed little value on virtues such as Herbert possessed. The lonely, disillusioned, but still hopeful old man, writing about his active life amidst a glorious past, must somehow be reconciled with the sensitive, subtle poet, the erudite philosopher, and the utopian eirenicist. This is what I have tried to do here.

The writing of intellectual biography poses, amongst other difficulties, the question of how the genre "intellectual biography" may be defined. Yet to define it would be, I believe, to reduce the flesh-and-blood subject, a human being, to a disembodied mind, a bloodless shadow. Wilhelm Dilthey points out that, although "all science and scholarship is empirical," we must remember, too, that "all

science and scholarship is originally connected and given validity by our consciousness (within which it occurs), indeed by our whole nature" (161). The man whom Jonson called "so many men" could not simply be presented as a disembodied mind, detached from his variegated roles and neatly turned into a thought-process, examined and laid out by careful, methodical scholarship. Herbert's life represented an entire reality in itself. As Dilthey puts it:

> the most important constituents of my picture and knowledge of reality--personal individuality, external world, other persons, their temporal life and interaction--can be explained in terms of the whole of human nature, in which willing, feeling and thinking are only different aspects of the real problem of life. (162)

In part, then, this study belongs to what Dilthey calls *Geisteswissenschaft*, or "human studies." Man, Dilthey tells us, is from within "a system of mental facts," but from a sensory point of view he is also "a physical whole" (164). Thus *Geisteswissenschaft* is not confined to minds, but as human studies allows the writer almost complete freedom from rigidity, and permitting the presentation of the subject on a broad, yet firm base.

At the same time, as Cassirer notes, "man cannot escape from his own achievement." Perhaps he is right to point out that as we progress in the history of human thought, "physical reality seems to recede in importance" (*Essay* 25). It is, after all, man's capacity for rationality which gives him a unique place in the cosmic order; howver, as Cassirer continues, "reason is a very inadequate term with which to

comprehend the forms of man's cultural life in all their richness and variety" (26). It is therefore acceptable for the intellectual biographer to present human studies through things which do not fit precisely into the realm of reason, and Herbert himself noted that reason (*discursus*) was inadequate if it could not be corrected by "right reason" or Natural Instinct, which is intuitive rather than "rational." Ultimately, as Feyerabend asserts in *Against Method*:

> It is clear, then, that the idea of a fixed method, or of a fixed theory of rationality, rests on too naive a view of man and his social surroundings. To those who look at the rich material provided by history, and who are not intent on impoverishing it in order to please their lower instincts, their craving for intellectual security in the form of clarity, precision, 'objectivity', 'truth', it will become clear that there is only one principle that can be defended under *all* circumstances and in *all* stages of human development. It is the principle: *anything goes*. (46)

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CHAPTER ONE Birth and Education

> I would have our courtier of noble birth and good family, since it matters far less to a common man if he fails to perform virtuously and well than to a nobleman. . .Noble birth is like a bright lamp that makes clear and visible both good deeds and bad.
> Castiglione, *The Courtier*, Book I

Edward Herbert, Baron Herbert of Chirbury[1] and of Castle Island in the County of Kerry, was hardly a man who would have passed up an opportunity to delineate, if he could have done so, the fame and exploits of his ancestors. Indeed, for some readers and editors of more modest turns of mind than Lord Herbert, such as Sir Sidney Lee, he went perhaps a little too far:

> At every turn Lord Herbert applauds his own valour, his own beauty, his own gentility of birth. At home and abroad he flatters himself that he is the cynosure of neighbouring eyes. He, in fact, conforms from end to end [to] all the conditions which make autobiography successful. He is guilty of many misrepresentations, No defect is more patent in his memoirs than the total lack of a sense of proportion. (Lee 2)

"Proportion, divine proportion," as Sir William Bradshaw has it in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, is about the last thing that would have interested Lord Herbert. And his ancestry *was* distinguished; Izaak Walton agreed that the Herberts were "a family that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom and a willingness to serve their country" (211), while Ben Jonson addressed an epigram to Herbert himself which not only bears all the marks of sincere admiration, but also serves as an accurate sketch of the man as some of his

contemporaries saw him:

> If men get name, for some one virtue: then
> What man art thou, that art so many men,
> All-virtuous Herbert? On whose every part
> Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art.
> Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,
> Or valour, or thy judgment seasoning it,
> Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends
> Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends:
> Their latter praise would still the greatest be,
> And yet, they, altogether, less than thee.
> (73)

As Lawrence Stone notes, "one of the striking features of the age was a pride of ancestry which now [1558-1641] reached new heights of fantasy and elaboration,"[3] although Herbert, judged by the standards of his age, had much to justify his pride and little need to indulge in fantasy or elaboration. Lee testifies, unwillingly enough, to the modesty that Herbert exhibited by noting that "Herbert has not exhausted the subject, nor is his account at all points to be relied upon."[4] Yet, as he was to indicate in his own biography of Henry VIII, Herbert was an assiduous amasser of documentation, and there is evidence that he was interested in actually proving what could be said about his family (Lee xii).

Like so many others of his class and time, Herbert used his ancestry as a means of establishing his credentials and for the maintenance of his place in society. Even Lee does not suggest that Herbert simply sat down and "invented" a pedigree as some titled tradesmen were apparently wont to do, cultivating "bogus genealogy. . .in an effort to clothe their social nakedness" (Stone 16). Herbert was, in any case,

connected with the *nobilitas maior*; he was the cousin of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and they, at least, were no upstart baronets or mercantile knights. Yet in spite of this, Herbert's Irish title of Baron of Castle Island was conferred on him by James I, and he did not receive the English peerage which he coveted until 1629, which meant that his titles were new creations. And as Herbert set down his pedigree and cast his mind back to the days of his illustrious forebearers, he was a bitter, ageing, depressed man, whose fame, unlike that of his ancestors, would, somewhat ironically, rest not upon the strength of his sword, but upon the scratchings of his pen. It appears almost as if the *Autobiography* were Herbert's attempt to correct this misapprehension!

Herbert's pedigree was, in fact, quite impressive. It could be traced back to the time of William the Conqueror, who in 1067 granted lands to one Herbert *camerarius* (the Chamberlain), which grant may be found recorded in the *Domesday Book*. Herbert's son Henry *thesaurius* (the Treasurer) was employed by William II and Henry I; his grandson was also a *camerarius*, and received land in Yorkshire and Gloucestershire from King Stephen as a reward for lending his services to the King in his endless struggle with his cousin the Empress Matilda.

During the reign of John (1199-1216) the Herberts began their connexion with Wales, as John granted them the lordships of Blaenllyfni and Talgarth. It was as lord of

Blaenllyfni that a Herbert attended the first Parliament of Henry III. In a small way, then, the Herberts were involved from the beginning with the foundation of the Parliamentary system and with the struggle against royal absolutism.

As their lands in Wales prospered, the Herberts expanded their influence by marrying Welsh heiresses, a time-honoured custom, and they became, through the passage of years, to all intents and purposes a Welsh family. In the thirteen generations which passed from the time of William I, they split into two branches; the senior provided the line of the Earls of Pembroke, and the cadet branch that from which the subject of this work descended. In 1469, during the Wars of the Roses, there was a further fragmentation, when both William, earl of Pembroke, and his younger brother Richard were killed after the battle of Hedgecote Field. It was Richard's line which provided common ancestry for the Herberts of Powis and of Chirbury, and William also became the ancestor of the Herberts of St. Julian's, into which family Edward Herbert married in 1598 or thereabouts. The earls and marquesses of Worcester down to the eighteenth century could also trace their ancestry back to this Richard Herbert.[5]

The untitled father of Edward, Richard Herbert (c.1545-1596) son of Sir Henry Herbert, baronet, lies in an enormous and elaborately-decorated alabaster tomb in the chancel of Montgomery church in Wales. By the side of his armoured effigy reposes the figure of his wife Magdalen Newport, and

standing near them are smaller figures representing their numerous progeny. The tomb, with its fluted pillars, its canopy, and its once brightly-painted escutcheons, was erected by Magdalen Herbert in 1600, although when she died in 1627 she was buried not by the side of Richard Herbert but in Chelsea Old Church, now in London. For all the baroque grandeur of his tomb, Richard Herbert remains rather a shadowy figure. His son remembered him as "black-haired and bearded, as all my Ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly and somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome,"[6] a verdict which may easily be corroborated by looking at his effigy. Richard Herbert's highly-developed sense of honour and his bellicose propensity for asserting it seem to have been well-known and attested to; more interestingly, as Edward tells us, "his Learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latine tongue, & being well versed in History" (3). He held various local positions, including those of Justice of the Peace, *custos rotulorum* for the county, Sheriff of Montgomery and Deputy Lieutenant of the County. Richard Herbert may also have been M.P. for Montgomeryshire in the 1585-86 Parliament, but this is not certain.[7]

Magdalen Newport, Edward's mother, is considerably better-known than her husband, having been celebrated in both verse and prose by her son George and by John Donne. Their adulation celebrates a fame to which her eldest son makes few allusions; Edward notes that she honoured the memory of his

father, and adds, somewhat cryptically, that she was "briefly that Woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral Sermon of her printed" (8). Magdalen Newport was born in about 1566 and died in 1627. Edward respected his mother's virtues, but his brother George commemorated her death in a series of Latin verses, *Memoriae matris sacrum or Parentalia* (1627), and wrote two sonnets about her while she was alive.[8] The funeral sermon delivered by Donne spares little flattery, but nevertheless manages to stay more or less near the ground; in an eloquent passage Donne speaks of the "aspersions that women receive, either in Morall or Religious actions," which he asserts "proceed from women them selves." Donne's tribute continues:

> Therefore, Adjuro vos, I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, wake her not. Wake her not with any *halfe calumnies*, with any whisperings; But if you will wake her, keepe her awake with an active Imitation, of her Morall, and her Holy virtues.[9]

The reason for Edward's relative reticence about his mother is not hard to guess. Twelve years after Richard Herbert's death Magdalen Herbert married Sir John Danvers, the younger brother of the Earl of Danby. He was eleven years younger than her, and neither Danby nor Edward Herbert approved of the match, but in spite of their opposition, however, it resulted in what appears to have been a very happy marriage, and Lady Danvers, as she now was, easily carried the day with her wit and learning.[10] On Edward's behalf it may be said that, given his temperament, the ascendancy over his mother of a man a mere seven years his

own senior must have been rather galling, especially as Edward had hitherto been the titular head of the Herbert family. It was made more irritating by the fact that Danvers seems to have become very close to Edward's brother George.[11]

Edward Herbert had a diverse assortment of brothers and sisters, several of whom, besides himself, achieved a measure of distinction. George Herbert (1593-1633), the third brother, eclipsed Edward's reputation with his own as scholar, poet and divine. However, in connexion with the gentle parson of Bemerton it is worth remembering what Edward says of him, that "little less than Sainted" as George was, he "was not exempt from passion and Choler, being infirmities to which all our Race is subject" (8-9). Of their relationship, more will be said later. The next brother of note was Sir Henry Herbert (1595-1673), who as Master of the Revels from 1623 to 1673, was the man who licensed plays, and his records, meticulously kept for decades, have proved invaluable as a source for students of Jacobean and Caroline drama.[12] After serving Charles I faithfully throughout the Civil War, Sir Henry then did sterling service to the memory of his politically-tainted brother by publishing and editing Edward's *Occasional Verses* in 1665. Thomas Herbert (1597-1637/42) was born posthumously, and made a name as a military adventurer. After fighting in the Juliers campaign in 1618, Thomas went on a voyage to the East Indies, ending up at the court of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir in Delhi. On his return to Europe, he stopped off at Algiers to take part in a war

against pirates, and was shipwrecked on the way home. When Thomas finally got back to England, he did not stay long, but enlisted in Count Mansfeld's army and fought in Holland, where he may have died in 1642, although the date may have been a few years earlier.[13]

Edward's other brothers included Richard (?1586-1622) and William (?1588-1622), who were both volunteers in the Low Countries. They were killed in Holland, Richard at the seige of Bergen-op-Zoom and William in the service of Charles Emanuel I of Savoy. Charles (1592-1617) was a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and a promising scholar, "where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself in every way" (8). His sisters were Elizabeth (1583-1623), who "at the later end of her life was the most sickly and miserable that hath beene knowne in our tymes while for the space of 14 yeare she Languished and pinde away to skinne and bone" (10). In spite of this infirmity, Elizabeth married Sir Henry Jones and had three children.[14] The last two sisters were Margaret, who married John Vaughan of Llywidiart, "by which match some former differences betwixt our House and that were appeased" (11),and Frances, who married Sir John Browne.[15]

The exact year of Edward Herbert's birth is not known, although a collation of various authorities points to 1582 as the correct date, the date accepted by Lee, and, more importantly, by Mario Rossi, a respected authority on Herbert. Herbert himself was more than a little vague about his birthdate, although we do know, thanks to a poem entitled

"*In Diem Natalitium, viz. 3 Mar*," the month and day. A minor controversy over Herbert's birthdate arose in 1947, the year in which Rossi published his monumental study; Don Keister attempted to make a case for the year 1585, but, as H. Carrington Lancaster showed, this was based on an incorrect reading of the *Inquisitions post mortem*.[10]

Edward Herbert was born at Eyton in Shropshire, on a property belonging to the Newports. He was not, as he tells us, a very healthy child, and his instruction was set back by his "hed continually purging it selfe very much by the Eares, whereupon It was soe long before I began to speake That many thought I should bee ever dumbe" (11). This would now have been diagnosed as a middle ear infection. When Herbert finally spoke, the quality of his speech made up for its former lack of quantity:

> When I came to talke One of the first Inquiries I made was, How came I into this world; I tould my Nurse keeper and others I found myselfe here indeede but for what Cause or beginning or by what meanes I could not ymagine; But for this as I was laught at by others who said they never heard Childe but my selfe aske that Question; Upon which when I came to riper yeares I made this Observation that afterwards a little Comforted mee, that as I found my selfe in possession of this life without knowing any thing of the Pangs and throwes my Mother suffered when yet doubtlesse they did noe less presse and afflict mee then her, soe I hope my Soule shall passe to a better life then this without being sensible of the Anguish and paines my body shall feele in death. . . (12)

Typically, Herbert then interrupts the narrative flow with a lengthy Latin poem, "Vita," which deals with the subject of plastic virtue as it relates to his mother's womb. He then returns to the "defluction at my Eares abovementioned," which

was now so violent "That my Freinds did not thinck fitt to teach mee soe much as my Alphabett, till I was seaven yeare old at what tyme my defluction Ceased" (14). At this point Herbert's grandmother asserted her authority by hiring a tutor to teach young Edward his letters, and he soon progressed to "Grammar and other bookes commonly reade in schooles." He was shortly learning Latin, and "attained the knowledge of the Latin Tongue In soe much that upon this theme, *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an oration of a sheete of paper and fifty or threescore verses in the space of one day!" When he was not precociously composing Latin epigrams, orations and poetry, he was "corrected sometymes for going to Cuffs with two schoolfellows or some other shrewd Boys trick."

The claims that Herbert made about his education were not specious, and in fact, when one realises what an average schoolboy's tasks were, his accomplishments seem less extraordinary. Education was a special concern for the upper classes, as Herbert himself felt, because in his *Autobiography* he embarks on a lengthy disquisition about education and the raising of gentlemen's children. By the middle of the sixteenth century, "humanism and the desire to preserve a fixed social hierarchy" (Mulder 22) had become the two central ideas of education, and their interaction resulted in humanism actually becoming the supporting theory for the preservation of the *status quo*. If Edward Herbert was reading "what was commonly read in the schooles," he

would have mastered Lilly's *Grammar* (Latin) and would have had more than a passing acquaintance with the Bible and with the Book of Common Prayer. As he progressed, there would have been more Latin and a goodly dose of Classical rhetoric as well:

> This means that a child of eleven or twelve knew how to construe a simple, compound, and complex Latin sentence; that he recognised the figures of grammar and managed to vary his sentences artfully by changing the diction or order of words; and that he was able to scan Latin verse in various metres. (Mulder 26)

At the age of nine, Edward was ready to be sent away to school, a departure from the usual course taken by parents in his class. Their choice of Edward Thelwall as a master was remarkable indeed. He kept a school at Plas-y-ward, and was an autodidact who, as Edward remembered many years later, had "of himselfe acquired the exact knowledge of Greeke Lattaine Frensh Italian and Spanish and all other Learning, Having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas nor soe much as had the benefitt of any Universities" (14). Thelwall also knew Welsh, and this was another reason he was chosen by Richard and Magdalen Herbert, who felt that it was necessary for Edward to speak Welsh, "to enable mee to treate with those of my freinds and Tennants who understood noe other Language." Of Thelwall's character, which Herbert praises unstintingly, he has this to say:

> . . .he was of that rare Temper in governing his Choller that I never sawe him angry during the tyme of my stay there, and heard soe much of him for many yeares. . .I have seene him redden in the Face, and after remaine for a while Silent, But

> When he spake, his words were soe calme and gentle, That I found he had digested his Coller, Though yet I confesse I could never attaine to that Perfection as being subject ever to Choller and Passion more then I ought.[17]

More than forty years later, Herbert bequeathed a large number of books to Jesus College, Oxford, where Sir Eubule Thelwall, his old teacher's brother, was the Principal, as a token of esteem for one of the few men he never ceased to admire. It was unfortunate for Herbert that his stay at Plas-y-ward was short, the climate proving disagreeable to his health, and after nine months he found himself removed to an establishment run by one Mr. Newton, after which it was thought fit to send him, at the age of twelve, up to New College, Oxford.[18]

At the time of Edward's arrival, Oxford and Cambridge had come into their own as the "finishing schools" for the sons of the nobility and gentry. Edward entered New College as a gentleman-commoner, a nice juxtaposition of terms which meant that he was entitled to the services of a valet and a private tutor. Scions of the upper classes kept for the most part to themselves, in order to avoid the problems which might be encountered in chance meetings with the sons of inferior classes such as merchants, although the presence of the latter at the colleges was kept to a minimum where possible. Edward would be expected to demonstrate proficiency in the general course of study, as well as "reading widely in a general way to fit [him] for public service and give. . .the polish needed for conversation in

polite society in the age of the virtuoso" (Mulder 26). As a gentleman, Herbert would not have been required to attend for the full term, as it was supposed that gentlemen could matriculate without taking their degrees at all, which is, in fact, what Herbert did. This did not mean that he did not do any studying; according to his own account, at least, he read, disputed, translated, and wrote numerous exercises in Latin and Greek, as well as pursued logic and rhetoric. He remained at Oxford until 1599, although even this short stint was twice interrupted, once by the death of his father and then by Edward's own early marriage, after which he returned to Oxford and "followed my booke more Close than ever," wedlock having given him, so he says, "a due remedy for that Lasciviousnes to which youth is naturally inclined" (16). As Magdalen Herbert had by this time moved to a house which she had taken in Oxford, Edward had even fewer opportunities for indulging his appetites.

Edward's marriage took place at Eyton on February 28, 1599. The bride was Mary Herbert, daughter of Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's, whose death in 1593 had left her heiress to considerable property. She could retain possession of her property only if she married someone of the same last name, and for that reason she married her cousin Edward. Sir William had been "a man much Conversant with bookes and especially given to the Study of Divinitie," and he was, consequently, something of an eccentric. He had written a book on revelation, but, according to his son-in-

law, "some thought he was farre from finding the sense therof as he was from Attaining the Philosophers stone which was another part of his Study" (16). Mary Herbert was born in 1576; their marriage, of which Herbert says very little, was at best indifferent, apart from the production of children, although it lasted until Mary's death on October 29, 1634.[19]

Edward Herbert, in 1599, was an accomplished young man who had long got over his initial difficulties with learning. Following Thelwall's example, he set out to teach himself Italian, French, and Spanish, "without any Master or Teacher," which, with his Latin and Greek, made him a formidable linguist. Herbert also developed a deep interest in what Joseph Haydn would later term the "universal language," music:

> I attained also to sing my part at first sight in Musicke, and to play on the Lute with very little or almost noe teaching. My Intention in Learning Languages being to make my selfe a Citizen of the world as farr as possible, and my learning of Musicke was for this end that I might entertaine my selfe at home and together refresh my mynde after my studyes to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not neede the company of younge men in whome I observed in these tymes much ill example and deboist. (17)

The young man seems to have been something of a prig, but his musical accomplishments were real, and rather rare for his time; as George Puttenham remarked, "it is hard to find in these dayes of noblemen any excellent musitian" (67). Later in life, Herbert compiled a collection of compositions from the best composers in Europe, and added a few compositions of his own as well. In her article on Herbert in *The New Grove*,

Diana Poulton praises Herbert's book as a "fine collection of lute-music." Of his own compositions, she believes that Herbert showed himself essentially conservative in his tastes, retaining "a preference for the earlier contrapuntal style," and she concludes that his music "shows little sign of influence by the French school to which so many of the pieces in his collection belong."[20] As with music, so it was with scholarship: Herbert took them both seriously, and the word "dilettante" is ill-suited to him. His learning was never piecemeal or amateurish, but his mode of living prejudiced even his admirers, such as Rossi, against his very real talents and his formidable intellect.

In about 1600 the Herbert family moved from Oxford to London, where Magdalen Herbert asked her eldest son to assume some responsibility for the well-being of his siblings. She was forced to make this request because of the irregularities in Richard Herbert's will, and Edward complied insofar as his fortunes and those of his wife allowed him. During their stay in London, the Herberts witnessed the rising led by the Earl of Essex, and shortly after Essex's execution (February 1601) Edward Herbert, drawn by the desire to see Queen Elizabeth, presented himself at Court and was introduced to Her Majesty:

> Not long after This Curiosity rather than Ambition brought mee to Court And as it was the manner of those tymes for all men to kneele downe before the greate Queene Elizabeth, who then raigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber when shee passed by to the Chappell in whitehall. As soone as shee sawe mee shee stopt, and swearing her usuall Oath demanded who is this? Every body

> theire present looked upon mee but noe man knew mee until Sir James Croft a Petitioner finding the Queene stayed returned back and tould who I was and that I had married Sir William Herberts of St. Gillians daughter; the Queene hereupon looked attentively upon mee and swearing againe her Ordinary oath said, It is a pitty he was married so young and therupon gave me her hand to kisse twice, both tymes gently Clapping me on the Cheeke. (37)[21]

After this encounter with the great Queen, Herbert returned home and eschewed the Court in favour of his books until James I ascended the throne two years later.

As James VI of Scotland entered into his new heritage as James I of England, Edward Herbert, together with multitudes of other young hopefuls, journeyed north to meet the new King. And at Burleigh House, seat of Elizabeth's old councillors the Cecils, his zeal and loyalty was rewarded by James's bestowal on him of the Order of the Bath. As D.H. Wilson has pointed out in his study of King James, the king "was intent, not upon learning the thoughts and problems of his new kingdom, but upon his entry into his personal inheritance" (163), and the creation of new honours was merely the advertisement of his own kingly munificence and generosity. As Arthur Wilson sourly remarked at the time, "Knights swarmed in every Corner; the Sword ranged about, and Men bowed in Obedience to it, more in Peace than in War: This airy Tale blew up many a fair Estate" (Ashton, 112). Yet the ceremonies, which included jousting, tilting and numerous processions, made a great impression on Herbert, who took the knighthood and its attendant glories to heart. Characteristically, he took a page and a half to describe the

festivities, including his exchange of pledges with "a principall Lady of the Court and certainly in most mens opinions the handsommest" (38).[22] Herbert conceals her name, of course, "because some passages hapned afterwards which oblige mee to silence."

Shortly after his investiture, Herbert made plans to go abroad in the company of Lord Howard of Effingham, the venerable Lord Admiral of England.[23] Although he does not tell us why, Herbert was dissuaded from this mission by well-wishers, and instead became Sheriff of Montgomeryshire (1605), as his father had been before him. "I bestowed the Place of under shiriffe as also other places in my gifts freely without taking either money or reward," he notes smugly, "which Custome also I have observed throughout the wholle Course of my life" (38). His public duty did not deter him from his course of studies, and Herbert again tells us that it was scholarly activity which kept him so busy that he lived with his wife "in all Conjugall Loyaltye for the space of about ten yeares after my Mariage," and that he "wholly declyned the Allurements and Temptations which might inclyne mee to violat my mariag bed" (39). His repetition of the power of the mind to enforce monogamy has the ring of insincerity, but nevertheless, by his own account, Herbert remained in this unenviable state until about 1608, when he decided that it was time for him to go abroad.

Herbert's First Continental Journey and Literary Influences

Herbert's plan to travel occasioned, it appears, considerable differences with his wife, and we can discern even in his own words some of the acrimony which passed between them; in the end, one's sympathies rest with Lady Herbert, who, after all, was to be left behind pregnant, with a growing family, whilst her husband spread his wings in Europe. Although there was not quite the "cold-blooded conversation" described by Antonia Fraser (86), the episode does not make for pleasant reading, even if we take it in the context of the seventeenth century. After informing Mary that he intended to leave, Herbert demanded that she bestow her inheritance upon their children in case either he or Mary died in his absence from England, and he, for his part, would do the same. He explained that if either of them remarried and had children, their previous offspring might find themselves left without a settlement. What Edward perceived as a sensible provision, Mary termed an attempt to "draw the Cradle upon her hed" (40), and she therefore expressed a reluctance to accede to his wishes. Ten days later she had still not changed her mind, even when Edward told her that he would leave immediately:

> . . .shee answered that I knew her minde before concerning that Poynt yet that shee should bee sorry I went beyond sea, nevertheless if I would needs goe shee could not help it. This, whether a License taken or given served my Turne to prepare without delay for a Journey beyond sea That soe I might satisfy That Curiosity I long since had to see forraigne Countreys; soe that I might leave my wife soe litle discontented as I could I left her

> not only Posterity to renew the Family of the Herberts of St. Gillians according to her Fathers desire to inherit his Lands but the Rents of all the Lands shee brought with her, reserving my owne partly to pay [my] brothers and sisters Portions and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which Termes though I was sorry to leave my wife as having lived most loyally with her all this tyme I thought it noe injust Ambition to attaine the Knowledge off Forraigne Countreys especially since I had already in greate part attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long Time out of my Country (41).

Foreign travel, as Herbert saw it, was a necessary part of his education, and his wife's objections were, to him, unwarranted and unreasonable. He resolved that domestic considerations should not be allowed to stand in the way of his desire to become a citizen of the world, and to make the name of Herbert known in the courts of Europe.

As Herbert began his preparations for his journey, he must have reflected that his life, to date, had not been an unending catalogue of success. Apart from his wife's requisite bearing of children, his family situation was unsatisfactory, and his mother had by now become involved with Danvers. He had received some honours from his sovereigns, but these consisted of a short exchange of words with Queen Elizabeth and a K.B. from King James, which hardly made Herbert's honours stand out from those of so many others which had been created at the same time. Even this slight measure of success had been somewhat mitigated by the loss of Montgomery Castle, which James awarded to Edward's cousin Philip Herbert, whom he had created Earl of Montgomery in 1605. Over a period of several years the legal ownership of

the castle was in dispute, but Philip Herbert eventually sold it to Edward in 1613 for £500.

It is also to this period of life that Herbert's first recorded literary activity, a poem dated 1608, can be traced. It is worth noting here that although there is no necessary connexion between Herbert's apparent misfortunes and his literary activity, this series of disappointments almost certainly inspired him to write the two satires which he composed during his stay in France.[24] Edward Herbert did not turn into a poet merely because he was feeling depressed, nor did he suddenly take to scholarship after meeting Continental intellectuals. Before leaving England, he had already begun to establish solid literary and personal friendships with Ben Jonson, John Donne, and Aurelian Townshend. It is not known how Herbert met Jonson, but they knew each other before 1610, as Herbert dedicated a satire to Jonson which is dated from that year. Herbert probably met Townshend through the Cecils, for the latter was tutor and companion to the son of Sir Robert Cecil.[25] Herbert's friendship with Donne, however, may be more clearly documented. Upon his father's death in 1596, Edward Herbert acquired a guardian, Sir George More of Losely, and in 1602 More acquired, very unwillingly, a son-in-law named John Donne. In addition to his somewhat low social standing, Donne was penurious, but he was also from a Catholic background, and had led a less than salubrious life as a student of the Inns of Court. At the time of his elopement with Anne More, Donne was secretary to

Sir Thomas Egerton, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the husband of Sir George More's sister. It may well have been the boldness, if not to say the foolhardiness, of Donne's action which appealed to Herbert's sense of adventure, and Donne's subsequent marriage to Anne More in the face of the united opposition of Egertons and Mores may have made Herbert think he had met a kindred spirit in chivalry and hot-headedness. In any case, the relationship became deep and lasting, and progressed to an intellectual level with exchanges of poetry and letters; the friendship of Herbert and Donne ended only with the latter's death in 1631.

Herbert is reticent about his literary and intellectual friendships in the *Autobiography*, even more so about the former than about the latter. Jonson is never mentioned, and Donne only once, in connexion with the sermon he delivered at the funeral of Herbert's mother, when he was already Dean of St. Paul's. Herbert does speak about his friendship with the scholars Grotius, Tilenus, and Casaubon, but in scanty detail. The reason for this is that the *Autobiography*, as Herbert conceived it, was a work intended to be read only by members of his immediate family. It was a record of his personal valour and his experiences as a gentleman, written to perpetuate the illustrious name of the Herberts; literary and philosophical pursuits were not particularly relevant here. The quixotic public *persona* of the *Autobiography* was a gentleman, lover, duellist, soldier and man of honour. The poet and philosopher were private *personae*, by whom fame is

not made. Yet Herbert mentions just enough of his scholarly activity to tantalise more serious readers, although a Herbert descendant would have, presumably, found more enlightenment in accounts of gentlemanly accomplishments.

In fact, the *Autobiography* is incomplete. It may well be that if Herbert, rather than Lee, had completed the work, the *persona* revealed would have been other than that which currently dominates the book. It is unfortunate that this *persona*, which made Walpole and his friends shout with laughter, is the one which has had an all-pervading influence. Rossi, for example, repeatedly assures his readers that Herbert was only a dilettante, and C.H. Herford, in his introduction to the Gregynog edition of the *Autobiography*, sees Herbert as "a disappointed applicant for place, title, and income," a man whose "undignified querulousness" overcame his "massive intellectual power" (viii-ix). Yet Herford is forced in the end to give Herbert his due on the score of his "individuality as a man & his rarer individuality as a thinker" (xv). With judicious reading, one may in fact discern more veracity in Herbert's assessment of himself than has hitherto been supposed.

The man who emerges from the *Autobiography* seems, indeed, to have had a great deal of vainglory in him. Sometimes he resembles the *persona* of his friend Donne's "Satyre I," torn between his book-lined study and a desire to participate in life outside it as fully as possible. A parasite calls and urges the speaker to come out, and

notwithstanding the reply--Away thou fondling motley humorist

> Leave mee, and in this standing woodden chest,
> Consorted with these few books, let me lye
> In prison, and here be coffin'd, when I dye;
> Here are Gods conduits, grave Divines; and here
> Natures Secretary, the Philosopher. . .
> (Grierson 299)

he eventually leaves with him. The speaker's mind, one feels, has already been further away from the philosophers and divines than he would readily have admitted. In the same manner, then, Herbert, at least when he was still young and active, found it difficult to dismiss the world; his duels, poetry, place-seeking, wars, diplomacy and general self-aggrandisement were all part of his being, his essence, and they fought against each other for the ascendancy all his life. Jonson, having asked what manner of man Herbert was, admired above all his "standing upright to thyself," and his "ends/ Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends." As Jonson said in *Explorata*, "Stand for truth, and it is enough" (379) a maxim which Herbert took very much to heart. "Language," Jonson said, "most shows a man: speak, that I may see thee" (435). The Herbert of the *Autobiography* spoke in such a way that his posterity could see him, and in its own context, the voice was speaking the truth.

Herbert left England in 1608, his departure marking his rejection of the constraints of married life and of the mundane responsibility of running his estates. His companion of the journey was Aurelian Townshend, "a Gentleman That spake the Languages of Frensh Italian and Spanish in greate Perfection" (41). He was a useful and knowledgeable

companion: he had lived in France from 1600 to 1603 at the expense of Sir Edward Cecil, and he came from a good Norfolk family which had seen better days under the Tudors. Together with Townshend, Herbert had "a man to waite in my Chamber who spake Frensh, two Lackyes and three horses" (42); after an uneventful Channel crossing they arrived at Calais, from where they took the road to the Faubourg St. Germain in Paris. Here they were met by the English ambassador, Sir George Carew, responsible for the well-being of English residents and travellers in France, and whose tasks included providing people like Herbert with introductions to the court and nobility of France.

The France which unfolded itself to Herbert's eyes in 1608 was comparatively free, at last, from the terrible religious strife which had ravaged the country under the rule of the Valois, and which had seen the assassination of Henri III and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Yet even in a time of apparent peace tension between the Catholics and Protestants was never very far from the surface. One of the stabilising factors was the personality of the king, Henri IV, who in 1598 had promulgated the Edict of Nantes, by which the Huguenots, as French Protestants were called, were, at least on paper, granted the freedom to practice their faith. Henri IV had thought it prudent to exchange Paris for a mass in 1589, but he had done his best to ensure that his former co-religionists were not persecuted. He strove hard to temper a necessary absolutism with benevolence and open-

hearted honesty. The duc de Nevers, in his *Mémoires* (1655) quotes an enthusiastic magistrate of Bordeaux as exclaiming that Henri IV "behaves towards everyone with such a relaxed air that people crowd around him, and his every action is so noble that everyone can see he is a prince" (Law 175). An English observer was almost as enthusiastic about the French king in 1609:

> The Kinges pson is of greate abilitie both for the vigour of his boddie and strength of his mynde. . . This Kinge was borne on the 12th. of September 1553 and hath in ye course of his life run over the most hazards of any greate personage that now liveth, or of whome almost mention is to be found in histories; ffor besides 125 battayles or fights and other exployts of Armes, in wch he hath beene personally in the feild, and 100 seiges of townes, he hath escaped divers other daungers as that of drowninge & the Assassinats of Pierre, Barriere and John Chastell. . .[26]

Carew presented Herbert to the King at the Tuileries Gardens, and Henri IV "received mee with all Courtesie embracing mee in his Armes and holding mee some while there" (49). He seemed to have arrived.

Sir George Carew proved more than a solicitous host, for it was through his good offices that Herbert became acquainted with the duc de Ventadour, whose wife was the daughter of Henry, duc de Montmorency, Herbert's most significant French acquaintance. Montmorency was the acknowledged leader of a diverse group of intellectuals known as the Politiques; they had been meeting at the Montmorency château since 1561, and amongst their unofficial "membership" could number some of France's most illustrious names.

Montaigne, Michel l'Hopital and Cardinal du Bellay had all been associated with the group at one time or another, as had some distinguished foreigners such as Grotius. If the Politiques had a creed in common, it was that public safety should be a prerequisite for a stable society, and that this, in turn, depended on religious toleration and a strong central monarchy. They sought, therefore, to strengthen the power of the monarchy as a unifying force under which all Frenchmen could find justice and peace. It was these beliefs, rather than a wish to establish a Catholic hegemony, which led to the group's being dubbed the Politiques, for surely people who placed political considerations above the demands of religion must have been concerned with their own political ends. Indeed, unconcerned as they were with purging the souls of heretics with fire and sword, it could be argued that they were almost un-Christian themselves. Under Henri IV the Politiques saw a partial fulfilment of their aims, and, but for the hand of François Ravaillac, who cut down the King in 1610, might have been correct.[27]

"The urgent plea for toleration," R.D. Bedford writes, "made itself felt not only on a national but on an international level" (212). Herbert, thorough his association with the Montmorency family and hence with the Politiques, would have come into contact with the works of certain philosophers and scholars who pursued the elusive goal of religious toleration, and thus interested Herbert at an early stage in his career with the subject of eirenics.

Herbert probably read, for example, the works of two important earlier writers, Sebastiano Castellio and Jacopo Acontio, humanists who had argued for toleration. Acontio's *Satanae stratagemata* (1565) declared that Satan himself encouraged religious strife by promoting the idea that each denomination of Christianity was superior to the others. All men, Acontio claimed, were in substantial agreement about some of the fundamental points of religion, and he argued that if this were the case, there could be no harm in holding different opinions about matters that were not fundamental. In fact, he suggested that these different opinions should be encouraged because they might lead to a better understanding of God's nature. Herbert would later argue in *De veritate* that there were five Religious Common Notions upon which all religions could be based, and this doctrine is certainly an attempt to put Acontio's ideas into philosophical form.

Castellio, in his *De haeretici an sint persequendi* (1554) also attacked the idea of absolute religious certainty. No doctrine, he said, could possibly be so pure that anyone should rightfully suffer death for denying it. Moreover, he believed that religious principles should be examined in the same way, and with the same logical tools, as philosophical propositions. In a later work, *De arte dubitandi* (1563), Castellio maintained that doubt, belief, knowledge and ignorance were all admissible in religious enquiry, as was uncertainty. He seems to have been attempting to find a criterion of truth which could be based

upon something rather more concrete than the mere assertion of scriptural authority, and he warned theologians that unless they became more philosophical in their outlook, and adapted the methods of the philosophers, they would find themselves in serious trouble from philosophical enquiry. Herbert's later investigation of miracles in *De veritate* and in *De religione gentilium* owes more than a little to Castellio's work.

Herbert did not, of course, gain all his knowledge of writers like Castellio and Acontio merely by hanging about at Merlou or Chantilly, the Montmorency seats, and listening to conversations. It was through the Montmorencies that he met "that Incomparable scholler, Isaak Cawsabon by whose learned Conversation I much benefited my selfe" (49). Casaubon, a Swiss, lived in Paris from 1600 to 1610, and thereafter in London, where he probably continued his friendship with Herbert until his death in 1614. It was Casaubon who had made his reputation by demolishing the authenticity of the Hermetic *libelli*, supposedly written by Hermes Trismegistus, who lived in Egypt at the time of Moses. Casaubon not only proved that Hermes had not lived in Mosaic times, but that he had probably never existed. Such a man would certainly have encouraged Herbert's speculative bent and would have imbued it with a healthy dose of informed scepticism. Ironically, Casaubon's son Meric, the translator of Marcus Aurelius, became one of the scholars who later attacked Herbert for his "deistic" views.

Herbert's own account, as usual, tells us little about his intellectual activities, although they are not completely neglected. He does, however, speak of his prowess at duelling with unwholesome relish, at least to our ears; unpleasant as this subject seems today, it must nevertheless be understood in its context as one of the accomplishments of gentlemen. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, duelling had become a ritual, albeit often deadly, which allowed aristocrats to display chivalry and bravery, and it lasted until the early years of the nineteenth century, one of its last and most illustrious victims being the poet Pushkin. Previously, hostility between noble families and their retainers had resulted in engagements such as Shakespeare portrays in *Romeo and Juliet*, and even in Herbert's time the servants were occasionally involved. A duel was initially carried out in public, but the increasing tendency of civil authorities to frown upon the practice drove it underground; both Elizabeth I and James I showed themselves hostile to it, and in France it was vehemently attacked by Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu. It was "the traditional ambition of the propertied classes to demonstrate their courage" that kept duelling alive, and it had the advantage in that it "at least affected no-one but themselves" (Stone 119). Not only did a duel elevate the social prestige of the winner, but it served as "a means of releasing hostility" (Paolucci 172) for both parties, and when they both survived, duellists often became reconciled.

Herbert's prestige was elevated in other ways while he was in France. He took pains to ingratiate himself not only with the King and his circle but also with the court of Marguerite de Valois, Henri IV's divorced Queen, whom Herbert was pleased to describe to Jonson as "that swol'n vicious Queen Margaret,/ Who were a monster even without her sin" (Smith 16). In the *Autobiography*, Herbert speaks of her quite differently:

> I went sometimes also to the Court of Queene Margaret at the hostel called by her name, And here I sawe many Balls or Masks, in all which It pleased that Queene publiquely to place me next to her Cheare not without the wonder of some and the envy of another who was wont to have that favour (40)

Queen Marguerite seems to have been guilty only of failing to provide her husband with an heir, an accomplishment which did not, however, elude her successor, Marie de' Medicis, nor some of the King's fifty-six reputed mistresses who from time to time littered the court.

In the same passage Herbert makes mention of "another" who did not appreciate the favours which the Queen was showing him. This was Damien de Monluc, seigneur de Balagny, who later made himself known to Herbert some years later "because of some passages that happened afterward betwixt him and me, at the Siege of Juliers" (50). Herbert was astonished that anyone else should ever have enjoyed the Queen's favour, swollen and vicious as she might have been, and he was not about to cede his usurped place back to Balagny, a man who "knockt at the Door somewhat lowder than became, as I thought, a very civil Person" (49). Forty years

later Herbert can still offer an unflattering description of his rival, whose hair, he tells us, "was cut very short, half gray, his doublet but of Sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain gray cloth" (50).

At the end of January 1609 Herbert decided that France had seen enough of him, made preparations to return home, and acquired a travelling companion, Sir Thomas Lucy, for whom he had stood as second in a duel which had been stopped by the French authorities. They journeyed to Dieppe and embarked aboard a merchantman which was bound for Dover. Neither Herbert nor Lucy was a good sailor, and the weather was dreadful; the voyage was nerve-wracking, but all went well until they hove in sight of Dover, at which point the wind took the ship and smashed it up against a pier. The captain ordered everyone to abandon ship: what happened subsequently is best described in Herbert's own words:

> When my selfe who heard the ship crack against the Peer, and then found by the Masters words it was time for every one to save them selves, if they could, got out of my Cabin (though very seasick) and climing up the mast a litle way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover having this signe given them, adventured in a Shallop of six Oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our Ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying that if any man offer'd to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword, whereupon a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the Cabin, who was half dead of Seasicknes, put him into my Arms, whom after I had receiv'd, bid the Shalop make way to shoar, and the rather that I saw another Shalop coming to relieve us. . .(51)

Stone, in a democratic flourish, interprets Herbert's action as being an example of "a fundamental distinction of ranks"

which sometimes led gentlemen to "behave in ways which today would be considered base and even cowardly." Herbert, Stone goes on, "deserted the sinking ship and made for the safety of the shore, an action which he was not ashamed to record in his autobiography" (18). Even if we allow for literary embellishment, it may be assumed that the factual account, as Herbert presented it, is true; Stone's preconceived notions about seventeenth-century class privileges simply do not fit the text, of which Stone, incidentally, only quotes part. Herbert bade the shallop make for shore only after he had seen another boat coming to the rescue, and his sword-waving may well have averted a panic and the possible capsizing of the relief boat. When Herbert and Lucy landed, they immediately "sent more Shalops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the Ship" (51). Stone also fails to note that both Herbert and Lucy contributed £30 towards a compensation fund set up for the loss of the ship.

From Dover Herbert set out almost immediately for London, where he went to court and "kissed his Majesties hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France" (52). He then asked a lady to see that Queen Anne received a present which the Princesse de Conti had asked him to deliver, and with uncharacteristic modesty he added that he did not wish "to presume to demand audience of [the Queen] in Person," but the Queen was, of course, "not satisfied herewith, [and] commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of mee concerning that Princess and the

Courts in France." She went even further, and "commanded me to wait upon her often, wishing me to advise her what Present shee might return back again" (52).

The Court into which Herbert was received was quite unlike that of the old Queen. King James's style of ruling, if less flamboyant than Elizabeth's, was also less successful, although the King himself was a fascinating combination of eccentricity, shrewdness and wit; Sir Roger Wilbraham, comparing the two sovereigns, described James as "of sharpest witt & invencion, redie & pithie speeche, an exceeding good memorie. . .his lerning and religious vertues hath extolled him above all Princes in the World" (Ashton 8).[28] Niccolo Molino, the Venetian ambassador, was a little more cautious; while allowing the King his virtues, Molino felt that James "is more inclined to live retired with eight or ten of his favourites, than openly. . . which is the desire of the people." Molino astutely observed that James "does not caress the people nor make them that good cheer the late Queen did, whereby she won their loves" (Ashton 8).[29] From the very beginning of his reign James was accused of inflating and therefore cheapening honours, of allowing too many Scots favours at Court, and of spending too much time hunting. But Herbert, like many others, was attracted by James's genuine learning and his regard for learning in others, and the King was far and away more learned in the academic sense than Elizabeth had been, which is high praise indeed. On the other hand, an intelligent observer such as

Herbert would have been repelled by the cringing favourites, opportunistic flatterers and toadies of one kind or another that, as Francis Osborne noted, "like burning glasses, were daily interposed between [the King] and the subject, multiplying the heat of oppressions" (Ashton 86).[30] As for Anne of Denmark, she was "incurably frivolous, and lacked a sense of adult--let alone regal--responsibility" (Ashton 86).[31] She was "dull and indolent, though showing a certain tolerant amiability so long as her whims were satisfied" (Akrigg, *Pageant* 19); James could find no intellectual companionship with her, although he seems to have been quite fond of her in his own odd manner:

> I thank God I carie that love and respect unto you quhich, by the law of God and nature, I ought to do to my wyfe and mother of my children, but not for that ye are a Kings dauchter, for quhither ye waire a Kings or a cooks dauchter, ye must be all alike to me, being once my wyfe. For the respect of your honorable Birthe and decente I married you; but the love and respecte I now beare you is, because that ye are my married wyfe, and so partaker of my honoure as of my other fortunes.
>
> (Akrigg, *Pageant* 23)

For her part, Anne was frustrated with her quirky and capricious husband, and deeply distressed at what she understood to be his domination by male favourites such as Robert Carr and Buckingham. While James wrote letters of friendship to the Emperor of Japan or ruminated about schemes to unite Europe in a peaceful association of states, Anne of Denmark alleviated boredom by dancing in Aurelian Townshend's masques or dreaming of the excitements she had left behind in Denmark at the court of her huge, outgoing, hard-drinking

brother, Christian IV, one of Denmark's truly great kings.

Herbert paid court to both James and Anne, following the pattern he had set in France. It is even possible that the bored Anne of Denmark developed a mild infatuation for him, if his report that she obtained a copy of his portrait and kept it with her "in her Cabinet [without that ever I knew any such thing was done]" can be believed. This indiscreet action, Herbert relates, "gave occasion to those who sawe it after her death of more discourse than I could have wisht" (60). If Anne was really as vapid as historians seem to agree she was, Herbert might have been exercising little but his imagination; yet he makes much of the incident, and the *Autobiography* is not a public document, so there may be some truth in what he says. He refers to the Queen only as "a greater Person than I will here nominat," and J.P. Akrigg may be perfectly correct in assuming that "the listless Anne was not the sort to enter into anything more than flirtations" (*Pageant* 21).

Herbert returned to his family, now augmented by a second child, and passed the time studying and riding, the latter having become one of his greatest pleasures since his trip to France. "A good Rider on a good Horse," he declared, "is as much above him selfe and others as this world can make him" (33). At about this time Herbert also served as MP for Merioneth in the Parliament of 1610, his only time as a member of that body. He distinguished himself by quarrelling with the highly unpopular and apparently incompetent Speaker,

Sir Edward Phelips. The Parliamentary diarist Robert Bowyer described the incident, in which Herbert had "popped his mouth with his finger in scorn" at Phelips during a session of the House, and had later met the Speaker on the stairs, "put not off his Hat, put out his Tongue and plopt with his mouth" (Dodd 70). The Speaker complained to the House about Herbert's action "with almost incredible simplicity" (Notestein 496) and Herbert "apologised," saying that he " meant no Disrespect to the House" by his actions. No-one, adds Notestein sanctimoniously, condemned Herbert for his "childish gesture" (496). Apart from this contretemps, Herbert's tenure as an MP seems to have been unremarkable.

He soon tired of family life and Parliamentary politics; in June/July 1610 he was once again on his way to Europe, this time as a volunteer with an expedition under Grey Brydges, Earl of Chandos, which had as its objective the capture of the city of Juliers in Holland. The cause of this intervention by the English was the death of William John, Duke of Cleves, and the subsequent squabble over his vacant throne. There were several claimants supported by various great powers, and the Emperor Rudolph II had ordered Archduke Leopold to advance into Cleves by way of the Low Countries. On the way Leopold had attacked and taken the city of Juliers. At the same time Henri IV announced France's support of the Protestant candidate, and allies were found in England and Holland; never, since one of its daughters had married Henry VIII, had Cleves been the centre of so much

attention.

The assassination of Henri IV in 1610 did not prevent the Queen Regent, Marie de' Medicis, from engaging France in war. A French army arrived before Juliers in August, just four weeks after the English had begun the siege. Herbert was lodged comfortably with the Lord General, Sir Edward Cecil, and he performed various deeds of valour, once more encountering Balagny. Naturally enough-- and Herbert claims that it was initiated by Balagny-- the two men had to have a bravery contest, and Herbert found himself walking upright through a hail of Austrian gunfire with Balagny at his heels. All this exploit achieved was a thorough dressing down of both men by the Prince of Orange, who was not amused. A further encounter with Balagny took place, but it was less than satisfactory from Herbert's point of view, especially as the Frenchman refused to take him seriously:

> I remembered my self of the Bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one tryall of daring when I was last with him in his Trenches I would put him to another, saying I heard he had a fair Mistriss, and that the Scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier Mistriss than he, and that I would do for her sake as much as he or any else durst do for his; Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, if we shall try who is the abler man to serve his Mistriss, let both of us get two Wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man; and that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that Quarrell; I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said that he spoke more like a Paillard than a Cavelier, to which he answering nothing I rid my wayes. (57)

Immediately after this episode, in which Herbert's

priggishness is all too evident (although perhaps mitigated by a sense of humour, as he does include the episode in the *Autobiography*), he became involved in a more dangerous quarrel. Having had his services as a second declined by a friend, Herbert, spoiling for a fight, tried to renew a disagreement he had had with Theophilus, Baron Howard de Walden, son of the Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Treasurer of England. The problem had arisen after a party in Cecil's tent, when both Herbert and Howard had been drinking, "at which time I speaking merrily to him upon some slight occasion, he took offence at me which he would not have done at another time" (54). Herbert interpreted Howard's words as an insult, and sent him a challenge the next morning. They made arrangements to fight a duel, but for fear of prevention went through several complicated manoeuvres in the course of which it was discovered that Howard wished to fight on horseback but that no horses were available. Herbert went off to borrow some, and then waited all night at the appointed place for Howard to arrive. Shortly after dawn he saw a rider approach; it was not Howard, but a furious Sir William St. Leger, who let Herbert know in no uncertain terms that there would be no duelling. More armed men drew up, "and told me I must not fight. . .and that it was to no purpose to stay there" (57). The quarrel was not renewed, at least not on Lord Howard's side; Herbert attempted to stir it up again, and received an irritated note from Howard which should have ended the absurdity then and there: "I am so well

satisfied with my own actions that I will trouble my self no further. T[heophilus] H[oward]" (Lee 183). It took a further intervention, this time by Sir Edward Cecil himself, to effect a final reconciliation.

Herbert, of course, had other motives than duelling for going to the Low Countries. There were advantages to be gained from serving under men such as Cecil and Chandos, who were close to the King, and Herbert was very interested in military strategy and the politics of war. On the other hand, his quarrel with Howard de Walden would not have sat well with the King, who was firmly opposed to duelling, or with Suffolk, "one of the most odious and corrupt of all the sycophantic self-seekers at the court of King James" (Akrigg, *Pageant* 35).[32] In spite of these potential setbacks, Herbert managed to retain Cecil's favour, and it was through him that he obtained an invitation to meet Sir George Villiers, who, as the great Duke of Buckingham, would become the most influential of all James's favourites and whose good offices would secure for Herbert the post of ambassador to France in 1619.

Notes to Chapter One

[1] The spelling of Lord Herbert's title has caused much unnecessary dispute, which should now be ended. The name of the village near Aberystwyth from which the title was taken is clearly signposted "Chirbury." Mario Rossi's book is entitled *La vita, le opere i tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Chirbury*. A descendant, George Herbert, in "A Note on Lord Herbert of Chirbury and his son Richard,"*Huntington Library Quarterly*, (1942): 317-32 and "A further Note on Lord Herbert of Chirbury and his son Richard," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 46, 4 (1980) points out that the "i" spelling was used consistently in Herbert's own time. Mr. Herbert, in two letters to the author, corroborated what he had said in the two articles, and was good enough to supply further information. The patent of nobility for Herbert spells the title "Chirbury," and the present spelling of the village is as noted above. The "Cherbury" spelling, used by practically every writer who has ever had occasion to mention Lord Herbert's name, appears *nowhere*. The Saxons called the village *Cyriebyrig*, the 1638 Parish Register has *Churbury*. a 1641 document uses *Chirbury*, and other spellings include *Chirbiri, Chireburi,* and even *Cherburg*, which last appears on Herbert's tomb and comes closest to the usual, incorrect spelling of the name. Mr. Herbert supplies a very plausible explanation for the spelling. "The ER in Herbert was undoubtedly pronounced as if it was AR. See the present pronunciation of DERBY, HERTFORD etc. Some of the Herbert wills include both Herbert and HARBERT in the same document. So, if ER was pronounced AR and if CHIRBURY was pronounced as it now is, why did *anyone* write it as ER?" Apart from Mr. Herbert's researches. a glance at Burke's *Peerage* also confirmed the IR spelling. I am grateful to Mr. George Herbert for clearing up this controversy.

[2] The first edition of Herbert's *Autobiography* appeared in 1764, issued privately by Horace Walpole from his Strawberry Hill Press, and copies of this magnificent production occasionally surface at antiquarian book sales. Walpole went to considerable lengths, as he tells us in his preface, to persuade the owner of the manuscript, the Earl of Powis, to let him print the work: "I sat down and wrote a flattering dedication to Lord Powis, which I knew he would swallow: he did, and gave up his ancestor" (Horace Walpole to George Montague, July 16, 1764). Lee (xiii) quotes Walpole as telling his friend Mason that the first fifty pages of the book were not worth reading, and that the first forty would make him sick! Lee, unlike Walpole, was not content to merely write a preface or confine his remarks to letters, but felt constrained to provide a continuation until the year 1648. Lee is accurate in his relation of historical facts, but supremely flat and dull otherwise, and he provides a vapid and moralising conclusion to a life of which he did not

wholly approve. Virginia Woolf, in an essay on biography, quotes Lee as remarking that biographers have a duty to supply "the truthful transmission of personality." Lee's brand of truth, she felt, was "truth as it is to be found in the British Museum. . .no-one can be so foolish as to deny that the piles [Lee] raised of such hard facts. . .are worthy of all our respect." This said, however, Woolf dismisses Sir Sidney thus: "Truth thus being efficacious and supreme, we can only explain the fact that Sir Sidney's life of Shakespeare is dull, and that his life of Edward VII is unreadable, by supposing that though both were stuffed with truth, he failed to choose those truths which transmit personality. For in order that the light of personality may shine through, facts must be manipulated; some must be brightened; others shaded; yet, in the process, they must never lose their integrity" (Woolf 149-50).

[3] References are to the abridged edition, prepared by Stone himself, which omits tables, statistics, and other unnecessary scholarly apparatus. While these omissions do not detract from the intrinsic validity of Stone's work, there is a tendency for some scholars to quote endlessly from Stone as the ultimate word in the social history of the English aristocracy in the seventeenth century, but, as the shipwreck episode shows, Stone does not always cite the whole truth as evidence.

[4] Lee, xii. Sir Sidney, seeing himself as a literary *restitutor orbis*, whose purpose is to make everything conform to his own sense of proportion, criticises Herbert for his interest in his ancestry. Had Lee bothered to look carefully at Jonson's poem, he would have learned that Herbert was not to be contained that way.

[5] This abbreviated account of Herbert's genealogy is taken from several sources, but generally follows Lee's appendix on the subject. Regarding the battle of Hedgecote Field, Herbert was not being quite truthful; the earl and his brother were actually taken prisoners by the Lancastrians and subsequently beheaded by order of Queen Margaret of Anjou. Even after Henry of Richmond's victory over Richard III in 1485 had securely established the Tudors on the throne, it is just possible that Herbert was reluctant to admit which side his ancestors had taken, and he probably was not happy that their demise did not take place amongst clashing arms and neighing steeds.

[6] Shuttleworth's edition, in original spelling and punctuation, supersedes Lee's, and has the advantage of a good introduction and no continuation by Sir Sidney Lee. All references to the *Autobiography* are taken from this edition, and are cited by page numbers at the end of each quotation. Perhaps the best portrait of Herbert himself is the magnificent miniature by Isaac Oliver in the Victoria and

Albert Museum, London.

[7] A Richard Herbert is recorded as having sat as MP for Montgomeryshire in 1585-86, but as Herbert does not mention this as part of his father's accomplishments, we cannot be sure that this Richard Herbert was his father. Lee (3) is doubtful.

[8] George Herbert's works have been edited by F.E. Hutchinson. For translations of George Herbert's Latin poetry, see McCloskey and Murphy.

[9] For the text of Donne's "To the Lady Magdalen Herbert: of St. Mary Magdalen," see A.J. Smith.

[10] Sir John Danvers (1588-1655) received his knighthood from James I in much the same way as Herbert. He was MP for the University of Oxford on several occasions, and during the Civil War served as a colonel in the Parliamentary army. Danvers signed the death-warrant of Charles I in 1649, and under the Commonwealth and the first year of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate was a member of the Council of State. He was dismissed from the Council by the Protector because he had attempted to disinherit his sister, Lady Gargrave, who inherited land under Danby's will. On the credit side, Danvers was a great horticulturalist who introduced Italian gardening techniques into England. John Aubrey notes that Danvers married Magdalen Herbert "for love of her Witt" (as Donne also notes in his sermon), but also mentions that "the Earl of Danby was greatly displeased with him for this disagreeable Match." Aubrey speculated that Danvers took part in Charles I's trial only to get back at Danby, who was a royalist. Leaving all this aside, Aubrey (unintentionally) supplies a reason for Herbert's dislike of his stepfather. "He was, " Aubrey says, "so exceedingly beautiful and fine. . .that the People would come after him in the Streete to admire Him" (Dick 239-40).

About the relationship between Herbert and Danvers, it does not appear, on a second look, that there was any "bad blood" between them, as both Lee and Shuttleworth suggest. There are letters from Danvers to Herbert which suggest that the former was very helpful in financial matters, and was able to arrange credit for Herbert in Lyons, Paris and Amsterdam during Herbert's first visit to Europe in 1610 (see, for example, P.R.O. 30/53/17 and 26/11/4). When Herbert was ambassador to France, we find Danvers writing to him about wine-dressers and silk-handlers (P.R.O. 30/53/3) and affairs concerning the Virginia Company. Amy M. Charles notes that "the tone of all of Danvers' letters is serious, sometimes earnest: it is obvious that he is doing his best to look after Herbert's interest" (59). There was. perhaps, some initial strain in the relationship between the two men, for we do find Lady Danvers complaining that Herbert never stays long enough in one place for his family to communicate,

and assuring him that his step-father loves him:

> And to tell you further of Sr John Danvers Love which I dare sweare is to no Man more. He is and hath beene so careful to keep you from lake of money now you are abroad. . .Mistake him not but beleeve me there was never a tenderer hart or a lovinger minde in any man then there is in him towards you who have power to Comand him in all that he is. (Charles 60)

[11] See Hutchinson 363-81 for George Herbert's letters to Danvers. An example: "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. . ." (363).

[12] Much relevant information on Herbert's brothers and sisters is supplied by Lee, 10-15.

[13] Thomas Herbert is sometimes confused with the Sir Thomas Herbert who was at the court of Jahangir in 1626, and who in 1638 published an account of his travels. Appended to this is a popem signed by one "C.H." which has led to speculation that Charles Herbert was the author. As he died in 1617, this seems unlikely. A further Herbert confusion exists between Edward Herbert (Lord Herbert of Chirbury) and Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney-General who was impeached for corruption in 1629.

[14] The nature of Elizabeth Herbert's illness is unknown. Sir Henry Jones was a Carmarthenshire landowner, with property near Llangadock (Shuttleworth 135).

[15] Margaret married John Vaughan of Llwydiart on November 3, 1606 (see *Montgomery Parish Register*). Shuttleworth (133) thinks that the quarrel between the Herberts and the Vaughans was occasioned by the appointment of Griffith Lloyd as sheriff in 1580 by Edward's grandfather Sir Henry Herbert (d. 1593) over the candidacy of John Vaughan. See *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series), 1577-1580*, 686. Sir John Browne was a Lincolnshire knight. One of their sons killed Peter Lee (1623-1642) in a duel in London (Shuttleworth, 135; Herbert, 11).

[16] See Don Keister, 389-93. Herbert himself gives his age as 15 in 1598/99 and as 19 in 1600. He also says that he was 12 when his father died (1596) and that when his grandfather died (1593) he was 8. Keister claimed that he was born in 1585 on the strength of the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* of 1596, as opposed to the Register of Oxford University, which gives the date as 1582. The latter, Professor Keister airily declares, "will just have to be wrong" (390). He states that the year could be anywhere from 1582 to 1585; "these dates," he says, "are based on the supposition that Herbert was using cardinal numbers, but if the ordinal was intended, the date.

. .would have to be one year later" (391). He then quotes a letter from Herbert to his brother Sir Henry in 1643 (June 4), in which Herbert says, "let me assure you, I find myself grown older in this one year than in fifty-nine before." This, Keister claims, means that he was born in 1583. But Herbert's sister Elizabeth was born in 1583, and the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* states that Edward was "eleven years, seven months and eleven days old on the day his father died" (391). Unfortunately, Keister had not read the *Inquisitions* accurately. It states that Richard Herbert was buried on October 15, 1596, and that the report itself was made on December 30. The entry reads as follows: "*etate Quatuor decem annor--[um] septem mens' [es] et undecim dier [um] tempore mortis Ricardi herbert pes sui*," which is, of course, fourteen, not eleven years, seven months, and eleven days. See Lancaster 144. The same issue contains a letter from Mario Rossi supporting Lancaster's reading and giving 1582 as the correct date.

[17] Edward Thelwall (d. 1610) was the son of Symond Thelwall, who held the post of Councillor of the Marches of Wales. Sir Eubule Thelwall was Principal of Jesus College from 1621 to 1630.

[18] Mr. Newton is identified by Lee (21) as Thomas Newton, a graduate of both universities. According to Anthony Wood, he was a man of scholarship and integrity. The school was somewhere near Macclesfield. Newton died in 1607 (Wood III, 239).

[19] Sir William Herbert's book was *A Letter written by a True Christian and Catholike to a Roman pretended Catholike upon occasion of controversie touching the Catholike Church: the 12, 13 and 14 chapter of the Revelations are briefly and trulie expounded* (London, 1586). He was probably also the author of "Sidney, or Baripenthes," a poem on the death of Sir Philip Sidney. Herbert was an intimate friend of Queen Elizabeth's astrologer, John Dee, whom he employed as a teacher of alchemy. Dee's *Diary* (London: The Camden Society, 1884), records that Mary Herbert played "marriage" with Dee's three-year old son Arthur (14), which makes this the earliest mention of Herbert's future wife.

[20] Herbert's collection may be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS 3. 1956). Herbert composed 4 preludes, 4 pavans and 1 coranto.

[21] Lee, whose quest for truth is unending, informs us that the Queen's favourite oath was "God's death" (Lee 44 n.1).

[22] The identification of the lady remains a mystery. John Selden alluded to an affair Herbert was supposed to have had with Lady Kent (Selden 41). Don Keister, in "Lady Kent and the Two Sir Edwards" (169-72) thought that Selden was

referring to the *quondam* Solicitor-General, whom he also knew. This Sir Edward and Selden himself were opponents of Buckingham, whereas the future Lord Herbert of Chirbury owed his career to the Duke. Both Herberts were related to William Herbert (1580-1630), the Earl of Pembroke and the benefactor of the Bodleian Library, with whom Selden was well-acquainted. Selden knew Herbert of Chirbury from about 1620 onwards; his first extant letter to Herbert is B.M. Add. MS. 32092, fol. 314, in which Selden refers to an affair which Herbert was having, although there is no name mentioned. If this comment was more than gossip, it makes it more likely that the Herbert who was having an affair with Lady Kent was Herbert of Chirbury, although there is no reason why she should not have counted them both amongst her lovers.

[23] Charles, Baron Howard of Effingham and Earl of Nottingham (1537-1623) had been Lord High Admiral of England at the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In spite of the vicissitudes of his family's fortunes, he managed to remain in favour with both Queen Elizabeth and King James. In 1605 James sent Nottingham to Spain to ratify a peace treaty with Philip III.

[24] Philip Herbert (1589-1650), Earl of Montgomery and subsequently (1630) of Pembroke, was the brother of William Herbert (1580-1630), Earl of Pembroke. In 1640 he was dismissed from his position of Lord Chamberlain because he had broken his staff of office over a colleague's back, and he had already incurred the displeasure of Queen Henrietta Maria, who found him rude and boorish. Pembroke also managed to quarrel with Archbishop Laud. which drove him into the ranks of Parliament during the Civil War, and in 1647 he was appointed Chancellor of Oxford University. His qualifications for this post consisted of an M.A. degree awarded to him at the age of nine by the sycophants at New College. "I love the Bible," Pembroke declared at his installation, "though I seldom use it" (see DNB, 208), and he went on to distinguish himself in a round of fisticuffs with the Vice-Chancellor, John Fell, who had declared Oxford's continued loyalty to the King and the established Church.

[25] Aurelian Townshend (c.1583-1651) was, according to one of Helen Gardner's unnamed sources, "a poor and pocky poet. . .who would be glad to sell an 100 verses at sixpence a piece" (299). This was after 1643, but before that Townshend had been the author of two successful court masques in 1631/32 and of some lyrics, which still occasionally find their way into anthologies. In 1632 his daughter Mary became the mistress of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, and then the wife of the Groom of the King's Chamber, at which time one hopes that his fortunes were better than they later became. Little is known of his later life or of the causes of his poverty.

[26] Anon., *Observations of France* (72-3). This work has been formerly ascribed to Herbert, but internal evidence proves conclusively that it is not his. It was written in about 1610, a year that Herbert was in France, but the writer observes that he was ambassador at the French court when Henri IV was king, and he speaks of that king as being still alive, which makes the writing of the MS earlier. The author also mentions many of the principal men about the French court, and they are all associated with Henri IV rather than Louis XIII. Most likely it is the work of Sir George Carew (d.1613), Herbert's host in Paris, and ambassador in 1608-9, when Herbert was in France. In spite of Rossi's verdict that Carew was not "una personalità di gran conto" (I, 103), he was a friend of Casaubon's and the author of the Relation of the State of France (1609. published 1749), which the DNB commends for its "simple and unaffected style." Carew also wrote a "Paper concerning the state of France" (1609) [B.M. Egerton MSS 921]. The extract I have reproduced here comes from what, in my opinion and from internal evidence, must be a copy of one of those works, which Herbert may have been given by one of the Carew family in 1619, before he embarked on his own ambassadorship to France. The fact that he was accompanied by the poet Thomas Carew makes this all the more likely. My own assessment of the MS is with the MS in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.

[27] The Politiques were more than simply a group of enlightened statesmen. After the assassination of Henri III (1589) they were greatly suspected of being allied with 'royalists,' and thus against Catholics. The suspicions were fostered by the so-called Holy Union, which was formed in July 1588 to eliminate heresy and to force Henri III to stop tolerating the Huguenots. Henri retaliated by ordering the murder of the duc de Guise, who led the Union, and this action united Catholics against the King and led to his own murder. The Politiques had been a significant factor in French political life since the time of Catherine de' Medicis; Michel l'Hôpital (1505-1577) was her Chancellor, and a prominent member of the group. "A man does not cease to be a citizen," he is reputed to have said, "because he is excommunicated" (Treasure 6). For further accounts of the Politiques, see Greengrass and Salmon, especially 234-36, 321-22.

The duc de Montmorency was François de Montmorency-Damville (1534-1614), who fought initially against the Huguenots in the 1570's, and then switched his loyalty to the House of Navarre and Henri IV.

[28] Wilbraham 8. Sir Roger Wilbraham (1553-1616) had been Solicitor-General of Ireland and Master of Requests under Queen Elizabeth. In 1604 Queen Anne appointed him her Chancellor, and he finished his career as Constable of Chester Castle, in his home county.

[29] "Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in the year 1607, by the Illustrious Gentleman Nicolo Molin, Ambassador there," Ashton, 10. The full report may be found in the *Venetian State Papers 1603-1607*, 509-14.

[30] Osborne's book first appeared in 1811, and contains much useful observation of court personalities, from Prince Henry of Wales to the Court Jester.

[31] Anne of Denmark (1574-1619) was the daughter of Frederik II and Queen Sophia of Denmark. She married James (by proxy) in 1589, and he travelled to Norway to fetch her. This venture was one of the rare visits of a British monarch to Scandinavia since the eleventh century, and it was certainly out of character for James, who braved bad weather to make the passage. Anne was a Lutheran by upbringing, and incurred a certain amount of opposition from Scottish Calvinists. At the coronation of James I she refused to take the Anglican sacrament, and was then thought to be sympathetic to Catholics. "Her clandestine sympathy with Roman Catholicism was confirmed by her acceptance of consecrated objects from Pope Clement VIII" (Riddell 6). James and Anne lived apart from about 1615, and he was not present at her death on March 2, 1619.

[32] Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) was Lord Treasurer until 1619, when he and other members of his family were disgraced and run out of office. He was father-in-law to James's Scottish favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and may have been privy to the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613. Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard de Walden, became Earl of Suffolk in 1626, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1627, the post having been relinquished by Buckingham.

CHAPTER TWO

> They do best, who if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarters; and sever it wholly from their serious affairs, and actions, of life; for if it check but once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men, that they can be no ways true to their own ends.
>
> Bacon, "Of Love," *Essays*

Although his sojourn in France produced two lengthy satires, Herbert had already begun his experiments with poetic forms before 1608. Even some of the early lyrics in his canon point to philosophical and literary themes to which he would turn almost exclusively in his later poetry, and the two satires, isolated examples of this form as they are, clearly indicate a road not taken. While it may not be stated conclusively that Herbert began to write poetry at this time, it would be singular if his connexion with Jonson and Donne had not produced a result, even if it consisted only of emulation and experimentation in poetic modes better employed by others. At the least, writing poetry was, for Herbert, rather like playing the lute-- an integral part of being a courtier and a gentleman, although later on it became quite a serious occupation.

The early lyrics, as has been suggested (Paolucci *passim*) look like attempts to experiment with various European verse-forms. Two of them are called "madrigals," and a longer poem, "I must depart," is replete with Petrarchan conventions. The two satires, in addition to their debt to Donne, also show the influence of the English

Juvenalians, notably Marston, Hall, and Everard Guilpin. All of these poems, according to Moore Smith, were written in or about 1608, and it appears that Herbert himself dated the satires.[1] The madrigals contain more than simple imitation, and "I must depart" shows a subtle and inventive mind already at work, weaving complex ideas in colloquial language and conventional poetic form. In this poem, Herbert approaches the lyric mode of Donne, as he does in his satires; moreover, in the latter, the occasional use of invective keeps these, too, closer to Donne than to Jonson. Like Donne again, Herbert employs rhetorical techniques, which in his case are those of the schools rather than of the Inns of Court or the Middle Temple. As Paolucci notes, the two madrigals are very sophisticated, although the reader is hard-put to find the vulgarity which he sees in them (59). If there is a suggestion of some sort in a line like "What though my love unto that height be grown?" (2) it is hardly vulgar, and the other madrigal, "Dear. when I did," has lines even less suggestive. Indeed, all that may be distinguished from these early efforts is a *persona* who has read Castiglione, but is by no means a vulgarian.

The three poems in the early group all have the same theme, the parting of lovers. Smith piously hoped that they were all addressed to Mary Herbert, and, if he had been prepared to suspend his disbelief in Herbert's veracity for a while, he may have had good grounds for this very proper suggestion. All three poems show a *persona* in conflict with

itself, and undergoing a fair amount of tension. First he personifies the universality of womanhood in one woman: "You, universal beauty seem to me,/ Giving and shewing form and degree/ To all rest" (8-10), but he evidently feels that "all the rest" should not, for all that, be neglected, as they are, after all, "parts whereon/ Your beauty, their perfection/ And top, doth rise" (12-14) Paolucci suggests that the *persona* here is merely indulging in the rationalisation of lust (61), a state of affairs we may find, for example, in Donne: "Or, your own end to justify,/ For having purpos'd change and falsehood; you/ Can have no way but falsehood to be true?" (Grierson 9). "Parted Souls" is more complex both in imagery and thought, and may be compared to Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding mourning." Both poems deal with the transcendental or superlunary aspects of love, as "Springing first from an earthly mould," love is "transplanted to our Souls," and "now doth remove/ Earthly effects" (10-12). In Donne's poem, "Our two souls, therefore, which are one,/ Though I must go, endure not yet/ A break, but an expansion" (21-23). Present also in both poets is a refined employment of sexual imagery, with Donne's "stiff twin compasses" and the foot which so ingeniously "grows erect" (32), and Herbert's "our loves cannot dye, nor we, [unless/ We dye not both together] shall be free" (18-19). The imagery of the two souls becoming one on a superlunary plane foreshadows the profoundly Neo-Platonic tone which Herbert's later poetry was to take.

Herbert's two satires show that, unlike Donne, he did not feel quite at home with the genre. In later years, he was to write a few satirical epigrams in both English and Latin but no further efforts in sustained satire. In general, both Herbert's satires may be considered Juvenalian, as they exhibit in plentiful quantity the "indignant and authoritarian tone" which, as Raman Selden aptly points out, is "based upon a sense of social disorder and personal dissatisfaction" (30). The reasons for Herbert's dissatisfaction are not entirely clear, but the loss of Montgomery Castle may have been one of them (77), and the general restlessness of youth as well as the boredom of marriage probably contributed as well. The loss of the castle no doubt rankled, but it scarcely placed Herbert "out of the system," as Paolucci would like us to believe. In fact, Herbert was bound to lose the castle eventually, because it did not belong to him. When his grandfather died in 1593 the castle passed back to the Pembrokes, although Richard Herbert was allowed the use of it. Richard lived primarily at Lymore or at Eyton, the property of his wife's family; when James granted Philip Herbert the castle he was certainly within his rights in so doing (Rossi, I 71ff). Losing one's castle to a member of one's own family hardly constituted being placed beyond the aristocratic pale, and there were other matters, such as his mother's relationship with Danvers, which did not sit well with him at this time. If there is spleen to be vented, it is personal, not socio-

political. Finally, if Smith's and Sir Henry Herbert's editions are accurate, it is strange that Herbert would have waited two years to let off steam about his castle, if it really was such a profound blow to his pretensions.

There appears to be some difficulty about the order in which the two satires were written. We cannot know, for example, whether the titles in the 1665 edition were Herbert's or whether they were supplied by his brother. If the latter were the case, "Satyra secunda" describing the experiences of English travellers arriving in France, and their antics on shore, would have had to be written long before Herbert met the Montmorency family and went to Merlou, which is where he wrote "The State-progress of Ill," the more sophisticated of the two poems. The opening line of the second poem, "I Say, 'tis hard to write Satires" (1), suggests, moreover, that the author had made previous attempts and was once again finding it hard going. Herbert's journey from Calais to Paris took place, obviously, before his stay at Merlou, and the observations he had made of his fellow-travellers would still have been fresh in his mind.

The indication is that Herbert was not a slavish imitator of either Juvenal or his English successors. Smith finds both satires "carelessly put together" (xix) but misses the entire point of Juvenalian satire, termed by Selden "immediacy," and described by him as "an essential feature of Juvenal's satirical voice" (30). In spite of their immediacy, however, Herbert's satires never entirely succeed

in finding their own voice, unlike Donne's, which could express "everything from an exasperated shriek to a lugubrious growl" (Sanders 34). Herbert may well have set out initially to imitate Donne, but while in France it is likely that he read Casaubon's *De satyrica Graecorum poesi & Romanorum satira libri duo* (1605), in which Casaubon exploded some of the old myths about the nature, purpose and origin of satire. Herbert seems to have written his satires in much the same vein as Charles Churchill a century or so later, whom Selden quotes as confessing, with tongue firmly in cheek, "When the mad fit comes on, I seize the pen/ Rough as they run, the rapid thoughts set down" (29). This is what Selden means by immediacy, but he cautions readers of Juvenal and Churchill that although a Juvenalian satirist may *claim* to write as his feelings suggest, and not for the sake of poetic glory, a reader may fail to distinguish the author from his *persona*. This, it seems to me, is also applicable to Herbert. Carelessness, it seems, was not a characteristic of Churchill, and it is only sometimes found in Herbert: do we then have inconsistency, or merely different and distinct *personae*? Herbert's "The State-progress of Ill," for example, contains what looks very much like a sustained attack on government in general and the English monarchy in particular, with a nasty slap at prelates thrown in as well. Can this *persona* be taken for Edward Herbert, a political radical, the complete and utter antithesis of the man depicted in the *Autobiography* and His Majesty's ambassador to

the court of France? And, if so, is it a complete picture? After all, it is not unusual for a young man, privileged and educated as Herbert was, to think and observe, and even criticise things which others take for granted.

"The State-progress of Ill" is a longish poem, but Herbert is able, nonetheless, to create a *persona* who maintains his indignation throughout. He first turns Juvenal's statement "*Difficile est satyram non scribere*" into "I Say, 'tis hard to write Satyres." Juvenal is so indignant that he cannot stop himself writing, but Herbert's *persona* has problems getting started, and the subject kept getting bigger and bigger. The metaphor Herbert employs, that of the royal progress, is particularly apt, since James I was well-known for making massive and expensive progresses. These were, perhaps, fun for the people, who at least got a glimpse of the Court in all its glory, but for those whom His Majesty deigned to honour for a few days with his gracious presence it was a different matter. James and his Court ate and drank prodigiously: gone were the thrifty days of the old Queen, and Akrigg, in *Jacobean Pageant*, gives a marvellous picture of the progress winding its way across England like an elephantine serpent, devouring everything in its way (165-67).

As a courtier, Herbert himself may well have taken part in a progress, or perhaps he knew what it was like to entertain one; in any case, the use of a swelling image, however felicitous in this kind of satire, is also a

commonplace. John Marston, for example, in his "Satire II" uses a pregnancy image: "I cannot hold, I cannot, I indure/ To view a big-womb'd, foggy cloud immure/ The radiant tresses of the quick'ning Sun" (Rollins & Baker 460). Like Herbert and Juvenal, Marston begins on a strong note of indignation, which he sustains throughout the poem. Herbert describes Ill as "Greatn'd in his long course, and swelling still" (2); to combat this expanding and Gargantuan subject-matter, the satire must overwhelm it with "a deliberate harshness of style and tone; and. . .self-righteous moral stance" (Selden 51). This explains why the *persona* attacks great institutions with such vehemence.

Moore Smith finds the poem so complex that he provides a paraphrase of it in his notes, but the poem is logical and follows, like any royal progress, a certain course. Ill has two chief agents, Mischief and Sin, whose doings in the world must be controlled. Now, as "one poison might free/ The other" (10-11), man therefore invented the State, which, as Smith says, tolerates no evil but itself. The *persona* then attacks both church and state, which, according to Smith, is an example of Herbert's already "bold independence of mind" (xxxiii). Characteristic of Herbert is his onslaught on the priests, which, *pace* Rossi, is not directed only at the Catholic variety, but on the whole system of priesthood regardless of denomination. Herbert develops this at great length in *De veritate* and *De religione gentilium*, but here he treats it succinctly:

> Mean while, sugred Divines, next place to this,
> Tells us, Humility and Patience is
> The way to Heaven, and that we must there
> Look for our Kingdome, that the great'st rule here
> Is for to rule our selves; and that they might
> Say this the better, they to no place have right
> B'inheritance, while whom Ambition sways,
> Their office is to turn it other wayes.
>
> (103-9)

We could also compare here Donne's "Satyre III," in which Catholics and Protestants, or at least Calvinists, are roundly trounced, and the reader is advised to "Keepe the truth which thou hast found; men do not stand/ In so ill a case here, that God hath in his hand/ Sign'd Kings blank-characters to kill whom they hate" (Grierson 139).

Another parallel has been noticed by Don Keister, who sees Donne's verse-epistle "To Sr. Edward Herbert. at Julyers" as being in some sense a reply to Herbert's satire. Keister argues that Herbert's poem was actually written "for Donne," and he points to a number of passages containing parallel imagery. Herbert, he surmised, must have sent a copy of his poem to Donne, and the reply, coming from a man who was contemplating becoming a divine himself, was intended "to administer a subtle rebuke to the younger man" (433). Yet one of the most convincing parallels occurs when one looks at the last part of the poem:

> I will
> But only note, how freeborn man subdu'd
> By his own choice, that was at first indu'd
> With equal power over all, doth now submit
> That infinite of Number, Spirit, Wit,
> To some eight Monarchs, then why wonder men
> Their use of horses?
> The world, as in the Ark of *Noah*, rests.
> Compos'd as then, few Men, and many Beasts.
>
> (118-26)

Donne's poem begins with two lines in which man is seen as "a lumpe, where all beasts kneaded bee/ Wisdome makes him an Arke where all agree" (1-2). Keister shows that the parallel in this case is not merely verbal, but intellectual as well; Donne extends it from the ark itself to the beasts within it, and then "to the idea of, in one case, Man, and in the other, the World, as being made up some way of beasts" (431).

Rossi, in a lengthy exposition of the satires, agrees that Donne was probably Herbert's "formal inspiration" (Rossi, I 115). According to Rossi, however, the parallel poem to "The State-progress of Ill" is not Donne's poem addressed to Herbert at all, but a much more substantial work, "The Progress of the Soul." Grierson dates this poem to the year 1601, although it was not printed until 1633, which makes Rossi's conjecture chronologically possible. Rossi thought that Donne had shown his poem to Herbert, and that Herbert's poem was a reply to Donne. He finds Herbert's work "tentative but successful" (I, 117), and agrees with Keister that Herbert may have had trouble pinning down exactly what he wished to say; this, Rossi believes, explains the rather extravagant imagery of Herbert's poem. Rossi argues that the similarities between the poems go deeper than the shared metaphor of the progress, and he finds that both Herbert and Donne share a kind of anarchic thinking. He believes that Herbert may have been addressing himself to specific problems which are posed by Donne in "The Progress of the Soul." He also suggests that Herbert may have seen

the manuscript of Donne's book *Biathanatos* at about this time (1608), although a copy of this work did not find its way into Herbert's hands until 1619. It is more likely, I believe, that if Herbert saw *Biathanatos*, he may have been influenced by it in the writing of his two poems on death, addressed to the memories of Cecilia Boulstred and Sir William Herbert of Swansea. What Rossi does point out, convincingly, is that Herbert may have had some knowledge of Etienne de la Boétie's *La servitude volontaire*, in which La Boétie argued strongly against tyranny and showed himself distinctly antipathetic towards both monarchy and established religion. He advocated instead an ethical system which was a hybrid of Neo-Platonic and Stoic ethics (Rossi I, 115).

The first satire is important because it articulates several views which, if thought by some, were expressed by few. Yet, had the royalist Sir Henry Herbert believed in 1665 that his late brother had been anti-monarchical, it is doubtful whether he would have just let the poem stand in the canon. Furthermore, while this poem retains a Juvenalian indignation, it often strikes the reader as being strangely impersonal, because the *persona*, having established immediacy in the first lines, seems to abandon it thereafter.

Paolucci believes that the poem contains a direct attack on the government of James I, which he attributes to the loss of Montgomery Castle. In the light of what we know about the transaction, this seems rather superficial, because the poem attacks the state rather than kings in particular, and the

emphasis throughout is on the impersonal force of Ill itself, how it makes its progress and contaminates everything. James I, it is true, was "a strange and complex personality," whom Herbert, in company with many others, probably found puzzling, but he no doubt saw also that the King "tried to be just, and in an age of bigotry. . .was surprisingly broadminded and tolerant" (Akrigg *Pageant* 14). What may have impressed itself on Herbert's mind was that the Elizabethan Age was over and that the ideals of his kinsman Sir Philip Sidney were outmoded. Herbert's behaviour quite often looks like a conscious emulation of Sidney; his intelligence, which sent contrary signals, caused a conflict in his mind.

In the second satire, Herbert launches an attack on Englishmen who travel to France, a species which Overbury described as the "affectate traveller," who "hath seen more than he hath perceived" (Baker 716). This satire, which was addressed as a kind of verse-epistle to Jonson, explains that "travel is a second birth,/ Unto the children of another earth" (1-2); Herbert expands a metaphor of birth into a witty conceit in which the ship containing the travellers becomes "a Womb of thirty tun" (6) which delivers its cargo at Dieppe or Calais. The unilingual travellers, unlike the urbane and polished Edward Herbert, are like new-born babies, babbling unintelligibly and ridiculed easily:

> But that I may proceed, since their birth is
> Only a kind of *Metempsychosis*;
> Such knowledge, as their memory could give,
> They have for help, what time these Souls do live
> In English Clothes, a body which again
> They never rise unto: but as you see,

> When they come home, like Children yet that be
> Of their own bringing up: all they learn is
> Toyes, and the Language.
>
> (15-23)

Far from following Herbert's prescription for becoming citizens of the world, these benighted travellers first cling to their Englishness, symbolised by their clothing, and after some time they adopt the superficial worldliness of seasoned travellers. We are then given, by way of *exemplum*, the courtier Elpus ('suple' spelled backwards, as Rossi helpfully notes), who, upon his return home, fires off some French phrases and tries out French-style greetings on a not-very-near acquaintance:

> Now, that he speaks, are complemental speeches,
> That never go off but below the breeches
> Of him he doth salute, while he doth wring,
> And with some loose French words, which he doth sting,
> Windeth about the arms, the legs and sides,
> Most serpent-like, of any man that bides
> His indirect approach. . .
>
> (68-74)

After this display, Elpus brags about his sexual conquests by appropriating those of someone else:

> If he have heard but any bragging French
> Boast of the favour of some noble Wench,
> He'll sweare, 'twas he did her Graces possess,
> And damn his own Soul for the wickedness
> Of other men, strangest of all is that.
>
> (76-80)

In this poem Herbert stands mid-way between Marston and Donne, and closer than he usually does to Jonson. The voice does not speak in the low style: it is that of a man equal to the fops and tourists which it mocks but who is intelligent enough to stand outside the crowd and watch the goings-on around him with a sardonic smile.

Herbert's satires attack through a *persona* who may have arisen from his reading and from his experience. It can be said of him that his satire is "a fusion of Juvenalian bitterness and complaint" (Selden 72) and may be compared to the work of a writer like George Wither, who employs a similar technique in his *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), and Herbert might have agreed with Wither's explanation as to why he ceased to write satire and turned to lyrics:

> If the Times would suffer me, I could be as pleasing as others; and perhaps ere long I will make you amends for my former rigor; Meane while I commit this unto your censure; and bid you farewell.
>
> (Hunter 117)[22]

Even in "The State-progress of Ill" Herbert does no more than Donne did in his "Satyre III," where kings are given rather light-hearted treatment: "O Sir,/ 'Tis sweet to talke of Kings. . .Your eares shall heare nought, but Kings; your eyes meet/ Kings only" (Grierson 67). He looks forward to the more substantial satire of Dryden and Rochester, and in fact the discontent probably went further than even Herbert's satirical *persona* was willing to reveal.

What can be said with some assurance is that Herbert's visits to France served to increase his restlessness; his studies, even though they had been encouraged by "the brilliant company at Merlou" (Rossi I, 137), were not enough to satisfy him. By this time, he probably harboured some doubts about the court of James I, which compared unfavourably with that of Henri IV; the intellectual James

surrounded himself with distinctly non-intellectual favourites such as Carr and Villiers, and social life at court consisted mostly of eating, drinking, hunting and attending masques. Gentler pursuits such as literature and philosophy were largely ignored (except for Bacon), and chivalry seemed dead. The mould had begun to collect over Sidney's grave as well as the ideals for which he had stood; years later, in about 1640, when the world he knew had finally been completely up-ended, Herbert ruefully lamented the absence of a proper monument for his hero and relation:

> Within this Church Sir *Philip Sidney* lies,
> Nor is it fit that I should more acquaint,
> Lest superstition rise,
> And Men adore,
> Souldiers, their Martyr; Lovers, their Saint.
> (Smith 53)

Indeed, one can now detect in Herbert some of the characteristics which John Earle described as distinguishing the discontented man, "self-humouring pride and an accustomed tenderness to be crossed in his fancy" (Baker 724). This is the side of Herbert which appears in the satires, but in the *Autobiography* we find only the laconic statement that he "was in greate Esteeme both in Court and Citty, [and] many of the greatest desiring my Company" (60).

The year 1609 drew forth more poetic efforts from Herbert in the form of two epitaphs, one for his cousin Sir William Herbert of Swansea and the other for Cecilia Boulstred, an intimate of Donne's friend Lucy, countess of Bedford.[35] Both subjects were close to Herbert's own age, which suggests that he was pausing to reflect on mortality

and come to terms with death. It was about this time that he also read *Biathanatos*, and the two epitaphs display an inherent seriousness which is not present in any of the earlier lyrics and is merely hinted at in "The State-progress of Ill." Here, also, the epitaphs contain Neo-Platonic elements developed beyond the mere allusions in poems such as "I must depart."

Sir William Herbert of Swansea was a cousin of Herbert's to whom he seems to have been very attached. According to Rossi, Sir William had been instrumental in the negotiations over Montgomery Castle, and he seems to have been responsible for dissuading Herbert from running for Parliament in 1605 (I 62-3). Indeed, he may also have been one of the friends who advised Herbert against accompanying Nottingham abroad. Sir William himself took over Herbert's candidacy, the latter having officially resigned his "pretence" to his cousin. In the poem, Herbert mourns his cousin's "Great Spirit, that in new Ambition,/ Stoop'd not below his merit" (1-2) and laments the fact that he died without heirs to either his estates or his political talents. Herbert employs here a complex and effective conceit; while Sir William's body may have "stoop'd" to death, this word also implies the action of a falcon as it falls from a great height to seize its prey; in a similar way the soul, ascending into heaven, stoops like a falcon to receive heavenly glory (Paolucci 71). "In one/ He doth all places inherit," Herbert continues, which enables the soul to "live endless here in such brave memory" (5-6).

The religious imagery is used not so much to show parallels between earthly and heavenly hierarchies, although this is implicit, but to indicate a transcendence over all hierarchies-- until "now in one place" Sir William may inherit all "places." His merits entitle him to honours in heaven, although his death has caused him to lose his earthly ones.

The Cecilia Boulstred poem is misdated by Sir Henry Herbert as July 1609; Cecilia Boulstred died on August 4 of that year (Hoey 74). It may be considered in connexion with two other poems written to the same woman, one by Donne and the other, "An Elegie to Mr.s Boulstred," by Sir John Roe.[3] Both Donne and Roe have considerably more to say about the lady than Herbert, and Roe seems to have known her rather better than the other two did:

> Shall I goe force an Elegie? Abuse
> My witt, and breake the Hymen of my muse
> For one poore howres love? Deserves it such
> Which serves not me, to doe on her as much?
> (Grierson 379)

Roe continues in a similar mock-abusive vein for a number of lines, leaving the reader wondering what precisely his relationship with Cecilia might have been, for he ends by asking her to "keepe. . .my Lines as secret as my Love" (38). Donne's elegy, written, unlike Roe's, when its subject was dead, expands from the contemplation of the woman herself into something more cosmic in scope, and in fact for a good part of the poem Cecilia Boulstred disappears altogether. As John Hoey notes, Herbert's treatment of "the general theme of

death," which he finds "almost as compelling for Cherbury as for Donne" (74), was not allowed tp overshadow the death of the actual subject. The logic of Herbert's poem leads the reader to a perfectly-tuned conclusion, whilst Donne's logic does no such thing, his poem being "probing, apprehensive, unsettled" (Hoey 76). Herbert, as Rosemund Tuve has observed, liked "to call attention to the precise logical base of an image" (282), something which Donne prefers to leave to his readers. At the very beginning of his poem, Donne begins to stray from his ostensible subject. He opens with an apostrophe to death and follows with a somewhat Jonsonian description containing lists and food-images and ambiguous references such as the "Roes of living sand" in the quotation below:

> Nor will this earth serve him; he sinkes the deepe
> Where harmlesse fish monastique silence keepe,
> Who were Death dead, by Roes of living sand,
> Might spunge that element, and make it land.
> (Grierson 257)

after which he continues with a sort of history of the sovereignty of Death and what Hoey terms "the general interaction of sin, virtue and death" (Hoey 75) with the occasional nod to Cecilia Boulstred:

> Her soule is gone to usher up her corse,
> Which shall be almost another soule, for there
> Bodies are purer, then best Soules are here.
> Because in her, her virtues did outgoe
> Her yeares, would'st thou, O emulous Death, do so?
> (41-45)

For Herbert, Cecilia's soul strives against Death and overcomes him; Death fears her, and she despises Death, who,

because he is unable to love her any other way: "barring all the gates of sin/ Death's open wayes to enter in" (6-7), must beseige her like a lover. But, with her noble soul, she triumphs:

> as wings
> Transcending the low pitch of earthly things,
> As b'ing reliev'd by God, and set at large,
> And grown by this worthy a higher charge,
> Triumphing over Death, to Heaven fled,
> And did not dye, but left her bodye dead.
> (16-20)

Death is only frightening for a brief time at the beginning of the poem, after which Cecilia triumphs; this is in marked contrast to Donne's conception of death as it swells out like a progress of Ill and engulfs the entire human race. Herbert uses a conventional image to great effect; Death becomes a kind of lurid Petrarchan lover who beseiges the woman with "a strict seige" (9), and there are sexual innuendos in Herbert's use of phrases such as "enter in," which are closer to Sir John Roe's poem than to Donne's. Cecilia prevents Death from entering in, but one wonders whether, by transcendentalising the imagery, Herbert is skilfully separating her earthly and spiritual realities, making her triumph over Death as a pure soul whilst her imperfect body crumbles into dust. Death, who makes his appearance as a grinning mask, cannot defeat spiritual purity; Cecilia's moral strength and the purity of her mind are thereupon "reliev'd by God, and set at large,/ And grown by this worthy of a higher Charge" (19-20). Donne's conclusion is "rhetorical, sermon-like" (Hoey 76), while Herbert's is

logical and inevitable.

These few poems discussed above constitute the earliest material in the Herbert canon, and are therefore the first fruits of his intellectual growth. As such, they have perhaps been given fuller treatment in their own literary right than they deserve. Yet we can see Herbert, through a multiplicity of *personae*, attempting to find a poetic voice. He approaches the world from various angles and with various philosophical positions, trying out his speculations and seeing what can be done with conventions. There is, as with any writer, a partial correspondence between the *personae* thus created and their creator's life, but Herbert's poetry is, above all, an intellectual rather than an emotional experience, and his evident predilection for philosophical transcendentalism speaks eloquently for his wish to get above the sublunary world. Herbert is a multi-faceted poet; as Aloysius Gasior states, "the persona of the satires is not Herbert; each works from a different epistemology and human psychology" (121). The same may be said of any of the poems; it is precisely because of this epistemological diversity that we must think of Herbert's work in terms of philosophical development rather than within the narrower boundaries of social and political motivation.

During the years 1608-10 Herbert also found time to develop some other interests. Rossi mentions that he was conducting an affair with one Bridget White, but she remains no more than a name in a letter from Donne to Herbert (Rossi

I, 170). A more serious, in fact almost fatal attachment resulted from Herbert's self-indulgent vanity, although it all sounds innocent enough at the outset. Soon after his return from France, Herbert asked William Larkin[5] to paint his portrait as a gift for his friend Sir Thomas Lucy. In 1610, esteemed and sought after by all the right people as he was, Herbert received an invitation to dine with Richard Sackville, earl of Dorset, with whom he was not acquainted.[6] Dorset owned an impressive picture-gallery, and there, "covered with greene Taffita" (60), until Dorset drew it aside, was Herbert's picture, which the earl had had copied. At about the same time, the wife of Sir John Ayres[7] had Larkin's picture made into a miniature by Isaac Oliver,[8] and yet another copy, as we have seen, found its way into the closet of the Queen.[9] Herbert denies, not terribly convincingly, that he had an affair with Lady Ayres. Ingenuously he tells us how she got a copy of the picture and asked Oliver to miniaturise it; "she caused it to be sett in gould and soe wore it about her neck soe low that shee hid it under her brests." Having given us these details, Herbert then makes much of Lady Ayres's "excellent witt and discourse," confessing that "no man was wellcomer to her when I came." He supplies us with details of her welcome:

> Coming one daye into her Chamber I sawe her through the Courtaines lying upon her bed with a wax Candle in one hand and the Picture I foremerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her shee blew out the Candle and hid the Picture from mee; My selfe thereupon being Curious to know what that was shee held in her hand got the Candle to be lighted againe, by means whereof I found it

> was my Picture shee looked upon with more earnestnesse and Passion than I could have easily beleeved especially since my selfe was not ingaged in any affection towards her. (61)

Of course, Herbert attempted to avoid Lady Ayres, but as she was always in the company of "a greate Person" who "sent for mee dyvers times to attend Her," he could not do so. It was as if the bored and frivolous Anne of Denmark was encouraging the affair as a kind of vicarious and agreeable diversion, enjoying the discomfort of the very handsome but conceited young man whose portrait she, too, possessed. Herbert was, moreover, doubly distressed "because that Affection past between mee and some other Lady whom I believe was the fairest of the tyme so nothing could divert it." Herbert was probably relieved when he fell ill and was confined to bed, but it was not the end of his troubles. No sooner had he taken to his bed than Lord Lisle arrived with a panicky message that Sir John Ayres intended to come and kill Herbert in his bed. A few days later Herbert received a similar message from Lady Bedford and Lady Hoby.[9] By now Herbert was up and about, and asked one of his innumerable cousins, yet another Sir William Herbert,[10] to take a formal challenge to Ayres. The latter returned an ambiguous answer, but Herbert firmly believed that Ayres's "intention was. . .to kill mee any way that he could, since that he sayd (though falsely) that I had whored his wife" (62). Ayres then sent in a challenge of his own, but did nothing yet.

The first time that Herbert ventured outside after his illness Ayres struck, attacking Herbert with four men as he

crossed Scotland Yard. Herbert's description of what happened is so vivid that it cannot possibly be accurate; in the fight that followed, he was wounded in the side, while doing serious damage to Ayres's hand with a broken sword, "wounding him in fowre seuerall places" (64). Ten days later, having recovered from his wounds, Herbert sent Ayres another challenge, but Ayres replied only that "he would kill mee with a Musket out of a windowe." Both men were now summoned by the Privy Council, but instead of obeying immediately Herbert sent a friend, Humphrey Umphreville,[11] with yet another challenge. Ayres replied by publicly announcing that Herbert had whored his wife, but Lady Ayres herself intervened, and sent a letter to an aunt, Lady Crook, who promptly passed it on to the Privy Council. Herbert and Ayres were summoned and examined in turn, and Herbert asked the Duke of Lennox,[12] who was chairing the enquiry, to read out the letter:

> This letter being publiquely read. . .the Duke of Lenox then said That hee thought Sir John Aires the most miserable man living for his wife had not onely given him the Lye (as he found by her Letter) But his Father had disinherited him for attempting to kill mee in that barbarous fashion (which was most true as I found out afterwards). For the rest that I might Content my selfe with what I had done, It being more almost then could bee believed but that I had soe many wittnesses therof, For all which reasons hee commanded mee in the name of his Majestie and theire Lordships not to send any more to Sir John Aires nor to receive any message from him in the way of fighting, which Commandment I observed. (65)

A month later, Herbert received a letter from the duc de Montmorency, who had heard of the incident, and now offered

him an opportunity to leave England until the furore died down. Herbert gracefully declined, but did tell the Duke that he would raise troops for him at any time "if hee had occasion to use my service in the designed warr" (66), by which he meant the "Overtures of a Civill warre in France the next year."

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] John Marston (c.1565-1634) is famous for his violent and lurid dramas, which include *Antonio and Mellida* (1600) and its sequel, *Antonio's Revenge* (1601). His satires, which were renowned for their strong language and vivid diction, appeared in *Pygmalion's Image* (1598) and *The Scourge of Villainy* (1599). Both these books were suppressed by order of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. Joseph Hall (1574-1656) was a bishop himself (of Norwich), and his *Virgidemarium* (1597) was the first Juvenalian satire in English. Hall issued a second series of satires in 1598, which Whitgift banned in 1599. After 1605 Hall turned to theology, and late in life became a dedicated opponent of Milton. Everard Guilpin (c.1565-1620) was the author of *Skialethia* (1599), a collection of satires in verse modelled after Hall, but having their own individual stamp. Whitgift honoured Guilpin by burning it.

[2] Wither (1588-1667) began his literary career in 1612 with an elegy on the death of Prince Henry. He then turned to satire, and *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613) landed him in prison. The next genre he attempted was pastoral, and his *Shepherd's Hunting* and *Fidelia* (both 1615) were very successful. After publishing *Fair Virtue* (1622) Wither discovered religion and became a Puritan and soldier in the Parliamentary army, where he wrote psalms, hymns and religious pamphlets. Captured in 1644, he was saved from the firing squad by Sir John Denham, who told Charles I that "whilst Wither lived, he [Denham] should not be the worst poet in England" (Hebel and Hudson 1005).

[3] Lucy, countess of Bedford (d.1627) was the daughter of Lord Harington and wife of Edward Russell, 3rd. earl of Bedford. She was a patron to Jonson, Drayton, Daniel, Donne and John

Florio, the translator of Montaigne. A poem, "Death, be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow" was ascribed to her by Grierson (p. 386). Cecilia Boulstred (1584-1609) was a relative of Lady Bedford's about whom very little is known. Donne visited her on her sickbed and was impressed by her piety, which inspired him to write her elegy.

[4] Sir John Roe (1581-1606/7) served as a soldier in Ireland under Lord Mountjoy, and then went with Essex to the Low Countries, having in the meantime travelled to Russia. Jonson was a friend of his, wrote two epigrams on him, and told Drummond of Hawthornden that Roe was "an infinite spender and used to say that when he had no more money to spend he would die" (Grierson, p. lv). His poems were often printed with and as Donne's, but Grierson successfully isolated them from the Donne canon and identified Roe's output. Herbert may have met Roe before the latter left for the Low Countries.

[5] William Larkin (fl. 1609-19) is a rather shadowy figure in British art. Waterhouse says of him that "he has become a favourite name in attributions in recent years" (45). Shuttleworth (52) reproduces the Larkin portrait of Herbert; it shows a melancholy, soulful man, with long sensitive hands; he would easily have turned the heads of Queen Anne and Lady Ayres.

[6] Richard Sackville, 2nd. earl of Dorset (1591-1624) was "utterly self-centred, a compulsive gambler, and as a husband showed no consideration for his wife" (Williams 160). Williams quotes the Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, describing Dorset as "a little man who played things safe and was willing to sacrifice self-respect for advantage. . .He was morose and censorious and certainly did not enjoy his situation but because he did not have the courage to snarl he took refuge in sneers" (Williams 160). This unprepossessing man was the subject of two magnificent paintings by Isaac Oliver (see Waterhouse 45-48). He was married to Lady Anne Clifford, a close friend of Queen Anne and later the wife of Herbert's cousin Philip, earl of Pembroke, who turned out to be even worse than Sackville. Her *Diary* (Vita Sackville-West, ed.) is a poignant document-- of her two marriages she says, "the marble pillars of Knole [Sackville's house] in Kent and Wilton [Pembroke's house] in Wiltshire were to me oft times but the gay arbour of anguish" (xxxix).

[7] Sir John and Lady Ayres have never been identified. Neither Lee nor Rossi knows who they are, and my search of peerage lists, landed gentry catalogues and Scottish landed families (on the supposition that they might have arrived with James I in 1603) turned up a blank.

[8] Isaac Oliver (c.1555-1617) is a truly great artist; his miniature of Herbert may be seen at the National Portrait

Gallery. Here, Herbert appears as the melancholy knight reclining full-length on the greensward, fresh from combat with either Cupid or Bellona (one cannot be sure which, but his arms hang on a tree in the background). His intense black eyes are downcast and the long tapering hands well-manicured and clean.

[9] This was, again, Queen Anne. It is odd that Williams does not mention the episode in her excellent biography of the Queen.

[10] Lord Lisle was Sir Robert Sidney (1563-1626), the younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney. He served at Flushing with his brother, and in 1593 was sent to France on a diplomatic mission to Henri IV. In 1618 Sidney was created Earl of Leicester by James I. He was a friend of Jonson's, who described his house and hospitality in "To Penshurst." Sidney was a poet himself, and some of his songs were set to music by the lutenist John Dowland. P.J. Croft edited his autograph notebook as *The Poems of Robert Sidney* (Oxford University Press, 1984). His brother-in-law was Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d.1601), the father of William and Philip Herbert. Lady Hoby was the wife of Sir Edward Hoby, William Camden's patron and the brother of Sir Thomas Hoby, the translator of Castiglione.

[11] Sir William Herbert (d.1655) was the grandson of William, earl of Pembroke of the second creation. He later became the Earl of Powis.

[12] Humphrey Umphreville appears in the *Autobiography* as "Uill," which Lee translates as "Hill." Shuttleworth writes: "I suspect, but have no evidence, that Herbert was referring to one of the Umfreville [alternative spelling] family" (145).

[13] Lodowick or Ludowick Stuart (1575-1624) was Lord High Admiral of Scotland (1591) and Lord Steward of the Household to James I, who was his cousin. James appointed him to the Privy Council, and in 1613 was created Earl of Richmond in addition to his title of Duke of Lennox. In 1623 he became an English duke, taking, again, the title of Richmond. He was, according to Akrigg, "a fine figure of a man" (*Pageant* 391). Conrad Russell notes that "his royal blood gave him an almost unique position of independence from Buckingham" (Russell *Parliaments* 107) and he used his power astutely and intelligently. Lennox carried on a long affair with Frances Seymour, countess of Hertford, and the considerate death of her husband in 1621 allowed them to marry the next year, but Lennox died two years later from the effects, it was said, of an aphrodisiac. His magnificent tomb and effigy may be seen in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. His father was Esmé Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny, first cousin to James's father Lord Darnley.

CHAPTER THREE

> The computation of times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10 of July and the 6 of August, with a year over or under, makes not a man the wiser in the business then done, which is only that he desires.
>
> Samuel Daniel, *Collection of the History of England* (1612).

"I can say little more memorable concerning my selfe from the yeare 1611 when I was hurt untill the yeare of our Lord 1614," Herbert tells us, except that he spent time in Court, "where, (I protest before God) I had more favours then I desired" (66). He put the Ayres scandal behind him, and alternated visits to court with sojourns in the country where his family lived. He wrote several poems during this period, and because they concern events of some importance they will be discussed here in some detail.

Prince Henry Frederick Stuart was the eldest son of James I and Queen Anne. Born in 1594, he was an energetic and intelligent young man; his life was perhaps not particularly memorable in itself, but his immense posthumous fame resulted from what people had hoped he would be and do when he grew up. Through myth and symbol, this priggish prince was elevated into the shining knight of Protestantism, a potential leader of a crusade against the Catholic hordes, and a welcome, warlike contrast to his dithering father, the *rex pacificus*, as James liked to be styled. In his remarkable study of the Prince Henry phenomenon, J.W. Williamson has shown how Henry's image underwent its

metamorphosis at the hands of various poets, painters and other iconographers until the myth of the living Prince Henry outshone that of the dead Sir Philip Sidney, that paragon of Elizabethan heroes. And suddenly the myth was gone: just before 8:00 p.m. on November 6, 1612, Prince Henry died after a short but painful illness. Along with Sir Edward Herbert, the list of panegyrists included, to name but a few, John Donne, George Herbert, Joshua Sylvester, Sir John Davies, Thomas Campion, John Webster and the ubiquitous George Wither. Ben Jonson seems to have been the only poet of note, besides Shakespeare, who did not lose his senses over the death of the prince. The most extravagant tribute of all was a greatly moving sequence of funeral songs composed by John Cooper, *alias* Giovanni Coprario, with words by Thomas Campion. Verse tributes proliferated, a typical example being Sylvester's *Lachrymae lachrymarum* (1612, three further editions by 1613) of which the following is an example:

> O deerest! cleerest! purest *Prop*!
> O gravest! bravest! highest! nighest *Hope*!
> O! how untimely is this *Sunne* gone down!
> This *Spark* put out, this *Ark* (as) overthrowne!
> This *Presage* crost! This *Message* lost and left!
> This *Prop* displac't! This *Hope* of All, bereft!
> (Williamson 180-81)

The whole page has a black border, supported at each corner by lugubriously contemplative mourning skeletons, of which one, draped in its shroud, brings to mind Donne's effigy in Old Saint Paul's.

Williamson gives some interesting reasons for this incredible outpouring of grief on the part of so many people,

most of whom had never seen Prince Henry, let alone spoken with him or had friendly relations with him. Edward Herbert was one of the few poets on that roster who had ever come into contact with the subject of his lamentations. Williamson writes:

> Much of the disconcerting quality of the verse may be attributed to a grinding sense of peculiar Protestant penance in the poetry, as though the writing of an elegy was in itself expiation for some of the national sin. If the necessity of writing elegies was looked upon as a Christian duty and therefore more comforting to the soul's salvation in direct proportion to the pain involved, pain of a different sort for subsequent readers could hardly be insubstantial. Men at the time, curiously enough, seemed well aware of the penetential quality of their writing and of the necessity to get that painful duty over and done with. (181)

Henry was commemorated by images of hurtling fire, of limitlessness, chastity and otherworldliness, the last quality being depicted in a series of prose meditations by Daniel Price, the *Anniversaries* (1613, 1614), which the same author followed with no fewer than four printed sermons on the same subject.[1]

How, then, does Herbert's elegy fit the patterns described above? It was, after all, one of the few poems by Herbert to be printed in his lifetime, and it appeared as an appendix to Sylvester's *Lachrymae lachrymarum*. It was, we may assume, important for Herbert to add his voice to the general outpouring, and, because of his contact with the inner circles of the court, he may have felt a genuine sense of personal loss. Prince Henry had been, moreover, a man whom Herbert was likely to have admired; he was a man of both

action and scholarship, an active patron of learning drawn especially to the soldier-scholar Sir Walter Ralegh, with whom he had struck up a close friendship. Herbert's elegy expresses serious sentiments which are so much in conflict with many of those in his other poetry, notably the satires, and sometimes it is difficult to understand why he felt, apparently, so much grief. Simply explaining it as pandering to the royal family, or as jumping on a bandwagon to gain some cheap poetic fame is completely inadequate, and in any case this was not Herbert's way. Given his character, there is no reason why Herbert should not have felt deep sorrow at the Prince's death, and his personal involvement with the royal family would have given him ample reason for sharing their grief. It is well-known, moreover, how overwhelmed with grief was Anne of Denmark at her son's untimely death (Williams 150-51). Perhaps, as Williamson says of those who wrote the elegies on Henry, "to utter his perfections. . .was only to remind themselves how close they had all come to personal Edens" (181).

Critical reactions to Herbert's poem on Prince Henry has been almost entirely negative. Drummond of Hawthornden recorded Donne's comment to Jonson that he [Donne] had written *his* elegy on the Prince, "Look to me, Faith," to "match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscurity" (Jonson 464). And modern scholars are scarcely enthusiastic. Hoey barely mentions the poem. Rockwood terms it "conventional hyperbole" and "a rather slight achievement" (41), while

Paolucci dismisses it as "totally imitative and unimaginative" (107), after having twisted its meaning to support his arguments. Yet, compared with many of the other contributions to this genre, Herbert's poem is not particularly hyperbolic, and its language, if bordering on convoluted, is at least never shrill. Of Sylvester's elegy, for example, Williamson writes that it "excoriated all the sins of the time. . .naming as participants in Henry's death every group of Englishmen he could identify as in some way guilty of collective faults" (179). Herbert's elegy is restrained in tone and stately in diction: it has to be judged, however, as one of the poems which makes up the genre, and not so much as an isolated poem in Herbert's canon.

The poem opens with a series of rhetorical questions posed by a detached and impersonal voice. "Could not our love./ Now when he left us, make that body move,/ After his death, one Age?" (3-5), the voice asks, putting us in mind of the "personal Eden" lost by those who wrote the Prince's obsequies. Shortly after this, the poem moves into a Platonic universe:

> For what are souls but love? Since they do know
> Only for it, and can no further go.
> Sense is the Soul of Beasts, because none can
> Proceed so far as t'understand like Man:
>
> (7-10)

As Moore Smith observes, Herbert refers here to Plato's doctrine of knowledge, which is stimulated by love in its ultimate purpose, which is the apprehension of Absolute

Beauty (150). Animals, according to Plato, have a 'sensitive' soul, while that of man is 'rational.' In detail, Herbert recalls the idea in the *Symposium* of the "regulating principle of Love" which unites the various opposing forces and "compounds them in an ordered harmony," thus bringing "health and plenty for mankind, and for the animal and vegetable kingdoms" (Plato 541). Prince Henry appears as that regulating principle which, if taken from our midst, cannot be replaced even by a combination of the souls of men and animals. Donne, too, saw the Prince in a similar light:

> For reason, put to her best extension,
> Almost meetes faith, and makes both centers one.
> And nothing ever came so neare as this,
> As contemplation of that Prince, we misse.
> (Grierson 243)

Herbert, after pausing to link the Prince's soul with that of his illustrious namesake the late King of France, continues with Platonic metaphors. In Plato's *Timaeus* we are told that when the creator framed the universe, "he put intelligence in soul, and soul in body, that he might be creator of a work which was by nature fairest and best" (Plato 1163). Prince Henry was that "universally diffused soul" (21), the animating principle of creation. For the moment, it seemed as if that universal soul had died, but as that could not happen, it returns to the unending cycle of birth, death, and regeneration. "In th'early Spring" (28) we are assured that the universal soul will once again unify and animate the world. This difficult passage is not made any easier by its

movement from Platonism to Neo-Platonic doctrines of the soul, although we have been intellectually prepared for this shift by a reference to the "universally diffused soul." This probably refers to Plotinus's *Ennead IV*, in which he says that "one soul is both the unique Soul and each of the individual souls" (Plotinus 127-8). The Prince, according to Herbert, was all this:

> Because that we are so
> Unto each other, when as yet we live
> A life his love and memory doth give,
> Who was our world's soul, and to whom we are
> So reunite, that in him we repair
> All our other affections ill bestow'd:
> (34-39)

Nevertheless, "He left us dead. Nor shall we question more,/ Whether the Soul of man be memory,/ As Plato thought. . ." (41-43). In spite of all the Platonism, the grief remains earth-bound, real; collectively we will sigh away our lives now that our Adonis has gone from our midst; like Balder dead, all creation weeps. In the end, Prince Henry will not die, because he remains alive in our memories, and at the end of the Platonic cycle the soul itself becomes memory:

> Or should we proceed
> To such a wonder, that the dead should breed,
> It should be wrought, to keep that memory,
> Which being his, can, therefore, never dy.
> (64-67)

This elegy presents not a poet striving for the effects of obscurity, but a deeply-read man attempting to express something more profound than the death of a Prince. Henry's death was more than just an occasion for every poetaster to scribble madly a note of comfort to the royal family in a

feeble attempt to gain a modicum of royal favour. The event was cathartic; the poets gave vent to their neuroses and lamented the loss of the man who had become an emblem of England's hope. A symbol, after all, should not die, and if it does, it must be immortalised somehow; the happy thought that the dead may breed in the memories of those left alive was one way of conferring immortality.

It is worth noting that of the seven poems dated by Smith to the years 1608-13 five of them were connected with death. Much of the poetry written by Herbert until about 1618, in fact, is concerned with this subject, and in 1615 he even composed his own Latin epitaph. Herbert was obviously suffering from melancholy, perhaps a secular version of what was known as *acedia*, "a spiritual illness that beset monks, hermits and others. . afflicting them with weariness of spirit. . .and a tendency to be busy about everything except their proper task" (Lyons 6). Herbert, in writing about the Prince, was attempting to resolve his *acedia* through poetry, like others of his time such as Lord North, who remembered the effect of Prince Henry's death twenty-five years later:

> . . .the losse of the brave Prince Henry, on whom I had laid my grounds, with much sicknesse soon after casting me down, and increasing my disease, I became unable to make use of either my naturall parts, or time and expence bestowed in Court: thoughts begat melancholy, and that, thoughts alternatively. (Lyons 19)

The key phrase here, "on whom I had laid my grounds," together with "time and expence bestowed in Court" may be reminiscent to a certain degree of Herbert's own situation

and feelings.

Herbert was drawn out of himself in 1614 by a renewal of the war in Cleves. Under the treaty of 1610, Wolfgang Wilhelm, Count Palatine of Neuburg, had held the duchy jointly with the Elector of Brandenburg. They had now fallen out, and Wolfgang Wilhelm had converted to Catholicism; the Spanish general Ambrogio de Spinola, backed by Philip III of Spain and the Emperor Matthias, invaded the tiny country on behalf of Wolfgang Wilhelm.[3] The Dutch, ruled by Prince Frederick Henry, became understandably nervous about the presence of a large Catholic army on their borders, and Prince Maurice of Nassau advanced into Cleves and invested the towns of Rees and Emmerich.[3] In September 1614 the Dutch asked James I to intervene on their behalf, but the King refused, seeing little point in wasting the resources of his treasury on a war in a small and unimportant country. Many of James's subjects, however, were not as pacific as their King, and volunteered to serve under Prince Maurice, amongst them Herbert and his old comrade Sir Horace Vere.[4] As Herbert relates, they were well-received by Prince Maurice, "who upon my coming did much wellcome mee, not suffering mee almost to eate any where but at his table" (68). Prince Maurice captured both towns, and Herbert intervened to stop a monastery from being destroyed, as well as successfully pleading for the life of a soldier who had killed a man in a brawl. He then set out once more to collect some personal glory, responding to a challenge sent out from the enemy, but

instead of engaging in single combat with a Spanish soldier Herbert was politely informed that Spinola did not permit such activities and wasinvited to lunch with the general. He met not only Spinola, but Count Wolfgang Wilhelm as well, and during the course of the conversation Herbert offered his services to Spinola "if ever he did lead an army against the Infidels" (72). Herbert was then permitted to inspect Spinola's camp, after which he was escorted back to his own lines. He was unable to collect glory any other way, unfortunately, for James sent that veteran diplomat Sir Henry Wotton[65] with instructions to mediate the situation. Peace was negotiated, but neither Spinola nor Prince Maurice accepted the terms for long, and hostilities were renewed in 1615.

During the short interval Herbert decided to do some travelling in Europe, and he first went to Cologne to see St. Herbert's monastery, and from then on to Heidelburg to be entertained by the Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate and his wife Elizabeth, the intelligent and talented daughter of James I.[66] Herbert formed a close friendship with them, particularly with Elizabeth, soon (1620) to become the tragic "Winter Queen," driven from her Bohemian throne and abandoned to her enemies. From Heidelburg Herbert went to Switzerland and then to Venice, and there he was taken in charge by the new English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton.[67] Carleton took Herbert to see a certain nun, "who being an Admirable beauty and together singing extreamly well, was thought one of the

Raritys not onely of that Place but of the Tyme" (73). In Florence, his next port of call, Herbert met Henry Vere, 18th. Earl of Oxford, whose wife, Diana Cecil, he would later celebrate in a cycle of poems, and the poet-diplomat Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.[8] Some of these men, we may surmise, Herbert considered as useful contacts for any political or military ambitions he may have been cherishing at the time, but others, like Elizabeth of Bohemia, were to become friends as well.

The highlight of Herbert's visit to Italy may not have been his encounters with the rich and famous, but some time which he spent in the English College at Rome. This institution had been training Jesuits for missionary work in England since 1575, but it had been founded back in the ninth century by English monks, although from 1362 until 1575 it had been an almshouse. It could count amongst its graduates the martyr Edmund Campion, brother of the poet and composer Thomas Campion, Robert Parsons, the celebrated English Jesuit, and the poet Richard Crashaw, who was, however, not ordained. Its rector in 1615 was Thomas Owen, a Welshman whose family lived on land owned by the Herbert family (Rossi I, 228). Herbert obtained Owen's consent to spend some time at the College examining its "antiquities" as well as those of the surrounding country, and he went out of his way to be civil:

> . . .he never heard of any body before mee professe himselfe of any other Relligion then what was used in Rome, For his part he approvd much my Freedome

> as collecting thereby I was a person of honour, For the rest That he could give mee no warrant for my stay there, Howbeit that Experience did teach That those men who gave noe affronts to the Roman Catholique Religion receaved none. . .and presently invited me to dinner. I tould him that I tooke his Courteous offer as an Argument of his Affection That yet I desired him to excuse mee if I did not accept it. (74)

Rossi comments, somewhat cryptically, that "the English College was not simply a school for martyrs" (Rossi I, 228). From Rome, Herbert made excursions to Roman sites at Tivoli and Frascati, and went to watch Pope Paul V blessing the crowd in St. Peter's Square. As the pontiff raised his hand in benediction, the over-scrupulous Herbert "departed thence suddainly which gave such suspition of mee that some men were sent to apprehend mee But I going a byway escaped them" (75). Upon his return to the College, Owen warned him that the Inquisition was interested in his presence in Rome, and Herbert left, first for Siena and then back to Florence. Rossi believes that Herbert was exaggerating his experiences, but it may well be that Herbert had, in fact, outstayed his welcome in Rome. In Florence he received an invitation from Duke Cosimo II to serve against the Turks, possibly through the agency of his friend Sir Robert Dudley,[9] the illegitimate son of the great Earl of Essex, but he declined to go on a crusade.

Herbert did not neglect his intellectual pursuits as he travelled around Italy, although he scarcely mentions them in his *Autobiography*. Early in 1615, for example, he was attending lectures at the University of Padua given by Cesare

Cremonini, the Professor of Philosophy, whom Rossi dismisses as "a rigid Aristotelian of the old school" (I, 229). Cremonini held that it was logically impossible to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, and "he refused to allow that one can with certainty argue from the movement of heaven to the existence of God as a mover" (Copleston 3, I, 32). Through Cremonini, Herbert probably became acquainted with the works of Lucillo Vanini, whose *Amphitheatrum aeternae providentiae* (1615) promulgated a form of pantheism which may have been, although Vanini denied it, actually atheistic in nature. According to Vanini, Nature, not God, created man; God had retired from the world, and took no interest in its developments, while man was bound to lead his life through the use of his reason and self-sufficiency. After the publication of a further work on the same subject, *De admirandis naturae reginae deaeque mortalium arcanis liber quatuor* (1616), Vanini was arrested for heresy and subsequently condemned to death by strangulation and burning. A third philosopher whom Herbert encountered at this time was Fortunato Liceti, whose prodigious memory and industry were, as Rossi puts it, "smiled upon by Galileo" (Rossi I, 231), and who became a life-long correspondent of Herbert, sending him autographed copies of some of his many works. Contact with Cremonini and Liceti may have tempered Herbert's natural anti-Aristotelianism, and their presence in the universities indicates that the old philosophy, far from being moribund, was actually flourishing at the time of Kepler and Galileo.

Leaving Padua, Herbert then went by boat to Venice, intending to rest from the wearisome riding which had taken him from Cleves to Italy and around Italy itself. In Venice there was Carleton's hospitality to look forward to, and when the ambassador departed for Savoy, Herbert accompanied him, travelling through Milan, Novara, Vercelli, and finally Turin, where Charles Emanuel I of Savoy had his court. Herbert stayed a few days, at the end of which he received a visit from Antonio Ponte, Count Scarnafigi, who bore a message from Charles Emanuel saying that he wished Herbert to join his service. Herbert accepted, and was treated handsomely by the Duke, "who loved the Company of Ladyes and dancing as much as any Prince whatsoever" (77), as Herbert observed. The Duke was more than a mere womaniser, however; he was "a poet in his spare time," and a capable military commander, "much more forceful than Prince Maurice, but not as prudent." He asked Herbert "to conduct 4000 men of the reformed Religion [who had promised theire Assistance in his warr] unto Piemont" (77).

Taking Scarnafigi with him, Herbert set off for Piedmont, and as they passed through the Savoyard countryside, he was amazed at the poverty and deprivation he saw there. He questioned some peasants about their Duke's hard taxation, and to his astonishment received the reply that "wee are not soe much offended with the duke for what he taketh from us as thankfull to him for what he leaveth us" (78). Herbert was touched on several occasions during his

journey through Charles Emanuel's dominions by the generosity and hospitality of the people amidst their terrible poverty. He remembered staying at an inn where the owner had a strikingly beautiful daughter; "Her Eyes which were round and black," he wrote, "seemed to bee a Modell of her wholle beautye and in some sorte of her heyre while a kynde of light or flame came from them" (79). He was later to write several poems about "black beauty," which seems to have been his ideal.

Herbert finally reached Lyons, but his relaxation there was cut short by an altercation with local authorities. Unknown to him, Queen Marie de' Medicis had ordered that no outsiders were allowed to levy troops on French soil, and Herbert had been doing a little recruiting.[11] To compound the problem, he failed to recognise the Governor of Lyons, insulted him, and ended up in gaol. He was rescued by Sir Edward Sackville, Dorset's brother:

> Sir Edward Saquevile hereupon coming to the house where I was as soon as ever hee sawe mee imbraced me saying Ned Herbert what doest thou here, I answered Ned Saquevile I am glad to see thee but I protest I know not why I am here, hee againe said Hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy, I replyed not soe much as one. Then said hee I will warrant thee Though I must tell thee the Governor is much offended by thy behaviour and Language. . .(81)[12]

In spite of Sackville's warrant, the Governor was not mollified, and Herbert made the situation worse by sending him a challenge. Herbert was free to leave Lyons only after the young duc de Montmorency intervened, although he courteously declined the duc's invitation to accompany him to

Paris. Herbert departed for Geneva, where "the next morning after my Arrivall the state taking notice of mee sent a Messinger in theire Name to Congratulat my being there and presented mee with some Flaggons of Wyne" (84).

Herbert stayed in hospitable Geneva for a fortnight, enjoying his flagons of wine and resting, after which he journeyed to Strasbourg. He spent a few agreeable days at the Elector Frederick's court, and then, together with Sir George Calvert,[13] rejoined Prince Maurice. There was no fighting, and Herbert spent his time playing chess with Prince Maurice or acting as a discreet companion while the Prince was "making Love; In which also He used mee as his Companion, yet so I saw nothing openly more than might argue a civil Familiarity" (85). Herbert also had a pleasant reunion with his brother William, whom he put in touch with Charles Emanuel and to whom the Duke gave a commission. After the Treaty of Asti was signed, Herbert left for Brill, from where he intended to sail home, but there was no wind, and he was entertained in the interim by Sir Edward Conway, the Governor of Brill, a man described by Akrigg as "entirely Buckingham's creature,"[14] and later Secretary of State while Herbert was ambassador to France. Herbert finally left Brill, sailed first to Ostend and then to Calais, from where he took ship for England. Ten days after his return, Herbert caught malaria, "which held mee for a year and an half without intermission, and a year and an half longer at Spring and Fall." The good days he "imployed in Study," but on

other days he was "in as sharp and long fitts as I think any man ever endured, which brought mee at last to be so lean and yellow that scarce any man did know me" (88-89).

"Affliction is a treasure," Donne wrote in his *Devotions upon emergent Occasions*, "and scarce any man hath enough of it" (Donne 109). In his own illness, which may also have been malaria, Donne had found that his sensibility was heightened, and that his powers of concentration had been remarkably increased, although the latter may have been as much due to solitude as to malarial fever. Herbert's illness, likewise, allowed him to study when he felt well, and Rossi's conjecture that he may have started to write *De veritate* in 1616 is very plausible. Because Herbert's weakened state prevented him from pursuing a career as a soldier, it likewise precluded many appearances at court, and there was little for him to do except study and write. The year 1616 was not productive for poetry, either; Herbert's only recorded poem was an epitaph written for Sir Edward Sackville on the death of his child (Smith 30).

Rossi is at pains to show that Herbert, far from making careful observations of men, countries and manners as he travelled in Europe, was merely a tourist, dilettante, and "man of the world" (I, 241). Herbert spent little time on literature and art, Rossi says, being interested only in widening his acquaintance with people who might be useful to him in the future. Yet a perceptive reader of the two satires might view Herbert differently; most young men spent

no time at all listening to philosophers, and Herbert shows in the satires that he could detach himself from the world, criticise it, even laugh at it and himself. He also became very well-acquainted with military arts, a branch of knowledge that was to prove useful when he came to write *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé* a decade later. It is also possible, *pace* Rossi, for a man to be educated without taking much interest in Roman ruins, and since Herbert at the end of his life formulated an aesthetic theory, he probably did have some thoughts about art which went beyond the mere observation of it. Even concerning Herbert's musical ability, which he rates highly, Rossi is qualified in his assessment. He complains that Herbert seemed uninterested in "serious" music such as opera or sacred choral music; after all, was not the great Monteverdi active in Venice when Herbert was there, and could he not have heard Grandi or Gabrieli at St. Mark's had he taken the trouble to go there?[15]

Rossi regrets that Herbert seemed to prefer secular music, in particular songs with instrumental accompaniment, and even though two volumes of madrigals in Herbert's library were by Monteverdi (Fordyce and Knox 48). Herbert's tastes ran to erotic songs and frottole, popular in Italian court circles and with gentlemen whom Rossi considered rather too fond of Castiglione. Rossi omits to note that Monteverdi composed a book of madrigale erotici, and that church composers like Palestrina had written of subjects other than

the death of Pope Marcellus II. Herbert's frivolous taste was evident, according to Rossi, in his preference for poets like Marino, Chiabrera, "and a great number of poets known and unknown," many of whom wrote lyrics for the songs which Herbert liked. He was certainly well-acquainted with this music, and wrote poems such as "Ditty to the tune of *A che del Quanto-mio* of Pesarino," or "A ditty to the tune of *Cosi ferite*, made by Lorenzo Allegre to one sleeping to be sung."[17] Critics do not condemn Donne for having written "Song: Go and catch a falling star," set to music by John Wilson, or Jonson for having written "To Celia." Herbert was still trying to find a poetic voice, and was emulating Marino as he had emulated Juvenal, Donne and Jonson.[18]

While Herbert had been on his travels, momentous changes had been taking place at the English court. The fall of James's favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset had led to the advent of another favourite, Sir George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham. As Akrigg notes, "the favourite's favourite had been Sir Thomas Overbury,"[19] but the latter had fallen from grace because he had opposed Villiers's plans to marry Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk and sister of Lord Howard de Walden. In April 1613 Overbury was imprisoned in the Tower on some flimsy pretext, and five months later was found dead in his cell. A few weeks later the English ambassador in Brussels was informed by an anonymous Englishman that Overbury had been poisoned, and that he, the informant, had been one of the poisoners. King

James was immediately informed, and he reacted with shock and fury; he immediately appointed a commission, consisting of the Duke of Lennox, Lord Ellesmere (the former Sir Thomas Egerton) and Lord Zouche, to investigate the crime. Their findings panicked Somerset, who begged James to disband the commission; the King refused, and, to his credit, Lennox rebuffed any attempt at overtures on Somerset's part. There were further attempts to sway both Lennox and the King, but James finally put a stop to them by writing a long letter to Somerset and leaving him in no doubt as to how he felt about the whole matter:

> But that I should suffer a murder (if it be so) to be suppressed and plastered over to the destruction of both my soul and reputation, I am no Christian. I never mean wittingly and willingly to bear any man's sins but my own; and if, for serving my conscience in setting down a fair course of trial, I shall lose the hands of that family [the Howards], I will never care to lose the hearts of any for justice sake. Fail not to show this letter to your father-in-law and that both of you read it twice over at the least. . .(Akrigg, *Letters* 345)

It was the end for the Howards and for Somerset, but even before the Overbury affair, which Herbert had commemorated in two epigrams (Smith 87), James had met Villiers. By 1616 Villiers was Master of the Horse and had received the Order of the Bath; in August of the same year James created him Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers, followed in 1617 by the Earldom of Buckingham. In 1618 James elevated him to the rank of Marquess, and in 1623 he became a Duke.

Buckingham has received little but opprobrium at the hands of historians. Conrad Russell, for example, calls him

"one of the most corrupt ministers the Crown has ever had" (*Crisis* 186), and D.H. Willson points out that "he pretended to return James's love. . .and became vain, wilful, and arrogant" (386-7). Yet it is easy to see why Herbert so sincerely admired Buckingham, and why his contact with him was not sycophancy. When Herbert came to defend Buckingham's conduct in *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé* (1630), the Duke had been in his grave for two years and defending him was unpopular. It was a tribute to a man whom Herbert had sincerely liked and admired. In reality, Buckingham was a man "with charming manners and faultless French, an expert swordsman, dancer and rider, a delightful conversationalist . . .tall and lithe with deep blue eyes" (Hibbert 31). His latest biographer, moreover, has found evidence that he was not a complete disaster for England or for King James:

> Buckingham, then, was not the cause of all the evils from which England suffered in the 1620's. As long as he lived there was always an element of flexibility in the King's reaction to events--a flexibility which was lacking after he was no longer there to advise Charles. He was not a proponent of innovations in Government, despite the general assumption to the contrary, and he constantly worked towards the objective of reconciliation between King and people.
>
> (Lockyer 474)

He was in many ways, it may be said, a younger version of Herbert himself, or perhaps of what Herbert would like to have been had he possessed the charm and ability to ingratiate himself with James. "It was not that Buckingham was considered incompetent," Hibbert writes, "but that his collection of offices made it quite impossible for him to

give to any one of them his proper attention" (32). Because he was genuinely good-natured, Buckingham tended to recommend those who flattered him and worked upon his good nature, or whose family was related to his own. In all but a few exceptionally important matters, James was slavish in his devotion to his "sweet boy Steenie," signing letters to him as "your old dad and gossip," craving endlessly for the love of a human being whom he believed loved him for himself and who cared for him as his wife and sons had never done. From initial hostility, the new Prince of Wales was coming close to falling under Villiers's spell. Herbert must have faced this new situation with mixed emotions and a certain amount of apprehension, but from 1616 he had pressing intellectual tasks to be undertaken.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Daniel Price was perhaps the most extreme of the Henriolators. Some of his works include *The Creation of the Prince* (London, 1610), *Recusants Conversion: a sermon preached at St. James before the Prince on the 25 February 1608* (Oxford, 1608) and *Spirituall odours to the Memory of Prince Henry. In foure sermons.* (Oxford, 1613).

[2] Philip III (1578-1621) reigned from 1598 to 1621. He seems to have been rather weak, ineffective and effete as a monarch, and his actions were largely controlled by the Duke of Lerma. Philip was "amiable. . .even less robust than the father he tried his best to imitate" (Edward Grierson 218).

[3] Prince Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625) was the son of William the Silent, and succeeded him as Stadtholder of the Netherlands in 1584 when he assassinated. Maurice became a great general and forced Spain to withdraw from the United Provinces, but as a statesman he was not so successful, although he had ambitions to make himself King of Holland. This plan failed, and Maurice went to his grave a disappointed and depressed man, having executed his ablest minister, Jan van Oldenbarneveldt, in 1619.

[4] Sir Horace Vere, later Baron Vere of Tilbury (c.1563-1635) first met Herbert in the Low Countries in 1610, and it was in his tent that the quarrel with Howard de Walden took place. Vere later commanded the English volunteers in the Palatinate, where he held Heidelburg against the Imperialists with only some 4000 men. He returned to England in 1623 and retired from public life.

[5] Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639) was a career diplomat, poet, and historian of architecture. He was, it seems, the man who said that an ambassador was "a man who is sent abroad to lie for his country." In later years he became Provost of Eton, where he wrote his *Elements of Architecture* (1624). His most famous poem, "On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia," is justly famous, and was printed in *Reliquae Wottonianae*, a collection which was published after his death. Izaak Walton wrote a biography of Wotton in 1670.

[6] Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia (1598-1662) was the eldest daughter of James I and Queen Anne. She married Frederick V of the Palatinate (1596-1632) in 1613, an important alliance because of Frederick's kinship with most European royal houses. She was the mother of Prince Rupert of the Rhine and of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, whose son became George I of England. A charming, courageous, beautiful and highly intelligent woman, Elizabeth was loved by many, including Herbert, and her letters make fascinating reading. Her letters have been edited by L.M.

Baker.

[7] Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) served as English ambassador at Brussels and The Hague. He was a supporter of Buckingham, and rose to become Secretary of State in 1629. He advocated a continuation of the war against France after Louis XIII's capture of La Rochelle.

[8] Henry de Vere, 18th. Earl of Oxford (1593-1625) succeded to his title in 1606. Like Herbert, he opposed the proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta Maria and said so. For this he was imprisoned in the Tower (1622), and he was subsequently reported to have physically assaulted both Buckingham and the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar (see Akrigg, *Letters of James I*, 410n). Oxford stayed in prison until December 1623, and was never tried for any crime.

[9] Sir Robert Dudley (1574-1649) was noted for his great knowledge of shipbuilding, and was in the employ of Cosimo II of Tuscany. He abandoned his wife for a Mrs. Southwell, who went with him to Europe, where they spent a good deal of their lives. His father was Robert Dudley, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth I. Herbert knew Mrs. Southwell ('Sudel' as he calls her) and she may have been equally influential in Duke Cosimo's offer.

[10] Cesare Cremonini (1550-1631) and Lucillo Vanini (1585-1619) were adherents of the system proposed by Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525), who tried to purify the doctrines of Aristotle from their corruption by Arab philosophers such as Averroes. Cremonini insisted on the autonomy of the physical sciences, but he may also have been the friend of Galileo's who refused to look through a telescope because he was afraid that Aristotelian astronomy might thereby be refuted.

[11] Marie de' Medicis (1573-1642) was Henri IV's second wife and the mother of Louis XIII. Shortly after her husband's assassination in 1610 she ordered French troops to attack Imperial forces in the Low Countries. She was not keen, however, to allow foreigners like Herbert to recruit troops in France for other foreigners like the Duke of Savoy. The Queen later became an opponent of Cardinal Richelieu and of her son's policies, for which she was banished after Louis XIII took power into his own hands.

[12] Sir Edward Sackville (1591-1652) succeeded his worthless brother as Earl of Dorset in 1624. He was a close friend of Bacon, but also knew Buckingham well, which made his political course precarious during the time of Bacon's corruption trial in 1621. He subsequently became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Henrietta Maria (1628), and fought as a royalist in the Civil War.

[13] Sir George Calvert (1580-1632) was probably already known

to Herbert as he was Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil. Calvert became Secretary of State in succession to Sir Robert Naunton, but lost his office in 1624. Charles I created him 1st. Baron Baltimore, and he established colonies in Newfoundland and Maryland.

[14] Sir Edward Conway (d. 1637) was the grandson of the poet and philosopher Fulke Greville, Baron Brooke. Like so many of Herbert's acquaintances, he occupied the post of Secretary of State, which Buckingham secured for him in 1623. He had nothing to offer "apart from his long experience as a soldier, his sense of duty, and his patriotism. There was a general satisfaction that Buckingham had chosen a man 'who is neither rich, nor Spanish, nor easy to be held within his tether'" (Lockyer 112). Lockyer's assessment and his citation of a contemporary (though unnamed) source is more judicious than Akrigg's.

[15] Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1647) was the greatest Italian opera composer of the seventeenth century. He composed sacred music, songs, and madrigals in addition to operas; his most noted operas were *Il ritorno d'Ulisse en patria*, *L'Orfeo*, and *L'incoronazione di Poppaea*. Giovanni Gabrieli (1551-1612) was (and is) renowned for his brass compositions, organs works, and sacred choral music. Alessandro Grandi (1577-1630) composed sacred music interspersed with 'sinfonias' and songs, on a smaller scale than Monteverdi's. All three men worked at St. Mark's Church.

[16] Giambattista Marino (1569-1625) was one of Italy's great lyric poets. Herbert would have read *Le rime* (1602) and *La lira* (1608), two collections of short, amorous poems. Marino also wrote a rhymed epic, *Adone* (1623), which he dedicated to Louis XIII. Gabriello Chiabrera (c.1552-1638) was a poet at the court of Savoy. He was almost exclusively a lyric poet, because he had a very musical ear and a temperament which did not suit him for more "serious" work. He wrote *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (1600), a libretto for the composer Giulio Caccini, which was performed at the marriage of Henri IV and Marie de' Medicis, although the title hardly seems appropriate!

[17] Pesarino was Bartolommeo Barbarino, whose music was appearing in print from 1609 to 1617. The name was derived from Pesaro, the town in which he was born. His *Madrigale a tre voci* was published in Venice in 1617, but Herbert must have seen an earlier collection. Lorenzo Allegri (c.1573-1648) was a Florentine lutenist at the court of Cosimo II. His *Primo libro della musiche* (1618) was, according to Grove, "the most important printed source of music written for court entertainments at Florence in the seventeenth century" (I, 116). Allegri wrote dances, madrigals, and lighter music.

[18] Rossi has a peculiar relationship with the subject of his three-volume study. He refers to Herbert several times as a

dilettante, but the book runs to over 2000 pages. Bedford, who admires Rossi's work, contends that Rossi had "a personal aversion to any kind of religious rationalism" and that he disliked what he believed was Herbert's "confusion of theology with philosophy" (22). As a Catholic, Rossi was bound to have some difficulty and even to harbour some intellectual hostility towards Herbert, but he admires Herbert's independence of mind and the fact that he was "animated by that masculine [*sic*] faith in justice and right which is the profound soul of England, the England of the Puritans and of Cromwell" (I 375). Rossi (1891-1976) may have seen some similarities between his own situation and Herbert's; he left Italy in 1938 because he had refused to take the Fascist oath of allegiance and had consequently forfeited his Chair of Philosophy. He sees Herbert as similarly "indiscreet," telling James I what he did not want to know and losing his job. Herbert became, for Rossi, "a symbolic figure, a watershed of European culture, on whose unwitting accomplishments in diplomacy and philosophy three large volumes are scarcely sufficient" (Bedford 23). Rossi compared Herbert to Richelieu, and the latter is dismissed as merely a cynical and unscrupulous exploiter who turned everything he touched, including religion, to political use. Rossi remains both bewildered and fascinated with Herbert, that "mediaeval knight with a clear insight into the evils of monarchical and aristocratic rule," as Moore Smith describes him (Smith xxi).

[19] Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613) was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and studied for a while at the Middle Temple, although he never practiced law. His literary productions include "A Wife" (1614), in verse, and the *Characters* (1614), his best-known work. Overbury was not the author of all the sketches in the latter work, and at least two of them were written by Donne.

CHAPTER FOUR

> On a huge hill,
> Cragged and steep. Truth stands, and he that will
> Reach her, about must, and must about go
> And what the hill's suddenness resists, win so
> John Donne, "Satire 3"

My concern here will be with Herbert's *De veritate*, the philosophical treatise by which he is best known, and which serves as the beginning-point for his further ventures into the realms of philosophy and theology. I will be examining some of the probable influences on Herbert's thought and the nature of his enquiry into truth, and in a further chapter will look at some of the reactions and criticisms which the publication of his work provoked.

In the *Autobiography* Herbert gives little information about the genesis of *De veritate*, although he does tell of a miraculous event which persuaded him to publish it (120-21), which will be discussed in the chapter on *De religione gentilium*. The most convincing conjecture comes from Meyrick Carré, the English translator of the book. "Omnivorous readers like Herbert," Carré writes, "struggled in a sea of contending authorities," for it seemed that nothing, especially in the face of the assault by the sceptics, could retain its significance. "No critic of the stature of Ockham appeared," Carré explains, "to sift the heterogeneous elements of this intellectual culture" (*Phases* 221). Herbert's intellectual curiosity and acquaintance with men of learning had put him into contact with the

philosophical currents of his time, and he wished to make some systematic sense of what he had read and heard. *De veritate* was his antidote to *acedia*, his attempt to come to terms with a universe which seemed to consist only of what Dryden would later term "jarring atoms," flying about at random and making no discernible sense. Herbert could and did refer to modern authorities in his work, but in general he seems to have felt that the humanists had perhaps "turned aside from the hope of certainties and declared themselves for suspension of judgment and doubt" (G.N. Clarke 255).

The Renaissance writers, who had derived so much from Greek and Roman models, were apt to take the view that knowledge was a dichotomy, in which one could, for example, distinguish "science" from "opinion" without much trouble. Barbara Shapiro points out that "the breakdown of this dichotomized version of human knowledge involved rethinking a family of concepts and ideas, some of which were entirely new" (3). If Shapiro's diagnosis of the situation is correct, and I believe it is, it is hardly surprising that Herbert became involved in an attempt to discover truth, or at least to discover a method by which truth might be apprehended. It ultimately became clear to speculative thinkers that truth could never actually be *demonstrated* except through logic or mathematics, and that a method had to be found which could explain non-certain phenomena as well as probability, concepts which were now being recognised as important. In England, particularly, this

would involve a reliance on the empirical method, for English philosophers tended to distrust symbolic logic. In the sixteenth century, however, there had been some interest in Ramist logic, but, taken all in all, English logicians remained Aristotelian in their orientation.

If truth could not be easily determined, probability could, and Herbert devoted considerable space to it in *De veritate*. Philosphers generally accepted that both senses and understanding were fallible, and Bacon, in particular, recommended the acceptance of something less than absolute if there was to be any progress at all. Knowledge was divided into three areas, all of which derived, according to Bacon, from a primary philosophy "which yields the mathematically certain axioms and clarifies such 'transcendentals' of identity, diversity, possibility, and impossibility" (van Leeuwen 44).

"The English language," W.R. Sorley wrote, "may be said to have become for the first time the vehicle of philosophical literature by the publication of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* in 1605" (15). With this somewhat hyperbolic statement, Sorley drove a wedge between philosophy and theology, and between philosophy and logic. It is easy to see why Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594) might be classified as "theology" rather than "philosophy," but one may question why Sir Thomas Wilson's *Rules of Reason, conteinying the arte of logique* (1552) is not "philosophy." Bacon wrote in English, Sorley contends,

because "he wished to get support and co-operation in carrying out his plans,"[6] and he notes that the *Novum organum* (1620), Bacon's great design, duly appeared in Latin. Herbert wrote none of his philosophical works in English, unless the *Dialogue between a Tutor and his Pupil* is, in fact, his work. Bacon's philosophy, central as it is to the development of English thought in general, had little impact on Herbert, who never mentions his great predecessor. "Bacon," Sorley explains, "investigated the criteria and canons of evidence, whereas Herbert sought to determine the nature and standard of truth" (37). He points out that Bacon's enquiries had more effect upon philosophical opinion, but Herbert's nevertheless went deeper. Rossi categorically states that "Herbert owed nothing to Bacon," (Rossi I, 278), and that their philosophical concerns were poles apart, contrary to his fellow-countryman Carlini, who thought that Bacon's influence in English philosophy was all-pervading, and believed that Herbert's religious philosophy, which he terms "deism," was derived from Bacon's ideas of the unity of religion (Carlini 287). Rossi delivers himself of a magisterial rebuke to Carlini, regretting that the latter had fallen into a trap which looked as if it had been set purposely for readers of Herbert. Because of Herbert's disregard for Bacon, Rossi says, writers about the period tend to find, at all costs, evidence of Baconian influence even when it is quite obvious that there is none (Rossi, *Deismo* 10).

Bacon notwithstanding, there were other English philosophers to whom Herbert may have turned, and he would have been *au courant* with the Ramist-Aristotelian controversy through Cremonini and Liceti as well as through his own education. Because so much in *De veritate* seems Aristotelian (and, to many subsequent readers, old-fashioned), it may not be unreasonable to assume that Herbert was also acquainted with some of the non-Ramist works on logic, several of which were written by Englishmen. We may briefly note here that Herbert's vaunted "zetetic" method looks very much like a modification of Aristotle's categories, but because of Herbert's reading it is likely that he examined the various works available to him on Ramist logic. Lastly, there was a copy of *Aristotelicae animadversiones* (1545) in Herbert's library (Fordyce and Knox, 104).

Ramus, or Pierre de la Ramée, was born in 1515, and perished at the hands of a Catholic mob during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris (1572). He fired his first salvo at Aristotle with *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543), and by the time of his death his system of logic had taken firm root in many centres of education all over Europe.[1] In England, *The Logike of the Moste Illustrious Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr* appeared in a translation by MacIlmaine (1574), and this was followed by a spate of Ramist textbooks, such as Gabriel Harvey's *Rhetor* (1577), a collection of lectures on the general theory of Ramist

logic, Dudley Fenner's *Artes of logique and Rhettorique* (1584), Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorique* (1588) and William Temple's scholarly edition of Ramus's *Dialecticae* in 1584.

Ramus held that Aristotle's logic, and that of his followers, was over-elaborate, and that the Scholastics were masters of little but obfuscation. Because of the firm hold that the Aristotelians had on logic, Ramus believed that logic and rhetoric were being used for the wrong purposes. He therefore divided logic from rhetoric, defined the nature and purpose of each, and used general laws which he took from Aristotle "to develop basic criteria for determining the subject-matter and the organization of all science" (Howell 149). The English Ramists, following MacIlmaine, used the phrase "Laws of Truth, Justice and Wisdom" to explain Ramus's concept, which to Ramus himself were "*du tout*," "*par soy*," and "*universel premierement*" (Howell 155). The Scholastics, following Aristotle, preferred two systems, one for logic, one for rhetoric; Ramus advocated "one theory of invention" (Howell 155). In addition to the Ramists, there were other English logicians whose writings Herbert may have known. Some were thoroughgoing Aristotelians, and others were adapters or modernisers of Aristotle. Like many of the Ramists, they employed English rather than Latin, and made conscious attempts to create coherent, easily-understood systems. Of these, we have already mentioned in passing Wilson's *Rule of Reason*, and we may add the names of

Everard Digby and Sir John Davies to the list, although the latter's poem *Nosce teipsum* (1599) is not strictly about logic.

Wilson, a Cambridge man, published his book based on Aristotle's *Organon* originally as a student handbook. At the same time, he attempted to make the study of logic interesting by interpolating contemporary examples and even spicy anecdotes into his text. "Though termes be darke and the meanying unknowen to many," he wrote, "yet the trueth enclosed, is alwaies one, and geven to us of God, use what termes we liste" (8). He precedes this rather solemn announcement with a story about two students using their knowledge of logic to describe the attributes of a naked "Catholike woman."

Everard Digby's *Theoria analytica* (1579) and *De duplici methodo libri duo unicam P. Rami methodum refutantes* (1580) were strongly-argued attacks on Ramist logic. The first book presented Digby's scheme for reforming Aristotle and the Scholastics, and also included a Neo-Platonist theory of correspondence which should have attracted Herbert's interest, although there is no evidence to suggest that he ever read Digby. Digby soon found himself under attack by one Francis Mildapet, who later revealed himself to be William Temple, the greatest Ramist of the time, and the Digby/Mildapet-Temple controversy continued through two further volumes from each writer, the issues becoming correspondingly cloudier as the rhetorical smoke thickened

(Howell 157ff.).

In a brilliant combination of philosophy and poetry, together with the indubitable merits of fast pace and readability, Sir John Davies covered, in *Nosce teipsum*, the subjects of knowledge, the immortality of the soul, and the relationship of reason to man's being. Davies's poem contains "an impassioned control of ideas, smoothness of verse, and the use of largely denotative language" (Krueger liv); his attempt to portray the faculties of the soul is in accord, as we shall see, with Herbert's theories of harmony and correspondence:

> All things without, which round about we see,
> We seeke to know, and have therewith to do:
> But that whereby we *reason*, *live*, and *be*,
> Within our selves, we strangers are theretoo.
>
> We seeke to know the moving of each *Spheare*,
> And the straunge cause of th'ebs & flouds of *Nile*:
> But of that clocke, which in our breastes we beare,
> The subtill motions, we forget the while.
> (l. 89-96; Krueger 9)

Alongside the humanistic influences on Herbert, and perhaps bound up with them, is what Bedford calls the "Platonic heritage." Looking at Herbert's metaphysics, for example, it is possible to link it, with reference to Renaissance writers such as Telesio and Patrizi, through the Hermetic tradition to Plotinus and from there back to Plato himself. Rossi, however, thinks otherwise; "Without a doubt," he states firmly, "Aristotle was the fundamental base for Herbert's thought" (I, 291), and he argues, more persuasively, for the prevalence of Stoic elements. Rossi

allows that some Platonism may be present, but even then it is "superimposed on Aristotelianism," and concludes,

> we can see, therefore, that Herbert's Platonism is really Neo-Platonism, but a Neo-Platonism further removed from Plato than Aquinas was from Aristotle. And Herbert always inclines towards this somewhat degenerate form of Neo-Platonism, even more in his poetry than in his philosophy.
> (I, 293)

Copleston agrees with Rossi that Herbert is more Neo-Platonic than Platonic, and that "on certain points in his philosophy has an affinity with the Cambridge Platonists" (Copleston 5, II, 62). Von Leyden finds *De veritate* to be "a Platonic approach to ethics, with its emphasis on the autonomy of morality and its implied critique of ethical naturalism" (von Leyden 119), and Bedford feels that Herbert has synthesised Plotinian, Hermetic, and Neo-Platonic doctrines in a comprehensive theory of nature; that his entire doctrine "rests upon the assumption that truth is a certain harmony between the world and the mind" (85). This suggests that Herbert saw the body as the physical aspect of this unity, the suggestion of harmony deriving from Neo-Platonism. And it is certainly true that his poems express similar ideas:

> Do not refuse, then, Madam, to appear,
> Since every radiant Beam comes from your Spheare,
> Can so much more than any else endear,
> As while through them we do discern each Grace,
> The multiplied lights from every place,
> Will turn and Circle, with their rays, your face.
> (Smith 72)

Rossi, as we have seen, lists Stoicism as a major

influence. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a renaissance of this ancient philosophy, and traces of it may be found in literature, theology, and philosophy. The new Stoicism contrasted with humanism in several ways, and it also differed from Baconian philosophy, another reason for the lack of Bacon's influence in Herbert's thought. Fulke Greville, whose closet-dramas derived from Seneca, was an early example of Neo-Stoicism, and two notable prose treatises appeared at opposite ends of the century, Sir Richard Barckley's *A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man* (1598) and Sir George Mackenzie's *Religio stoici* (1663). The radical Stoicism of this period is succinctly characterised by Sidney Warhaft as a system in which "virtue may flourish without any external aid; the wise man. . .gains his eminence through conscious exertion of will and natural reason" (83). This is substantially the same as the ethical doctrines Herbert lays down in *De veritate*, with their emphasis on reason rather than any compulsion from religious motives. Stoicism and Christianity, as Warhaft points out, are quite compatible, because both advocate rejection of the world and recommend a spirit of acceptance; to a secular mind this may be perilously close to determinism, but to a believer it may be interpreted as acquiescence by faith. It was this compatibility which accounted for the great popularity of such writers as Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.[22] The Stoics emphasised the role of Nature as a teacher of morality to

man; "it were not worth while," the Cambridge Platonist John Smith wrote, "to live in a world. . .devoid of God and Providence, as it was well-observ'd by the Stoick [Marcus Aurelius, in this case]" (Patrides 190).[53]

The last two philosophical schools upon which Herbert was able to draw were two he wished to refute, the Scholastics of the Middle Ages and the modern sceptics, or Pyrrhonists. It may be observed once more that Herbert, for all his wish to "assert the existence of truth against imbeciles [the Scholastics and Aristotelians] and sceptics" (*DV* 83)[4], frequently uses Scholastic logic and sceptical arguments; he is somewhat ambivalent about his relationship with them. However, his condemnation of extremes on either side reflects an attempt to accommodate anything that might be methodologically useful, and in spite of the strong language, does not constitute outright rejection. Briefly, the Scholastic regarded human intelligence as being restricted to the understanding of sense-data, and proclaimed that there was no understanding of reality possible without recourse to divine aid. There were two modes of scholasticism, represented by William of Ockham and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas held that the "universal," an abstract concept, contained truth, as did the "particular," which was not abstract. Like Aristotle, Aquinas believed that the universal existed *only* in the particular; our intelligences concentrate on what can be understood through sense-perception, although the intellect is capable of some

abstraction, or comprehension of universal truths. "We perceive," Aquinas stated, "that we abstract universal forms from their particular conditions, which is to make them actually intelligible" (*Gentiles* 127). This concession, that the intellect could make something of universals, opened two areas of investigation to philosophers: how can universals be abstracted from particulars?, and should philosophy concentrate only upon the investigation of universals and their mutual relations? Plato, as Aquinas certainly knew, had taught that bodiless universal forms caused the existence of particulars and of our knowledge of them, too, and Aquinas therefore inclined towards an Aristotelian compromise. The universals certainly exist, but they may be apprehended only through particulars. In any case, Aquinas could always assert that intellectual light ultimately derived from God, including that light which broke universals down into particulars.

The reverse of the coin bears the image of William of Ockham, who denied the existence of universals, and held that nothing could exist simultaneously in other things. This is a form of scepticism in which the intellect appears merely to be playing an interesting game, and religion, once scepticism was applied, would be unable to make any claims at all other than pure fideism. Ockham eliminated universals in all cases, but allowed that they could exist when connected to particulars, in which case, at least according to the Thomist view, they were no longer

universals. This became known as the doctrine of nominalism. Yet Ockham himself, who perhaps sensed where it might lead, never applied nominalism to religion, although later writers took his ideas further and condemned any aspects of religion which seemed contrary to reason. Ockham held that there were certain ideas which were inaccessible to reason, but he took this notion no further; if there were no universals, it followed that the intellect, as Aquinas had admitted, could apprehend the particular through the senses. Whatever could not be understood this way was irrelevant. But, as the sixteenth-century sceptics knew, nominalism could not go so far; it was time to fall back on Tertullian's often-quoted phrase, *credo quia impossibile*, which is what Montaigne did. Tertullian's dictum took on new strength in the face of religious rationalism and natural theology, and it survived as a viable doctrine up until the time of Kant. Herbert's rejection of scholasticism, therefore, was also a rejection of fideism and its attendant concern, doctrinal purity, which for him created only intolerance and obscured the search for truth.

It was, perhaps, more difficult for Herbert to set his face against scepticism than it was for him to attack some of the time-worn tenets of religion. After all, the sceptics were not shrouded in the mists of the ages like Aquinas and Ockham, but included in their ranks some of Herbert's ablest contemporaries, such as Gassendi. The

sceptics were usually known as Pyrrhonists, taking their name from Pyrrho of Elis, who flourished in the fourth century B.C. He was credited with saying that in the unlikely case of reasonable and probable grounds existing, it was possible to make judgments, but otherwise judgment should be suspended. Pyrrho himself remained in relative obscurity until the discovery of the works of one of his followers, Sextus Empiricus, the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* (published 1562) and *Adversus mathematicos*. Sextus wanted an end to assertion and dogmatism, which he showed could not stand up to systematic doubt. At the same time, he did not insist that it was impossible to know anything at all, but rather remained open to a possibility that *some* knowledge might be demonstrable. Sextus believed that philosophers should pay more attention to the role of emotion and perception, and that casting doubt on the actual wisdom of man was good, because in the end doubt would be eliminated; this, of course, is how Descartes ultimately conquered scepticism. Man must understand, according to Sextus, that there is no universal truth, and that it was fruitless to spend a lifetime looking for it. Judgment about universal truth was, in effect, suspended, and man's liberation from the quest would result in peace of mind. Sextus mistrusted the capability of the mind, and implied that reason, which was fallible, could never point the way to certainty, especially religious certainty.

This view was strongly contested by the Cambridge

Platonists, a group of philosophers with whom Herbert had much in common. "If there be no Knowledge," Whichcote wrote, "there is no Beginning to Religion" (Patrides 126).[5] Taking this a little further, Whichcote declared that "he, who observes Reason, observes God" (Patrides 331), a statement with which Herbert would have readily concurred. Herbert countered scepticism with his five religious common notions, which were part of his scheme to make unnecessary the distinction between religious knowledge and philosophical or scientific knowledge. At no point does Herbert assert that there are universal, absolute or eternal truths outside the truths of common notions, but that there were some truths which could be known on reasonable and probable grounds.

One of the clearest early exponents of Pyrrhonism was Montaigne, particularly in the almost book-length essay *Apology for Raymond Sebond* (1576). To a modern reader, and probably to Herbert as well, the weakest part of Montaigne's argument in this work is that, while he never tires of reminding readers that they must work to discover their own nature, he falls back in the end on a fideistic form of piety. He may well have argued that the will to be pious is present in every individual (which is what Herbert argues, to some extent), and at least in Montaigne's case he based piety on works and deeds rather than dogma or ignorance and rejected the kind of Christianity which forced people to choose between blind faith and eternal damnation. Man, for

Montaigne, was part of nature, neither special nor privileged, but on the same level as plants and animals. We cannot discover laws of nature, Montaigne believes, without first realising that we are objects of those laws and that man, circumscribed as he may be, is perhaps in no position to determine the laws of religion:

> It is very easy, upon accepted foundations, to build what you please, for according to the law and order of the beginning, the rest of the parts of the building are easily done, without contradictions. (Frame 331)

He repeatedly emphasises the inadequacy of the senses in the determination of truth, its criteria, or even its first principles. In spite of its limitations, however, Montaigne does not deny the usefulness of knowledge, although he shows us, too, how not only the senses may deceive us, but the understanding as well, and perhaps even the soul itself; "they compete," he says, "in lying and deceiving one another" (Frame 352).

It would have been natural, then, for Montaigne to have advocated a kind of fideism if he felt the need to assert the existence of God, and this is just what he does:

> Wherefore we must conclude that God alone *is*--not at all according to any measure of time, but according to an eternity immutable and immobile, not measured by time or subject, to any decline; before even whom there is nothing, nor will there be after, nor is there anything more new or more recent; but one who really is-- who by one single *now* fills the *ever*; and there is nothing that really is but he alone--nor can we say "He has been," or "He will be,"--without beginning and without end. (457)

For all his fine intellect and self-searching, all Montaigne

presents us with here is a curiously unsatisfying amalgam of sceptical philosophy and theological fideism. This man, who can cheerfully assert that all ethical systems are relative to place and time, or that the great diversity of systems makes adherence to any one of them impossible, can also end his treatise with a magnificat to the "immutable and immobile" God. It is deism with a fideistic face. Yet Herbert learned from Montaigne; "those who prefer faith to reason," he commented, "pass judgment on the facts before the case is argued" (92). To that end, however, Herbert, unlike Montaigne, never tried to deny or subvert his own philosophical judgment.

De veritate

Having briefly examined some of the avenues to truth which lay open to Herbert during his philosophical education, it now remains to examine and describe his own system.

1. *Definitions of Truth*

In his preface, addressed to the "Candid Reader," Herbert sets out to explain his purposes for writing *De veritate*. He states that he is concerned with "truths of understanding" rather than "truths of faith," and specifically disavows having any interest whatsoever in "propounding any kind of new creed" (71). He believes that

every human being of normal intelligence is searching, in some way, for truth, and that this desire to know the truth is shared by all. He complains that his own reading has shown him only that other writers have failed to resolve the problem of truth, and that they have constructed philosophical systems "based rather upon the opinions of others than upon the facts." They are consequently of little use to the enquiring mind, but Herbert admits, nonetheless, that other writers have "often hit upon important truths," although "they do so by happy accident"(73) rather than by their own efforts. Herbert claims (not very truthfully, as it happens), that his own reflections are "free from authority. . .I side with no party, but seek the truth without gain." He accepts the views of others unless "they show themselves ignorant of the laws and rules of truth which are here traced," and he elaborates:

> Those who enter the shrine of truth must leave their trinkets, in other words, their opinions, at the entrance, or, one might say, in the cloakroom. They will find that everything is open or revealed to perception as long as they do not approach it with prejudice. (72)

He promises clarification of anything obscure in a future work, to be called *De causis errorum*, which in fact he did write later. He concludes the introduction by explaining that he will occasionally resort to neologisms, or adapt terms which are "in common use," and to this end he urges readers to pay close attention to his definitions. Finally,

in a somewhat disingenuous manner, Herbert asserts that he is publishing thework "with the aim not of arousing controversy, but of closing it, or at any rate, making it unneccessary" (74).

Herbert begins the treatise proper with a description of the various contending schools of philosophy and the confusion they cause to unwitting seekers after truth. "Every one submits himself to some alien Church or School," he asserts, "thereby renouncing his own powers" (75). Herbert thus makes a strong case for independence of thought, and blames its lack not simply on the two institutions, but upon the lazy minds which accept their *obiter dicta*. The question he asks, of course, is "why have we somehow given up our will to think?" Unlike the ancients, modern philosophers have turned away from the quest for truth, and as a result "the goodness of the universe is actually challenged, an idea which would have appeared extraordinary in ancient times." He then roundly condemns philosophy and theology in the modern world:

> Where, then, can an anxious and divided mind turn to find security and peace? The multitude of sects, divisions, sub-divisions and cross-divisions in the schools hopelessly distract the wits of the learned and the consciences of the lettered. It seems at present less Nature itself than the philosophy of Nature which is composed of irreconcilable and fortuitous principles. Yet some spirit of truth pervades this shapeless and monstrous chaos of beliefs, informing its very errors with life and motion; and it is this spirit that I propose in the following work to examine, to clarify and to defend. (75)

Herbert suggests that there was once a unity of thought, and

that all divisions are somehow artificial and divisive. His eirenic stance is thus evident very early in his philosophical system, and it will the basis of his religious convictions as well.

Herbert lists various schools of philosophy and describes some of them in considerable detail as well as criticizing them for claiming to hold the key to all wisdom. Knowledge, as he sees it, has been divided into two schools or camps:

> there has always existed at every period an incongruous and perverse class of professors who expounded with equal zeal and confidence both these doctrines at the same time: that we can know everything, and that we can know nothing. The latter group says that truth lies hidden in a well, that we know one thing only, namely that we know nothing; and utters a hundred idle paradoxes of the same character, with the hope of acquiring a reputation for profundity. The former party, on the other hand, maintain with remarkable daring that the principles of the Universe can be deduced from the principles of thought, in spite of the fact that these refer only to us. They proclaim, with unnaccountable disregard for truth, that there is nothing which is not open to the understanding. (76)

All kinds of "sects" have sprung from these two doctrines, Herbert declares, with the result that "a strange and unprecedented philosophy appeared in succeeding ages, which suspended reason altogether and sought to establish its doctrines upon the basis of an implicit faith." Like Montaigne, Herbert asks whether "there is any imposture for which this way of arguing would not be free to plead? (76-77). He admits that there are "some matters which lie beyond the scope of reason," but they may be explained by

recourse to the *notitiae communes* (common notions), or "accepted axioms of proof, even though they are not anticipated by our faculties."

Herbert then introduces two of the central points of his system, Natural Instinct and Universal Consent. "What is universal," he says, "cannot occur without the influence of the Universal Providence which disposes the movements of events." If Universal Providence is "active in the elements and in the plants in an irrational manner," he continues, "why should not the same power prevail in us, particularly when it concerns our preservation?" From Universal Consent Herbert derives the theory of Natural Instinct, "and I conclude that it ought to be completely trusted even when no reason for following it can be perceived," a statement which may have led some commentators to wonder what differences there could be between the activities of Natural Instinct and implicit faith. "I confess," Herbert states (somewhat out of context), "that these wrangles and quarrels have long agitated me. Now this part, now that, loudly proclaims the truth of its own doctrines, and calls the rest plagiarists, liars and impostors." He is concerned about being asked to abandon reason on pain of "everlasting damnation," but will place his trust in God and will read the authorities "with a view to mastering the accepted doctrines of truth." As he has already told us, however, nothing he read satisfied his desire, and he was forced to construct his own system, "the product both of Nature and of Grace" (78).

Herbert's avowed intent is to steer a *via media* between the two extremes. "Now I hold," he states, "neither that we can know everything, nor that we can know nothing; but I think that there are some things which can be known." These things "are testified to by the presence of a faculty." A faculty may be in conformity with its object if conditions are favourable, but even if it is not, its very existence proves that knowledge is possible. "Accordingly," Herbert asserts, "I hold that truth, being a matter of conformity between objects and faculties, is highly conditional." At the same time,

> I conclude from the analysis of the laws and reciprocal relationship between truths, that every faculty can be brought to conform with its appropriate object under certain conditions. Accordingly I hold that the faculty which seeks Eternal Blessedness, since it is found in all men, cannot be given in vain, but can be brought into conformity by the means and conditions appropriate to it--that is to say, of course, by true Religion. (78)

This passage clearly elucidates Herbert's theory of toleration, or at least its philosophical basis: everyone has a faculty which seeks Eternal Blessedness, and he extends this by noting that we possess in common the faculties for "wisdom, repentance, knowledge and conscience which, together with their objects, hav never been lacking to men in any period or country" (70). The eirenic content of this statement is also quite clear, and repentance will turn up as one of the five religious common notions.

Herbert then enumerates the conditions for truth, for he states that nothing can be true, at least for

intellectual truth, if it does not receive the assent of some faculty. Whatever is true is readily believed, because here objects conform with faculties, and faculties with objects (80). He claims that propositions are considered by faculties, which would reject an evil proposition because Universal Consent may not be given to evil. When there is no clear "inner assent," Herbert says that no action should take place. He warns that truth, falsehood, probabilty and possibility are interwoven, but that we may use his Zetetics to distinguish them and will thereby be protected from false assertions and contradictions. Herbert ends this section with a mention of the "truth of Revelation" (81), which, he says, may be considered genuine if and only if it satisfies certain conditions which he will later lay out. "Sober revelations," he assures us, "are different from wild experiments," and may be proved genuine. He states that religion, "even though it may be false" (82), is one of the primary preoccupations of the mind, and with this statement he gives the lie to his previous assertion that *De veritate* would have nothing to do with the truths of religion.

The next section sets out seven general propositions or conditions for truth, and divides it into four classes. In order to know something, we first need a definition of truth, then criteria for judging truth, and, finally, a method for finding it. Once these conditions are satisfied, according to Richard Popkin, "we will have no patience with scepticism because we will understand that there are certain

conditions under which our faculties are able to know objects" (152). Popkin believes that Herbert's objective in *De veritate* is the refutation of scepticism, but this assessment is only partly correct; first, Herbert often employs sceptical methodology, and secondly, he does not wish to assert that we know everything, only some things, and this itself implies a certain amount of scepticism. In fact, while Herbert certainly takes a more or less epistemological line in the purely philosophical parts of *De veritate*, his objective is, in the main, religious, as D.P. Walker points out:

> Herbert's *De veritate*, in which his fundamental points are expounded, is an epistemological treatise, as its title implies, but its aims are clearly religious, and the kind of knowledge discussed in concrete examples is exclusively religious. (175)

Herbert's stance on scepticism is, in fact, similar to that expressed by Bertrand Russell in his *Sceptical Essays* (1928):

> The scepticism I advocate amounts only to this: (1) that when the experts are agreed, the opposite opinion cannot be held certain; (2) that when they are not agreed, no opinion can be regarded as certain by a non-expert; and (3) that when they all hold that no sufficient grounds for a positive opinion exist, the ordinary man would do well to suspend his judgment. (12)

Popkin's assessment is correct insofar as Herbert perceived that the rather dogmatic scepticism of some of his contemporaries, for example Gassendi, was unconstructive, but he could not have wished to refute scepticism altogether. In fact, he was attempting something more

radical, "a basis of universally accepted beliefs on which some enduring religious peace could be constructed" (Walker 175).

The seven propositions about truth are as follows: (1) it exists; (2) it is as eternal as things-in-themselves; (3) it is everywhere; (4) it is self-revealing; (5) there are as many truths as there are differences of things; (6) our faculties or innate powers may recognise these differences; (7) there is a truth of all these truths. Truth, for Herbert, may be defined as *the direct conformity between objects as they are perceived and our faculties, or the direct conformity between the mind and fundamental notions or ideas*. Only the insane would deny the existence of truth, but Herbert is careful to point out that his remarks are addressed only to normal people, not idiots or children.

There are four classes of truth, which are: (1) *veritas rei*, truth of things-in-themselves; (2) *veritas apparentiae*. truth as it appears, or "the sensible images of things;"[40] (3) *veritas conceptus*, or truth of concept; (4) *veritas intellectus*, truth of intellect. The last category, which Carré calls "this supreme type of truth" (22) can be reached only when the first three types have been brought into conformity with their objects and with each other. It may be used, moreover, to judge the validity of all objective propositions, because it is based upon the Common Notions, innate ideas which cannot be false.

Although *veritas intellectus* is supreme, *veritas rei* is

absolute, and is what we are striving to apprehend. It may be remarked here that it bears some similarity to Kant's concept of the *Ding an sich*, although Herbert does not develop it in the same way. We need to know the truth about the thing-in-itself before we can decide whether what we actually know corresponds to it or not. Popkin explains it more clearly:

> Starting with the information we have as to how the object appears to us, our task is to discover a standard or criterion by which to determine when our subjective information conforms to the truth of the thing-in-itself. What we know from appearances can be deceitful or misleading as a guide to what the real object is like. (152)

But *veritas intellectus* is needed as a standard or criterion because only it can tell us whether there is actually any conformity between *veritas rei* and the two other more subjective truths. And once the intellect, through the agency of the Common Notions, judges that a truth is valid, that truth becomes objective knowledge. Nothing can be true unless it has been assented to by a faculty, and all humans have faculties, which means that we are each a mirror of the other's humanity. "I measure the entire race by myself" (72), Herbert writes, following the well-known dictum of Protagoras. Faculties are the imprints of the Almighty on the mind, the tangible "intimations of immortality," as Wordsworth put it two centuries later. This underlying belief in a common humanity, reflected by his assertion in the *Autobiography* that he wished to be a citizen of the world, is yet another clear indication that his eirenic

views went beyond religion.

Herbert then passes on to a discussion of the faculties of perception. Faculties are "activities of the mind which produce apprehensions parallel at every point with differences of objects" (Carré 29). A new faculty, then, becomes activated every time we apprehend a new object; Herbert admits that it might be possible to confuse new faculties with those we already have, because not everything we experience is "new," and there is a finite number of faculties. There are four divisions of faculties: (1), Natural Instinct, which has as its object Eternal Blessedness; (2) Internal Senses, whose object is the apprehension of the Good; (3) External Senses, whose objects are sense-data; (4) Reason (*discursus*), whose object is reason and logic. Of the faculties, the most important are Natural Instinct and Reason.

Natural Instinct

Natural Instinct is central to Herbert's system because it is the faculty which expresses Common Notions. "Natural Instinct as it appears in man," Carré explains, "is psychologically continuous with lower forms of life on earth" (31). Every living creature possesses it; it is a kind of impulse, somewhat akin to Bergson's *élan vital.* It is concerned primarily with self-preservation, that most fundamental human impulse:

> In so far as Natural Instinct is an activity which conforms, it is not the mind or soul itself; or the soul considered as mind related to body, according to the interpretation here adopted. It is rather an immediate emanation of the mind, co-extensive with the dictate of nature, so that it directly supports the doctrine of self-preservation; and it is so essential that even in death it cannot be destroyed. (123)

The somewhat enigmatic concluding phrase refers to the spiritual faculty, the desire for life after death or for the immortality of the soul.

Natural Instinct is the highest faculty, the essence of God as handed down to man, that which the Cambridge Platonists described as "the Light of Nature" or "the Candle of the Lord," reason. It corresponds to "opinion" in Plato and to "sense-perception" in Spinoza. Nathaniel Culverwell describes it eloquently in his *Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* (1652):

> Besides, the vigour and triumph of Reason is particularly to be seen in those first-born beames, those pure and unspotted irradiations that shine from it; I meane those first bublings up of common principles that are own'd and acknowledg'd by all; and those evident, and kindly derivations that flow from them. Reason thus shows her face more amiably and pleasantly in a pure and cleare streame, than in those muddled and troubled waters, in which the Schoolmen (that have leisure enough) are always fishing.[7]

Reason is the application of the Common Notions, and because of the close relationship between Natural Instinct and the Divine (Culverwell's "first-born beames"), knowledge derived from Natural Instinct is "knowledge of God's reality." Natural Instinct pervades the species and mitigates the tendency of human beings to destroy one another, which is

how it operates in the purely biological sense. It is a form of Providence, which holds the universe together, and acts as an agent for a greater Providence, that of God. Herbert is here incorporating Christian principles of Nature and Grace in his scheme, for "the ultimate goal of Natural Instinct coincides with that of Grace" (Carré 32), that is, God's reality. Nature itself may be understood as General Providence, and Herbert moves into the realm of Neo-Platonism as he posits a world-soul which unites the human and the divine. To sum up: Natural Instinct may operate on two levels; biologically, as the desire for self-preservation, and spiritually, as the desire for immortality and salvation. It may be realised empirically, but spiritually its workings go beyond experience, and it is therefore a source of spontaneous, indubitable knowledge.

Common Notions

These are entirely innate, and derive from instinct. We may use them as criteria of truth because, as Culverwell puts it, they are "own'd and acknowledg'd by all," a notion which appears in Herbert as the doctrine of Universal Consent. It was this aspect of Herbert's work which Locke was to attack, perhaps without having read and understood, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). The Common Notions are common "not because they are in fact found everywhere among men, but because they are essential

elements of all normal knowledge" (Carré 35). As Herbert defines them:

> In a word, pure Common Notions are universals, distilled as it were from the wisdom of Nature herself; though they may be broken up into particular forms by discursive reason. . .these Notions exercise an authority so profound that anyone who were to doubt them would upset the whole natural order and strip himself of his humanity. As long as they are understood it is impossible to deny them. It has been well said that while the understanding recognises principles, the will recognises the end. (140)

The idea of Common Notions controverts nominalist epistemology and denies the dichotomy of faith and reason. Herbert also anticipates the Cambridge Platonists here; they believed, as Whichcote puts it, that "Reason is the Divine Governor of Man's Life; it is the very Voice of God" (Patrides 327). Herbert's idea of Common Notions governing the innate ideas of God is related to Anselm's ontological argument and to similar ideas in Tertullian, Augustine, Cicero and Xenophon; Cicero notes, for example, that "even from our own natural wit, such as it is, we may infer the existence of some divine intelligence more powerful than our own" (Cicero 130).

Unfortunately for readers, Herbert experienced a great deal of difficulty when it came to explaining his ideas about criteria, a fact that we may easily deduce from the turgiversations of his Latin prose. He is searching for an explanation as to what could be known, how it may be known, and how to determine whether it was sound and true knowledge, but he calls into doubt the faculty of *discursus*,

by which we assume these things may be determined, but which is a lower form of reasoning than Natural Instinct, which he calls "right reason" rather than "discursive reason." Logic and science, then, are part of *discursus*, but spiritual matters are *instinctus*. The operation of these forms of reason may be compared to ideas expressed by some of the metaphysical poets, such as Donne; discursive reason is "sublunary," and right reason may be thought of as "superlunary." *Discursus*, Herbert says, may be freed from its propensity to err by the action of the Common Notions, at which point it is reduced to a mere process. But reason is not *discursus* even with the aid of Common Notions, and only Natural Instinct (right reason), Spinoza's *scientia intuitiva*, is the way to truth.

The doctrine of the Common Notions, then, is "organically linked with not only the theory of Natural Instinct, but with the theory of truth expounded in the opening sections of [*De veritate*]" (Carré 35-6). Common Notions do not exist outside ourselves; they are the essential inner units of every kind of knowledge, and, taken together, form Universal Consent. They can be brought into conformity "by their own activity, without aid from discursive reason" (137). Herbert then lists six characteristics of Common Notions: (1) they are apprehended *a priori*; (2) they are independent; (3) they are universal, because present in everyone; (4) they are certain; if they were not, nothing meaningful could be said about the world;

(5) they are necessary. because without them there would be no preservation instinct; (6) they may not be understood by *discursus*, but are apprehended intuitively. In an uncharacteristically clear passage, Herbert sums them up:

> Just as according to the usual view of the faculties of seeing, hearing, loving, hoping etc., with which we were born, remain latent within us so long as their corresponding objects are not present, and even disappear completely and give no sign of their existence, so in the same way the Common Notions must be understood to be, not the products of experience, but principles, without which we should have no experience at all. Let us have done with the theory which asserts that our mind is a clean sheet, as if we derived our capacity for dealing with objects from objects themselves. (132)

The Mind

Since Herbert has stated, contrary to Locke, that the mind is not a clean sheet or a *tabula rasa* (to use Locke's famous phrase), its role must therefore be active. Knowledge, for Herbert. is *actio*, and the mind cannot remain passive and wait for impressions to descend upon it from the empyrean. Furthermore, it is not, as it was for the Scholastics, a mere vehicle for the interpretation of sense-data. Herbert describes the activities of the mind as "rays of light which pierce the apertures of the sense-organs and apprehend the things to which they are related in accordance with their reciprocal analogy" (95). *Actio*, then, is carried out, or exerted by, the mind, a process described a few years later by Cudworth in *The True Intellectual System*

of the Universe:

> It is plain that there comes nothing to us, from Bodies without us, but only local motion and Pressure. Neither is sense it self, the meer Passion of these Motions, but the Perception of their Passions, in a way of Phancy. But Sensible things themselves (as for example, Light and Colour), are not Known or Understood either by the Passion, or the Phancy of Sense, but by Intelligible Ideas Exerted from the Mind itself, that is, by some thing Native and Domestick to it. (733)[69]

Herbert's "rays" correspond exactly to Cudworth's "Intelligble Ideas," although we remain unaware about *how* the mind actually exerts them. Both Herbert and Cudworth believe that the process is somehow spontaneous, and that the Common Notions are, in effect, the tools by which the mind exerts Intelligible Ideas:

> For though whatsoever exist without the Mind be Singular, yet it is plain that there are Conceptions in our Minds, Objectively Universal, which Universal Objects of our Mind, though they exist not as such anywhere without it, yet they are not therefore Nothing, but have an Intelligible entity for this very reason, because they are Conceivable, for since non-Entity is not Conceivable, whatsoever is Conceivable, as an Object of the Mind, is therefore Something. (752)

For Culverwell, using more figurative language, the same situation obtains: "there are stampt and printed upon the Being of Man, some cleare & undeniable Principles. . .There's scattered in the Soul of Man some Seeds of Lights" (83). Henry More, following Herbert, not only asserts that the mind is active, but that it is, because of Natural Instinct, able to have a Common Notion about God: "It remains therefore undenyable, that there is an inseperable

Idea of a Being absolutely perfect ever residing. . .in the Soul of Man" (Patrides 219).[7]

Internal Senses

These are made up of the emotions, and are, as such, "secondary manifestations of Common Notions" (Carré 44). Herbert goes to extraordinary lengths to show how they differ from the Common Notions, and as his Latin becomes more obscure, so does Carré's English. Herbert starts by attempting to establish the function of Free Will. The object of the Internal Senses is "the Good," or conscience, as we have already seen. Herbert builds up a psychology of the emotions, making conscience into "a common form of apprehension" (Carré 45) and a spiritual faculty. There are as many spiritual faculties as there are attributes of the Deity, and Free Will is at the root of them; however, because "no-one can prevent himself from desiring Eternal Happiness," freedom of will must be necessarily limited to *how* we seek for Eternal Happiness. Freedom can be exercised only on the means, and may not encroach upon the end. "Free will, then," Herbert states, "must be judged by the inner senses, and the man who feels himself free has no feeling of restriction" (163).

Herbert then advocates an "anatomy of impulses" (Carré 45) which consists of a scheme of elements, humours, sympathies and antipathies, a somewhat mediaevalistic idea

which was probably based on Herbert's medical studies (*Autobiography*, 17-18). Rossi, for one, finds Herbert's anatomy backward-looking, and believes it to indicate Herbert's unawareness of, or lack of interest in, recent scientific developments (I, 384-88). However, a similar cosmology may be found in the poetry of the day; although its presence is largely literary by Herbert's time, the complete transformation to the Copernican or Galilean universe did not happen overnight. Herbert lists three sources of feelings: (1) the humours; (2) the essences of objects; (3) the mind. He draws a parallel between the four humours and the four elements, but says that he "need not elaborate what is common knowledge. I base my doctrine on it, following the view of distinguished Schoolmen" (166). It seems that even the imbeciles had something to contribute, although the doctrine did not in fact originate with the Schoolmen, but with Empedocles, and from him through Plato and Aristotle to the Schoolmen. The elements, ranged in concentric spheres, have earth at the centre, ringed by water, air, and fire. The humours "contain an inner system of activities, parallel to the activities of the 'elements'" (Carré 45-6). These, in turn, indicate the precise relationship of microcosm to macrocosm. The impulses last only as long as their objects, which are transitory and mortal.

Herbert follows this with four further sections which deal with "those states of consciousness which are the

outcome of the hidden influence of external objects upon the combined body and soul" (Carré 46). These states are called *sensus*, and there are four types of them. The first deals with the relationship between objects and faculties. The second, perhaps the most interesting, is concerned with the *sensus mixti*, the affections and emotions, "our doubts (hestitancies) and inner struggles" (Rossi I, 385), and they affect body, soul, and the external objects as well. *Sensus*, for Herbert, are "neither senses, nor sensations, nor perceptions" (Rossi I, 385), but psychological states:

> Here Herbert points out that much behaviour which is stigmatised as wicked arises from the entry of elemental principles from the external world into the body; the corresponding humour is intensified and defects of the temperament result. Conduct due to these causes is disease rather than sin, and calls more for medical advice than for exhortation. There exist, however, genuine moral errors which cannot be cured by such remedies.
> (Carré 47)

Herbert concludes this section by speaking about the "common consciousness" in which may be found "all the inner forms of awareness" (Carré 47). Even it must submit, in the end, to the tutelage of the Common Notions if it is to be free from error:

> Now all I say on this subject must be understood through the analogy things have with us; as for the analogy which they have with God, we must believe that the Common Notions are the fundamental standards of good. We have, then, several Common Notions, touching the good inscribed within us; and accordingly we find great unanimity of opinion in moral philosophy since it is entirely composed of Common Notions. This is not the case in any other science, except mathematics. (192)

External Senses

Herbert reminds us that the usual number of senses (i.e. five) is incorrect, "for there are as many modes as there are differences of objects" (209). Primary qualities come through several sense-organs simultaneously, whilst secondary qualities come through one at a time. Although the senses are not the only means of apprehending external objects, they may be used in the discussion of perception as a convenience. Herbert expounds on the anatomical and physiological details of the senses and their corresponding organs as well as giving some botanical material, another digression due to his medical interests, or perhaps of his own ill-health at the time of writing *De veritate*. He ends the section with a lengthy description of touch and a theory of motor and sensory nerves.[10]

Discursus

As we have already seen, *discursus* is the faculty associated with logical analysis, which, for Herbert, meant the logic of Aristotle and the Schools. Yet it is interesting to bear in mind that, as D.P. Henry remarks, "the concerns of medieval logicians and philosophers were often closer to those of contemporary philosophers than to those of philosophers who lived in intervening centuries" (1). It would therefore be wrong to dismiss Herbert merely

as a backward-looking or old-fashioned philosopher; it was simply that philosophy, in the hands of writers like Herbert, was more literary than analytical, and the recondite language of an Ockham or Anselm is probably more meaningful and "modern" to, say, Quine today, than it was to Herbert in the seventeenth century.

Discursus is useful for revealing the connexions amongst phenomena through the employment of synthesis and logical analysis; the former will reveal the general characteristics of objects, whilst the latter will yield particulars. But *discursus* is, nevertheless, limited to *veritas apparentiae*, truth of objects as they appear, and only right reason (Natural Instinct) can reveal the truth of things as they are, or *veritas rei*. Discursive reasoning is thus vulnerable to error "more. . .than any of the other faculties." Its function, as Herbert describes it, "is to proceed by means of the images which it receives from the external or internal faculties," and finally "methodically investigating to the utmost of its power the analogy which exists between things" (232). The difference between *discursus* and *instinctus* derives, as Bedford points out, from Aquinas's idea of "lower" and "higher" reason, or temporal and spiritual reason (65). It is also similar to the Platonic method of reasoning, which moves away from empirical matters towards an idea of God, and which may, for that reason, be categorised as "non-rational" reasoning.

Discursus is, according to Herbert, apt to be

"undisciplined," and may lead to indecision or worse:

> Man alone has the misfortune, through his tendency to discursive reflection, to be the frequent victim of indecision. At one moment he is rooted in his own prejudices; at the next he is enslaved to those of another; scarcely ever does he he succeed in thinking with freedom and candour, nor in listening with humble heart to the voice within him. It is from this source that the confusion by earlier ages of truth with error has arisen and the same process can be witnessed in our own day. Discursive thought wanders among by-paths, often stumbling in its tracks, and when it seeks some support from the yielding confusion of truths it brings to the ground its whole crazy structure of principles. Thus man, though bound by birthright to the law of Nature only, submits himself to a different code. He transfers his loyalty from the law of Nature to the law of Religion, and then to Civil law, and finally to the rule of his own caprice. And sometimes he bows his neck beneath a yoke so crushing that he can hardly breathe, though all the while he supports it with smiling countenance. (233-34)

Discursive reason also "breeds deceits and fictions, refusing to yield even to the evidence of perception," and may even attempt to destroy the Common Notions. Although only Natural Instinct and the Common Notions "stand upon the conviction given directly by themselves" and so "lead us beyond reason," *discursus* has, nevertheless, a truth of its own, "though this is so limited and vague that all the assured truths which spring from Universal Consent are referred back to Natural Instinct" (234-35). It may lead to scepticism, error and indicisiveness; it is, in fact, what Spinoza terms "the only source of falsity" (114), *imaginatio*, or to use Plato's term, "opinion" (741, 875 *passim*).

The Zetetics

Herbert advertises the zetetics intermittently throughout *De veritate* as if they provided the key to his system. In fact, they are a method of correcting and disciplining discursive reasoning, although at this point, "we may expect a theory of induction, for the *Zetetica* are methods of handling particular objects" (Carré 49). What we actually get is something more like Ramus's "long chain of gold" from his *Dialectics*, by which he laid out propositions in an ascending hierarchy, from the most general to the most particular (Nelson *passim*; Miller 124ff). Similar tables of questions (*quaestiones*) may be found also in the works of Raymond Lull or in Aristotle's *Categoria*. Truth may be perceived only by *discursus* when a method of measurement or of classification is applied to it; Herbert attacks the Scholastics for attempting to see everything in terms of reason (*discursus*), but he will use the zetetics, which derive from them, for correcting errors.

The zetetics are a series of questions relating to (1) existence; (2) essence; (3) quality; (4) quantity; (5) relation; (6) mode; (7) time; (8) place; (9) origin; (10) purpose of the entity or concept. Herbert spends a great deal of time demonstrating how each question may be combined with others, and he presents reality as "a vast hierarchy of fixed ultimate entities, to which are attached numerous accidents of various degrees of relevance" (Carré 51). All ten categories are treated in some detail, except for place

and origin. Essence, for example, is important because it distinguishes one things from another, and may be applied to humans to show that "while we share irrationality, desire and necessity with the animals, we share understanding, love and freedom with God," and also that "there emerge as the unique and ultimate differences of man, religion and faith" (256), which set man apart from beasts. The qualities are accidental, and may therefore be understood by *discursus*; the spiritual faculties lack qualities, because qualities themselves are impermanent. Quantity may be expressed in continuity or discontinuity, magnitude or number; it does not grow or shrink, and as a mathematical postulate it is a Common Notion.

The most complex division of the zetetics is Relation. Initially Herbert divides it into Action and Passion, which reflect the "intimate analogy which prevails throughout the universe" (Carré 53). He lists three kinds of relations: (1) those which exist in reality; (2) those which are attributed to reality; (3) those which are said to be both. Relations of class (1) may be apprehended immediately, and are therefore Common Notions, expressing either "conformity" (truth, goodness etc.) or "difformity" (evil, falsehood etc.), depending upon conditions. Class (2) relations may be interpreted by *discursus*, and Herbert gives as examples such notions in the mind of ownership or servitude. Class (3) is large and complex, subject to various problems:

> there can be nothing so pure in any kind of knowledge which is not exposed to corruption or delusion through cleverness or stupidity. And so every object contains something which is ascribed to it in addition to its own nature, though it is possible that this latter has not been fully investigated. (266)

For Herbert, all knowledge is subject to certain conditions, and truth consists in discovering what the conditions are.

Of the remaining questions, Herbert stresses the fundamental nature of the awareness of time. Our knowledge of the present is due to particular, present experience, and knowledge of the future may be possible only after death. The question of origin actually refers to causality: there are many causes, but all depend upon a First Cause which may be apprehended through Natural Instinct, and which is therefore certain. Herbert does not call it "God." This First Cause guides the workings of reason. Purpose refers to ends, which may be accidental, or ends-in-themselves, and the final end is, of course, Eternal Happiness, which can be known only through the Common Notions. Only the zetetic method can lead us to complete knowledge, and Herbert supplies a table of them "lest the candid Reader. . .fail to understand any point in my doctrine" (284-85).

The Five Religious Common Notions

In Herbert's preface, as we have seen, he denies any intention of addressing himself to religious problems, and after the zetetics we may indeed read the words "I therefore

bring my book to a close" (284). Rossi notes that "all the critics" are more interested in Herbert's religious thought than in his epistemology, and he himself is no exception; he launches immediately into a consideration of Herbert *vis à vis* Deism, Socinianism and Arminianism, attempting to show that Herbert's theological speculations were part of the theoretical foundations of eighteenth-century deism, together with the thought of Cicero, some of the Italian humanists (notably Campanella and Telesio) and Montaigne (Rossi, I 493ff.).

The Religious Common Notions are as follows: (1) there is a supreme Deity; (2) the supreme Deity ought to be worshipped; (3) Virtue and Piety are the essential components of any religious system; (4) Vice must be expiated by some form of repentance; (5), there is Reward or Punishment after this life. These carry great authority and may be found in all religions, where they have been present since the very inception of religion. This view is corroborated by a modern authority:

> different great thinkers in their turn think so much alike that the same phenomenon repeats itself in the highest as in the lowest grade, and just as the lowest religious activities are similar, whether occurring in India or America or Africa, so the higher reaches of religion, as of philosophy, are the same; the supreme believers worship the same Supreme God everywhere.
>
> (Hopkins 89)

Yet, having set out these principles, Herbert launches a critical assault on religion from the outset. He calls revelation into question, attacks the power and corruption

of the priesthood, and lambastes the doctrine of Predestination as being utterly incompatible with God's sense of justice. Christ has no place in Herbert's system, and in fact, "none of his fundamental points are specifically Christian" (Walker 165).

Revelation

Herbert does not deny that "revealed truth exists" (308). Yet it is unlike the other kinds of truth he has been discussing in *De veritate* because it depends upon the authority of the individuals who report it. Anyone who claims to have had a revelation, Herbert states, should allow it to be submitted to the following criteria: (1) it must be approached in a religious spirit; (2) it must be direct, not second-hand; (3) it must advocate something good; (4) there must be evidence that the revelation was, in fact, religious in nature, not something else. These conditions, as Walker notes, "are so stringent as virtually to exclude any but a direct, personal, self-authenticating revelation" (Walker 165). Herbert suggests that all the revelations claimed by priests should be re-examined, although he accepts the Decalogue as a genuine revelation because the commandments were directly revealed to Moses and because they order us to do good. He is still somewhat reluctant, and "only after he has carefully reduced [the Decalogue] to the Common Notions, so that the revelation

adds nothing to what is already known by the light of nature" (Walker 167) does he accept it. The Decalogue is thus made to contain a set of Common Notions "implicit in all religion" (Walker 168). Herbert has more to say about revelation and the Religious Common Notions in the 1645 edition of *De veritate*, which formed the basis for *De religione gentilium*, and this will be discussed in the chapter concerning that work.

Probability

The last sections of the treatise adhere to Herbert's original plan. History, because it is not based on Common Notions, is not knowledge but probability; like revelation, its truth has much to do with the person who is relating it. An historian may come close to the truth, but in the end his work remains probable, not true, perhaps, as Michael Oakeshott remarks, because history is "a mode of enquiry and understanding in terms of an idea of the past" (6), and the idea belongs to the historian who thought of it. Herbert enjoins readers to look very closely at historical method and to test arguments:

> Although, then, the whole of ancient history rests upon conjecture, and therefore, as far as we are concerned, upon insecure foundations--for the writers may not only be deceived themselves, but seek to deceive us--yet it is possible for them to make true and certain deductions on this basis. But when historical facts are themselves misleading, the historians destroy both truth and certainty. (322)

Again, this view is echoed by Oakeshott: "there are many considerations which make even the most carefully composed historical event a somewhat tentative construction subject to revision" (67). Historians are quite capable, according to Herbert, of drawing inferences from facts which may deceive readers, and it is worse when the facts themselves are wrong. Historians are in danger of falling into what Collingwood calls "the illusion of finality" (8), each one thinking he knows exactly what happened, when, and why it did.

Possibility

"Everything which is likely to happen, or may come to pass in any manner, I class as possibility," Herbert states, thus defining possibility as a matter dealing with the future. Probability, as we have seen, is history, the past; both probability and possibility refer, however, "to what is uncertain and unknown" (323). Possibility covers the realms of scientific prediction and of religious prophecy. It is extremely difficult to predict any event at all except those "which are joint results of a rigid chain of causes" (323-4), such as eclipses. As for prophecy, Herbert says that in some very special cases (as with revelation) we may be vouchsafed a glimpse into the future, and of course we all share the spiritual faculties which "predict" Eternal Happiness after death.

Falsity

This is "simply that which cannot be correctly described as probability or possibility, but yet is so completely opposed to truth. . .as to imply direct contradiction of it" (332). Neither *veritas rei* nor *veritas intellectus* can be false; the first is spontaneous, and the second describes Common Notions. Truth is found in the Common Notions and in the conformity of objects with their faculties. Anything else may be false.

Conclusion

De veritate, in spite of the disclaimer, is an eirenic religious treatise as much, if not more, than it is an epistemological work. In the 1624 and 1633 editions, before he expanded the sections on religion, Herbert was concerned with showing that anything which contradicts reason cannot, in spite of the protestations of faith, be taken as true. "No-one before Herbert," Harold Hutcheson writes, "had insisted that in order to be valid, faith (and faith of course implied authority, for no individual unsanctioned faith was recognised) must be justified by completely unfettered reason" (31). Herbert also wished, as Bedford points out, to protect lay-people from the distortions of religious authority. He felt that religion should contain only that which people could understand, and thus obtain

assent; this view looked forward to the work of men such as Wilkins, Chillingworth and Glanvill.[11]

It is true that Herbert lacked skill in formal logic and that the religious implications of the work are the most interesting. Cunningham finds that Herbert's system, for all its apparent inconsistency and innacuracy, is coherent, and that it was influential upon later writers:

> With him the divine light of the mind, with all its faculties, and all its common notions which may be applied to various branches of study, is the source of truth; and much of the phraseology he uses about it is almost Kantian. (40)[12]

At the same time, *De veritate*, as a first attempt, was "so highly abstract and general, and so carefully discreet" (Walker, 169) and, as such, it found acceptance with liberal thinkers such as Descartes and Mersenne. The radical ideas which were, at least in part, hidden in *De veritate*, would have to wait a few more years to find direct expression.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] For an interesting evaluation of Ramus and his influence, see Nelson, who attacks the credulity of modern academics for accepting Ramus as an authority, and he cites Milton and Sidney as being equally credulous. Ramus comes out as "a craftty controversialist" (5) and is compared unfavourably with Aristotle. Ramus, according to Nelson, refused to relate epistemology to logic and metaphysics, which has caused modern interpreters to become confused about the nature of Ramus's dichotomizing, which Nelson says is merely "dogmatic" in any case. In the last part of the article Nelson deals with Ramist influences on poetry through the division of human thought into invention and judgment. See also Rosemond Tuve, "Imagery and Logic: Ramus and Metaphysical Poetics."

[2] Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* appeared in many editions in the century, translated by Meric Casaubon.

[3] John Smith (1618-1652) was the son of a Northamptonshire farmer, and he studied at Emmanuel College under Benjamin Whichcote. He became a Fellow of Queens' in 1644. His *Select Discourses* was edited in 1660 by his friend John Worthington. It was Smith's works which were read in Lord Herbert's house in the late 1640's, at least according to John Aubrey.

[4] This is the only translation of Herbert's book, and will be cited by page numbers after the quotation. The printing history of the book and of its MSS is as follows. Günter Gawlick, the modern editor of the Latin text, cites MS. Stokes 7081 in the British Library as being the earliest MS copy of *De veritate* This copy contains all of the text, including the zetetics, is holograph, and bears the date 20 July 1619. MS Sloane 3957, also in the B.L., is in the hand of a secretary and is dated 22 December 1622. A third manuscript, MS. St. John's 306/07 at St. John's College, Cambridge, is also a holograph, and is dated from Paris, 20/30 June 1623. This one is heavily corrected and expanded, especially in the section on Religious Common Notions. According to Gawlick, the corrections in the later chapters were made in the summer of 1623, which makes the St. John's MS very interesting indeed, in the light of the changes which eventually appeared in the printed (third) edition of 1645. Gawlick notes that the corrections are often in a hand other than Herbert's (see Gawlick, "Einleitung" xiii).

The first printed edition was issued in Paris (1624), followed by a London edition in 1633, although a preface to that edition was printed in 1632. The third edition (1645), has been agreed upon to be the most authoritative; it is the

edition which Herbert presented to Jesus College, the version from which Carré made his translation, and from which Gawlick made his edition. Its full title is *De veritate prout distuinguitur a revelatione verisimili, possibile et a falso*. A French translation appeared in 1639, done possibly by Herbert himself, but more likely from the hand of Marin Mersenne.

The Folger Shakespeare Library possesses copies of both the 1633 and 1645 editions. Dr. Peter Blayney examined both of them for me, and the following bibliographical data may be credited largely to his skill. The 1633 edition was printed by Augustine Mathewes, and bears the following superscript: "*Auctius et emendatius recud. Londin. Per Augustinium Matthaeum.*" Mathewes was probably responsible for printing the entire book. Dr. Blayney worked out the formula for the book as follows: 4°: a^4 A-Gg^4 Hh^2 in a quarto volume, with each sheet folded to form four-leaf gatherings. There are 31 4-leaf gatherings, the first signed "a" and the rest in regular sequence A-Z (no J, U, W), and there is also a final 2-leaf gathering signed Hh. Mathewes was not, it seems, ever admitted to the Stationers' Company as a printer, although he belonged to it as a freeman. Dr. Blayney says that Mathewes worked over the name of John White, who was a licensed master-printer, and who had inherited the business from his father William. In 1637 the Star Chamber passed a decree re-regulating printers, at which time Mathewes ceased to print, although he continued as a stationer. For the 1645 edition, Dr. Blayney worked out the following formula: 4°: a^4 A-Hh^4 Ii^2 which is essentially the same as the 1633 edition, but contains an extra 4-leaf gathering. He believes that the printer was Richard Cotes, although his name is not on the title-page, citing the large C on A1^r as evidence, it being part of an alphabet used by Cotes from about 1630 and used by his successors until after 1700. The flowers on the title-page were also hallmarks of Cotes, but Dr. Blayney cautions that they "are too common to be used as attributive evidence."

[5] Whichcote (1609-1683) was, according to Patrides, "the first publicly to utter the tenets characteristic of Cambridge Platonism" (xxv). In 1644 he was appointed by Parliament as Provost of King's College, and in 1650-51 served as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. He was a personal advisor to Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, and in 1660 was accordingly deprived of his position at King's, although he subsequently held several vicarages after upholding the Act of Uniformity (1662). An excellent introduction to his work is Sarah Herndon, "Benjamin Whichcote: Cambridge Platonist," *Florida State University Studies*, XI (1953), 1-18.

[6] Raymonde de Sebond was a professor of medicine, philosophy and theology at the University of Toulouse, whose *Natural Theology* was published in 1484. Frame places him in the

1430's, so this was presumably a posthumous publication.

[7] Culverwell (1619-1651) came from an academic family which held posts in both Oxford and Cambridge. He was at Emmanuel College when Whichcote was appointed, but was not his pupil, and in 1642 became a Fellow. The *Discourse* was given as a series of sermons in Emmanuel chapel in 1646.

[8] Cudworth (1617-1688) became a Fellow of Emmanuel in 1639 and Master of Christ's College in 1654. His ecclesiastical career was unaffected by the Restoration. An able introduction to Cudworth's thought was provided by J.L. Mosheim in the 1845 edition of the work (London: Thomas Tegg, 1845) and translated by John Harrison.

[9] More (1614-1687) was perhaps the most interesting of the Cambridge Platonists. In 1639 he became a Fellow of Christ's, but refused further advancement, and held no livings. He wrote voluminously and was a great encourager of other scholars. His *Poems* were edited by J.B. Grosart in 1878.

[10] Herbert treats each of the senses in detail, and supplies anatomical details. Again, this reflects his interests, and at the same time indicates the seventeenth-century virtuoso's knowledge of medicine. Many of the points in this section are not philosophical, and are therefore not discussed here.

[11] William Chillingworth (1602-1644) was a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. He converted to Catholicism in 1629, but abjured in 1633, although remaining sceptical about certain tenets of Anglican belief. His *Religion of the Protestants a Safe way to Salvation* (1638) attempted to resolve his own intellectual and spiritual problems, and he tries to explain how truths are conveyed to the believing mind by stating that God wishes us to understand his word, and that men could hardly make others attempt to do anything more. He was vehemently attacked for his latitudinarian beliefs, especially by the Puritan divine Francis Cheynell.

Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680) was an ex-Cromwellian councillor and Provost of Eton; he wrote *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) in which, like Herbert, he attacks Scholastic philosophy. In his *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Religion and Philosophy* (1676) he is more sceptical but develops what Popkin, in his introduction, calls "rational fideism."

[12] For the relationship between Herbert and Kant, see Lechler, 38ff. This is an objective and fair treatment of Herbert's work, unlike those written by some earlier German historians of ideas.

[13] Stephen, is not so sure about Herbert's discretion, but

admires him for his nonconformity and contradictory nature (661-73). Stephen was a great admirer of Herbert's religious doctrines, especially as he found them in the 1645 edition of *De veritate*. De Rémusat, thought that Herbert's philosophical system was merely a basis for his religious doctrines and a sort of respectable cover for his radical beliefs. "*Toute réligion, comme toute la philosophie*," he wrote, "*suppose une théodicée. . .en cherchant la verité réligieuse. . .il a trouvé sa philosophie*" (175). This is supported by Hutcheson, 38-39, and by Carl Guttler, 57.

CHAPTER FIVE

> To do against *Reason*, is to do against *God*; it is the self-same thing, to do that which the Reason of the Case doth require, and that which God Himself doth appoint: Reason is the *Divine* Governor of Man's Life; it is the very Voice of God.
>
> Benjamin Whichcote, *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*

Herbert's attempt at constructing a system to determine the nature of truth did not go unnoticed, but it did not exactly bring a storm down on his head either, at least while he was alive. During his own time *De veritate* was read by Descartes, Gassendi, Mersenne and Campanella in Europe, and by Culverwell and Baxter in England. Descartes and Gassendi commented in some detail during the author's lifetime, and Culverwell made use of Herbert's work and paid it compliments. Richard Baxter's lengthy remarks appeared some years after Herbert's death, but are significant because of their restraint and because their author had a personal admiration for Herbert's brother George. Descartes and Gassendi remained the only writers to criticise Herbert's work from a purely philosophical point of view until Locke attacked it in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. A few years after Herbert's death, however, especially after the publication of his *De religione gentilium* and *Religio laici*, a series of vicious assaults on his religious philosophy came from various Lutheran theologians in Germany and Northern Europe, who were then followed by English writers in pursuit of deists, of whom Herbert was considered

the forerunner and source of inspiration. After Locke, Herbert's philosophy had to wait until the nineteenth century for analysis.

One of the major problems confronting modern readers of Herbert is that he wrote all his major philosophical works in Latin. Nowadays it is less usual even for scholars to have Latin, but it is comforting to know that Herbert's own contemporaries also found him difficult to fathom at times. Herbert's Latin prose style is very idiosyncratic: it is very erudite, but often rather inelegant, at times descending to the turgid and occasionally bordering on the unintelligible. This is strange, for, as Smith observes, when Herbert writes Latin poetry he displays "a considerable command of the resources of the language, and can wrest it to express the natural subtlety of his mind" (xxii). The problems with prose might be accounted for by the fact that a writer is not forced to condense as much in prose as in verse, which gives the widest scope for explanation, digression, embellishment and the unwitting employment of verbiage.Although he provides few concrete examples, Herbert tends to over-explain, and the resulting complexity makes his prose enervating and prolix, in spite of some fine-sounding passages. And these faults are not confined to *De veritate*, Herbert's first book; the more knowledge and experience he gains, the more learnedly he writes, and the only exception to this rule is *Religio laici*, which, even in its Latin version, is fresh and alive.

The difficulties in reading Herbert may be traced

through time by a few examples, which may be instructive. The great antiquarian Sir William Dugdale, having read *De veritate*, commented that "it much passeth my understanding, being wholly philosophical" (397).[1] Even the admiring Culverwell felt constrained to warn his audience that Herbert's words could, on occasion, be "somewhat cloudy," and that it would be necessary for him to "paraphrase upon them" (83). In the next century Thomas Halyburton observed that Herbert possessed what he politely termed "singularity of notion" (45).[2] Sir Sidney Lee, hardly a master of the plain style himself, suffered from the effects of Herbert's diction, which he found "obscure, where precision is least dispensible" (xii). Mario Rossi called Herbert's book not a treatise but "*una rapsodia filosofica*" (I, 367), and believed that its eclectic style proved positively that Herbert was only a learned dilettante, not a professional philosopher. However, the dilettantism of Herbert did not prevent Rossi from devoting several hundred pages to the explanation of Herbert's philosophy.

Part of the blame for these exigencies has fallen upon the shoulders of one Dr. Thomas Master, Fellow of New College, whom Wood describes as "a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and a most florid preacher" (III, 86).[3]Master was, in effect, what we would now call a research assistant, and he also helped Herbert amass the documentation for his *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* in 1639. There is no evidence that he was an

amaneuensis or a ghost-writer, although Wood, in a passage critical of both Herbert and Master, describes him thus:

> He was a drudge to, and assisted much, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when he was obtaining materials for the writing of the *Life of King Henry VIII*. Four thick volumes in folio of such writings I have before me, lying by me now. . .And there is no doubt that he had an especial hand in composing the said *Life of King Henry VIII* (which, as some say, he turned mostly into Latin but never printed), so he had a hand in Latinizing that Lord's book *De veritate*, or others. (III, 84)

As Lee notes, however, "no solid argument has been produced to rob Herbert of the substantial credit of authorship, or to prove that his assistants lent him more than mechanical service" (xxviii). This would be especially true if, as seems likely, Herbert began the book in 1616-17 and was working on it in 1619-24.

Criticism of Gassendi and Descartes

The most sustained philosophical criticism in Herbert's own time came from Pierre Gassendi, whose *Exercitationes*, an attack on Aristotelian logic, was published in the same year as *De veritate*. Gassendi, a sceptic or Pyrrhonist, claimed that Aristotelian logic was powerless to refute the sceptics' argument that it was impossible to have certain knowledge of anything. It should not be forgotten that there were philosophers in France, notably Mersenne and Sorel,[4] who, like Herbert, argued against the Aristotelians but were not themselves Pyrrhonists. One of their avowed purposes was,

moreover, the rescue of knowledge and truth from annihilation at the hands of sceptics like Gassendi. Some of these philosophers may be discounted for having merely re-stated an Aristotelian position, but Herbert, like Mersenne and Sorel, is most certainly one of the exceptions (Popkin, Chapter 5 *passim*).

Gassendi received a copy of *De veritate*, as he explains in a letter to Peiresc in August 1633, from Elia Diodati,[5] who had been asked by Herbert to distribute copies to prominent philosophers on the Continent. Gassendi notes:

> He [Diodati] has written to me, amongst other things, about one of the principal Barons of England and Ireland, called Mr. [sic] Herbert. He was, for some five or six years, ambassador in France, and he has sent me a copy of a book, desiring my judgment and criticism. (Jones 131 [my translation])

Gassendi honoured Herbert's request, although it is unlikely that Herbert saw the result unless Gassendi showed it him in 1647, the year the two men finally met (Jones 116). The criticisms appear in Gassendi's *Opera* (1658), by which time both men were dead. Gassendi also wrote a critical opinion in a letter to Elia Diodati, which he may or may not have sent, but there is no evidence that Herbert saw this either, which is unfortunate, as it is "a frank appraisal" (Jones 116) of Herbert's work.

Gassendi begins with a florid and flatteringly servile eulogy of Herbert, whom he extols as a "second Verulam" (i.e. Bacon), and congratulates England's good fortune at having such a man living within her shores. This is, as Jones

suggests, merely a preparation for a stringent and acerbic criticism which follows immediately behind the unctuous salutation. Gassendi brands *De veritate* unoriginal, inconsistent and obscure. He assails Herbert's division of truth into classes, objecting that there is, on the contrary, only one kind of truth, which is empirically understood and which corresponds to Herbert's *veritas apparentiae*. But the sceptics, Gassendi notes, already know about sense and reason as a basis for knowledge, and as for the matter of perception, he suggests that it be left to those who study the science of optics.

As a sceptic, Gassendi would have agreed with Herbert that no-one can know everything. Yet he would have to have agreed, also, that everyone knows something, because the sentence "I know that I know nothing" must be true even for a sceptic. Moreover, this leaves Gassendi's scepticism open to a charge of self-reference. In the seventeenth century there would have been two ways out of this trap: a philosopher could take the Cartesian line, or, like Herbert, he could simply *assert* that we know something (implying thereby that the sceptical argument is self-referential), and claim that only imbeciles or sceptics would deny it (*consensus gentium*). Could Gassendi, a sceptic, claim that he did not know, then, *without knowing that he did not*? Gassendi states, however, that if we say we do not know something, we mean only that "it has not yet been understood" (Brush 109). This, too, undermines the sceptic, however, because it implies that

everything, at some point, could be known. Perhaps only Wittgenstein's suggestion that "what we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence" (74) is the sole rejoinder to the sceptic's questions.

Gassendi then turns to the concept of *intima natura*. Even if we were to admit the existence of *veritas apparentiae*, we would still, he believes, be ignorant of the inner nature or essence of things. We all have the inborn desire to know these things, he admits, but such a desire, he feels, may lead to arrogance, and the consequences would be similar to those suffered by the learned Dr. Faustus:

> Regard his hellish fall,
> Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
> Only to wonder at unlawful things,
> Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits,
> To practice more than heavenly power permits.
> (Marlowe 339)

If God wished us to know *intima natura*, he would send revelations. In short, Gassendi wishes to limit our knowledge, like the Scholastics had, to knowledge of the external world, the world of appearances, and there it must stay until such time as the Lord in His infinite wisdom allows us to go further than mere wonder at "unlawful things."

Gassendi next criticises the zetetics, both for the order in which Herbert states the questions and for their number. If Herbert wanted more specificity, he points out, there should have been more, and had he wanted generality, fewer. Gassendi himself felt that there should have been more, but in any case he thought that Herbert had no business

simply picking ten as a "magic number" for the questions in the zetetics. Finally, Gassendi believed that the whole zetetic method was useless anyway, because it told us nothing about man's inner nature (*quidditas*). Yet Gassendi states that only God could know *quidditas*, and he has already taken Herbert to task for suggesting that we might expand knowledge into forbidden areas. Gassendi appears to be limiting knowledge to perceived qualities, for otherwise there would be an encroachment upon God's prerogatives. And dividing faculties into classes, Gassendi says, is not philosophy at all, but demarcation, an area normally governed by common sense.

Gassendi's next concern is Herbert's claim that those who deny the existence of the common notions are "insane, addled, weak-brained, unreasoning, witless and stupid" (*DV* 80). How, he asks, can Herbert, or anyone else for that matter, decide who is sane or insane? Herbert may not define "sane" as applying to someone who believes in common notions, because this would beg the question about whether common notions actually exist or not. He may not, moreover, base his argument on some kind of inner conviction (or *consensus gentium*) because there is absolutely no guarantee that anyone will hold the same convictions. It may be that the Internal Senses do form the basis for belief in the fundamental notions of Christianity, but that is only because Gassendi, a Christian and a priest, accepts the basis. Moreover, far from being held by all religions, Gassendi argues, the

Internal Senses reveal, to the contrary, "the special blessings of the true religion, to be guarded and preserved" (Brush 110). Just so. In effect, then, Gassendi is claiming that the principles of Christianity are themselves common notions, and he thus places himself in direct opposition to Herbert's eirenicism, which denies that there is "one true religion" and which upholds the common notions as principles of *religion*, not of Christianity alone.

After a short note on the External Senses, Gassendi repeats his assertion that he, for his part, can see only diversity of opinions, and judgment based on sense-perception. In his second letter to Diodati (August 29, 1634), Gassendi admitted that *De veritate* had been widely-praised, but what he did not know was that Pope Urban VIII, to whom Herbert had sent a copy, had placed the book on the *Index* six days earlier, in the excellent company of Galileo's *Dialogo* (Brush 109). "I must accompany the few praises I can give with a general refutation of the whole work," Gassendi wrote, repeating (again) his question that if Natural Instinct operated in everyone, there would be no diversity of opinion in the world (Brush 109). It does not seem to have occurred to Gassendi that Herbert was not limiting opinion, but merely asserting that there were basic thought-patterns which all human beings shared, and that once they were recognised, the reasons for disagreement in the fundamentals of religion could be removed. Herbert nowhere suggests, as a sceptic might, that there is no knowledge, or scope for

discovery, outside the common notions. Providing answers to *some* questions, or showing that the questions do not really exist, is not the same as *prescribing* knowledge. Gassendi conceded only, however, that Natural Instinct may play a part in ethical judgments; by and large, for him *De veritate*

> only amounts to a species of dialectic which may indeed have its good qualities, but which does not prevent the fact that a hundred others of the same worth, perhaps even greater, can be forged. (Brush 109)

On the whole, Gassendi's criticisms do not address Herbert's ideas, and his opinion shows only his "strongly Pyrrhonist inclinations" (Bedford 55). Jones rather equivocally states that Herbert was "taking up arms in defence of a freedom which he felt was being denied by a prevailing spirit of scepticism. . .the freedom to know" (121). Yet the freedom to know surely implies, automatically or inherently, the freedom not to know, in view of the fact that a choice is being offered. It will be remembered, moreover, that Herbert claims there are some things which may be known, a statement which implies that there are things which cannot be known. Gassendi is much more dogmatic than Herbert; "Truth, in my judgment," he writes, "is indeed hidden from men's eyes" (Brush 110). It is hard to see that Gassendi was offering any freedom at all; his argument is *petitio principii*, for no doubt it would have been clear to him that Herbert's views, especially those on religion, could lead to the demystification of the subtle mysteries of God's creation, and a proportional increase in the power of human

reasoning. Underneath his genial scepticism, his rational philosophy and his scientific enquiries, Père Gassendi was as staunch a defender of his faith as Urban VIII himself. Made uncomfortable by Herbert's search for the rational foundations of religion, he attacked Herbert's system with quibbles about methodology because he could not come to grips with the ideas put forward. In begging the questions raised by Herbert, Gassendi had to take refuge in his assertion that too much enquiry was undesirable.

Descartes, Gassendi's principal philosophical opponent, delayed his perusal of *De veritate* until 1638, the year he received a copy from Samuel Hartlib (Rossi II, 521ff; Bedford 132). Descartes had just published his *Discours de la méthode* (1637), "a model of the expression of scientific thought in French" (Williams 19)[6] to which Gassendi had contributed a compendious number of objections. Although Descartes was very much in sympathy with anyone who attempted to refute scepticism, he had other reasons, too, for approving of *De veritate*:

> it was to be expected that he should feel a keen interest [in] and sympathy with Herbert's book; for, as modern scholars have pointed out, the *Meditations* have an apologetic aim, not unlike Herbert's, and the epistemology of the *Discours*, though far more philosophically sophisticated and elegant, is, like Herbert's, based on innate ideas of divine origin. (Walker 168)[7]

Yet, when Descartes read Herbert, he was concerned with the religious implications, especially as they were mixed with metaphysical speculation as well, "and would have preferred

[Herbert] to stick to epistemology" (Walker 169). Descartes, as we have seen, also had trouble with Herbert's Latin, and did not read *De veritate* in French until 1639.

In a letter to Mersenne (October 1639) Descartes expressed his somewhat cautious approval of *De veritate*, although he had no doubts about the capability of its author:

> As far as religion is concerned, I leave it to be examined by the gentlemen of the Sorbonne, and I can only say that I have had much less difficulty reading [*De veritate*] in French than I had with the Latin; and that he has several maxims which seem to me so pious and so much in accord with common sense that I wish they may be approved by orthodox theology. Finally, to conclude, although I cannot be in complete agreement with this author's opinions I nevertheless consider that he is much above ordinary minds. (Walker 170)

He opens his criticism by pointing out some fundamental flaws in Herbert's methodology. If Herbert did not already know what truth was, he asked, how could he hope to find it out, for, "How can one find the truth by means of some sort of operation unless one already knows what one is looking for?" (Popkin 160) Descartes believed that definitions alone were inadequate criteria for truth, because all they can do is tell us how words are employed in language. The real nature of truth, for Descartes, can only be known intuitively (as with Herbert's *veritas rei*), and the tool most useful for discovering it is the Cartesian method of doubt. As Descartes writes in the *Meditations*:

> Reason now leads me to think that I should hold back my assent from opinions that are not completely certain and indubitable just as carefully as I do from those which are patently false. So, for the purpose of rejecting all my opinions, it will be enough if I find in each of

> them at least some reason to doubt. And to do this I will not need to run through all of them individually, which would be an endless task. Once the foundations of a building are undermined, anything built on them collapses of its own accord; so I will go straight for the basic principles on which all my former beliefs rested. (Descartes II, 12)

This means, of course, that the "sane" person can make Herbert's assertion that truth exists only after he has doubted it. Descartes is here concerned "not just with acquiring knowledge, but with vindicating the possibility of doing so" (Popkin 160).[6] Universal consent, Descartes continued, may assent to something false, but his own "rule of truth, natural light, is the same in all men, and if they use it, they will agree on the same truths" (Popkin 161). Errors occur because people refuse to use natural light, but even if they do use it, it may fail to discern *every* truth, because, as Gassendi suggested, there were always new truths on the horizon for philosophers and scientists to discover. Descartes is concerned with the accuracy of Natural Instinct, which, as "it derives from our bodily or animal stature" (Popkin 161), and is therefore fallible. As Popkin explains, "Descartes saw that Herbert had started in the wrong place, and [had] offered an inadequate criterion" (162).

Locke

The third purely philosophical critique came from the pen of John Locke, sometime after Herbert's death. He attacked Herbert's theory of innate ideas in his *Essay*

Concerning Human Understanding (1690), although by his own admission Locke says "that he had worked out his own ideas before ever reading *De veritate*" (Bedford 78). Yet, as Greene and MacCallum suggest in their edition of Culverwell's *Discourse*:

> We should not attach too much significance to what may be interpreted as Locke's assertion, in the 1690 *Essay* (repeated from the 1670 first draft) that he was unacquainted with Herbert's theories concerning Natural Instinct; nevertheless, if Locke did read the *Discourse* before he wrote his own *Essays* and was influenced by what he found there on the question of innate ideas, we may be allowed to wonder whether he forgot what he had read of Herbert in Culverwell or was not aware that the "noble Author" was Herbert (his name is not mentioned by Culverwell, only the title *De veritate*), and why he was not led to read Herbert's book on a topic so important to him. (xxxiv)

In fact, Herbert does not claim ideas, at least in the way it was understood by Locke, as innate. Ideas are the end product of a process, which, when "brought into conformity the mutual stimulation of external and internal objects" (Bedford 78) leads to ideas, unless the process is confused by the operation of *discursus*. When Natural Instinct operates, however, we are compelled to believe what it tells us. Locke, for his part, argues that the mind gains access to truth by intuition, which is fallible:

> For if we will reflect upon our own ways of thinking, we shall find that sometimes the mind perceives the agreement or disagreement of two ideas *immediately by themselves*, without the intervention of any other; and this I think we may call *intuitive knowledge*. (Locke 325)

Locke believes that reason is intuition acting as an innate faculty. It is, at the same time, both discursive and

demonstrative, because prior to experience there is nothing in the mind, which is, to use Locke's familiar phrase, a *tabula rasa* waiting for impressions to be imprinted upon it. Herbert, we will recall, had specifically dismissed any such theories, considering the mind as active rather than passive. Locke's case rests on his belief that there are no innate ideas, that there are "contrary tenets, which are firmly believed, confidently asserted, and which great numbers are ready at any time to seal with their blood" (400). This is doubly fallacious because it is by no means evident that there are *valid* tenets contrary to the theory of innate ideas, and the *argumentum ad populum* in the second part of Locke's statement is not justifiable, even if millions have died for mistaken beliefs.

The second problem with Locke's criticism is that specific references to "innate ideas" are difficult, if not impossible to find in the writings of Locke's opponents. Locke does mention Herbert by name, "but while the doctrine. . .was one against which other writers besides Locke thought it worthwhile to protest, no actual representative of such a view is forthcoming" (Gibson 40). It would appear, then, as Gibson suggests, that what Locke attacks is not the doctrine of innate ideas *per se*, but rather the principle of certainty, which "held that all other knowledge was derived by syllogistic deduction from certain first principles, which it declared must be accepted as themselves beyond proof and questioning" (40). Herbert's assertion, then, that "Truth

exists," or even his religious common notions, would thus be seen by Locke as unfounded assertions, unacceptable to an empiricist. Herbert, for his part, does not employ the term "innate ideas," and the suggestion that Locke is merely setting up a straw man is not entirely refuted by shifting the focus from the "innate ideas" themselves to the criterion of certainty.

Nathaniel Culverwell

Culverwell, whose one published work, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* (1652) has been briefly encountered before, stands somewhere between the purely philosophical and purely religious criticisms of Herbert's work. He is unique in praising Herbert almost unstintingly. In England, Culverwell was the only scholar to cite Herbert during his lifetime, as the *Discourse* was delivered as a series of lectures at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1646. Culverwell was very widely-versed in European philosophy, his chief mentors being Aquinas and Suarez,[9] and his book contains references to Descartes ' (126, 202)[10] as well as to Bacon, Grotius and Selden. He also makes use of the Stoics and sceptics, both ancient and modern, and has an enviable capacity for highlighting what he believes to be a continuum of thought through the ages. The *Discourse* examines all the current problems of religious philosophy, including the role of reason, faith, natural law

and the priority of the Divine Will.

Culverwell refers to Herbert first as "a noble Author of our own, that hath both his *truth* and his *errour* (as he hath writ about both" (83). In the chapter "The light of Reason is a derivative light" Culverwell discusses what Herbert calls *discursus* and examines the faculties. Herbert, he says, "pleads much for his *instinctus naturales*, so that at first dash you would think him in a Platonical strain, but... he prosecutes a farre different Notion, much to be preferred." For Herbert, Culverwell says, instinct is neither idea nor representation. Instincts are the "powers and faculties of the soul, the first-born faculties of the soul, and the beginning of the soul's strength." Correspondence between objects and faculties takes place "long before discourse," and is "a blinde tendency and inclination" to the security of object and faculty. This is the point at which Culverwell thinks Herbert's language is "cloudy," and carefully explains the Herbertian idea of the soul, how it sees "the *putamina* & *cortices rerum*, the outward husks and shells of things," and after viewing them "is not at all pleas'd or contented with them." It has to resort to further action, and soon

> those purer faculties of the soul unclasp and disclose themselves, and extend themselves for receiving some delight more precious and satisfying, being made as in harmonious proportion suitable to spiritual objects, as the eye is to colours, or the eare to sounds (83-4)

Culverwell understands Herbert's theory of correspondence as

operating on two levels, material and spiritual, with reason as both Natural Instinct and *discursus*. The one "warmes it self in those everlasting Sun-beames," and the other "comes down from the mounte. . .[and] puts on the veile of sense, and so converses with material objects" (84).

He then addresses the difficulty of understanding the common notions. Herbert's explanation, according to Culverwell, is that as we do not question our ignorance of the way in which the senses operate, so it is unreasonable to question the common notions. In fact, as Culverwell sees it, Herbert makes "the conformity of such a faculty with such an object, the Spring & original of common notions." But why, he asks, is it so difficult to understand these spiritual aspects of common notions, and how can Herbert allow the apprehension of the "intuitive knowledge of God," which, as far as Culverwell is concerned, is "to be reserved as the priviledge of a glorified Creature"? To the end, Culverwell remains somewhat puzzled that the soul can do so much; it is, he supposes, somewhat imperfect nonetheless, and "cannot sufficiently attend to both spirituals and corporeals." If *discursus* will not satisfy our craving for knowledge, Culverwell, unlike Gassendi, accepts that we may then "have recourse to an innate power of the soul that is fitted and fashioned for the receiving of spirituals, *quatenus* spirituals" (84).

Reaction on the Continent to Herbert's work was almost uniformly hostile. Many of the works were written not in a spirit of scholarly controversy, but in the heat of theological hatred towards anything emanating from England. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that the majority of these writers were not Catholics, but Lutherans. It eases the intellectual historian's task to read, or at least look over these works, only to discover that most of them are completely devoid of content. Some of the less dubious ones will be summarised here, in spite of the fact that it is sometimes difficult to pick out a coherent thesis.

The first to write against Herbert was Peter Musaeus of Wittenberg, whose *Dissertatio contra Edwardum Herbertum, qua nova methoduc de investiganda veritate examinantur* appeared in 1667. No copy of this work is now extant.[11] Johann Musaeus's *Dissertationes duae contra Herbert de Cherbury Baro Angliae* was published in 1675, and the same author wrote *Examen Cherburianismi* (1708), which was written some years earlier. It was Musaeus's contention that Herbert wished to overthrow Christianity and replace it with "Cherburianism," a natural religion based on rational rather than divine principles. Musaeus claimed that Herbert's religious common notions do not tell us anything about the truths of Christianity, and he points to Herbert's scandalous demotion of Christ, whom, he notes, is not mentioned at all in *De*

veritate, and only once or twice in *De religione gentilium*.

Musaeus was followed in the intellectual lists by Georg Seerup, a Danish Lutheran divine, with *De legis Mosaici divine origine et auctoritate, adversus E. Herbertus baronem de Cherbury* (1678). Drawing on what he considered to be the infallible truths of the laws of Moses, Seerup claimed that Herbert's notions of truth, being based upon "natural" reason, had, *de facto*, no authority, and could never hope to supersede or even to match those incomparable and undying which were to be drawn from Mosaic law.

An attack bordering somewhat on philosophical soundness came from Christian Kortholt, in his *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (1692). Kortholt has the distinction of being one of the first writers to link Herbert with Hobbes and Spinoza, thus anticipating what Rosalie Colie calls the "official view of English deism's heretical (and English) descent from Lord Herbert of Cherbury through Hobbes and Spinoza" (26).[12] Kortholt saw a connexion between Herbert's "reason" and Spinoza's "*scientia intuitiva*," although he does notexplain it very clearly, but since it was fashionable to damn Spinoza as Jew or atheist (or both), Herbert was so much the worse for being one of his predecessors. Kortholt reserves his nastiest invective not for Herbert, but for Spinoza:

> *occupet extremum scabies*! Quis vero ille? Benedictus est Spinosa (quam rectius Maledictum diseris quod *Spinosa* ex divina maledictione terra [Gen. III, 17-18] maledictum magis hominem. (139)[13]

Kortholt believes that Herbert's "reason" would lead man back

into the godless state of nature described by Hobbes, another scandalous atheist if ever there was one.

The last example, Michael Berns, produced *Althar des Atheisten, der Heyden, und der Christen wider die 3 Erz-Betrieger Hobbert, Hobbes und Spinoza* (1692). Berns largely follows Kortholt, and was obviously so incensed that he (or perhaps his printer) invented a monster called "Hobbert" to prove how depraved rational philosophy really was.

It is easy, at this distance in time, to dismiss such critics with smiles and condescension before consigning them to the intellectual rubbish-dump. After all, many of them were reacting not simply to what they saw as a threat to the formal structure of Protestantism and Christianity in general, but to religion itself, especially eirencist views of it. Kortholt, for example, is terrified that Herbert was seeking to destroy revelation, discredit tradition, and undermine the universality of Christianity, which for him would have meant spiritual anarchy. He and the others were approaching Herbert from a tradition that was almost as strong as Aristotelianism, and which had its roots in the writings of the Church Fathers. At the same time, it is not doing such writers justice to assume that they would *automatically* reject Herbert or the other writers, or that they would *always* assert the absolute truth of the Scriptures. As Agnes Heller points out, Renaissance thinkers were much more subtle, and even at such a late date they should not, perhaps, be altogether dismissed as unthinkingly

dogmatic:

> one Renaissance thinker will call one article of faith into question, another a different one, while at the same time they accept others. . .In the last analysis, then, the thought of the Renaissance sought and found, both in antiquity and the Christian tradition, a cultural legacy and the raw materials of thought. (64)

Like Herbert himself, these writers came in at a very late period of the Renaissance, but "modern" thought-patterns were not suddenly put in the place of "ancient" ones by Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and Bacon. There is no reason to suppose that one philosophical paradigm was suddenly discarded, and that all men then agreed it should be replaced by something new.

Herbert and Richard Baxter

Baxter[14] published his comments on *De veritate* as an appendix to *More Reasons for the Christian Religion* (1672). Although it is rambling and repetitive, Baxter's essay is not a rabid diatribe, and it demonstrates that Baxter had read Herbert's book very carefully. Baxter is a great admirer of George Herbert's poetry, and he, like others, wishes that Edward Herbert had taken such a pious and reverent attitude towards things religious, and had quietly celebrated the glory of God rather than called it loudly into question. Baxter is afraid that as no-one has satisfactorily answered Herbert, people might simply accept his system. He admits that Herbert had "great learning and strength of wit" (XXI,

556), and he agrees that the Church is corrupt. He also accepts Herbert's correspondence theory. Baxter disagrees, however, with Herbert's attack on revelation, and with what Herbert has to say on the subjects of repentance, salvation, the Incarnation, Christ, and the religious common notions.

On the subject of salvation, Baxter states that Herbert has not properly understood the Christian position. We must make a distinction between the pardon that may be obtained directly from God and that which may be received through the intercession of Christ and our own good works. Children may be saved, Baxter notes, even if they do not know Christ, because of their innocence, and later on he adds that the faith of their parents and God's covenant are also guarantees. We are all responsible for breaking the original "Covenant of Grace" (559), but Baxter reminds Herbert that God made a new Covenant with the lapsed Adam, and "no man can prove a limitation to this covenant to some. . .or yet that God did abrogate it, as it was made to all the world." Consequently, all may receive salvation, and as for those who are in no position to know God, "where the Gospel is not preached nor cannot be had, they that refuse it not are in no worse case than they were before" (563). Even the heathen are not simply abandoned to Satan, for "after the notorious demerit of their sin," they will be able "to partake of a great deal from God's mercy." But for Herbert, sin was an impulse, an "almost necessary compulsion," as he puts it in *De veritate* (180), and he believed that God would always be

lenient to those who were suitably repentant.[15] Baxter objected to this, saying that Herbert thereby declares all men to be good, which is as absurd as Calvin's claim that all (except the elect), were depraved. "None perish," Baxter concludes, "for the mere sin of Adam, nor merely for want of the innocency required of the first law" (569).

Baxter was adamant that repentance alone was not a guarantee of salvation. For him, it was only the beginning of a process. Is anyone, Baxter asked, likely to be wilfully impenitent if he knew the consequences? If someone was, could Herbert take issue with God for pronouncing damnation on him? What is needed, according to Baxter, is "an aptitude of [Christ's] sacrifice and righteousness to attain the ends of God" (558), that is, salvation, which is "God's further Grace," and is promised only to those who are truly penitent.

Having introduced the salvific function of Christ, Baxter moves to a discussion of Christ himself, whom, like Musaeus, he indignantly accuses Herbert of demoting. Drawing on Herbert's views of revelation, he asserts that Christ is not even present in Herbert's system; to Baxter, it went without saying that "Christ died for all men, as by his death he procured them any grace" (557). He repeats that personal repentance alone cannot procure salvation, for Christ himself is the object of Christian faith, and Baxter cannot bear to part with his Redeemer. Baxter's Christ, who is required "not to make repentance needless, but to procure it" (558) as a demiurge, whose intervention, while it does not make God

more inclined to mercy than he was before, is nevertheless "a second cause, an effect of God's love." Thus, although grace existed on earth before Christ came, we believe in Christ because he is the *logos* incarnate, the Wisdom of God which "communicates recovering grace and life to man" (559).

While Christ was fulfilling his mission, Baxter says, he was seen by his disciples as a secular revolutionary, a man who would bring the Kingdom to pass now, on earth. Of course, they were completely wrong to view him in that way, because his real role became apparent only at the Resurrection, and even then some of them needed concrete proof that the Saviour had indeed risen. Yet Lord Herbert, Baxter notes incredulously, "would have goodness and mercy to be a sufficient satisfaction to God's justice" (564), which leaves out Wisdom, "the prime satisfying Cause," whose "prime satisfying Means" is Jesus Christ.

On the subject of the Incarnation itself, Baxter asserts that "no man's condition is made worse by Christ than it was before his incarnation" (567). Christ's coming "hath not narrowed the Church, nor diminished any grace that before was given, but added much more." It has increased the benefits to those in the Church, and in general Christianity has contributed more "knowing, penitent and holy persons" to the world than any other religion, a point that Herbert disputes on the very first page of *De religione gentilium*. For Baxter, Christ's work cannot be ignored, because the New Testament is the "doctrine of the eternal *logos*, wisdom, or

Word of God incarnate, to communicate the divine Spirit and love to man" (566). And because "divine permission" has allowed Satan to have the upper hand, man now needs Christ more than ever.

Baxter now turns to belief and revelation. God asks no-one "to believe without a meet object or meet evidence of the credibility" (567). Accordingly, belief is "a means to our love of God. . .and, consequently, is needful to our further duty, to our perfection, and our felicity." He ends with a repetition of Tertullian's old *credo quia impossibile* argument:

> If you say that [redemption] is incredible, because wonderful and incomprehensible, I answer you, it is the more credible, because so wonderful. I cannot believe anything is a work of God, especially one of his great transcendental works, which mortal man can comprehend.

We have, moreover, a promise from God that a future incarnation will take place, and we should therefore believe it.

Baxter's last objection to Herbert is over the religious common notions. Agreeing with Gassendi, he thinks there should be more of them, but rejects Herbert's claim that they are "the only certainties in religion" (575), arguing instead that "whatever doctrine is attested by a multitude of certain uncontrolled miracles, is attested by God, and is certainly true." Herbert would agree, but only if the miracles met his criteria. The Resurrection, Baxter says, is an example of an "uncontrolled" miracle, and is proof that God attested to the

truth of Christianity. This is, of course, the centre of the deist controversy of the next century--was there an historical argument for the Resurrection of Jesus? Baxter suggests a number of additions to Herbert's five religious common notions, and ends by asserting that revelations do not contradict truth, but are themselves self-evident and sufficient truths.

Lord Herbert and Deism

I should now like to turn to the more specific question about whether Herbert may, in fact, be considered "the Father of English Deism" (Halyburton 13).

As a movement, deism is associated largely with eighteenth-century England in general and with the names of Shaftesbury and Toland in particular. However, its origins may be traced to sixteenth-century France, where it was described by Pierre Viret in *L'instruction chrestienne* (1563). Viret observed that although deists do not deny the existence of God, "yet with regard to Jesus Christ and all that to which the doctrine of the Evangelists and the Apostles testify, they take all that to be fables and dreams" (Craig 73).[16] The French deist movement, such as it was, remained underground because of the repressive nature of the Catholic Church, but traces of this type of deism may be found in continental writers such as Vanini.

A.H. Strong defines deism as "the view that represents

the universe as a self-contained mechanism from which God withdrew as soon as he had made it" (414). Van A. Harvey supplies a similar definition, stating that deism "regards God as the intelligent creator of an independent and law-abiding world but denies that he providentially guides it or intervenes in any way with its course of destiny" (66). Both definitions, however, are somewhat misleading because they amalgamate several kinds of deism. Perhaps the most important difference is between those deists whom Craig terms "so-called mortal Deists," and "immortal Deists" (72), who take opposite views on the immortality of the soul. R.L. Emerson defines deism as "the belief that by rational method alone man can know all the true propositions of theology which it is possible, desireable, or necessary to know" (390). He lists a number of propositions, epistemological and metaphysical, amongst which we may find all of the religious common notions. He makes a further distinction between "positive or constructive deism" and "negative or critical deism," a view also expressed by John Orr in an earlier book on English deism:

> On the positive side, the deists championed their conception of God and their theory of his relation to the world. They also presented the content of what they usually called the religion of nature. Sometimes they spoke of this as natural religion or the religion of reason. . .Often it was claimed that it was the original and universal religion to be found, more or less concealed and corrupted by the various religions of priestly invention, among all peoples of the world. Some deists gave considerable content to this natural religion. Others gave it meager content. All insisted on its rational and essentially ethical character. (14-15)

The negative side of deism, which denied "special revelation, miracles, supernatural prophecy, providence and the incarnation of Christ" was, for Orr, quite another matter. He asserted that it weakened morality and destroyed faith in the Bible as well as trust in "Christ and in the ministers of religion." It was also guilty, he continued, of "lowering public morals" (15). Orr's condemnation would have found ample support amongst the more extreme anti-deists of the eighteenth century, but in his own time his opinion smacks of the shrill gratuitous distortion generally associated with fundamentalist fanatics. It comes fairly close, however, to the feelings of Viret, who accused the deists of atheism and other crimes against Christianity. In support of Orr's definitions, however, some deist titles, such as Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious, or, a Treatise shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, Nor Above it: And that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Mystery* (1696), or Ethan Allen's *Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a Compenduous System of Natural Religion* (1784)[17] indicate clearly that reason and natural religion were considered basic ingredients for deism. It can be seen from these that the purpose of the authors was to make religion reasonable and reason religious.

Some deists, or at least thinking people with deist tendencies, actually believed that reason could make men more religious; one such was the second Duke of Buckingham, the son of Herbert;s friend and patron. In the 1670's he wrote

An Essay upon Reason and Religion, which shows he had been reading the Cambridge Platonists, and in this work he observed that

> All those who go about to give Demonstration in matters of Religion, and fail in the Attempt, do not only leave Men less devout, but also with great pains and Industry lay in their minds the Grounds and Foundations of Atheism.

This sorry state of affairs, Buckingham believed, could be remedied if one could somehow "induce Men to a Belief of Religion by the Strength of Reason, and lay aside all Arguments which have any Dependence upon the Authority of the Scriptures" (II, 182).[18] Buckingham comes close to Herbert's position in *De veritate* with regard to the religious common notions. but the later deists "were disposed towards empiricism" rather than towards the assumption that "there were valid forms of *a priori* knowledge" (Sullivan 221). Buckingham seems to have wanted it both ways, although he inclined to the making of religion more reasonable, with the assumption, *a priori*, that religion *was*, in fact, reasonable. Toland and later deists, including Shaftesbury, were closer to Locke's way of thinking than Herbert's, although this does not necessarily refute Halyburton's phrase about Herbert and deism. It was Herbert who had made the others think the way they did; had he lived longer, it is possible that he would have ended by thinking somewhat like Shaftesbury, with man's "moral sense" operating as a check and balance, not faith in a seamless omnipotent deity, removed from the world.

R.Z. Lauer cautions that there may be further confusion

caused by the existence of the term *theism*, which, at least until the nineteenth century, was synonymous with deism, although Orr believes that the distinction was already being made in the seventeenth century (16-17). In general, it may be said that theists do not deny revelation and miracles, and Christian theists usually believed in the Incarnation as well, which deists do not. In the older sense of the word, those deists who held that God operated through the agency of supernatural laws were actually theists. It is apparent that at some point in time the terms merged, and when the term *deist* is used here, it denotes someone who uses critical faculties on religious questions, and believes that God does not directly intervene in human affairs.

A few common propositions link the various types of deism. They include: (1) disbelief in miracles, whether performed by Christ or anyone else; (2) a conception of a God uninterested in human affairs, although he is regarded as the intelligent creator of the universe. One variety of deism holds that while God created the universe *ex nihilo*, Providence, not God, controls what goes on in it; thus Providence becomes a demiurge, and is sometimes even credited, as some gnostics credited it, with the creation of man. Providence bestows upon man the gift of reason, which tells him that there cannot be revelations; Providence itself, however, is completely in control, and does not have to "reveal" itself through supernatural means. A second type of deism follows largely the same route, but adds a denial of

life everlasting (this is what Graig calls "mortal" deism). Other deists limit the omnipresence of Providence and relegate it to nature, rather than to man, who is thus part of, although separate from, nature. To this kind of deist, experience is unrelated to divine judgment, and virtue, if it exists at all, is its own reward. Blount's *Anima mundi* (1679) is an example of this form of deism. There is a final, even more radical form, which conceives of God as a powerful, intelligent being who imposed his will on existing matter and "created" a world in which natural laws operated. Man is bound to obey these laws, and there can be no exceptions to them. Happiness thus depends on man's recognition of the Creator and a desire to deal justly with one's fellow human beings.

Lauer provides two useful subdivisions of deism, using language which is less loaded than Orr's. There is "critical" deism, which attacks the fundamental tenets of Christianity, and there is "constructive" deism, which "concerns itself primarily with attaining to knowledge of the existence and nature of God and to an understanding of natural immortality" (722). It is also possible, of course, for deists to combine parts of these subdivisions, which, in essence, is what Herbert does.

Leslie and Leland: two anti-deist critics

Charles Leslie, in *A Short and Easy Way with the Deists* (1698), was one of the first English writers to attack Herbert for his deism, although his book's title belies its contents, which are neither short nor easy. Leslie asserts that the deists see Christianity as being as reasonable as Islam, and "That there is no greater Ground to believe in *Christ* than in *Mahomet*" (2)[19] Leslie uses Islam as an example here not because he has anything more against it than against any other "pagan" religion, but because there had been contact between the two systems for centuries, and Leslie has not consulted available works on Hinduism or Buddism. Furthermore, Islam was understandable in terms of Leslie's Christian analogues: both were religions "of the book," both claimed revelation, miracles, life after death, and both had Prophets. Leslie does not stop with Islam, however, and devotes a large part of his book to enlisting the support of the Jews, a contrary view to that of Grotius, for example, who lumped the Jews with the "Mahumetans" and the pagans. Deists, Leslie tells the Jews, "are equal *Enemies* to you and us, who deny all *Instituted* and *Reveald* Religion" (64). He did not add, as he might well have done, that deists were enemies to Islam as well, and for the same reasons. Leslie's main target here is Blount, but there is little doubt that he wished to confound the master with the sins of his self-proclaimed pupil.[20]

Leslie believes that miracles do, in fact, conform to four rules of historical evidence: (1) the senses apprehend them; (2) they were done openly and in public; (3) monuments were raised to commemorate the events; (4) the observance of Christ's healing powers and the commemoration of them were contemporary with the events (the claims made in the Gospels). If reason does not make deists recant and admit the error of their ways, Leslie adds a few other words of advice to them:

> And therefore how much Diligence they ought to use, to Redeem all that time they have lost; least they lose themselves for Ever; And be convinc'd by a Dreadful Experience, when it is too Late, that the *Gospel* is a Truth, and of the last Consequence. (65)

A far more intelligent and serious examination of Herbert's system came from John Leland in his *View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have Appeared in England* (1745).[21] He praises Herbert for his learning, honesty, and sincerity, and takes the trouble in an appendix to examine Herbert's claim of divine intervention in the publishing of *De veritate*. Herbert, as Leland sees it, was "one of the first that formed Deism into a system, and asserted the sufficiency, universality and absolute perfection of natural religion." Nevertheless, Leland found that Herbert had "a view to discard all extraordinary revelation as useless and Needless" (7). He admits that Herbert seems, in the end, to give Christianity the benefit of the doubt as the "great design. . .of all doctrines" (9), but notes that he "on all occasions insinuateth prejudices against all revealed

religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use." Much of Leland's criticism focusses on *De religione gentilium*, which will be dealt with in a later chapter, but he also attacks Herbert's doctrine of sin in *De veritate* as being inadequate, particularly his discussion of lust, where Herbert merely remarks, according to Leland, that "we ought to pass a mild censure upon those who are carried to sin by a corporal and almost necessary propensity to vice" (9).

In general terms, Leland feels that Herbert writes too much like "the writers of the Romish church," who claim that they have the authority to expound upon religion because some standard is needed to counteract contrary arguments. He takes Herbert to task for what he sees as a tendency to dogmatise:

> He ought not therefore to make a thing's being controverted to be a proof of its uncertainty, and that man can come to no satisfaction about it; a principle that he and other Deists often insist upon, but which manifestly leads to universal scepticism. (11)

Leland, unlike his continental predecessors, never links Herbert with atheism; rather, he finds a tendency to destructive scepticism in Herbert's work which is distressing, but not atheistical. Destructive scepticism, of which Gassendi was often guilty, repeatedly asks the question "How do you know?" and "merely repeats the question until the answers dry up" (Dancy 7). Leland himself engages in a little sceptical enquiry at this point, asking Herbert how he can be so sure of his system when all five of the religious

common notions are controversial. Herbert cannot attack dogma's uncertainties simply by setting up a counter-system of dogma in its stead. He commends Herbert's advocacy of piety and virtue, his apparent belief in the soul, and his mention of life everlasting, but he believes that Herbert's design was, in the end, "to overturn all revealed, or, as he calls it, particular religion, and to establish that natural and universal religion. . .in it's [*sic*] room" (11). Leland points out that "many that call themselves Deists will be as loth to admit his Lordship's natural and catholic religion, as Christianity itself" (13), a particularly perceptive comment, especially if applied to deists like Blount and Toland.

Leland also feels that many deists would disagree with Herbert on the question of piety, "many who have made no small figures among our modern deists [having] denied some of his Lordship's five articles." Leland links piety with repentance, and here he does make a connexion with Spinoza. Deists, "instead of urging the necessity of repentance, have, after Spinoza, represented it as a mean, an unreasonable and wretched thing" (13). Actually, Spinoza says that "repentance is not a virtue, or does not arise from reason; but he who repents of an action is doubly wretched or infirm." Spinoza simply means that repentance makes us feel worse than perhaps we need to about some actions. However, as "men seldom live under the guidanc of reason." he continues, repentance may do us some good. "Hence," Spinoza

goes on, "as we must sin, we had better sin in that direction," that is, with a view to repentance afterwards. He concludes that "those who are prey to those emotions [humility, repentance, reverence] may be led much more easily than others, to live under the guidance of reason, that is, become free and enjoy the life of the blessed" (223). Spinoza suggests that reason liberates us from the need to excercise destructive tendencies such as repentance, and this idea would certainly have run counter to the basic assertions of Christianity, rather than what Spinoza says about repentance itself. In the end, Leland argues that repentance depends on the definition of sin; "it must needs be a great advantage," he states, "to be answered by an express revelation from God upon what terms the pardon of sins is to be obtained" (20).

In regard to the other religious common notions, Leland points out that some nations worship more than one god--for example, the sun, moon, and stars. Others would certainly agree that God ought to be worshipped, but not if He were invisible. And even Socrates, Leland reminds Herbert, claimed that he did not know *how* to worship unless a god instructed him. Even piety and virtue, in the end, depend in their definitions upon the cultures which define them; should "joining in superstitious and idolatrous worship" (19) then be counted as piety? Leland concludes the section by saying that Herbert's allusions to reward and punishment after death is uncertain because "the light of natural reason" (21),

Herbert's *discursus*, is itself uncertain.

Leland next addresses Herbert's critique of the priesthood and churches. Even if his accusations were true, Leland claims, it would not mean that the principles of religion themselves were questionable. Herbert never said they were, only that they had been misrepresented and corrupted by years of priestly interpretation and power-mongering. God would, according to Leland, allow a priest "an extraordinary revelation of his will" (23) if he wished to do so. We should, Leland agrees, "carefully distinguish the false from the true, and impartially. . consider and examine the proofs that are brought, and not to receive any revelation without sufficient credentials. He ends:

> But it would be a most unreasonable limitation of the divine power and wisdom to affirm, either that God cannot make extraordinary discoveries of his will. . .or that he cannot commission and enable such persons to communicate to others what they receive from him, or cannot furnish them with such credentials of their divine mission, as may be sufficient to convince the world they were saent by God. . . (23-4)

"This hath actually been the case," Leland concludes, "with regard to the Christian revelation" (12).

Conclusions

Several of the writers discussed above felt, together with others such as Meric Casaubon, that Herbert wished to replace Christianity with a natural religion of his own, which would be, as Museaus tried to show, insufficient for

salvation. Writers such as Seerup felt that truths were discoverable only through the application of the Mosaic laws, and that natural laws carried no divine authority. A handy technique, employed since the time of Viret, was to link the deists, by the fallacy of association, with atheists, and by the time of Berns that label could be applied to a materialist such as Hobbes and to a rationalist like Spinoza. At the hands of the continental critics Herbert, the apostle of toleration, became a bugbear out to destroy established religion, undermine priestly (and theological) authority and demote the Blessed Saviour. His system was a theological Bedlam or Pandaemonium in which the views of heathens and Christians were to be allowed to flourish together, to be considered equally valid in the sight of God.

Herbert did, indeed, have genuine misgivings about the priests and the established churches, and these were based largely on what he saw in France. The 1640's in England no doubt reinforced his views. He did intend the religious common notions to be taken as a basis for a new religion, or rather a return to an older one than Christianity; these rules could be apprehended by reason and experience, and needed no arcane interpretative skills. They were, moreover, not imposed from "above" by any kind of divine authority; they represented a criterion of truth which all could understand, for all possessed it. "However true my book may be in respect to the truth of the object," Herbert wrote in *De veritate*, "your own truth must be derived from yourself"

(217). He was giving us the responsibility, not foisting it onto a God or a Saviour, a sentiment which had been echoed earlier by Fulke Greville in *Mustapha* (1607), although the words came from a Chorus of Priests: "Yet, when each of us in his own heart looks,/ He finds the God there, far unlike his books" (Hebel and Hudson 127).

What Herbert is attacking, then, is not religion, but ignorance and credulity, together with the canting displays of priestly learning which were used to dazzle the ignorant, the language of the "sugr'd Divines" of Herbert's satire. Here Herbert may be considered the forerunner of writers like Glanvill, who wrote in his *Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) that "the beginnings of philosophy were in crepusculous obscurity, and yet it's scarce past the dawn. . .the last ages have shown us what antiquity never saw--no, not in a dream" (Baker 510).[25] Learned dogmatising would never stop man from seeking truth, and, as Bedford notes, Herbert was seeking a reason for us to place our trust in Providence, rather than in Aristotle or Aquinas, and the new ways of thinking provided one way of doing this (152).

Turning now to Herbert's position on revelation, it is clear that he does not reject it out of hand. He suggests rather that revelation, or the belief that one has experienced a revelation, is a direct, personal experience, very much like his own, and therein lies its validity. We need not suppose that our revelations will be accepted as true by others, or that we should accept anyone else's. As

Bedford explains, Herbert is asking readers to exercise reason and intuitive knowledge in order to decide what comes from God and what comes from Man, and he is attempting to provide some guidelines to this end (153). Reason, as Whichcote said, *is* Faith, because it, too, was God's gift, and therefore fideism must be rejected. The very existence of the common notion is, for Herbert, evidence that Reason is a divine gift, and that we were intended to use it. Insofar as Herbert admits that judgments may be obtained only after initial doubting, he is, in the Cartesian sense, a sceptic, but he is not a dogmatic sceptic like Gassendi. Finally, as both Bedford and Lauer, not to mention Herbert himself in the opening pages of *De veritate*, point out, the time at which Herbert was writing was such that a great multitude of sects, cults, and prophets was emerging, and most of their claims were, to put it mildly, ludicrous.[24] In *De veritate* Herbert stressed that our minds *could* make decisions about religious matters, including those fundamental to Christian belief, and that this kind of thinking was not, *pace* Gassendi, arrogating to Man the things of God (Bedford 152-53).[25]

Notes to Chapter Five

[1] Sir William Dugdale (1605-86) is best-known for his great work *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), and he also wrote *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (1681). A staunch royalist, Dugdale served as Garter King-of-Arms to Charles I and Charles II.

[22] Thomas Halyburton (1674-1712) was Professor of Divinity at the College of St. Leonard, St. Andrews University. Opposed to all forms of deism, he was particularly hostile to Herbert and Spinoza. He attacked Herbert further in his *Essay on the Ground or Formal Reason of a Saving Faith*, which was based on his Inaugural Lecture, but this was not published until 1865. Halyburton "ignores Herbert's philosophy" (Bedford 240), condemns his religious writings as pagan or atheistical, and fathers every aspect of modern deism on Herbert alone.

[23] Thomas Master (1603-1643) was sinecure Rector of Wickham from 1637, and from 1642 until his death lived in Herbert's house. He was a voluminous author, and amongst his works may be found *Iter Boreale* (1675), an account of his travels in Wales, a Greek poem on the Crucifixion, and "*Mensa lubrica Montgom: illustrissimo Domino Dno Edwado [sic] Baroni de Cherbury.*" This last is a Latin poem on the engrossing subject of Lord Herbert's shovel-board (see Smith 93-4, for Herbert's reply, *Mensa lusoria*). When Master died suddenly in 1643, Herbert wrote him an elegant Latin epitaph, *Charissimo, Doctissimo, Jucundisssimoque juxtim Amico Thomæ Master.*

[24] Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) studied divinity, Hebrew, science and philosophy at the Sorbonne. A voluminous author, he is best-known for his unstinting encouragement of scholarship and his general broadmindedness. Although Mersenne wrote against scepticism and atheism, he publicised the works of both Herbert and Gassendi, and may have had a hand in the 1639 French translation of *De veritate*. This is controversial, although there is a letter from Hübner to Comenius on the subject (Rossi I, 488) and Bedford also believes that Mersenne did the translation (135). Mersenne may have recommended that the Papal envoy to England, Gregorio Panzani, visit Herbert in 1635 and offer to get *De veritate* "corrected" so that it could be removed from the *Index* (Bedford 133). Mersenne recommended *De veritate* to Comenius in 1639, seeing a connexion between Comenius's *Pansophiae* (in which the latter posits a scheme of "ideas in the mind of God") and Herbert's common notions (see Bedford 134-36).

[25] The Diodatis are a little problematical. The *DNB* states that Charles (1608-1638) was "intimate with Lord Herbert of

Cherbury" (V, 1000). Charles Diodati was a doctor who had studied at Oxford and was a friend of Milton's. The poet addressed the *Epitaphium Damonis* to him. While both Rossi and Bedford name Elia[s] Diodati as the bearer of *De veritate*, he is known mainly as a member of the French *libertins erudits*, a group including Gassendi and La Mothe de Vayer (Mandrou 184-85).

[6] Williams adds that Descartes, writing to a Jesuit friend, remarked that "it was so written that even women should be able to understand it." Williams hastens to add that Descartes was not making a sexist jibe, but merely making a comment "on contemporary reading habits."

[7] Descartes sent Herbert a copy of the *Discours* and Herbert actually started to translate it into English. See Rossi II, 537.

[8] He points out also that "Herbert might have had a criterion, but could not tell if it were the criterion of truth. Descartes possessed a truth, the *cogito*, to test his criterion with."

[9] Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) was first Professor of Philosophy at the Jesuit College of Segovia, then at Valladolid and Rome. His *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1599) was the most complete explication of his system. Suarez believed that the existence of God could be proved metaphysically by the phrase "everything which is produced is produced by another," an adaptation of Aristotle's dictum, "everything that is moved is moved by another." There must be a creative Being at the end of an infinite regress, and only one uncreated Being. God, for Suarez, physically determines human actions, and free will does not exist. What interested Culverwell, and likely Herbert as well, was Suarez's theory of Natural Law, which he saw as man's participation in the laws of God and his moral relation to them. Natural Law was based on the light of reason, the source of which was God's will. Human law, then, should be based either on God's law or on natural law. Suarez also lists some of the precepts of Natural Law, amongst which we find such maxims as "God must be worshipped," one of Herbert's religious common notions.

[10] The other English writer to discuss Descartes is Lady Anne Conway in her *Principia philosophiae antquissimae et recentissimae* (1690). This book was written in the 1670's under the influence of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More. A modern edition, with a seventeenth-century translation, has been prepared by Peter Loptson.

[11] Johann Musaeus (1613-1681) was Professor of Theology at the University of Jena. Peter Musaeus, about whom nothing is known except the title of his book (which does not seem to be

extant), is identified by du Pin as the brother of Johann (3, 786).

[12] Colie notes further that the deists generally preferred Herbert to Spinoza because he was more "measured and temperate" (26).

[13] Christian Kortholt (1633-1694) was Professor of Theology at the University of Kiel, N. Germany. In an appendix, *Quae Hieronymicardani & Edorardi Herberti de animalitate homini opiniones perspicue ac philosophice examinantur* he attacks Herbert's philosophy (227-95), although the exact direction of the attack is sometimes unclear. Kortholt's book is one of several bearing the same title; according to Betts (33), the original one, *Traité des trois imposteurs*, possibly written in the 1620's but never actually seen, was probably spurious. Betts also mentions an MS, supposedly from about 1676 (edited in 1972) which has the same title, and there was a third, "allegedly dating from 1598," *De tribus impostoribus*. These books, or phantom books, denounced Jesus, Moses and Mohammed as impostors.

There is no evidence to show that Spinoza had read Herbert, although it would be surprising if he had not. Hobbes certainly knew *De veritate*: an unpublished set of notes by Mario Rossi on a Herbert MS entitled *De principiis cognitionis* (NLW MS 5297) mentions a letter from Hobbes to the Duke of Newcastle (June 23, 1636) in which he calls *De veritate* "a high point" in his reading. Rossi notes, however, that this does not mean that Hobbes endorsed Herbert's views.

[14] Richard Baxter (1615-1691), after a short spell as a courtier, turned to theology and became an ordained Anglican minister. He often found himself in sympathy with Puritanism, and at right angles with the Laudian establishment as a consequence. Baxter was vicar of Kidderminster (1641-60) and was left alone by Parliament. A royalist, he became one of Charles II's chaplains in 1660. His opposition to James II, however, cost Baxter his benefice. He never stopped writing or preaching, and his wife is said to have noted that "he wrote too much, too superficially" (Stone, *Family* 234). Some of his works, such as *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* (1650) were best-sellers. Baxter received his copy of *De veritate* from Sir Henry Herbert, with whom he was on good terms (Bedford 133).

[15] Herbert is rather insistent on this point. In the *Autobiography* he mentions several kinds of sin, but always stresses that he indulges in them less than others with the same opportunities! But the Ayres scandal and the other relationships at which Herbert hints give the impression that the gentleman doth protest too much, although his tolerant attitude towards sinners in general is no doubt commendable. Baxter, for his part, thinks that as long as God deals

directly with sin, Christ's role is negated; the problem is that Herbert simply sees no need for a Redeemer and probably did not even believe in Original Sin. Baxter's views are similar to those of Pascal, who asserted that "We know God only through Jesus Christ. Without this mediator all communication with God is broken off. Through Jesus we know God" (Pascal 85-6).

On Baxter's point about those who did not know Christ, compare Bishop John Jewel, who states that "the very Indians themselves" would know that the [Anglican] version of Christianity was "true," and Catholicism "false" (I, 35).

[16] An early work on atheism by Gisbert Voetius, *Disputationes selectae* (Utrecht, 1648-70) includes deists amongst the various kinds of atheists. Voetius also mentions the Politiques, indifferentists (early agnostics), heathen, Machiavellians, Epicureans, libertines and sensualists amongst them. He classes deists as "practical atheists," together with the libertines. For details on Voetius's categories, see Bedford 242-43. Interestingly enough, Joseph Butler, in his *Analogy of Religion* (1736) states that deists believe Christianity to be a fiction; Bedford notes (255) that Butler's own belief in the reasonableness of Christianity would have made him a deist had he lived a few years earlier. Some other works on the subject of atheism which mention Herbert include Jenkins Thomas Philipps, *Dissertatio historico-philosophico de atheismo sive historia atheismi* (1716), in which Hobbes is branded an atheist but Herbert is not; Johannes Buddaeus, *These theologicae de atheismo et superstitione* (1740) calls Herbert an "indifferentist," but castigates Hobbes, Spinoza ("Satan's Pope") and Toland ("surpasses in impiety all other atheists of all time") as the real villains, and J.F. Reimann, *Historia universali atheismi et atheorum falso et merito suspectorum apud Judaeos, Ethicos, Muhamedanos* (1725) suggests that that we should ask whether Herbert was a Christian, not a deist, and defends Sir Thomas Browne as living a life of "pure piety" (Allen 16-19).

[17] John Toland (1670-1722) is perhaps the best-known eighteenth-century deist. An Irishman, he was educated at the University of Edinburgh, then moved to London, where he became as associate of Locke's pupil Ashley Cooper, later 2nd. Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), the deist philosopher and author of the *Characteristics*. Toland was vain, self-important and outsopken, and his book caused great controversy in orthodox circles. Ethan Allen (1732-1789) was an American who served under Washington in the American War of Independence. He became interested in the work of Charles Blount, and studied deism with his friend Dr. Thomas Young, who is sometimes credited with the authorship of Allen's book, although not by its present editor. I mention Allen to show that the deist controversy, like so many other intellectual matters, was not confined to Europe.

[19] George Villiers, 2nd. Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687) is not usually cited for his philosophical opinions, being known for his gloriously inept statesmanship as one of Charles II's ministers, and for his witty satirical play *The Rehearsal* (1671). A rake, debauchee, and friend of the Earl of Rochester, Buckingham was also, when he chose, a thoughtful and intelligent man. His *Essay* was written when he was poor, ill, and retired from public life (1685).

[19] Charles Leslie (1650-1722), educated at Trinity College, Dublin, was Chancellor of Connor, from which post he was ejected in 1689. A non-juror, Leslie devoted his time to attacking William III and the Whigs in *Gallienus Redivivus, or Murther will Out* (1695) and a series of pamphlets. He ended his life as chaplain to the Earl of Clarendon. As the *DNB* puts it, Leslie "argues in a circle at every turn" (XI, 958).

[20] Charles Blount (1654-1693) fancied himself a disciple of Herbert, but some scholars think of him more as an epigone or plagiarist. In *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680) he attacked priests and advocated a return to primitive Christianity. He sent *Oracles of Reason* (1678) to Hobbes, of whom he also wanted to be a disciple. In *The Two First Books of Apollonius Tyaneus* (1680) Blount declared that Christ was a mere "fantastic miracle-worker" like Apollonius, and the *DNB* article on Blount quotes Bayle as remarking that "these notes [*Apollonius*] were probably taken from manuscripts left by Lord Herbert of Cherbury" (II, 706). Blount fell in love with his deceased wife's sister, and set to work writing pamphlets against the law which said that one could not marry one's deceased wife's sister. When these failed to get the attention of lawmakers, he committed suicide. Hutcheson asks "is it not time for someone to investigate Blount's connexion with the Herbert family, a connexion he exploited so successfully. . .? (221). It was Blount who called Herbert "the great Oracle and Commander of his Time, for Wit, Learning, and Courage" (Blount, *Religio laici* [1682], 49).

[21] John Leland (1691-1766) was a Dublin pastor, "a man of great memory and learning" (*DNB* XI, 896). His work on deism, although it does not pretend to originality, is objective, and often gives credit to views with which Leland strongly disagrees. Later in life Leland became a vehement, but still rational opponent of David Hume's philosophy.

[22] Leland's second letter deals mostly with *De religione gentilium*, although he does remark here that Herbert has problems with Christianity because it is a "particular" religion rather than a "universal" one. Yet if Christianity is not universal, Leland argues, Herbert would then be condemning all gentiles to damnation, which would be cruel. All religions have reason, Leland says, but only Christianity has revelation.

[23]Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680) was Provost of Eton College nand Rector of the Abbey Church, Bath. A moderate Anglican, he was a friend and colleague of Baxter's, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. His writings, the most famous of which is *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), combine "a blend of conventional piety with innovative thinking" (Baker 505). He also wrote *Lux orientalis* (1662), in which he supported Henry More's theory of the pre-existence of souls, and *Plus ultra* (1668), which traces intellectual history from the time of Aristotle down to his own time.

[24] See Hill for an excellent account of these strange and rather wonderful people.

[25] Grotius noted in *Against Paganism, Judaism, Mahumetanism* (London, 1676) that many religions make claims about revelations and miracles, but that only priests were witnesses of them, and that many of these events took place secretly or in darkness. In *The Truth of the Christian Religion* he maintained that all testimony about miracles should be evaluated by common sense. because that is the only kind of reasoning which we all share.

It is interesting to compare Grotius and Herbert with an earlier writer, Philippe, sieur de Mornay (1549-1623), who wrote *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (1587). which was translated by Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding. He tried to show that Christianity *was* the universal religion, and that it drew within its system all of science, philosophy and theology. De Mornay concluded that if we could understand the views of our opponents we could understand the truth, and he believed that there was only one "truth." He further stated that there are miracles and prophecies which we cannot understand, but have since come true, and they must therefore derive from God. Still, de Mornay tries to *demonstrate* these ideas, not merely state them, in which lies the interest of his work. I am indebted to James Keller for pointing out the existence of this work to me. De Mornay is discussed by Craig (76-78). His *Discourse of Life and Death* was translated by Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, in 1600.

CHAPTER SIX

Herbert served as James I's ambassador to the Court of Louis XIII from 1619 until 1624. Apart from the finishing touches to *De veritate*, Herbert also produced a cycle of poems addressed to Diana Cecil and a number of other distinguished lyrics, including "Ye well-compacted groves," which is occasionally anthologised. He was in France during a very crucial stage in European history, playing some part in the Bohemian crisis, which was one of the immediate causes of the Thirty Years War, and he was also able to form definite political views which would find some expression in his later writings, though not, it seems, in his poetry.

As we have seen, Herbert owed his appointment to the influence of Sir George Villiers, who was not yet the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham. In the *Autobiography*, Herbert writes rather casually about their meeting, which seems to have been accidental:

> Before I came wholy out of my Sickness, Sir George Villers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham came into the Kings favor, this Cavalier meeting mee accidentally at the Lady Stanops house came to me and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if by his credit with the King he could do me any service. I humbly thankt him But told him for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldnes to make my Address by him. (88)

Herbert seems to have given the matter little thought, and when he had recovered, he and his friend the Earl of Oxford "resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians." However, at the same time James I was

considering how to fill the post of ambassador to France left by Sir Thomas Edmondes, and had asked Villiers "to present him with the Names of the fittest men for that imployment he knew." Villiers submitted eighteen names, amongst them Herbert's, and James made his choice, no doubt with some suitable hints from his adviser, after which he sent the name to the Privy Council for approval. Herbert, whose encounter with that particular section of government bureaucracy had, to date, been unpropitious, asked their messenger whether he "had done any fault that the Lords sent for me so suddainly" (89). He was both surprised and delighted at the reason for their sending.

After his appointment had been confirmed, Herbert, all too typically, encountered some trouble. First of all, there was an attempt to rob him of his travelling allowance, and then a quarrel with Sir Robert Vaughan, to whom Herbert sent a challenge. Herbert's account of the would-be burglary suggests that someone, perhaps one of his own entourage, had supplied the robbers with inside information. But, as Sir John Falstaff foiled the footpads, so Sir Edward Herbert harried the halberdiers:

> I had receiv'd now about six or seven hundred pounds towards the charges of my Journey, and lockt it in certain Coffers in my house, when the night following about one of the clock I could hear divers men speak and knock at the Door, in that part of the house where none did lie but my Selfe, my Wife, and her Attendants, my Servants being lodg'd in another house not far of; as soon as I heard the noise I suspected presently they came to rob me of my Money, howsoever I thought fit to rise and go to the Window to know who they were. The

> first word I heard was, darest Thou come down Welch Man, which I no sooner heard but taking a sword in one hand and a litle Target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the stares, open the doors suddenly, and charged 10 or 12 of them with that Fury, that they ran away, some throwing away their Halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster. . . .(89)

Herbert dealt with Vaughan by sending his brother Henry to deliver an answer about the time and place of the duel, but when the brothers arrived at the appointed place some hours later, they found not Vaughan, but the Earl of Worcester, who testily told Herbert that as he was now "a publick Person," he therefore "ought not to entertain private Quarrels" (90).[1] The two antagonists were then compelled to accept mediation, and the affair ended peacefully.

Herbert left England on May 13, 1619, the day set for the funeral of Queen Anne, who had died on March 2; the government did not have any money to pay for her burial, and she simply lay in state for a protracted time.[2] It was, as one observer put it, "but a brawling and tedious sight, more remarkable for number than any singularity, there being about 280 poor women besides an army of mean fellows. . ." (Chamberlain, II 237). Herbert, for his part, found it "a sad spectacle for those who had cause to honor Her," and he saw the cortege pass as he proceeded to Gravesend with his own "train of one hundred and odd persons" (91-2). From Dover he took ship for Calais, and then embarked on his own quasi-royal procession through various cities until he arrived at St. Denis,

> where I was met with a great Train of Coaches, that were sent to receive me, as also by the Master of the Ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon my fellow Scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an Academy, and brought with him a brave Company of Gentlemen on great Horses to attend me into Town. (93)[4]

The Political Situation in England and James I's Foreign Policy

To understand properly Herbert's mission to France, it is necessary to state, as briefly as possible, the relationship of England and France, particularly as they were dictated by conditions in England. I will then discuss the political situation in France during the period of Herbert's residence, and then trace his own rôle.

In general terms, James I had one paramount intention in his foreign policy, which was to preserve peace in Europe and keep England out of continental power-struggles. In 1604, for example, one year after he had ascended the English throne, James ended the nineteen-year old war with Spain. In the same year, he had himself proclaimed King of Great Britain, but not before he had written eloquently to the House of Commons explaining that he was doing so because it was a way of breaking down barriers and establishing final peace between the two nations of England and Scotland:

> Let not yourselves be transported therefore with the curiosity of a few giddy heads, for it is in you now to make the choice: either, by yielding to the providence of God and embracing that which he hath cast in your mouths, to procure the prosperity and greatness of me and mine, you and yours, and by the away-taking of that partition-wall, which already, by God's providence, in my blood is rent

> asunder, to establish my throne, and your body politic, in a perpetual and flourishing peace; or else, contemning God's benefits freely offered us, to spit and blaspheme in his face by preferring war to peace, trouble to quietness, hatred to love, weakness to greatness, and division to union, to sow the seeds of discord to all our posterities, to dishonour your king, to make both me and yourselves a proverb of reproach in the mouths of all strangers, and all enemies of this nation, and enviers of my greatness.
>
> (Akrigg, *Letters*, 226)

James never wavered from the essence of what he stated above, and it was to his great sorrow that his reign, which began with the conclusion of one Spanish war, should end with the renewal of hostilities towards the same country. James's desire for peace was not simply an outcome of idealism or even of his own fears; he sincerely believed that his subjects would prosper if there were no costly wars, and that if they were prosperous, the xenophobia which often accompanies economical decline would be absent. By twentieth-century standards, James I and his pacificism seem naive, but after the Thirty Years War had ravaged Europe there would be some who remembered that at least one man in Europe had worked sincerely for the peace of Christendom.

One of the ways of achieving "perpetual and flourishing peace" was to contract alliances by means of marriage. In 1613 James's daughter Elizabeth married Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, one of the states which comprising the Holy Roman Empire, which was then ruled by the Hapsburgs in the person of the Emperor Matthias. Having been successful so far, James now dreamed of the possibility of uniting his son Charles with a Spanish princess, although he did not reveal

his feelings until a few years later, unhappily when it was least opportune for him to consider a marriage with a Catholic power. A Spanish marriage, apart from the fact that it would enrich the English treasury, could influence English relations with the other great Catholic power, France, which was traditionally hostile to the Hapsburgs and which had been growing steadily more powerful under Henri IV. A Spanish alliance would bring England closer to the Hapsburgs, who of course were also the ruling family of Spain, and might lead to better relations with the Empire as well.

As James dreamed, events on the continent moved fast, and his illusions were soon shattered. In 1617 the elderly and childless Matthias, meaning to secure, if possible, a Hapsburg hegemony over the Empire, appointed his nephew Ferdinand of Styria king-designate of Bohemia. Although the Bohemian crown was technically elective, it had been worn for some time by Hapsburgs, but the greater part of the Bohemian nobility were Protestants, and as the power of other Protestant princes within the Empire increased, it became evident to Matthias that the Hapsburgs could be displaced at his death. Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate were all Protestant, and if the Bohemians could secure a Protestant king, it was possible that the Protestants might just gain the upper hand in the Electoral College.

The Bohemian nobility resented Matthias's high-handed action, and they were not about to accept Ferdinand of Styria, a Catholic of strong conviction who had banished many

Protestants from Styria. At the same time, the Emperor started making substantial grants of land in Bohemia to Catholic clergy, and the Bohemians became alarmed. Unlike the people of Styria, who were rather isolated, the Bohemians were constantly in touch with Protestant rulers in nearby lands, such as Prince Gabor Bethlén of Transylvania, who wished to be King of Hungary, and Prince Charles of Anhalt, the chief minister of the Palatinate.[4]

In 1618 the storm finally broke, and a rebellion of the Bohemian nobility was successful.[5] Matthias lost effective control of the eastern part of his empire, although the Lutherans in Saxony remained loyal. Ferdinand, in the meantime, had been occupied in silencing moderate Catholics, notably the aged Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, who had dared advocate a peaceful solution to the Bohemian question.[6] In July 1618 James was asked by Philip III of Spain to mediate between Matthias and the Bohemians, and he went as far as to despatch Lord Hay to Europe with a large embassy. It meandered around from capital to capital, was always politely received, but achieved nothing; in the interim Bohemia had applied to join the Protestant Union, nominally headed by Frederick of the Palatinate, and other areas of the Empire joined the revolt. By May 1619 General Ernst von Mansfeld, the great mercenary, had captured Pilsen, and armies of the Protestant Union invested Vienna itself.

At the same time that these events were taking place, changes were made in the Empire itself; Matthias had died

(March 1619) and the Bohemians had formally deposed Ferdinand of Styria. But on June 10 Mansfeld was defeated, and Count Thurn, the Protestant Union commander, raised the siege of Vienna. On August 26 the Bohemians offered the crown to Frederick V, who, after some hesitation, accepted; Christian of Anhalt played a significant part in persuading Frederick to espouse the Bohemian cause. The Protestants were then surprised (December 1619) by an ambassador from the Ottoman Emperor, Osman II, declaring that he was willing to support the Bohemian/Protestant cause.[7] Gabor drove the Imperialists out of Hungary, joined with Thurn, and together they turned on Vienna once more. Meanwhile Ferdinand had been elected Holy Roman Emperor (August 26, 1619) and immediately opened negotiations with Maximilian of Bavaria, offering him the Palatinate as a reward for his help in dealing with Frederick (Parker 52).

James I was outraged at his son-in-law's acceptance of the Bohemian crown. To his mind, Ferdinand was the legitimate king of Bohemia, and Frederick an usurper. Kings, James believed, were God's viceregents, and could not simply be removed if their subjects did not approve of them. James was, moreover, fully aware of the power of the Catholic League, and was inclined to let Frederick face the consequences of his own rashness. If he intervened on Frederick's behalf, the Spanish match was doomed. However, James's views were shared by few in his government, and even Buckingham and Prince Charles were initially in favour of

some direct action. Frederick, for his part, saw his acceptance of the throne as "a divine calling, which I must not disobey,"[10] and no doubt expected some assistance from his father-in-law. But James realised that although Ferdinand II was beleaguered in his own capital while Frederick I was being feted in Prague, the latter was a king without resources, the Protestant Union notwithstanding. John George of Saxony, for example, was planning to support Ferdinand, and himself had ambitions to rule Bohemia. So James held firm to his policy, fearing now that he would lose all credibility as a peacemaker and that his Spanish policy would be placed in jeopardy.

James was also hampered by the fact that a Spanish-Dutch truce. which had been in effect since 1609, was coming to an end, and that the Dutch, like the Bohemians, regarded England as a natural ally against Catholic Europe, based on assistance which had been given by Queen Elizabeth to the Dutch revolt against Spain in the 1570's. But James refrained from following actively pro-Dutch policies after 1621, which was the year the truce ended, hoping that he could thus induce Spain to remain out of the Bohemian conflict. He was also being badgered by a deputation from Frederick under Baron von Dohna, and by Counts Gondomar and Lafuente, the envoys of Spain.[11] And, lastly, what about France? Louis XIII had reacted negatively to Frederick's assumption of the Bohemian throne, and was irritated by the efforts of Frederick's cousin, the duc de Bouillon, who was

agitating on behalf of Bohemia at the French court. Bouillon's intrigues, coupled with his singular lack of grace and polish, enraged Louis, who was a dignified and fastidious monarch, and Bouillon's attitude influenced the King's decisions disproportionately to its relative importance.

In March 1620 James assured Gondomar that he wanted a Spanish match more than anything else, but Gondomar's master was at the time already corresponding with Ferdinand II. James, who did not know this, authorised Dohna to seek volunteers in the name of the King of Bohemia, but in May he also managed to quarrel with the Dutch, who were becoming aggressively concerned over English inaction. Dutch ships harassed English merchantmen in the Spice Islands, and James told Gondomar, in an uncharacteristically careless and bellicose outburst, that if there was any more of this he would declare war on the Dutch, a fact which Gondomar felt free to relay to Madrid. Yet for all James's belligerent talking, it was unlikely that he could have secured much support for a war against a Protestant power, because English ill-will was directed against the Hapsburgs rather than anyone else. Then an army under Spinola crossed into the Palatinate, and James now raved that Philip III had betrayed him, and that Gondomar's embassy had just been a diversion. Of course, Spinola's objective was, in the long run, war with the Dutch, but he invaded the Palatinate in the name of the Emperor because not only did it protect him from having to admit that his army was Spanish, but by wrenching the

Palatinate from Frederick, Spinola could place some of the Rhinelands in Catholic hands and thus remove the only Protestant state between Spain and the Netherlands. By June 23, 1623, the date he received the directive to advance, no-one was willing to raise a finger on behalf of Frederick.

James's appeasement policy therefore failed. Ferdinand began to regain his lost ground, Thurn and Gabor were in retreat and prince after prince was rediscovering his loyalty to the Emperor. France stayed neutral, but as Herbert was finding out, pro-Imperialist ministers had been working on Louis XIII, and France had provided no material help to Frederick. James remained officially and nervously neutral, although two thousand English volunteers under Herbert's old commander Sir Horace Vere were holding Frankenthal against the might of Spinola. George William, the new Elector of Brandenburg, abandoned the Protestant Union, and John George of Saxony made his peace with Ferdinand. Maximilian of Bavaria was ready, armed with Ferdinand's promise to make him Elector, to pounce on the Palatinate, and all this, coupled with Spinola's invasion, meant that Frederick V was, to all intents and purposes, doomed.

Through Elizabeth, Frederick made frantic appeals to James; even Mansfeld now had no funds with which to pay his army, and was threatening to resign. "Seldom," an historian writes, "can such innocent and well-intentioned rulers [Frederick and Elizabeth] have made themselves more readily disliked" (Wedgwood 119). As Spinola moved on the

Palatinate, so did Maximilian and his general, Count Tilly, with twenty-five thousand men. Vere and his two thousand Englishmen faced Spinola with forty thousand Spaniards. Mansfeld solved his problem by simply leaving Pilsen and informing Frederick that his contract had expired, and unless the Elector could pay, he would no longer hold the town.

James, meanwhile, listened to Gondomar's blandishments and forgot his rage against the King of Spain. Spanish intervention, Gondomar claimed, would actually achieve peace, if James could persuade Frederick to abdicate the Bohemian throne. James thought about it, and reponded by dismissing Herbert's superior, Sir Robert Naunton, the anti-Spanish Secretary of State, after which he decided he had better call a Parliament. At this point (November 8, 1620), Frederick V was defeated by Tilly at the battle of the White Mountain, and fled, with Elizabeth, to Breslau, with a few loyal followers. Within twenty-four hours Tilly and Maximilian entered Prague in triumph, Gabor was in retreat towards Transylvania and Mansfeld remained inactive. Now the Elector of Saxony's army crossed into the Palatinate, and no-one offered to help Frederick; the latter wrote to Thurn that "neither greed nor ambition brought us to Bohemia; neither poverty nor distress shall make us. . .do anything against honour or conscience."[9] Elizabeth, more practical than her husband, wrote to Buckingham, asking him "to use your best means with the King that he should now assist us" (Lockyer 83).

There now remained the English volunteers under Vere. If James intervened, they would no longer be volunteers, but an English army. James knew that Parliament was favourably disposed towards Frederick, but goodwill was no guarantee that they would now reach for their purses and enable a large English force to attempt the restoration of Frederick to the Palatinate. James, therefore, still persisted with his Spanish diplomacy, and when Philip III died in March 1621, he sent Lord Digby to Vienna to work directly on an agreement with Ferdinand. At the same time, he allowed Dohna to continue recruiting for Frederick. "The posture that James wanted to adopt, then," Conrad Russell writes, "was that of a regime ready, but not eager, to fight" (Russell, *Parliaments* 88); or, as Sir George Calvert put it in 1621, while James fervently wished to regain the Palatinate by negotiation, "if he cannot get it by fair means, he will win it by war" (Russell, *Parliaments* 89).

In April 1621 a cease-fire was arranged in the Palatinate, and it lasted only until July. Frederick, meanwhile, was granted political asylum in the Netherlands. The Bavarians completed their occupation of the upper Palatinate by October, but the Transylvanians and a newly-rejuvenated Mansfeld now offered resistance. Maximilian was pestering Ferdinand to appoint him Elector Palatine, but Ferdinand, worried about Protestant reaction, stalled; he promised Maximilian that he would ratify him at the next Imperial Diet, and that he would have to consult with Saxony

and Spain. The luckless postal messenger who carried Ferdinand's reply to Maximilian was captured by Mansfeld, and the letter was soon in the hands of Ludwig Camerarius, one of Frederick's loyal ministers, who published it, and "the popular outcry which followed the unsought publication of his plans persuaded Ferdinand that the transfer would have to be delayed" (Parker 67).[19] In spite of this, Ferdinand had not actually intended to double-cross Maximilian, and he sent envoys to various courts to persuade them to vote for the formal deposition of Frederick and his replacement by Maximilian. In the end, only Spain objected, but it was not until January 1623 that a *Deputationstag*, which was not a full Diet, appointed Maximilian, and then only for his lifetime, not that of his successors.

Frederick V, as historians have observed with some puzzlement, suddenly found friends in unexpected places. He was able to pay Mansfeld, and when money ran out in July 1622, the general was re-hired by the Dutch government, now an ally. Mansfeld immediately defeated the Spanish at Fleurus (August 22) and then raised the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, at which engagement Herbert's brother Richard was killed. Spinola was now unable to invade the Netherlands, and Frederick conceived the grand design of an all-out assault on the Imperialists, with Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswick, Bethlén Gabor and the remainder of his own forces under Count Thurn. Tilly, however, defeated Brunswick at Stadtlohn (August 6, 1623) and Mansfeld, again short of

funds, disbanded his army in January 1624. Even then, Frederick did not admit defeat, and many Protestants enlisted in the Dutch army to fight on his behalf.

In June 1621 James I had called a Parliament, which expressed not only moral support for Frederick V but called for an alliance with the Dutch. Here there emerged the great gulf between James and his Parliament: the Commons, looking back to the days of Drake and Hawkins, believed that war against Spain was the only way to save the Palatinate. James, for his part, rested all his hopes for peace on an Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance between Prince Charles and the very unwilling Infanta Maria of Spain. The Commons sensed, or thought they sensed, an attempt by the King to divert attention from domestic troubles; after all, 1621 was the year in which the Lord Chancellor, Bacon, was impeached for corruption. But James persisted in looking towards Europe, believing that preventing total war was more important than anything else, and he thought that the restoration of Frederick, if undertaken by force, would only exacerbate the situation, and in any case was only one ramification of the broader issue. The Commons did not see things this way at all, and "tended to think in terms of a religious crusade by means of a profitable sea war against Spain on the Elizabethan model." Certainly, they were sympathetic towards Frederick V, but in the long run they believed that Spain, rather than the Empire, was the enemy. Indeed, "they wanted to force Philip IV's hand rather than

rely upon persuasion. They also thought that military operations in the Palatinate might well cost more than they were worth" (Lockyer 107).[11] George Parker, however, sees it otherwise. "Paradoxically, therefore," he writes, "England insisted on regarding the Palatine question as a purely German affair, yet at the same time tried to link it with all sorts of other issues with which it had really no connexion" (Parker 64). Russell, however, is closer to the truth than Parker; James was both connected and unconnected with the Bohemian crisis. He was connected because Frederick was his son-in-law, but unconnected because the constitutional problems that the Bohemian crisis precipitated were purely German issues. James saw the imminent danger of European war, however, which to him meant inevitable English involvement; the old-fashioned and insular thinking of his Parliament was greatly frustrating to him, and his political acumen in this instance, as in so many others, far outstripped that of his advisers.

In the end, neither King James nor Parliament prevailed. On November 29, 1621, Sir George Goring rose in the House to suggest that the Commons draw up a Petition in which they were to urge James to make it clear that he considered Spanish actions in Europe an infringement upon the hereditary and lawful inheritance of the Elector Palatine, and that he was prepared to declare war on anyone who usurped Frederick's rights. James would be asked to demand the unconditional withdrawal of Spinola's army, and at the same time the King

of Spain should be requested to persuade Ferdinand to leave Frederick alone. It seems as if the English government did not know of Ferdinand's dealings with Maximilian of Bavaria, although it is possible that the King did (Russell, *Parliaments* 132-35). If James knew, Goring may have been acting on royal instructions, but James is more likely to have been involved with a proposal made two days earlier by Sir Edward Sackville, who demanded an immediate vote on supply to force Philip IV's hand. James was still stopping short of war, but trying to threaten Spain by a "no war, no peace" policy.

The Commons agreed to the Petition, but they modified it; the result angered Goring and Sackville, and made James livid. The House asked the King to enforce anti-Catholic laws which the tolerant James had allowed to sleep (La Rocca 22-25) and then demanded an end to the Spanish marriage negotiations and Prince Charles's engagement to a suitable Protestant princess. James refused the first, and he also told the Commons that they had no business interfering with his personal affairs. The Commons replied by declaring that they would "defend the true professors of the same Christian religion professed by the Church of England in foreign lands. . .being touched with a true sense and fellow feeling of their distresses" (Notestein V, 204). How far James was from this can be judged by a letter which he wrote (September 1622) to Pope Gregory XV:

> It is truly to be wished, and by all means to be endeavoured, that this mischief creep on no further but that, these storms at the last ceasing, and the rancour being removed by which they were at first raised, the hearts of those princes in whom it in any way concernes may be reunited in a firm and unchangeable friendship, and, as much as may be, knit together in stricter obligations than before, one to the other. This we have always had in our desires, and to bring it to pass have not hitherto spared any labour nor pains. . .
>
> (Akrigg, *Letters* 385)[122]

In November 1621 came the news of Ferdinand's secret deal with Maximilian, and in the same month the Dutch intercepted a letter from Ferdinand to Philip IV in which he informed the King of his intentions. Digby had returned with the news that the Emperor, now triumphing, was uninterested in negotiations, and James now "raved at the Emperor, and declared that he would never rest until he made war against him and to do so he would move hell itself" (Willson 243). And then, of course, the tide continued to turn against the Protestant cause; Gabor signed a treaty with Ferdinand in January 1622 because of Tilly's victories, and only Frankenthal, as we have seen, remained in Protestant hands. At the end of December 1621 James, recovering himself, once more refused to make war against Spain, and rejected the Petition. He wrote to Frederick and told him to give up fighting, suggesting that a general European council be called to decide the issues. But, as we have seen, Frederick believed his cause to be both just and holy, and ignored James's advice. After Tilly's victory over the Brandenburgers at Wimpffen (May 6, 1622) and over Duke Christian of Brunswick at Hochst (June 20), Frederick finally

began to see the light, and attempted to contact Maximilian, who disdained him and ordered Tilly to march on. Finally, James ordered Vere to hand over Frankenthal (March 1623) not to Tilly, but to the Archduchess Isabella of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Frederick V was finally finished.

Herbert and the Palatinate

Herbert's arrival in France coincided with the outbreak of the Bohemian crisis, and soon he would have to deal with French reaction to it. The "Most Christian King" of France and the "Most Catholic King" of Spain were rivals, and French hostility towards the House of Hapsburg extended, of course, to that branch of it which ruled the Holy Roman Empire. Although it had been nearly a century since the Emperor Charles V had inflicted a crushing defeat at Pavia on François I, the French had no love for the successors of the great Emperor. However, as Herbert himself noted, hostility towards outside powers was tempered by internal religious strife, the rivalry between the Queen Mother and the King, and the squabbles between the favourites of both, Concini and Luynes. Herbert's departure coincided, incidentally, with the rise to power of Richelieu, which in turn would lead to full-scale participation of France in the European war and the resumption of hostilities against the Huguenots.

Herbert began by hoping, and then assuming, that France

would remain neutral. He knew that there were anti-Hapsburg sentiments at Court, but he also knew that Louis XIII, together with his minister Luynes and others, was a fervid Catholic, and might possibly show himself pro-Spanish, or at least unwilling to risk war with Ferdinand. At the same time, Herbert believed that Louis would not risk war against the Protestant Union. He also knew that the Huguenots had powerful leaders, such as the Rohans, but could also count on support from Catholics of *politique* leanings. According to Rossi, Herbert was firmly convinced from the beginning that James I would intervene on Frederick's behalf, and he therefore bent all his considerable energies to supporting what he assumed was the King's policy. For all his intimacy with Buckingham, Herbert seems to have been unaware of the Spanish match until at least the middle of 1620, and all his correspondence on the matter shows that he heartily disapproved of it, as he was to oppose the French match later. He was also kept in the dark about the King's complex manoeuvering in European affairs, and complained several times to Naunton that he was not getting proper instructions.[139] In fact, James himself had provided the vaguest instructions, none of which were very helpful about the Palatine question, but when Herbert wrote directly to Frederick V (June 6, 1619), expressing his support, and mentioning that Prince Maurice might also be interested, he was plainly overstepping his authority. The new Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, visited France in August, and

Herbert entertained him, no doubt discussing the Palatinate question with him.[14]

Herbert's enthusiasm for the Protestant cause was both religious and political. He did not conceal it from Naunton, who, as we have seen, was anti-Spanish, and as early as September 1619 he was urging Frederick to accept the Bohemian crown, assuring him that James would surely assist him if need arose. Herbert expressed his ideas in a letter to Naunton:

> it is time therefore to have a watche upon their [the Jesuits'] proceedings, w^ch^ I hope in this Contrey will not bee difficult for mee. This while they make a q^em^ whether y^e^ Pal[sgrave] will accept ye office: but God forbid hee should refuse yt, being ye apparent way his providence hath opened to the ruine of ye Papacie. I hope therefore his Ma^tie^ will assist in this great work, having by means of winter approaching time enough to resolve, & prepare by treaties and other wayes against ye next sumer. For my part I heer offer both life & ffortunes to serve his Ma^tie^ this or any other way I may bee of use. (*Powysland Coll.* XX, 243)[15]

Herbert, agreeing with Frederick about the sacredness of his cause, saw the issue as largely religious: if Frederick accepted the throne, the Papacy would be in danger. Herbert saw the Elector as a kind of *Henricus redivivus*, a champion sent by God to confound the Pope and the Jesuits.[16] By referring to "treaties and other wayes" Herbert recognises the political side of the matter, but his religious feelings got the better of him, and he shows himself short-sighted indeed when he finds it impossible to see why James would *not* support Frederick. His statements as ambassador, moreover, contradict the eirenic spirit that shines forth in all his

religious writings, and his political *persona* is forever at odds with his philosophical one. In the political sense, if not the religious sense, Herbert in 1620 was very much the English Protestant. At the same time, he believed that the French government, if not pressed by the Jesuits (by whom Herbert means strict Catholics of any stamp), would either remain neutral or indeed assist the Bohemians, and he even went as far as writing to Luynes to ask when the King would be ready to ally himself with the Elector Palatine. To this he received no answer.

In fact, Louis and Luynes were otherwise occupied. The French Council had been entertaining the idea of an Anglo-French accord, which was to be symbolised not merely through a treaty, but with the marriage of Louis' sister Henriette Marie to Prince Charles. Very cautiously, while Herbert was at Merlou with the duc de Montmorency, the French began to sound out English opinion. They invited Sir Henry Herbert, who had been visiting his brother at Merlou, to come to Court, where he was lavishly entertained. Sir Henry obviously had a better *rapport* with Luynes than his brother did, for he was taken aside by the favourite and told of the proposed marriage. Astounded at these confidences, Sir Henry rushed back to Merlou and reported the conversation to Edward, who immediately set out to see the King. But Louis was on a progress, and had already left Paris for Chartres; Herbert intercepted the royal party at Senlis, but the King had already moved on, and Herbert was only able to speak to

Luynes because the latter had been left behind to recuperate from a foot injury. Luynes confirmed Sir Henry's story, and through Tillières, the future French ambassador to England, he asked for Herbert's support.[17] Herbert immediately dashed off a letter, not to James, but to Buckingham, adding that Luynes specifically requested Buckingham's support and friendship; as Rossi contemptuously remarks, it was to be "a treaty between two favourites" (Rossi, II, 85). Buckingham, however, was too timid at this point to inform James, and when Herbert next spoke to Luynes, the latter seemed to have lost interest. At about this time, the relationship between Herbert and Luynes began to show signs of strain, and it was later to erupt into hostility, with unpleasant consequences for Herbert.

Herbert's friendship with the Elector Palatine, however, had borne fruit, although this, too, would not be in Herbert's interests. Frederick began to see Herbert as a sort of unofficial ambassador for Bohemia, and asked him to head what would today be termed a "lobby" on behalf of Bohemia. On October 29, 1619, Herbert told Naunton that he had heard directly from Frederick, who had asked him to make representations on behalf of the Bohemians to Philipp Christoph von Sotern, the Elector of Trier, who happened to be visiting France, and whom Frederick knew was opposed to his acceptance of the Bohemian throne. "In general," Herbert told Naunton, "His Highnesse wishes me to do him all the good offices in this Court." Herbert then repeated the substance

of his letter to Jannin, the President of the Royal Council, and added, somewhat unwisely, that he spoke now not for King James, but "for the Palsgrave's Highness" (Lee 196).[18]

Herbert did all he could to advance Frederick's cause, but French government circles tended to agree with King James's assessment of the situation. Herbert claimed that Ferdinand wanted to make Bohemia into a Hapsburg fief, and that the Emperor, far from being elected King of Bohemia, had been imposed on the Bohemians by Matthias. In this assessment, Herbert was substantially correct. He asked either that France act against the Empire, or at least remain neutral. James, he believed, would "resolve to comfort the Palatine's Highnesse to the acceptation of this offered crowne," and that Frederick "may be assured of many servants & honorers in this country that will voluntarily offer their lives in y^e^ quarrel" (Lee 196). To Herbert, the issue was clean-cut; Frederick's cause was just, and James should act to reduce the power of the Hapsburgs and confound the Pope at the same time.

He was confident, moreover, that France would remain neutral by the fact that there was increasing Protestant unrest, particularly in the Béarn region, and Louis, he assumed, would not want to make matters worse by hostile moves towards a Protestant country. He was so convinced of French neutrality that he wrote to Frederick V (November 24, 1619) to let him know.

For the rest of 1619 Herbert remained optimistic,

although there were a few ominous signs which might have made him rethink his position. On December 3 Herbert informed Naunton that Louis XIII had been expressing concern about the treatment of Catholics in England, although he assured Herbert that he was ready to solemnise an Anglo-French treaty, the ratification of which had been one of the reasons that Herbert had gone to France. James had asked Herbert "to give [Louis] that best assurance you may from time to time of our brotherly friendship and affecc'n towards him, letting him know that for this purpose principally we have sent you as our ambassador to reside next his person" (*Powysland Coll. VI*, 417).[19]

Herbert, exaggerating the importance of the proposed treaty, now began to demand "extraordinary equipage"(Lee, 196)[20] from Naunton, but a week passed and nothing happened. He wrote again to Naunton, repeating assurances of French neutrality and requesting the Secretary to impress upon James the necessity of acting now.[21] But at this point Count Furstenberg, an envoy from Ferdinand, came to the French Court, and French officials would not tell Herbert what had been discussed with him. Herbert began to fear that Louis, faced with potential trouble in Béarn, and with encouragement from Luynes and other conservative Catholic elements such as the duc de Nevers, would begin to see the Bohemian issue as a theat to Catholicism (which, indeed, it was); Furstenberg's mission would add fuel to the fire and France might swing over to support of Ferdinand II and the Catholic League.

Herbert repressed these disturbing thoughts and still clung tenaciously to his notions of French neutrality.

By January 1620 Herbert was reporting military activity in Paris, although he did not know what its purpose was. He asked the duc de Guise, who replied that if Frederick's cause was so just, why had the King of England not raised troops on his behalf, and he would not tell Herbert just why the French army appeared to be mustering. Louis XIII now put off the signing of the accord until February, although he agreed to a preliminary ceremony in January; at the end of January Herbert wrote to James, enclosing a copy of a letter from Louis to Ferdinand, in which he believed that the French king wished only "to weight the Emperor's propositions" (Lee 202).[223]

Herbert must have finally started to realise that he was being unrealistic. In February he wrote to Naunton to obtain precise instructions from James, because he was worried that French opinion was turning against Frederick V, and that Louis was preparing to "convert" the Béarnais. The arrival of Count Gondomar in Paris also alarmed Herbert, as well it might, and on February 25 he told Naunton that the Bohemian cause was in trouble.

Herbert had in fact shown manifest ignorance of political machinations, for his chivalrous but short-sighted attitude towards Frederick V and the Protestant cause led him to overreach his authority as ambassador. James became aware of Herbert's actions, and instructed Naunton to tell the

ambassador not to meddle with what did not concern him:

> I must in my love [Naunton wrote] tell you that his Ma^tie^ upon perusal of y^e^ worthy course of yo^r^ last lre is apt to apprehende that you make your selfe an Agent for his sonne in law. w^ch^ if you sholde, it wolde contradict his Ma^ties^ owne proceedings both w^ch^ y^e^ king of Spaines ministers & others. Whereupon I am comanded to advise you to bee warie for carrying yo^r^ selfe in any such fashion, as may contrarie that w^ch^ his Ma^ty^ here telleth to Mons. de Tilliers. W^ch^ wold be the way to do much hurt to y^e^ busines, and no good. The onely course to keepe it from a warre of religion, being his Ma^ties^ not appearing to embrace it. Yo^r^ Lp shall do less therefore to answer such as shall be pressingly inquisitive (*a la francoise*) what his Ma^tie^ purpose to do in that cause: That it is unknowen to you, & that you have not any particul^r^ Instructions concerning it. (*Powysland Coll. XX*, 261)

It will be easily understood that Herbert and the King were at cross purposes here; James refused to treat the issue as religious, and Herbert had talked about the destruction of the Papacy and the Jesuits' plans. Now he had told Frederick that he thought the French favourably inclined, this letter from Naunton put him in an awkward position. Naunton, too, was caught; he was also adamantly opposed to a Spanish match, and his reference to what he calls Herbert's "worthy course" was by way of a personal commendation, while still conveying James's orders faithfully. In the end, Gondomar would procure Naunton's dismissal soon after the Spanish ambassador had visited France, and Herbert's recall came soon afterwards.

In fact, Louis XIII had no intention of assisting the Protestants. In spite of pressure from Switzerland, Venice, and the Grisons (the rulers of the Valtelline, a French

protectorate), Louis had first to deal with a revolt engineered by his mother (April-August 1620) and then with the conversion of Béarn (August 1620-October 1622). In 1621 the Grisons foolishly took unilateral action against the Hapsburgs, and were defeated, after which Spanish troops moved into the Valtelline. This "Valtelline question," Parker writes, "assumed much the same significance in Paris as the restoration of the Palatinate had acquired in London" (Parker 66).[223] Louis XIII organised a triple entente with Savoy and Venice against Spain, which coincided with a revolt in the Valtelline itself, and in 1623 Spain agreed to give up the territory to Papal forces during the four months it needed to withdraw Spanish troops from the Valtelline.

This crisis prompted a renewed interest in an Anglo-French marriage. at least from the French side, and in January 1621 Luynes sent his brother, the Marquis de Cadenet, to England to negotiate with James, who by this time, according to A.D. Lublinskaya, "was much concerned to help his son-in-law" (177),[224] although his subsequent actions, or lack thereof, do not seem to bear out this judgment. The French wanted to get James to pressure Spain, and they were prepared to offer in return a certain amount of assistance to Frederick V. At the same time they requested James not to assist the Hugenots, but he nevertheless received a deputation from La Rochelle, and would give only vague assurances to Louis. Against the advice of Sillery and Marshal Villeroy, Louis then sent Basompierre to Spain, where

Philip III told him that Spain would restore the Valtelline if France did not hinder Spanish operations in the Netherlands. When Philip III died in March he left instructions for his successor to draw up the Treaty of Madrid, and this was duly signed in April, 1621. Luynes, who had been made Constable of France, felt free to turn his attention to the Huguenots. The Spanish army began its evacuation, Spinola was left to do what he wanted, and England was inactive.

Herbert floundered in this diplomatic morass in 1620-21, having supposed, naïvely as it turned out, that his masters would be as enthusiastic about Bohemia as he himself was, and he now found that he had alienated Luynes and the strong Catholics at the French court, including the Spanish envoy and the powerful Papal ambassador, Bentivoglio, for whose experienced diplomacy Herbert was no match.[225] He began to hear rumours of the impending French-Hapsburg accord, and on January 8, 1620 Louis duly instructed the French ambassador in Vienna to inform Ferdinand that he was willing to send a French army to assist the Imperialist cause. Herbert immediately questioned Luynes and his colleague Puisieux, who "lied without scruple, and said that there had been. . .no official word on the subject" (Rossi II, 93). Herbert could only write to James (January 11, 1620), and urge him to intervene before it was too late, and he admitted that French enthusiasm for Frederick's cause was running out (*Powysland Coll.* XX, 262). By August his spirits were low indeed:

> I prepare my selfe for my journey to Courte in an equipage halfe Ambassadour, halfe Souldier, but your Honor may assure your selfe, that unlesse I have some message that may rellish the Kinges eares, I shall receive nothinge but affronts.
> (Powys Castle MS II, ii, fol. 34-5)

Soon after Herbert sent this letter, Louis XIII advanced into Béarn, hardly an encouraging sign for the Bohemians or the Protestants. Then came a letter from James I asking Herbert to exert himself upon the behalf of the Huguenots and the King offered mediation, but Louis was resolved, and the offer was too late.

In December 1620 Herbert received a letter from Queen Elizabeth, full of defiance after the White Mountain:

> I hope that since the warres are not ended to have a greater victorie than was an overthrow, I pray continue still to doe the King and me all the good offices you can where you are; I know manie will triomphe at these newes but tell them that all is not yett done.
> (Rossi II, 163 n.9)

But Herbert could do nothing for the Winter Queen: it was over for the moment, and he had to deal with French reaction to the disaster and turn his attention to the renewal of religious warfare in France itself. It is pleasant to note, however, that Elizabeth of Bohemia remained a loyal friend to Herbert after his disgrace, and that he reciprocated when she had no longer means to advance his ambitions.

Rossi considers that Herbert never properly understood political matters in France, and that he was prone to seeing them through the eyes of a philosopher rather than a politician. He was more concerned with the settlement of religious strife than he was with international affairs, and Rossi believes that to Herbert, the Thirty Years' War was simply another religious war. What Herbert learned, Rossi says, "made him turn indifferent towards religious politics" (Rossi, II, 121),[224] but he also notes that Herbert came down ultimately on the Protestant side because he believed it to be more in favour of toleration than the Catholic, and because Protestantism alone could separate itself from purely religious ambitions. This meant, in effect, that the Protestants appeared to be able to make a better, or more obvious distinction, between religion and politics. The Huguenots, although they were, at least technically, loyal to France and to the Catholic king, even after the tribulations they had suffered under the Valois rulers, and after the apostasy of Henri IV. No doubt Herbert's view of French politics was also coloured by his contact with the more enlightened elements, such as the Politiques, and although he knew that the Catholic church, and in particular the Jesuits, were politically active, he never quite accepted it. The indifference of which Rossi writes must actually be re-written as "ignorance." Herbert was, first and foremost, a

religious eirenicist, but his religious insights, as Rossi comments, helped him very little when it came to dealing with the reality of French politics because of what Rossi called "the mobility of the [French] national character" (II, 122). In Herbert's case, however, it may simply have been an inability to understand entirely how people thought when they were dealing with the exigencies of politics. Lying, misrepresentation and underhandedness are not solely French prerogatives, and the fact that Herbert could not use them as well as some of his counterparts was understandable in view of his lack of diplomatic experience. However, Herbert was not the only foreigner guilty of this particular fault at the French court; even Bentivoglio, we are told, thought the same way and misunderstood what Rossi terms "the deep spirit of the French," their ability to turn to "masonry, fascism, Catholicism, or monarchy" (II, 127). It is therefore obvious that for all his desire to be a citizen of the world, Herbert often remains disconcertingly English, witness his priggish and humourless response to Balagny's banter and his childish reaction to the matter of precedence over the Spanish envoy's carriage!

It is sometimes forgotten that the France to which Herbert went in 1619 was not that of Cardinal Richelieu, but of Queen Marie de' Medicis and her various favourites, of whom Concino Concini was the reigning one in 1617. Louis XIII was only sixteen at the time, but had begun to assert his authority against the Queen Mother, "a self-indulgent

woman, petty and frivolous, incapable of large designs" (Treasure 69), who was beleaguered alternately by the demands of the nobility (whom Henri IV had kept in place) or of the Huguenots, who feared for their rights and detested Marie and her "Italian" Court. In 1614 she had summoned the States-General in the name of the King, and the Prince de Condé, called upon to represent all classes, presented her with a long petition of grievances which ran the gamut from tax reform to education. Debate followed fruitless debate, and in February 1615 the Queen locked the delegates out and then sent them home. Under the influence of Concini the Queen-Regent, as she should be called, removed from power many of her husband's old retainers and promoted younger men such as Armand du Plessis, the Bishop of Autun, later Cardinal Richelieu. In 1617 Concini was assassinated and until 1624 policy was once again dominated by the old guard, men like Villeroy and Sillery.[27] Louis XIII, for his part, was not sorry to see Concini removed from the scene, and he struck at the Queen by promoting one of his own men, Charles d'Albret, duc de Luynes, who "rose as swiftly as one of his own hawks," in spite of the fact that "his own interests seem to have been as limited as his intellect" (Treasure 74),[28] Sillery and Villeroy soon saw that they had their hands full with Luynes, who managed to charm the chronically shy King and encourage him to disagree with them. Marie, at Concini's murder, feared for her life and fled with Richelieu to Blois, but in 1619 she openly defied the King, and it took all

Richelieu's skill to effect a reconciliation between them. Some of the nobles who had supported the Queen persisted, and raised an army, but Louis scattered it himself at the skirmish of Ponts-de-Cé.

Herbert arrived in France when this crisis was at its height. The last time he had been there France had been at peace, but now Henri IV had gone and the government was destabilised. Herbert knew that France's situation could effect the rest of Europe, and he also knew all about the religious factionalism, which under Louis and the anti-Protestant Luynes was becoming ever more volatile. Lastly, he would have to deal with the King himself, a man whom Rossi unfairly castigates as making French politics "even more incomprehensible and changeable by his disgraceful character, which combined a deplorable stubbornness with a lively sense of mistrust in his ministers" (II, 123). Recent research has shown that this view of Louis XIII is completely wrong, and that he is now likely to be truthfully described as having "some claim to be called a great French king" (Treasure 131). Herbert summed up this enigmatic man with the benefit of hindsight in his *Autobiography*, producing a marvellous set-piece of personal description, although it applies more accurately to the adult Louis than the twenty-year-old whom Herbert knew:

> His words were never many as being so extream a Stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his Tongue out of his Mouth a good while before he could speak so much as one word. He had besides a double row of teeth and was observed seldom to spit or blow his Nose, or to sweat much though he were very

> laborious. . .His understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in such ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit in time he acquired a great knowledge in affairs as conversing for the most part with wise and active Persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all those that were ignorantly brought up, Suspicion and Dissimulation: For as ignorant Persons walke so much in the Dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of Stumbling, and as they are likewise deprived of or deficient in those true Principles by which they should govern both Publick & Private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert Arts, which thoyugh it may sometimes be excusable in necessitous Persons, and be indeed frequent in those who negotiate in smal matters, yet comtemnable in Princes, who proceeding upon Foundations of Reason and Strength ought not to submit themselves to such poore Helps; Howbeit I must observe that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his Dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his Subjects either of the one or of the other Relligion. (93-4)

It must be noted that this passage was written in the 1640's by a man whose loyalty to his own monarch had been thoroughly shaken, yet whose career and prominence owed, after all, something to the institution. His criticism of dissimulation could easily have applied to Charles I, the king he felt he could no longer serve, and shows that Herbert never wavered from passing judgment on kings. He shrewdly points to the terrible upbringing of Louis XIII as a primary cause for his difficulties, and makes astute observations which in 1619 he could not have done.[209] He tells us here that what might be excusable in an ordinary person motivated by necessity is never excusable in a monarch; he expects honesty and uprightness from rulers, and a philosophy of ruling founded

on "reason and strength." But Louis XIII, whatever his faults, "had a lofty view of the calling of a king, and did not shrink from the labours and responsibilities of absolute government" (Treasure 132). With this modern verdict Herbert would have heartily agreed.

Herbert's view of Luynes is also accurate. The nine-year old Louis had been amused by Luynes's skill at making birds catch butterflies, and, as Herbert wittily remarks, "had the King used him for no other purpose, he might have been Tolerated." However, the man was ambitious, vain, useless and ignorant:

> How unfit was this man for the Credit he had with the King may be argued by This, that when there was a Question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it were an Inland Country or lay upon the Sea. (94)

Perhaps Luynes had been reading *The Winter's Tale*! Herbert passes on to the Queen, Anne of Austria, Philip IV's sister, whom he found "exceeding fair, and together of so mild and good a Condition, she was never noted to have done any ill offices to any." He also observes that the Queen, though childless, was "so ripe for [children] that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part" (94), perhaps an oblique reference to the reluctance of Louis XIII when it came to performing his connubial duties.

Herbert and the Huguenots

We have already seen how Herbert's political attitudes were formed, and that his own Protestantism made him sympathetic to the Huguenot cause. Herbert, for all the antipathy towards Calvinist predestination which he evinces in *De veritate*, felt that on the whole the Protestants were probably more tolerant than the Catholics, and certainly James I's policy seemed to point in that direction, at least when the King was not dealing with Puritans. Herbert's denunciation of the Pope and the Jesuits was based partially on popular prejudice, but also on the belief that both the Jesuits and the Catholic hierarchy in general were interested in domination of Christianity. Furthermore, Herbert's observations on the state of France in 1608-9 and his knowledge of what had preceded this period convinced him, in all probability, that the Protestantism he knew, at least, was more open to toleration than Catholicism. The case of a reformer like Erasmus, who went to England, was surely known to him, and his own younger contemporary, Spinoza, was to find Holland comparatively safe from persecution. In 1620 a number of letters passed between Herbert and Naunton on the subject of the Huguenots, whose cause Herbert believed King James should be more actively supporting. In a long letter written in March, 1620, for example, Herbert reported on a conversation he had with the King:

> Monsr de Chastillon told me that it was thought heer, the Deputies of those of yᵉ Relligion had

> intelligence with mee; wᶜʰ because (sd hee) you know it is not so, and that it may wrong their Cause, I pray you take occasion to cleare in yᵉ best manner you can, wᶜʰ I did accordingly. The Kinges answer was, yᵗ though yᵗ were trew he had heard as much yet he did not beleve it: but Sire I said yor Ma:ᵗʸ must favor me so much, as neither to beleve yt nor any such report, since by ye letter I brought you from ye King my Mr yor Maᵗʸ may see I am commanded nothing so much as to doe all yᵉ good offices I can, and I thinke that no ill one, If now, when I see no body dares speake for yor good subjects of yᵉ Relligion least them selves should bee thought of that ptie, I take yᵉ boldnes to tell yr Maᵗʸ yᵗ unlesse yor Maᵗʸ continue those Favours to yor good subjects of yᵉ Religion, wᶜʰ yor Father of happie memorie bestowed upon them, yor Maᵗʸ may justly suspect, yᵗ never will they give you yᵉ same affeccon they gave him, and I assure my selfe yor old Conseillers will tell you, yt is as good a maxim of state To preserve the love of yor owne good subjects, as Yor owne propre authoritie. The King by his countenance seemed to take this way well, and sd, if they be wise, they may have all from mee they may expect.
>
> (Rossi III, 450)

And in the *Autobiography* Herbert reports what Luynes said to Louis about being ruthless with the Huguenots:

> [Luynes said] he would neither be a great Prince as long as he suffred so Puissant a Party to remaine in his Dominions, nor could justly stile himself the most Christian King, as long as he permitted such Hereticks to be in that greate number they were, or to hold those strong Places which by publick Edict were assigned to them, and therefore that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards Had done the Moors, who are all banished into other Contreys as we may find in their Histories; This Counsell, though approved by the Young King was yet disliked by other Grave and Wise Persons about him, and particularly by the Chancellor Sillery and the President Jannin, who thought better to have a Peace which had two Religions than a Warr which had none. (104)

During August and September 1620 Herbert's letters show his mounting concern for the fate of the Huguenots, particularly after Louis XIII announced that he was about to begin the

"pacification" of the Béarn. After receiving several letters, James I himself finally sent Herbert an "uncharacteristically energetic" reply (Rossi II, 150) in which he practically gave Herbert *carte blanche* to intervene any way he could, and offered also to mediate. It was, as we have seen, too late, and the débacle of the White Mountain followed soon afterwards.

In February 1621 an alarmed Herbert told Naunton (Rossi III, 455) that Louis XIII had just held a meeting of the Royal Council in which he had asked for opinions about an all-out war against the Huguenots. One of the older ministers replied by speaking of "the miseries he had observed in the civil warres, between Charl.9 Henr.3 and those of the Religion," and he went on to point out that everyone, Catholic and Protestant, had been weary of these wars, and "that for his part, he desired not to see those of y^e^ Religion, *either in a better, or worse estate, than their last Edict of Nantes left them* [Herbert's italics]." Even Luynes was having some second thoughts, and "would have seconded, by using some words tending to pacification," but Louis himself interrupted, "saying VOUS NE SÇAUREZ PAS CE, QUE VOUS DITES" [Herbert's emphasis], and the Prince de Condé "took corage to poursue (after his wonted manner) *his arguments, & violences against those of the Religion* [Herbert's italics]," The question was now not whether there should be war, but when and how to get it under way; Herbert notes that Luynes's *volte-face* was not motivated by humanity,

but by a concern that "his ennemies, who dare not shew themselves openly in time of peace, will not feare to declare themselves openly in time of warre." Herbert is not sure, at the moment, whether war was in fact decided on, or whether *"Monsr de Luynes averseness from entering in to any warre at home. . .be a sufficient cause of this stay."*

Herbert's quarrel with Luynes and the end of his ambassadorship

Soon after this, Herbert's dislike of Luynes culminated in their famous quarrel, in which they very nearly came to blows. Herbert wrote a long letter to the new Secretary of State, Sir George Calvert. He begins by telling Calvert that he had asked for two audiences with the King to discuss several matters, including the Palatinate crisis, Cadenet's mission to England, condolences for the death of Philip III and King James's offer to mediate between Louis and the Huguenots. He received assurances from the King that the Edict of Nantes would not be violated or revoked, at which Herbert suggested that *all* hostile acts against the Protestants cease. Louis XIII hedged, saying that he must consult his ministers, "which by the way," Herbert told Calvert, "I must tell yr Honr is his ordinary conclusion, hee despatching allmost nothing by himself, but by his Conseill." Herbert then left, and waited for an hour in Luynes's office while the latter took advice as to what to reply to his requests. Luynes returned and spoke about some minor points,

after which the quarrel occurred:

> Wherewith coming to the point of the Extremitie, hee very rudely demanded, What the King my Master, had to doe, in their affayres, and why did he meddle in their businesses? I told him, that the King my Master was not to give him account, of his actions, and for mee, that it was sufficient to obey; yet, that I would make good, the King my Master hath allways more reason, to doe anything, his Ma^ty^ shall please to doe, then he hath, to aske why he does it.

From this point matters went from bad to worse. Herbert said that if Luynes "wold leave off, his high termes" he would try and explain, but was told "That they would have none of our Entremise." Herbert told Luynes he was sorry that the French government did not understand the goodwill that James had towards it, and that "wee knew very well, what wee had to doe." This angered Luynes, who retorted, "Wee feare not you," and then

> I replyed, that if hee had sayd, hee did not love us, I should have beleeved him: but should aswell have returned an other answer, In the meane while I would say no more then I had sayd before, which was, that wee knew very well, what wee had to doe; and thereupon did arise, to goe my wayes, as thinking therin, not only to have sufficiently conveyed to his understanding the sharpest part of my message, but to have bestowed it, much better there, then on the King, upon whose gentle answers I could not properly fasten that part of my Instructions.
>
> (Rossi III, 457)

Herbert wrote (July 1621) a follow-up letter directly to James I, giving him an account not differing in substance from that which he had sent to Calvert, but adding information about a second interview he had had with Louis XIII. In this letter Herbert makes use of his knowledge of James's pacifism, and protests that he never exceeded

instructions. He wrote again to Calvert, and gave a lively description of his audience with the King, especially of Louis' mannerisms and speech. "It rests," writes Herbert, "that I tell y^r^ Hon^r^ how he received this message wherein, because the naturall imperfection of his Tongue hath made him slow of speech, & reserved." Herbert reminded Louis once more of the Edict of Nantes, which he himself had confirmed, and

> I will begin with some other his inward motions, which this Court observes, are in him, not a little remarquable, when I told him therefore, of the Edicts. . .he smiled, in such a fashion, as (nisi me coniectura fallit) hee would have intimated, that by one of P. Arnoux distinctions, CIRCA FIDEM, not SERVANDAM CUM HÆRETICIS, hee knew how to evade that promise; But when I sayd, that if (which God forbid) hee should endeavor to extirpate those of the Relligion, out of his Dominions, that his Ma^tie^ was tyed in Honor, & by many former protestations, to doe his best for them, &c: I assure y^r^ Honor hee sighed, some space after which, he brought forth these words, I CAN SAY NO MORE, THEN I HAVE SAID ALLREADY, W^ch^ IS, THAT I WILL OBSERVE THE EDICTS, TO THOSE OF THE RELLIGION. But herewithall, I found his cullour did change, whereupon I thought fitt (as of my selfe) to tell him, that hee could not find this Declaration, of the Kinge my Master, in any wayes strange, since his Ministers of State, had told mee heretofore, in the affaire of Bohemia, that if it once came to a warr of Relligion, they could do noe lesse then imploy their best forces, for the assisting the Emperour; I found this reason did so astonish him, that though he laboured to say somewhat, he was alltogether unprovided what to say. . .
>
> (Rossi III, 458-9)

As we have seen, Louis' hands were, in fact, tied. He seemed to be willing to leave the Edict of Nantes in place, but remembered that his father had only received Papal absolution in 1589 on promising to bring all of France back

into the Catholic fold. Together with this, Louis was worried about the Valtelline crisis, which had just flared up, which would effect France's relations with Spain. Louis was being urged, by Herbert as well as some of his own councillors. to assist Frederick V, or at least to keep England appeased. Herbert seems to have had little patience with the French king's position, and he insisted on seeing diplomacy as a form of logical process, without making allowances for the contradictions, lies and machinations which he knew very well were conspiring to make his life difficult. In the end, all he could do was to beat a strategic retreat and become more of a spectator than a participant in events which he could no longer influence. His experiences culminated with the Luynes quarrel, which Herbert saw more as a matter of honour than diplomacy, thus displaying a quixotic concern for old-fashioned niceties rather than ambassadorial acumen. This is even more evident in the account Herbert gives in his *Autobiography*, which while it is essentially the same as his report to Calvert, adds a few details which sound authentic enough, but say more about Herbert's impatience and touchiness than about Luynes's ineptitude as a minister of the French crown. After telling Luynes that the English knew very well what they had to do, the conversation continued thus:

> This though somewhat lesse than was in my Instructions, so angered him, that in much Passion he said, Per dieu si Vous n'estiez Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, Ie vous traitterois d'un autre sorter, by God if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another Fashion. My answer

> was that as I was an Ambassadour so I was a Gentleman, and therwithall laying my hand upon the Hilt of my Sword told him there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my Chair. To which Monsieur de Luines made no reply, but arising likewise from his Chair offered very civilly to accompany me to the door, but I telling him there was no Occasion for him to use Ceremony after so rude an Entertainment, I departed from him. (108)

A dispassionate reader might well conclude from this that Louis XIII had enough to contend with already, without the English ambassador threatening his chief minister. As Herbert later told Calvert (July 1621), however, Louis assured him that "LUINES HATH SAYD NOTHING, BUT BY MY COMMANDMENT," and subsequently he "suffred M. de Luines to covre himself thus, under his Authoritie, onely to avoyd as I take it, the questioning of his wordes hereafter" (Rossi III, 460). Herbert, no doubt, saw through Luynes, but never understood why politics worked the way it did; Louis XIII, for his part, was clearly right to support his minister, and Herbert was wrong to suggest that this betokened weakness on the part of the King. His last interview with the King was polite enough, but hardly spectacular:

> I told him, that I had asked leave, of the King my Mr to returne into Englande, to see whether I could recover my healthe, wch if I could obtaine, I thought I should not see his Matie againe before my departure, hee asked me WHETHER I INTENDED TO RETURNE, HITHER AGAINE, OR NO. I told him, that depended wholly on the Kg. my Mr's will, but for my particular, I should have little pleasure to returne, unlesse I saw those of the Religion established in their former Estate, hee told me, I HOPE ALL WILL GOE WELL SHORTLY: Besides (Sire), sayd I, I should be glad to have better answers, then I have had hetherunto, for the King my Masters busines, hee answered mee, SOE YOU SHALL HAVE, lastly hee told mee, IF YOU GOE THITHER, I PRAY

> YOU, TELL THE KG MY BROTHER, THAT I DESIRE HIM, TO KEEPE MEE, IN HIS GOOD GRACES, I told him that, I was not yet assured that the King my Master would give mee leave, to returne, but if hee did, I would say as much.
>
> (Rossi III, 460)

After Herbert left the King's presence he was stopped by Marshal St. Géran, who warned him that he "was not in a place of Surety. . .as having offended Monsieur de Luines" (109), and it was probably due to the Marshal's good offices that Herbert obtained yet another audience with the King, "which. . .being obtained, I found not soe cold a Reception as I thought to meet with." Herbert's illness may or may not have been psychosomatic, as he was something of a hypochondriac, but he was genuinely unwell by the time he returned to England in 1624. Later he was told by Buckingham that he had been accused to Louis not by Luines, but by Luynes's brother Cadenet, and to James by Tillières, the French ambassador. His response was characteristic:

> The Ambassador into England following shortly after with a huge Train in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad. . .Coming thus to Court, the Duke of Buckingham who was then my noble Friend informed me at large of the Objections represented by the French ambassador; to which when I had made my defence. . .I added that I was ready to make good all I had said, with my sword, and shortly after I did in the presence of His Majesty and the Duke of Buckingham humbly desire leave to send a Trumpet to M. de Luines to offer him the Combate upon termes that passed betweene us, which was not permitted. (110)

Herbert was, eventually, exonerated, as the Earl of Carlisle[50] "brought home a Confirmation of the Passages betwixt Monsieur de Luines and my Self." The sudden death of

Luynes was followed by Herbert's reappointment, and this time King James said "that he would give mee no Instructions, but leave all things to my discretion" (*Autobiography* 111). Herbert was flattered, but also cautious enough now to ask Carlisle to intercede with the King and request instructions. James, probably seeking to reassure Herbert of his trustworthiness, declined, and Herbert duly returned to Paris, where he found no-one "being eyther offended. . .or that were sorry for [Luynes's] death" (112).

Herbert's Second Embassy and the Spanish Marriage

The same concerns dominated Herbert's "second term," namely the resolution of the Bohemian crisis, and the possible marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Maria of Spain. Herbert was also involved with the Huguenots, but by the time he left in 1624 the stage had been set for war against them, as well as for French involvement in the general European conflict. Richelieu was just beginning to take over as Louis' chief minister, and the strengthening of French absolutism, which was the overriding concern of Louis XIII and Richelieu, began to get seriously under way. In England, King James and his Parliament were once more at loggerheads, and the growing unpopularity of Buckingham made it unlikely that Herbert, one of his friends, would have much hope for advancement after he finally returned from France.

James, as we have seen, called Parliament in the spring of 1621, a singularly inauspicious time to do so, because a slump in the demand for cloth had caused an economic depression, and there had also been bad harvests and some food shortages. All this meant that Parliament would be concentrating on home issues, and so "the Parliament of 1621 was the beginning of a determined attempt by James and Buckingham to come to terms with Parliament" (Russell, *Crisis* 292). Hence, the Lord Chancellor, Bacon, found himself impeached for taking bribes, an action which showed that the Commons "had recovered their power, not used since the fifteenth century, to remove those of the King's ministers who did not command their confidence" (296). An exasperated James now forbade Parliament to discuss foreign policy (he had never forgiven the Petition), dissolved the House, and even imprisoned some of the noisier members. He decided that he alone (with Prince Charles and Buckingham, of course) would set foreign policy, and continued negotiations with Spain, with which the Spaniards were delighted, because it held up English decisions on the Bohemian question. This charade continued until 1623, ending in the comic-opera episode of Charles and Buckingham riding across France disguised with beards and false moustaches and arriving in Madrid to pay the Infanta Maria a surprise visit. All this did was to cement the relationship of Charles and Buckingham and to set England rejoicing that there was to be no match with the hated Spaniards.

Herbert was one of those who knew about the "secret" mission, and on March 8, 1623, he wrote to King James to assure him that the travellers were safe, "But where his Highness and they are, at this present, I cannot possibly discover." He explains that he has taken steps to preserve the *incognito*, but warns that Louis XIII would soon know from his ambassador in England, although as the King was out hunting he had not received the message yet. Herbert then spoke to Puisieux, one of Louis' ministers,

> to desire him that there might bee no resolution taken, about the affaires of your S. Majesty, or any that had relation to them, until my Lord of Carleills coming, who would be Eere this Night; *Hee told mee, he understood my meaninge, & that though, he could not but wonder at his Highenes cominge over in this fashion*, yet that Hee knew the Kinge his Master, would bidde him welcome, yf he would stay here, or when hee would go, give him, all-free comodity, and passage, through the Cuntrey.
>
> (Rossi III, 463)

Herbert wrote to James a few weeks later (March 26), giving details about French reaction to the venture, and the news was not gratifying to King James. French opinion, Herbert told him, was negative--courtiers and politicians alike thought that the journey was dangerous and that it should have been forbidden. The French were concerned that the Pope had not yet approved of the match, and, lastly, "they thinke it, to bee somuch to the Prejudice of the Allyance and friendship with your S. Majesty, that they take Counsaile, for reintegrating themselves with Spaine." He noted that Louis XIII had suspended action in the Valtelline, "as thinking in the interim, to be able to frame some Judgment of

His Highenes Journey." The French, he added, believed that the marriage would take place, but that Charles "wilbee detained in Spaine untill the Infanta have children" (Rossi III, 464)! Herbert then left for Merlou, and from there wrote to Buckingham, warning him that some people in France "doe not wish well unto your Grace" (Rossi III, 464) because they believed that Buckingham really wished to sabotage the Spanish marriage and substitute one of his own relatives for the Infanta.

Charles and Buckingham, incredibly, managed to retain their *incognito* for a time, and actually saw Louis XIII, Queen Anne of Austria and the Queen Mother at a ball in Paris. They seemed to think that their adventure was just an elaborate game, but the French thought otherwise, and in any case, some of the English party, which included Lord Cottington and Endymion Porter, did not remain unrecognised.[31] They all arrived in Madrid without incident, and were housed by the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador. On March 16 Charles rode through Madrid in state, together with the King, Queen and Count-Duke Olivarez, Philip IV's chief minister. Yet all was not well:

> The morning after Charles's arrival, King Philip, remembering his own father's dying declaration that it had never been his intention to marry his daughter to the Prince of Wales, had sworn before a crucifix that he would not give way in the marriage negotiations on any religious matter, however small; and at first it had seemed that no religious concessions would be necessary.
>
> (Hibbert 56)

Buckingham cheerfully attended Mass and eschewed the

Protestant chapel, thus making Philip IV and Olivarez think that the Prince intended to abjure his faith. King James, however, sharply reminded his "two brave boys" that although he was ready "to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras*" (Akrigg, *Letters* 424) he was not "a Monsieur, who can shift his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt when he comes in from tennis" (Hibbert 58). And thus the matter dragged on, to no-one's credit, until on August 10 James ordered them to return "either with her or without her. . .the necessity of my affairs forceth me to tell ye that ye must prefer the obedience to a father for the love ye carry to a mistress" (Akrigg, *Letters* 424). Charles and Buckingham finally returned, without the Infanta Maria, on October 25, having left Bristol to contend with the aftermath in Madrid; war was duly declared on Spain, against James's better judgment, when the new Parliament met in 1624.

James now had to contend with those who were advocating retaliation against the Emperor Ferdinand, although he knew that there was no money for a full-scale campaign on land as well as the much-touted sea-war against Spain, so dear to the hearts of the Commons. Charles and Buckingham were now clamouring at the old King's ears demanding that he avenge the injured honour of England, and the Commons rediscovered their enthusiasm for the cause of the Winter King and Queen. It was therefore resolved that a new ally, France, be courted, and the idea of a match between Prince Charles and Henriette Marie de Bourbon resurfaced. This is what Rossi

aptly termed "*la grande svolta della politicà inglese*" (II, 357).

Like any intelligent observer, Herbert now failed to see that a French marriage would solve anything, and he was well aware of its possible consequences for Protestantism. James was being forced unwillingly along the path to war, for "Buckingham and Charles wanted a war to vindicate their honour, not to help the Elector Palatine" (Rossi II, 357). Herbert, however, *did* want to assist Frederick V, and noted that "several French Gentlemen came to mee for Recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance" (*Autobiography* 113).

In February 1624 Lord Kensington[202] arrived in Paris as ambassador extraordinary with the mission of presenting Prince Charles to the French court as favourably as he could, and to gather information about the princess. Kensington was told that France wished England to ease up on Catholics, and in his turn the ambassador demanded a contribution to the struggle against Spain. James wrote to Louis XIII (July 21) to assure him that he wished "to confirm and complete the perfect friendship that exists between our persons," and he mentioned "this subject" which Kensington had been commanded "to dilate more particularly upon" (Akrigg, *Letters* 435). When Herbert had spoken to Kensington about his mission, he took an extraordinary risk, writing to James and telling him honestly that the proposed match was dangerous and not in the interests of England:

> they intend to require the same priviledges hee [Philip IV] did, and the rather, that they are conforted therunto by the Jesuits and their adherents, who represent this, as a busines, not only easie for the Kinge, as having this precedent of Spaine, but profitable for him, since, by this meanes, he will ever have a partie in England, to counterballance, those of the Religion here, to wch, their owne comoditie of having a shorter passage, into your S. Majesties Countreys, then they could have from Spaine being added they strenuously labor in it; Lastly, though it were alledged by one of their statesmen, that some good might follow even to your Majestie herein, inasmuch as it would divide and distract them, from their dependencie on Spaine, & consequently raise a faction, by wch they might more easily bee governed, yet when the inconveniencies on the other hand, are weighed, I doubt not, but your S. Majestie will judge, the protection of this neighbour State, to bee more dangerous then that of a remoter Cuntrey: Yf I been not mis-informed, they will strive to dispose your S. Majestie to relinquishe your S. Majesties title to, and stile of, Kinge of this Cuntrey [the old claim that the King of England was the lawful ruler of France] wch. God forbidde yet, or that your S. Majestie should ever accord. Or, yf none of these advantages, and some others, perchance, which I have not yet discovered, can bee obtained, they pretende at least, to prolonge the treaty, that they may gaine time, to advise, how they are to behave them selves, in the warre, betwixt your S. Majestie and the House of Austria, of wch they would render them selves arbiters, and in the meane time, settle their owne affaires at home, to the assured detriment of those of the Relligion: In regard whereof, your S. Majestie may bee pleased, to bringe them heere, to some reall and infallible proofs, of assistinge your S. Majestie in the recovery of the Palatinate, at the same time, or before, your S. Majestie makes any other Allyance: since otherwise having their match with Spaine (whc is double) to alledge against the reasons, which may be inforced oute of this other matche, they will want no excuse, to keepe them selves in that peace and neutrality, wch I have above mentioned. (Rossi III, 465-66)

It is reasonable to suppose that this letter effectively killed Herbert's diplomatic career, although he may have been telling James what the King already suspected or knew, but

hoped would not come to pass. By allying himself with the opponents of the French marriage, Herbert went against Buckingham, to whom James no doubt showed the letter. Herbert soon heard "a report generally raised, that I shallbe recalled," as he mentioned in a letter to Buckingham:

> for my part, since I heare nothing thereof from your Grace I tell them I do not beleeve it, and that I conceive it to be grounded upon the notice is taken of my journey to England, for wch, I am preparing by the boldnes to signifie to your Grace; In the meane while, havinge found the correspondence of both Nations in such ill termes, at my arrival hither, that now could bee at more opposition, without coming to open warre, and those unkindnesses, being againe aggravated by his Majesties treaty with Spaine, and this Kings oppression of those of the relligion here, your Grace will beleeve, it was not easie for mee to maintaine that good intelligence, wch I have (now diverse years) procured between the two Kingdomes.

Because of the marriage, "it would bee so notable a Disgrace to bee recalled, unlesse it were to some better Preferment" (Rossi III, 465), and Herbert asked Buckingham to approach the King. On April 24 Herbert wrote to Conway, letting him know that "I cannot beleeve my services should be requited in that manner, who haveinge borne the heate of the day during his Ma^{ties} treaty with Spaine and the warre here with those of the Relligion." He begged Conway to "represent unto my L.D. . .how much it concerns mee that eyther his Majestie should give mee some place of preferment. . .or that I should bee recalled home, for a time onely, and so returne hither" (Rossi III, 467-68). His pleas falling on deaf ears, Herbert left for England in August 1624, his diplomatic career over.

[1] Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester (c.1550-1628) was sent to Scotland by Elizabeth I in 1590 to congratulate James I on his marriage to Anne of Austria, and in 1603 Queen Anne appointed him Master of the Horse. Worcester was also an avid patron of masques and plays, having his own company of players.

[2] Shuttleworth (147) identifies Mennon as René de Menou, the friend and editor of Pluvinel, the great authority on riding. Disancour[t] was *écuyer* (squire) to the duc de Montmorency, and he had taught Herbert to ride the "great horse" in 1608. He now ran his own riding academy.

[3] Matthias (1557-1619) ruled from 1612 to 1619. He was the brother of the mad Emperor Rudolph II, with whom hen had been feuding since 1606. In 1611 Matthias was crowned King of Bohemia, much to the annoyance of his brother, and succeeded Rudolph when he was deposed the next year. As Emperor, Matthias "never became the effective ruler even of his own territories" (Heer 192); he did, however, keep an interesting and informative diary, in which he recorded the details of his own coronation and jotted down court gossip.

Bethlén Gabor (1580-1629), Prince of Transylvania, was elected Prince of Hungary (1620) with Turkish help. A Calvinist, he was a constant thorn in the side of the Hapsburgs, twice investing Vienna itself (1620-21). In 1628 he allied himself with Christian IV of Denmark and with England, but when the Danes were defeated he withdrew to Hungary.

Prince Christian of Anhalt-Bernberg (1568-1630) was first a Lutheran, then a Calvinist. In 1591 he joined the service of Henri IV of France, and in 1595 the Elector Palatine Frederick IV made him Governor of the Upper Palatinate. He subsequently became the chief adviser to Frederick V and commanded at the White Mountain, after which he went into exile. Ferdinand II pardoned him, and he returned to Anhalt. For details under all three headings, see Koenigsberger 57-8, 222-23.

[4] The event was the famous "Defenestration of Prague," graphically described by Wedgwood, 78-80.

[5] Cardinal Melchior Khlesl (1553-1630) was Bishop of Vienna from 1602 and was made a cardinal the same year. Matthias appointed him Imperial Chancellor (1612), and Khlesl sought to expand the Catholic League through diplomacy, wishing it to include Lutheran princes who supported the Emperor. His policy led to a clash with Ferdinand of Styria, who had him arrested.

[6] Osman II (1604-1622) reigned from 1618 to 1622. His predecessor Mustapha I (1617-18) had co-operated with Gabor in Transylvania, and Osaman continued his policy. His offer of assistance came to nothing because of internal dissention which led to the Sultan's assassination in 1622.

[7] Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626), a formidably charming diplomat, was ambassador to England from 1613 to 1625, and exercised great influence over James I. For details see Akrigg, *Letters* 385-86, and Herbert, *Autobiography* 114-15. Herbert calls him "an able Person and dexterous in his Negotiations."

[8] Count Thurn (1567-1640) left the service of Rudolph II and joined the Protestants in Bohemia. He was present at the Defenestration of Prague, and in 1621 joined Gustavus II Adolphus's army. In 1633 he was appointed commander of the Swedish army by Queen Christina.

[9] Ludwig Camerarius (1573-1651) served as Frederick V's foreign minister from 1603 until 1620. In 1626 he joined the Swedish diplomatic service, where he remained until 1641. His publication of Ferdinand's letter was "sensational" (Parker 252) because it was one of the rare occasions when diplomatic moves were made public.

[10] James, thinking politically, thought that Ferdinand was threatening the peace of Europe in general, and wished to form a league not against Catholics (which would alienate France) but against the Emperor. If Philip IV felt threatened, that would have been a fringe benefit.

[11] Akrigg calls this "one of James's most unrealistic visions" (384), but the King was not alone in his pacific desires, as J.R. and M.C. Jacob have indicated.

Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi) (1554-1623) was a former Papal diplomat who founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, "expressly to derive maximum benefit for the Catholic Church from the victories of Ferdinand and his allies" (Parker 92). His Holiness did not reply to James's letter.

[12] Sir Robert Naunton (1563-1635) was Secretary of State from 1618 to 1621. He is described by Lockyer as "a dependent of Buckingham" (36). After his dismissal Naunton returned to his old post of Surveyor of the Court of Wards (1625).

[13] Frederick Henry, Prince of Nassau (1583-1647), a rare example of unblemished integrity, succeeded as Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of the Netherlands in 1625. In 1629 he drove the Spaniards out of northwestern Germany.

[14] There are six volumes of Herbert's diplomatic correspondence in the Public Record Office, London (Class

30/53) and the British Library holds *Sir Edward Herbert's Book of Despatches in 1619* (B.M. Add. MSS. 7082). I was unable to find time to consult these original sources, and have relied on Rossi's transcriptions (III, Appendix II) and on Lee. Herbert was concerned about the exact status of his ambassadorship, for an ambassador extraordinary was a much more considerable personage than an ordinary. According to Akrigg, "the ordinary resident served for a term of three years" [Herbert served nearly five], but "negotiating a treaty. . .almost always required special ambassadors" (*Pageant* 56-7). Herbert's large retinue suggested extraordinary status, but nothing in the official correspondence suggests that he enjoyed it, although he obviously felt that he *needed* to act like an Ambassador Extraordinary.

[15] The Jesuits, like the Communists in the United States today, were generally thought of as the originators of all evil plots and anything else untoward. In fact, they did have a great deal of influence, and both Ferdinand II and Maximilian of Bavaria employed Jesuits as confessors. When Frederick V fled, Jesuits poured into Bohemia, but found it no easy task to convert the Bohemians (Wedgwood 176-77). Cardinal Khlesl was worried about their influence, and wrote to the Emperor Matthias in 1618 that "the Court of Graz [Ferdinand of Styria's court] is ruled as much by the counsel of Jesuits as it is by the Archduke's advisers; they are with, around, and about the Archduke day and night" (Parker 39).

[16] Tanneguy le Veneur, comte de Tillières, was ambassador to England from 1621 to 1625. His *Memoirs* provide much information about seventeenth-century diplomacy.

[17] Philipp Christoph von Sotern (1567-1652) was Bishop of Speyer from 1610 and reigned as Elector of Trier from 1623. In 1631 he accepted Louis XIII's offer of French protection, but was defeated and imprisoned by the Swedes (1635-45). Herbert's plan to "lobby" him was not fanciful. Rossi quotes a letter from Frederick V to Herbert in which the Elector specifically asks him to act as his agent: "*je me tiens tout certain*," writes Frederick, "*que vous ferez un très agréable service au Roy de la Grande Bretagne*" (II, 188),

[18] Herbert seems to have believed that he was supposed to act as Ambassador Extraordinary, because he had been asked to ratify a treaty.

[19] Herbert attended a preliminary ceremony as Ambassador Extraordinary, and told Naunton (January 8, 1620) that "your Honor will I think hear that no man was ever beyond me," and added "they did insinuate it was a favour, that from an ambassador ordinary they did accept me in the quality of an extraordinary (even for one day) though at last they

concluded my commission apart did oblige them to it" (fol. 91).

[20] "For my part," he wrote, "I have many reasons to believe they will be neutral, wherein I may come from words to more evident testimonies." He observes that the French cannot afford to pay an army and that internal rivalry made finding a commander for it impossible in any case. He also mentions a recent outbreak of plague.

[21] Herbert assured James that Louis would not send troops to assist Ferdinand.

[22] A good account, which Parker calls "outstanding," may be found in *The Cambridge Modern History*, Volume IV, Chapter 2.

[23] Cadenet managed to offend everyone, including the French ambassador to England, and his mission accomplished nothing.

[24] Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (1577-1644) was the most experienced foreign diplomat in Paris. His *Relationi* were collected by Erycio Puteano (Modena, 1623) and his *Raccoltà di lettere* (Rome, 1654) provided Rossi with a wealth of sources. Bentivoglio was instrumental in persuading Louis XIII to throw in his lot with the Emperor.

[25] Rossi notes that the war and the religious strife confirmed Herbert in his idea that only an eirenic religion would lead to world peace.

[26] Nicolas Brulart de Sillery (d.1642) was made Chancellor by Henri IV, and later opposed Richelieu. Treasure (510) describes him as a *nouveau riche*, who was, nevertheless, "intelligent as well as rich," and patronised architects.

Nicolas de Neufville, seigneur de Villeroy (1542-1617) was another of Henri IV's ministers who advocated peace and toleration, although he was a Marshal of France. Like Sillery, he opposed Concini, Luynes, and Richelieu.

[27] Charles d'Albret, duc de Luynes (1590-1621) started as a page to Henri IV, and was appointed Master of the Falcons by Louis XIII. He eventually rose to the rank of Constable of France. The verdict passed on him by Herbert and French contemporaries has not been reversed by modern historians.

[28] Louis XIII (1601-1643) reigned from 1610 to 1643. Rossi's judgment on this King is completely wrong, and historians now realise that Louis XIII has been vastly underestimated. Philippe Erlanger's biography (1936) and the study of his reign by Tapié have largely rehabilitated him. Lough has a good account of Louis and Richelieu, and Treasure is indispensible. Lublinskaya is especially perceptive on the period prior to Richelieu, 1610-24.

[29] All Louis' medical problems are detailed in the *Journal* of his physician, Héroard.

[30] James Hay, Earl of Carlisle (d.1636) came from Scotland with James I. Of his character, Russell notes that he was "one of the most extravagant of Jacobean courtiers" (*Crisis* 290). He was Master of the Wardrobe to James I.

[31] Endymion Porter (1587-1649) had lived in Spain, where he had relatives in the household of Count-Duke Olivarez. A great art collector and conoisseur, he became Groom of the Prince's Chamber. and when Charles I became king, Porter was appointed his chief art buyer in Europe. He attracted Vandyke to England, and was patron to Andrew Marvell.

Sir Francis, later Baron Cottington (1578-1652) was sent to Spain in 1605, and after 1609 served as English agent, the ambassador, Sir Charles Cornwallis, having been recalled. He supported the Spanish marriage, and in 1616 was made Ambassador to Spain. In 1624 he became a Catholic, but drew on himself the wrath of Buckingham, and was kept out of office until 1629, when he became Lord Treasurer. After the Civil War he settled in Valladolid, Spain.

[32] Henry Rich, Earl of Kensington and Holland (1590-1649), a man of charm and wit, "wooed" Henriette Marie for Prince Charles. He became Comptroller of the Queen's Household, but when Lord Hertford was appointed Groom of the Stole (1644), he abandoned the royal family and joined the Parliamentary ranks.

CHAPTER SEVEN

During his time in France, Herbert found the time to write poetry and to work on *De veritate*. Any leisure time he had seems to have spent with the Montmorency family at Merlou, which the new duke all but placed at Herbert's disposal. He spent some of his free time in Paris with the rich and influential, "Persons of all Quality being soe addicted to have mutuall Entertaynement of each other." If the weather was good, they congregated in the Tuileries Gardens or at Vincennes, and when it was not "they spent their tyme in Visits at each others houses where they interchanged civill Discourses or heard Musick or fell a dancing" (102). As usual, Herbert took time in his *Autobiography* to describe how persons of the highest rank, notably Queen Anne of Austria, vied for his company, and his large house on the rue Tournon was the scene of many a banquet, including entertainments for the Prince of Orange and for Gondomar. His house cost him £200 in rent *per annum*, and this, together with the general cost of maintaining significant English presence in Paris nearly bankrupted him, and it would be a long time before he began to receive any reimbursement for his expenses. In fact, financial problems continued to dog Herbert unceasingly for the greater part of the rest of his life, and his correspondence contains many letters, angry, begging and resigned, which have as their subject Herbert's solvency.

Sir Sidney Lee was no doubt correct in his observation that Herbert "had no wish to retire [from political life] at the early age of forty-two" (Lee 137). However, when he returned to England in 1624 he was given little choice, and it is difficult to see, under the circumstances, what career he could have followed. Yet he needed to do something, for sitting back on his none-too-glorious ambassadorial laurels would not provide him with a solution for his financial straits. It may have occurred to him also that he could not rely on Buckingham's help any more; his championship of Frederick V and the Huguenots had not been entirely to the liking of King James, and his opposition to the new French marriage proposals won him few friends, although he would be proved right in the ensuing years. Herbert knew that Louis XIII and his advisers were not interested in the Protestant cause and would in all likelihood bend their energies to the elimination of their own Protestants. Herbert had been far too outspoken, and his reward was to be indifference.

However, when he returned, Herbert, as an ex-ambassador, could reasonably expect a recognition of his services or, at least, further employment. It was not until December 1624, however, that he received notice that he was to be created Baron Castle Island in the County of Kerry, Ireland. Herbert was not pleased; the estate already belonged to his wife by dint of inheritance, and, as it was an Irish title, it did not bring him a seat in the House of Lords. Buckingham assured him that it was a temporary step on the way to an

English barony, but this, in turn, took five years to come about, and in 1629 he was created Baron Herbert of Chirbury by Charles I (Lee 137).

That Herbert was hurt by lack of recognition cannot be doubted. He knew that he had worked hard in France to carry out his sovereign's confusing and ill-expressed mandate, and his financial problems were for the most part due to his position, which required him to maintain an even more extravagant lifestyle that he usually did, and Herbert was no ascetic. No-one seems to have ventured to tell him exactly why he was out of favour, least of all Buckingham or King James. An example of how he felt may be given from a letter he wrote (May 1626) to Charles I, in the first year of the new reign. He points out that he was "chosen Ambassador when I least thought of it," and he was, consequently, forced to live "in a more chargeable fashion than any before mee, and notwithstanding saved his Majestie a 1000^{li} yearly." After detailing his services without exaggeration he stresses that his recall was "the most publique disgrace that ever minister in my place did suffer." He has received, he says, only empty promises from the government, and asks to be "made a Baron of Englande (w^{ch} my L. Duke of Buckingham I assure my selfe well remembers)." He ends by asking Charles to at least pay his salary arrears, and reminds him of "other services," ending "I doubt not but your Majestie may be pleas'd to thinke on some" (Lee 139).[1] A few crumbs were, indeed, thrown Herbert's way; in 1616, for example, he was a

member of a naval commission headed by his cousin the Earl of Pembroke and his old commander Sir Edward Cecil, now Viscount Wimbledon. By March 1627 his creditors in France were becoming most importunate, and even appealed to the English government to make Herbert pay up; the Crown was pleased to grant him some land, but he sold it to his brother Henry as he needed money quickly, not in small trickles. In 1627 Buckingham embarked on his disasterous expedition to the Isle of Ré, but Herbert was not asked to accompany him, and in August 1628 the Duke was assassinated, thus depriving Herbert of his most powerful political ally. In the midst of all these adversities, which started with his dismissal in 1624, Herbert found a new vocation for his pen; as Rossi puts it, "in about August 1624, at the age of 42, Herbert became an historian" (II, 395).

Poetical Activity 1619-1624

Perhaps the most interesting poems which Herbert wrote during this period are those addressed to Diana Cecil, the wife of his friend the Earl of Oxford. Three poems in the "cycle" concern the attributes of the lady herself, and there are two sonnets about the general subject of blackness, which now comes to light as one of the recurring themes or *leitmotifs* of Herbert's poetry, and takes its inspiration from the colour of the lady's hair. These are very sophisticated poems, combining Neo-Platonic elements with

metaphysical imagery reminiscent still of Donne, although it is worth noting here that Herbert was, at this time, close to Thomas Carew, who was on the staff of the embassy, and we may expect, perhaps, to see a little *galant* tone creeping into poems such as the one addressed to Lady Mary Wroth.[32]

The first poem is simply entitled "To Mr[rs] Diana Cecyll." Herbert employs striking imagery developed from his interest in the science of optics, which has been ably discussed by Ronald McFarland in "The Rhetoric of Optics in Lord Herbert's Poems to Diana Cecil." Herbert possessed several works on optics, amongst which may be noted Christopher Scheiner's *Rosa ursina* (1630), several books by Willibrord Snell, and François d'Aiguillon's *Opticorum libri VI* (1613). McFarland notes that he could have picked up optical information from some of the works he owned by Kepler, notably *De cometis* (1619) and the *Astronomia nova* (1609) (Fordyce and Knox 71, 110).[33] The opening lines of the first poem immediately reveal what Herbert wanted to do with optical imagery:

> *Diana Cecyll*, that rare beauty thou dost show
> Is not of Milk, or Snow,
> Or such as pale and whitely things do ow.
> But an illustrious Oriental Bright,
> Like to the Diamond's refracted light,
> Or early Morning breaking from the Night.
> (1-6)

Herbert's rejection of the conventional Petrarchan concept of beauty as pale or blonde is itself conventional, but his extolling of black above all other colours is not, and asserting the power of blackness was part of what Herbert considered a new experiment in poetic imagery (Paolucci 121).

His use of the word "refracted" is indeed novel; whiteness is a mere reflection of light, but light itself may be refracted from a diamond. Black-haired Diana thus becomes pure or refracted light, not a reflection. "Herbert combines the superior value of the diamond with refracted light," McFarland indicates, "and then elevates that metaphor above. . .pale and whitely things" (McFarland 219).

In the second stanza Herbert rejects Petrarchan conventions once again as "the vulgar Poets theme" (9) and transforms the blackness of the night into "reverend black, and such as you would say/ Light did but serve it, and did shew the way" (10-11). We may observe here the merging of the several elements of Neo-Platonism, an oblique reference to God's creation of light in Genesis, and "the analagous corporeal and spiritual *lux* of Robert Grosseteste" (McFarland 219).[4] The third stanza concentrates on the actual form of the lady, which he cannot describe as "Made of one vulgar line" (14) because its symmetry, as befits a Platonic form, is divine. It must have, on the contrary, a symmetry "of proportions new, so well exprest,/ That the perfections in each part confest,/ Are beauties to themselves, and to the rest" (16-18). This is an unusual, if not new, form of beauty, then, which requires some new mode of description. The last stanza expands this notion, asking not why we admire Diana Cecil's black beauty, but asking what it is we admire; Herbert may now answer by examining her eyes and hair in succession, and thence into the noumenal realm of blackness.

We are therefore placed on the hierarchical ladder, up which we may now ascend to the epitome of perfection, black itself.

Herbert is certainly attempting something novel here; usually, it is white light which is associated, as Gasior puts it, with "the Mind, the soul. . .the Absolute, completely disinterested affection" (Gasior 470). Blackness is associated with the realm of the passions, or the erotic, as Shakespeare employed it in Sonnets 127-52, where the subject is also a dark-haired woman. It also carries the usual connotations of evil, corruption, or death, as Herbert himself employed it in earlier poems.[5] As he moves up the ladder from the person of Diana Cecil to the final sonnet addressing black itself, Herbert inverts traditional imagery, endowing blackness with the sense generally reserved for whiteness and its attendant symbolism. As Paolucci observes, "Herbert elevated black beauty to *absolute* supremacy" (Paolucci, 117). Interwoven with the inversion, and all that it entails, is the optical rhetoric, which may suggest different ways of "seeing" things. The inversion of whiteness and blackness is made coherent and justified by the use of optical theories for they demonstrate, almost scientifically, that while black appears to be something deep and unfathomable, an understanding of its nature can reveal some fascinating concepts, and can make us see "light" in a totally new way.

"To her Eyes" opens with a Petrarchan commonplace, the eyes as the window through which the soul may be seen. But

it is also, as McFarland notes, "an obvious allusion to the Platonic concept of vision by extramission" (McFarland 220).[4] The beams of her eyes "are deep,/ And with your soul united keep" (2-3); if we could see into them we could understand "all the wonders which proceed from thence./ Affecting more the mind than sense" (8-9), and be lifted immediately out of the phenomenal world. At the beginning of the poem, Herbert used the Petrarchan convention in its normal way, now it is inverted, and he builds, through optical "illusion," a metaphor in which the eyes give out "wonders" which are like the power of the stars. As Herbert puts it, they "Are not so much/ The works of Light, as influence" (10-11). Black, Paolucci tells us, is mysterious; it is a colour "which leads to incomprehensible "wonders" far beyond itself" (Paolucci 119). Thus we have climbed further up the ladder towards the abstraction of blackness and its eventual elevation into a Neo-Platonic light-source. In the following stanza the Neo-Platonism becomes more explicit, as Herbert explains the relationship of the eyes to the soul, and the soul to "that first Cause" (15). God, or the First Cause, makes it clear, through the eyes of Diana Cecil, how he,

> Within the veil of an eternal night,
> Did frame for us a second light,
> And after bid
> It serve for ordinary sight.

In the myth of the Creation, darkness was first, and then light; we need "a second light" for "ordinary sight," but Herbert is not concerned with this as much as with the deeper mystery of the "first light." In other words, blackness

provides the source of primary light; paradoxically, that Platonic "second light," which allows us to "see" in the sublunary world, becomes shaded, through a "grey, or hasle Glass" (29). We are, of course, reminded of Paul's words, "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known" (I Corinthians 13:12). The obscuring darkness may be penetrated only by something divine, whose beams emanate from Diana Cecil's eyes.

In optical terms, the extramittory theory of vision becomes "subsumed by the realm of metaphysical speculation," and Herbert poses a paradox, that "light rays do pass through black lenses" (McFarland 220). The paradox, according to McFarland, is ontological, and the very nature of Diana Cecil herself allows the penetration of the blackness by the light rays. McFarland explains,

> The development of smoked lenses for solar observations sets the limits of vision from the standpoint of optics, but empirical observation provides evidence to the contrary. That phenomenon for which physics cannot offer a satisfactory explanation must be referred to a different mode of comprehension. If a phenomenally grounded understanding is not possible, one must turn to the noumenal. (McFarland 221)

If the light rays do pass through black lenses, they must have a divine nature, and as they emanate from the eyes of Diana Cecil, she, too, must partake of the divine. The mysteries thus evoked may be revealed, as Paul stated, by looking into the eyes, face to face; the imagery is reminiscent of Donne's in "The Canonization:"

You, to whom love was peace, that now is rage;
Who did the whole worlds soule contract, and drove
Into the glasses of your eyes
So made such mirrors, and such spies,
That they did all to you epitomize,
Countries, Townes, Courts:
(Grierson 15)

To Herbert, blackness itself becomes a common notion, directly apprehended by the mind, transcending the phenomenal world. Its power is not invisible, as Paolucci claims (120), but intuitive. What is more, the logical structure of the poem suggests that readers, at least, appear to require more than *discursus* to follow the patterns of Herbert's thought.

The next poem, "To her Hair," is even more complex. It opens with a description of Diana Cecil's "black beamy hairs," which

so seem to arise
From the extraction of those eyes
That into you they destin-like doth spin
The beames she spares, what time her soul retires,
And by those hallowd fires,
Keeps house all night within. (1-6)

Her hair becomes the thread spun by the Fates, and as it curls upwards towards her temples, "vulgar light and praise" (12) are brought into play, but will not suffice, because Petrarchan epigones cannot be expected to see the true meaning of what they must perforce celebrate with trivial verses. The hair originates in the "extraction" of her eyes, an alchemical image suggesting essence, or purity, the powers of which we already know from the previous poem. As the fate Clotho, Diana Cecil spins strands of light into her own hair. The light which she creates is so bright that our common

sight recoils, and men "are grown blind in such a way that when their eyebeams should return from their perception of her black beauty with a comprehensible image. . .the beams are instead extramitted in vain" (McFarland 221). If the beams are sent out and fall upon a perceived object, the image which they perceive should then go back to the brain, but because we are blind, we cannot comprehend the glories which are being sent out. Our inner, superlunary eye is evidently not working as it should, for otherwise we should see more than external objects. A similar blindness is described by Milton in *Samson Agonistes*, although the contexts are dfifferent; in both cases, the blindness cannot be explained empirically, and Herbert chooses to employ optics and metaphysics instead. He amalgamates the two methods in the fourth and fifth stanzas:

> Is it, because past black, there is not found
> A fix'd, or horizontal bound?
> And so, as it doth terminate the white,
> It may be said all colours to infold,
> And in that kind to hold
> Somewhat of infinite?
>
> Or is it, that the centre of our sight
> Being vailed in its proper night
> Discerns your blackness by some other sense,
> Then that by which it doth py'd colours see,
> Which only therefore be
> Known by their difference? (19-30)

Here Herbert employs "more involved optical speculations concerning first the theory of colour and then the theory of vision" (McFarland 222).[7] Black and white are two extremes, and the rest of the colours on the spectrum come in between; this idea, as McFarland states, may well derive from

Aristotle, but Herbert is also using what J.E. Cirlot terms "symbolic inversion," which may be explained as follows:

> When two colours are contrasted in a given symbolic field, the inferior colour is feminine in character and the superior is masculine. By "inferior" we mean that which is lower within the alchemical order or series, which is as follows: yellow, blue, green, black, white, red, gold. So, to take the black/white relationship, black is inferior, and feminine. . .Any symbolic composition that, spatially, does not conform with this order presents us with a clear-cut example of Symbolic Inversion. (Cirlot 60)[8]

In symbolic inversion we have a "reversed arrangement of the symbolic structure," which means, in effect, that good becomes evil, weak strong, foul fair, or *vice versa*. According to Cirlot, then, "if what is below is black and seeks to ascend, it may do so by turning white. Or, conversely, if what is black is below and seeks to ascend, let it ascend, and white it will be" (Cirlot 158). This is, in fact, how Herbert turns black into white! He rejects gold, which is at the top of the Petrarchan scale, as vulgar, and he has demoted white, thus elevating black and reversing the symbolism. McFarland believes that a suggestion by Warnke that "the source of Herbert's relationship of black to infinity may be in the Dionysian concept of 'Divine Darkness'" (Warnke 1738; McFarland 222) is incorrect, as Herbert is using physics rather than metaphysics. In fact, he is using both, and if there is Symbolic Inversion he is going far beyond the merely empirical; it is as if he is trying somehow to reconcile Aristotelian colour-theory with a metaphysical counterpart.

McFarland is rather vague when he comes to the fifth stanza. He sees Herbert extending "the tension between physics and metaphysics," which seems to me, as I have argued above, non-existent, because Herbert is making a complementary use of imagery, or at least achieving *concordia discors*. The colour of Diana Cecil's hair is a unifying principle which serves as well to highlight her own divinity, and does not much concern itself with optics, which, is, after all, only a way of describing sense-data. To McFarland, the fifth stanza exhibits "somewhat farfetched speculation positing an extrasensory mode of vision" (McFarland 222). But Herbert understands blackness as a symbol of the infinite, and "some other sense" *must* be employed to understand it, or to apprehend a common notion by which it may be understood. Scientific imagery has now given way completely to metaphysics, and blackness becomes itself "the light of knowledge," which conception "completely inverts the traditional association of light with knowledge and Apollo" (Paolucci 121). This is also part of the process of symbolic inversion.

In the concluding stanza, Herbert states that man cannot see the "shining light in darkness" (34) because he is blinded by the "Sun beams below" (36). This is the divine light to which he referred at the beginning of the poem, which will "find/ The causes why we are grown blind" (13-14). Sunbeams also represent the commonplaces of Petrarchan hyperbole, the vision of the superlunary lovers who can only

see the physical Diana Cecil. McFarland does not miss the comparison with Milton in *Il Penseroso*:

> But hail thou Goddes, sage and holy,
> Hail divinest Melancholy,
> Whose Saintly visage is too bright
> To hit the Sense of human sight;
> And therefore toour weaker view,
> Ore laid with black staid Wisdoms hue.
> Black, but such as in esteem,
> Prince *Memnons* sister might beseem
> (Milton 37)

Here "reverend black" appears as "black staid Wisdom," and therefore as something to be held in high esteem. It only seems "staid" to those who have no eyes to see it otherwise. Milton, like Herbert, is inverting symbols.

The two sonnets which follow are more specifically about the essence of blackness, and are "least explicitly related to the physics of optics." Diana Cecil has now moved into the background, and we enter the noumenal world of form and the essence of black itself. Black beauty is that power which "can no colours here renew/ But those which darkness can again subdue" (2-3). Poetic convention ("Old Poetry," as Herbert scornfully terms it), must content itself with the "colours which the world calls bright" (7) rather than with the superlunary black beauty. Light and colour have somehow become "primitive," and, as Paolucci rightly notes, "there are important epistemological implications in Herbert's assertion of the cosmic importance of black" (123). McFarland notices these implications, but remains puzzled by them; it is true, as he observes, that Herbert believes "men's spiritual blindness. . .causes them to perceive only

the darkness of black" (McFarland 223); however,

> Men take darkness or black to mean a lack of knowledge in the understanding. But they forget that "darkness" in the intellectual context of the perceiving *subject*, is simply a metaphor drawn from a perceived *object*, the physical world. They conceptualize physical data without realizing that connections between objective physical realities and subjective interpretations can be erroneous. The mistake occurs when men forget they are only using metaphor derived from physical nature and incorrectly project back their subjective misunderstandings onto the external object so that for them, darkness *literally* becomes ignorance.
> (Paolucci 124)

In *De veritate* the process was explained through the concepts of *discursus* and Natural Instinct; *discursus* makes the associative error, because it is the lower form of understanding, and intuition or *instinctus* must be brought into use if the idea of blackness is to be properly understood. *Discursus* may be seen as the "common light" in the poem's first line, which transfers the wrong interpretation through its propensity to err. Without Natural Instinct we cannot "see" essences, and only understand part of what is there. If we now bring in the optical interpretation, black is not totally opaque, but "a spark/ Of light inaccessible, and alone/ Our darkness which can make us think it dark" (12-14). As Milton's Samson confronts his external blindness, he makes reference also to his inner darkness, and first wants to know "why was the sight/ To such a tender ball as th'eye confin'd?" In fact, the sight, as Samson later finds out, is not confined thus, and I believe that the same idea, albeit on a less exalted plane, may be found in Herbert's lines. As Samson says, we

are "in the land of darkness yet in light" (Milton, *Samson* 14).

The second sonnet, "Another Sonnet to Black it self" completes the cycle. Here, black comprises all colours, "unto which they all at last return" (2), and Herbert, like Milton a few years later, associates this with Melancholy. From black "do rise/ Those tempers and complexions, which disclos'd./ As parts of thee, do work as mysteries" (6-8); but blackness retires, and "All revelation unto Man denys" (14), which is possibly a reference to Herbert's former state of *acedia*. When light comes, darkness draws back of its own volition, and is not "forced" to retreat by light, as the old poets fondly supposed was the case.

McFarland errs in ascribing the next poem, "The first Meeting," to the Diana Cecil cycle. If it is, then it is in the wrong place, because of the definite gradation indicated by the contents of the other poems. This is not to say that it might not be about the same woman, but that it does not belong with this group. Smith dates it "before 1631" (Smith 153) as opposed to the other poems, which he dates, albeit tentatively, to 1621. It will therefore be considered at another time.

Other Poems

Two poems, "Ye well-compacted Groves," and "A Merry Rime sent to the Lady Wroth," were almost certainly written in the

years 1621-22. There is also another "group" of poems, which Smith dates "before 1624," and which bear similarities to Donne and Carew, although they may well belong to an earlier period. Yet it seems unlikely that Herbert could have met Carew before about 1613, when the latter was with Carleton in Italy. It was not until 1619 that Carew, having quarrelled with Carleton, was taken up by Herbert and placed on the staff at the Paris embassy. Not much is known about Carew's publishing activities before 1633, the year in which his great "Elegy on Dr. Donne" appeared, and his collected poems did not appear before 1640. Herbert's two poems on the subject of green-sickness, which are definitely related to those of Carew on the same topic, are dated by Smith as "before 1631," which points to Carew's poetic influence on Herbert as spanning about eleven years, 1618 to 1629. In 1630 Carew became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles I, at which time, since Herbert was not employed in any capacity by the Court, they saw less of one another. As this group of poems appears at the beginning of the book, one might assume that Sir Henry Herbert believed them to be early efforts, but there is no concrete proof that he was making such a chronological arrangement.

"You well-compacted groves" is a sonnet written about the "groves near *Merlow* Castle," as Herbert (or his brother) noted beneath the poem. The poem appears to have been written at the time when the two brothers were at Merlou, and Luynes was enquiring about the reaction to the Anglo-French

royal marriage. The poem emphasises two themes, tranquillity and peace of mind, which the ordered grounds of the duc de Montmorency's château presented to Herbert's weary eyes and mind. Herbert opens the poem with lines which remind us both of Jonson's poem in praise of Penshurst and one of Marvell's garden-poems:

> You well-compacted Groves, whose light & shade
> Mixt equally, produce nor heat, nor cold,
> Either to burn the young, or freeze the old,
> But to one even temper being made,
> Upon a Greene embroidering through each Glade
> (1-5)

In this setting, no-one is poor, for "Airy Silver, and a Sunny Gold/ So cloath the poorest that they do behold/ Themselves, in riches that can never fade" (6-8). Merlou was a haven from politics, a place where Herbert could find gentle relaxation and serious conversation; it was also safely out of reach of the plague. Here he enjoys "A self-renewing vegetable bliss" (14), as he states in another quasi-Marvellian line. Far from reflecting Herbert's smug satisfaction at having "advanced to his proper place" as Paolucci puts it (127), this poem is simply a celebration of Merlou, with a contrast to what he had to endure outside it; it becomes an orderly, enclosed garden, which neutralises opposites and is "senseless to all but love" (12).

The "Merry Rime sent to the Lady Wroth" is an occasional poem, devoid of political overtones. It is addressed to Lady Wroth, but celebrates the birth of a son to the Earl of Pembroke, who was cousin to both Herbert and Lady Wroth.[7] A

friendly note from Pembroke to Herbert survives, sending Herbert thanks for the congratulations on the safe delivery of "yor little cousin, who I thank God yet prospers like a blessing unto me" (*Old Herbert Papers* 121). Herbert seems to have sent the poem to Mary Wroth, herself a writer, so that she could polish it a little, perhaps make it more light and playful (Smith 154). There is some evidence that Herbert thought quite highly of her ability in the lines, "Yet you a further art disclose,/ And can, as every body knows,/ Add to those feet fine dainty toes" (5-6). This all looks perfectly innocent, yet Paolucci must have Herbert writing the poem "to win the favours of those who might be able to help him financially as well as politically" (128). It seems unlikely that such a poem, which is about the birth of a child, and which light-heartedly has every line rhyming, could have been "used" to any purpose other than to make the recipient smile. Herbert was, indirectly, expressing his appreciation of Lady Wroth's own "child," *The Countess of Montgomeries Urania* (1621), which contained a number of satirical sketches of some of James I's courtiers, and which caused a minor sensation. Herbert's allusion to "The tragic buskins of our foes" (12) simply aligns the two of them as satirists against the world. And Pembroke, a man of taste and wit himself, would certainly understand the allusions as well.

The group of poems about an unnamed lady, which shows some influence of Carew, is difficult to date. "A Description," the first poem, is observed by Smith "to be

related to Carew's 'Love's Complement' (Smith 141),[10] although he admits that it is impossible to determine which poem came first. Mary Ellen Rickey is convinced that the second poem, "To her Mind," is a very original experiment "reminiscent of George Herbert" (Rickey 505) in both form and content. She believes that these poems are early as well, although I am not convinced, because of the connexion with Carew, that they could be placed before 1618.

"A Description" opens with conventional metaphysical imagery and classical explanations in the margin:

> I sing her worth and praises hy,
> Of whom a poet cannot ly,
> *The little World the Great shall blaze, * kpoko os
> Sea, Earth, her body; Heaven, her Face; kpoko os
> Her Hair, Sun-beams, whose every part
> Lightens, enflames, each Lover's Heart:
> That thus you prove, with *Axiom true, *sol et homo
> Whilst the Sun help'd Nature in you. *generant hominem.*
> (1-9)

Herbert then anatomises the woman in much the same way as Jonson dissects Venetia Digby in *Eupheme*, but Herbert's performance is unrelentingly pedestrian as it slowly moves down her body to what he calls "The sad *Non Ultra* of Mans Bliss" (60). The metaphysical imagery seems tacked on, and the only attempt Herbert makes at unifying the poem is to repeat the two first lines at the end. The effect is that of a bad painting in a cheap frame; every facet of the woman calls forth a resounding cliché, such as "Her either Cheek a blushing Morn" (18), or "Her Nose th'*Æquator* of this Globe" (23) and, finally (of course), "Two foming billows are her Breasts" (41). There is much more fo this kind of thing,

"sad stuff," as George III once commented of some lines by Shakespeare. The poem lacks the sensuousness of Jonson or the sensuality of Carew, and Moore Smith's reminder that some of its lines are reminiscent of Donne's "Elegy XVIII" does not help, for the only characteristic the two poets share, in this case, is mediocrity; Donne's "The Nose (like to the first Meridian runs/ Not 'twixt an East and West, but 'twixt two Suns" (Grierson 105) is not much better than Herbert.

"To her Mind," the fourth poem in the series, has, as Rickey shows, some interesting technical characteristics, and "has so many rhyme oddities that it is worth quoting in its entirety" (Rickey, 508). She observes that Herbert has inverted the sonnet form, placing the division after the sixth line rather than the eighth, although this break is strictly in the rhyme, not the content. In line 11 there is a startling break, which Rickey is pleased to term "a somewhat naïve expedient" (Rickey, 509), but which works, nevertheless, rather well:

> Then pardon me that Rapture do profess,
> At thy outside, that want, for what I see,
> Description, if here amaz'd I cesse
> Thus-------
> (6-10)

As he says, the description does, indeed, cease. Rickey, assiduously counting syllables, feet, and *caesurae* to the end, concludes:

> In line 11, the rhyme word (actually only a consonance) is made to stand alone, complemented by the first syllable of *question* in the following line. This conspicuous rhyme, appearing four lines from the end of the poem, is balanced by the bold division of *heretofore* at the conclusion of line 4-

– a practice virtually unheard of at the time. (Rickey 510)

It would seem, then, that Herbert is still searching for a poetic style, which he has not yet found, although the Diana Cecil poems certainly point to a maturity not far off. The subject-matter in these poems is quite close to that of Carew and the so-called "Cavalier Poets," but it would be interesting to know what poetry, if any, Herbert read in France, whether the productions of poets such as Malherbe[11] appealed to him, or whether he knew the work of earlier Renaissance poets in France.

Herbert's Poetic Activity 1624–1630

Smith, following Sir Henry Herbert, places a number of poems in the "before 1631" category. While most of them are slight, again reminding one of Cavalier poetry, others, such as the two poems about green-sickness, and "An Ode upon a Question moved, Whether Love should continue for Ever?" are much more substantial, and the last-named contains some very fine writing indeed. "The Thought" is another poem of merit, and there is a short poem written to commemorate the death of James I.

James I died on March 27, 1625. Herbert's "Epitaph of King James" may thus be fairly safely dated in this group of poems. The poem is a sonnet, written in regular couplets, and compares the pacific James with Christ's manifestation as the Good Shepherd:

Here lyes King *James*, who did so propagate

> Unto the World that blest and quiet state
> Wherein his Subjects liv'd, that he seem'd to give
> The peace which Christ did leave, and so did live,
> As once that King and Shepherd of his Sheep
> (1-5)

The "sad effects" (11) of James's departure will be the "harm" that foreign nations must now endure "from the victorious arm/ Of our King *Charles*" (12-13), and Herbert leaves these lines deliberately ambiguous. The sonnet concludes by stating that what Charles may do will force England "to weep again" (14) for its peacful ruler. The poem indicates that Herbert was unhappy about the possible outcome of the new reign, and there is no question that Britain would soon be weeping under the rule of this inept man.

The two poems on green-sickness have elicited some critical attention, notably by the indefatigable McFarland, who compares them with two poems by Carew on the same subject, and makes some very interesting observations and connexions (McFarland, *Medicine* 250-58). He begins by noting that green-sickness, or chlorosis, is now a medical condition of the past which was said to effect young women during the onset of puberty. He quotes a sensible sixteenth-century physician, Johannes Lange, as instructing a friend whose daughter was afflicted to try and get her married as soon as possible, as the only cure for the disease is copulation (McFarland, *Medicine*, 250)[13] and Lange asks as fee a wedding invitation. Chlorosis was variously called "virgineus," "the Lover's Fever," "the Pale disease" and so forth, and McFarland cites the herbalist Culpeper's description of it as

"a change of the natural colour in the face into a greenish and pale. . ., pain of the Head, sometimes madness. . . difficulty of breathing. . .inordinate and erratic Feavers" (McFarland, *Medicine*, 251).

Herbert was interested in this subject because of his fascination with medicine and treatments. His medical knowledge is displayed to a large degree in the *Autobiography*, and he went so far as to try his own skill out on some of his tenants (Herbert, *Autobiography*, 21-24).[14] His metaphysical bent in poetry was just as likely to be excited by medical conditions as Donne's was by legal terminology, fleas, or geography. Herbert had an extensive medical library, including books by Vesalius and Harvey, as well as other more esoteric tomes (Fordyce and Knox, 81-88).[15] In the case of green-sickness, its links with awakening sexuality and the fact that intercourse was one of the recognised cures had its own appeal to Herbert's amorous nature. As McFarland astutely notes, the green-sickness may have appealed to Herbert as a feminine equivalent of the pallor, palpitations and general ill-health said to be the experience of love-lorn Petrarchan males. In "The Green-Sickness Beauty," consequently, there appears a reference to "our vulgar wits" who are celebrating "degrees of variation" (14-15); in an experimental mood, Herbert explores the feminine side of the matter.

"The Green-Sickness Beauty" is a tightly-structured poem; perhaps the carefully-numbered verses are some

indication that Herbert worked it over more consciously than he usually did. If it was written in the period 1625-30, as it seems it was, he certainly had much more time on his hands for polishing his verses, and there is a very marked improvement in the conciseness and in the use of metaphysical conceits and other complex metaphorical devices. The logical structure of the poems is more apparent, and hence clearer, a feature which has been noticed by both McFarland and R.G. Howarth (McFarland 252; Howarth 47-8). Clarity, conciseness and faultless logic are hitherto virtues from which Herbert has, on most occasions, been blissfully detached.

At first, the girl's condition looks not unlike that of the Petrarchan lover:

> Though the pale white within your cheeks compos'd,
> And doubtful light unto your eye confin'd,
> Though your short breath not from itself unloos'd,
> And careless motions of your equal mind.
> Argue, your beauties are not all disclos'd:
> (1-5)

The poem continues in this vein for the next three stanzas, which form one grammatical and syntactical unit, and which describe, as McFarland notes, no fewer than four typical symptoms of green-sickness in the first stanza alone. By the third stanza Herbert has transformed the illness into a joyful "green" harbinger of beauty's spring:

> So in your green and flourishing estate
> A beauty is discern'd more worthy love,
> Then that which further doth it self dilate,
> And those degrees of variation prove,
> Our vulgar wits so much do celebrate. (11-15)

The "vulgar wits" make their usual appearance, of course, and they fail to see the real (Platonic) nature of beauty which

the green colour stands for, because they are looking for "degrees of variation" in the colour itself. The rest of the poem follows the pattern of the blackness poems, with an anatomy of the woman's "eyes, complexion, respiration, and emotional state" (McFarland 254).[14] Herbert even remembers to add a line or two about irregular menstruation, another symptom of chlorosis, "that blood which must succeed" (21).

The last two stanzas are, figuratively speaking, the aetiology of the disease and Dr. Herbert's prescription. He has spoken much of the girl's virginity, which he sees as the indirect cause of the problem, and now offers some timely *carpe diem* advice, which he accomplishes without vulgarity or reference to his own desires. The greenness, as he has said, betokens the future awakening of the girl, but she cannot be forever awakening, and must proceed with her natural maturing:

> Yet stay not here, Love for his right will call,
> You were not born to serve your only will,
> Nor can your beauty be perpetuall,
> 'Tis your perfection for to ripen still,
> And to be gather'd rather then to fall.
> (30-35)

She will mature, her beauty will ripen, but he warns her that it will not last for ever.

"The Green-Sickness Beauty" is a twenty-line poem with a natural break at line 9. The imagery seems to develop out of that in the previous poem, this one describing how Love calls for his "right." The poem opens with military imagery reminiscent once more of Petrarch, but the blush in this case is defeated and leaves the field,

While, like a Statue of your self, you stand
In such symmetrique form, as doth require
No lustre but his own: As then in vain
One should flesh-colouring to Statues add,
So were it to your native White a Stain
(7-11)

The phrase "Statue of your self" enables Herbert to distance the girl's essence from her body, and remove the poem to a Neo-Platonic level, with the "native White" becoming the mind, on which any ornaments would be a "Stain." But the statue's "rich proportions" are alive, and "so seem to live,/ That they become an emblem of your mind" (15-16). These lines might remind one of the story of Pygmalion and Galatea, with perhaps a nod to Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*.[17] Trying to put ornaments on that pale beauty, Herbert concludes, is like "gilding Silver Coin" (19), which gives us "but occasion to suspect it more" (20).[18]

"The Brown Beauty" is addressed to someone under the name of "Phaie," but she cannot be identified with anyone in particular. Smith is likely correct in finding some significance in the name, which means "dusky" in Greek (Smith, 195). It opens with a stanza extolling brown as a synthesis of black and white:

While the two contraries of Black and White,
In the Brown *Phaie* are so well unite,
That they no longer now seem opposite,
Who doubts but love, hath this his colour chose,
Since he therein doth both th'extremes compose,
And as within their proper Centre close?
(1-6)

Both black and white, he states in the third stanza, "each in other equal part doth bear" (15), and the symmetry is

apparent in both her body and her mind. The "controversie" (22) over whether black or white beauty is most desirable may be overcome by "quitting all extremes on either side" (23), and opting for the brown.

"An Ode upon a Question moved, Whether Love should continue for ever?" is one of Herbert's most consistently effective poems. There has been a fair amount of critical commentary upon it, and most of it, in this case, has been complimentary. Churton Collins called it "the best of Herbert's lyrics" (Collins xxxii) and the normally rather reserved Moore Smith writes of its "spiritual delicacy and rare Rossetti-like beauty of some of its stanzas" (Smith, 196). Baron Charles de Rémusat commended its "*mouvement*" and "*élévation*" (de Rémusat 92). It is, indeed, a very moving poem, and it shows signs of careful workmanship, unusual for Herbert, a man who was often in a hurry to set his thoughts down on paper and rarely went back to check them.

The poem is a pastoral dialogue, although Melander and Celinda do not speak all the time. Some of it bears a resemblance to a later poem in this idiom, Marvell's "A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda," but the poem contains more observation from a third person, the poetic *persona*. Melander is one of Herbert's own *personae* [19] and Celinda represents no-one in particular. The poem has a very striking opening, quite un-Rossetti-like:

> Having interr'd her Infant-birth,
> The watry ground that late did mourn.
> Was strew'd with flow'rs for the return
> Of the wish'd bridegroom of the earth.

The well-accorded Birds did sing
   Their hymns unto the pleasant time,
   And in a sweet consorted chime
Did welcom in the chearful Spring.
(1-8)

The coming of the Spring sets the scene for the entrance of the lovers, Melander and Celinda, who come in "with a love none can express/ That mutually happy pair" (18-19). They arrive like the presiding deities of the garden, bestowing blessings upon the harmonious scene. But Celinda breaks the silence "with a sweet, though troubled look" (37). Love, she says, must surely die with the body, but she finds it hard to understand nonetheless:

Only if loves fire with the breath
   Of life be kindled, I doubt,
   With our last air 'twill be breathed out,
And quenched with the cold of death.

That if affection be a line,
   Which is clos'd up in our last hour,
   Oh how 'twould grieve me, any pow'r
Could force so dear a love as mine!
(49-56)

It is perhaps worth remarking that, as with Marvell's poem, it is the woman who asks the question, and the man who provides the philosophical answer. Marvell's Dorinda asks where they will go after death, and Thyrsis answers with a version of Christian pastoral. Melander's answer is Neo-Platonic. After Celinda asks the question, Melander, whose "shut eyes/ An inward joy did represent" (58-9), replies, graphically painting the difference between the love of the body and true, superlunary lovers' love:

O you, wherein, they say, Souls rest,
   Till they descend pure heavenly fires,

Shall lustful and corrupt desires
With your immortal seed be blest?

And shall our Love, so far beyond
That low and dying appetite,
And which so chaste desires unite,
Not hold in an eternal bond?
(65-72)

True love is that which emanates from the One, and which returns to it; words and concepts like death, which only have meaning in the world of "lustful and corrupt desires," are made irrelevant. Snug and cosy in his high-flung conception of "chaste desires," Melander knows intuitively what love they will have in an "eternal bond." He elaborates, answering his own rhetorical question:

Is it, because we should decline,
And wholly from our thoughts exclude
Objects that may the sense delude,
And study only the Divine?

No sure, for if none can ascend
Ev'n to the visible degree
Of things created, how should we
The invisible comprehend?
(77-84)

The eternal objects, which are the only objects free from deluding sense, are all very well, but we cannot attain to knowledge of them if we have imperfect knowledge even of "things created." The sublunary experience is necessary before we can begin to operate on higher levels of understanding. Here we may note the similarity with many of Donne's lyrics.

Melander then explains how love and knowledge on earth are not merely "parts" of life, as Celinda implies, and do not end at death. "Vertuous habits" (90), such as knowledge

and love, belong also to the realm of the soul, and "must with it evermore endure" (92). He argues that if our sins are remembered after death, and may be held against us, surely it is reasonable to expect that "true and real joy" (97), as well as virtue, will also endure. There is no point, he explains, in wishing for everlasting life if it is going to be based on negative, rather than positive attitudes, a point Herbert made in *De veritate* and again in *De religione gentilium*:

> Else should our Souls in vain elect,
> And vainer yet were Heavens laws,
> When to an everlasting Cause
> They give a perishing Effect.
>
> Nor here on earth then, nor above,
> Our good affection can impair,
> For where God doth admit the fair,
> Think you that he excludeth Love?
> (100-08)

In fact, Heaven will simply be a place where what obtains on earth in a transitory fashion will be eternal there:

> These eyes again then, eyes shall see,
> And hands again these hands enfold,
> And all chast pleasures can be told
> Shall with us everlasting be.
>
> For if no use of sense remain
> When bodies once this life forsake,
> Or could they no delight partake,
> Why should they ever rise again?
> (109-16)

Religious beliefs are, of course, logical. There is no point in the resurrection of the body if the senses have all been rendered inutile.

After this point the reasoning becomes quite similar to that employed by Donne in "The Ecstasy," particularly at the

point where the souls separate from the body and "hang" suspended in the air between the lovers, and Herbert's use of "refin'd" parallels that of Donne:

> And if every imperfect mind
> Make love the end of knowledge here,
> How perfect will our love be, where
> All imperfection is refin'd?
>
> Let then no doubt, *Celinda*, touch,
> Much less your fairest mind invade,
> Were not our souls immortal made,
> Our equal loves can make them such.
> (117-24)

Nowhere does Herbert come so close to Donne than in the last four stanzas of the poem:

> So when one wing can make no way,
> Two joyned can themselves dilate,
> So can two persons propagate,
> When singly either would decay.
>
> So when from hence we shall be gone,
> And be no more, nor you, nor I,
> As one another's mystery,
> Each shall be both, yet both but one.
>
> This said, in her up-lifted face,
> Her eyes which did that beauty crown,
> Were like two starrs, that having faln down,
> Look up to find their place:
>
> While such a moveless silent peace
> Did seize on their becalmed sense,
> One would have thought some Influence
> Their ravish'd spirits did possess.
> (125-40)

At the same time, the kind of world described here comes very close to the Pre-Raphaelite heaven of Rossetti's "Blessed Damozel" (Rossetti 5-6). It would be interesting to know whether Marvell read this poem and had it in mind when he wrote "A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda," where "thy ears/ May sleep with music of the spheres" (Donno 22).

Notes to Chapter Seven

[1] This originally appeared in *Notes and Queries* (4th. series), Vol. x, 222; Lee 139.

[2] Thomas Carew (1594/5-1640) was the youngest son of Sir Matthew Carew, Master in Chancery, and Alice Rivers, daughter of a Lord Mayor of London. Educated at Merton College, Oxford (M.A., 1611), he went to Italy in 1613 with Sir Dudley Carleton. Three years later he accompanied Carleton to the Netherlands, but was sent back to England after a quarrel and turned to wit and debauchery. He held several minor positions at Court, including Sewer in Ordinary to the King (1631). He served Charles I in the First Bishops' War (1639) but died soon afterwards. Herbert described him as "that excellent Wit" in the *Autobiography* (95) and held his poetry in high regard. Carew wrote a masque, *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), a powerfully moving memorial to Donne, and some very fine erotic poetry, including "The Rapture." See Rhodes Dunlap, ed. *The Poems of Thomas Carew with his masque Coelum Britannicum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) and Thomas Clayton, ed. *The Cavalier Poets: Selected Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[3] McFarland believes that the most influential book as far as the poems was concerned was d'Aiguillon's, because it presents a summary of optical theories from Euclid until the author's time. Extramission as a scientific theory was dated by 1620, but, like cosmology, survived in literature.

[4] Robert Grosseteste (d.1253) was Bishop of Lincoln and the first Chancellor of Oxford University. He was a poet, a translator of Aristotle (from Greek) and a theologian, as well as a philosopher. He stood up against Pope Innocent IV's attempt to curtail the independence of the English church. His philosophy had "a strongly Neo-Platonic flavour, and he accepted the Augustinian illumination of the intellect by the divine ideas" (David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* [New York: Vintage Books, 1962], 282). He regarded light as "the first metaphysical constituent of bodies and also as the genetic power of all being" (282-3). He believed that there was no difference between physics and metaphysics, and that philosophers must study science, countering the beliefs of the Aristotelians. He was very influential on the philosopher Roger Bacon.

[5] For example, Herbert's "Elegy over a Tomb" (1617), which employs the conventional imagery associated with blackness. Here, "eternal night" closes up the subject's eyes and stifles their light, which represents "knowledge and Love." For a discussion of this poem, see Paolucci 117.

[6] The Aristotelian theory remained current until at least the

publication of Boyle's *Experimental History of Colours* (1664) and perhaps even until Newton's *Optics* appeared in 1704.

[7] Compare this with Herbert's delineation of colours in "Elegy over a Tomb:" "Did you restore unto the Sky and Air,/ The Red, and White, and blew?" (Smith 33).

[9] Lady Mary Wroth (b.1585) was the daughter of two poets, Sir Robert Sidney and Mary, Countess of Pembroke. She married Sir Robert Wroth in 1604. Her book was dedicated to her friend Susan, Countess of Montgomery, who was unhappily married to Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, the man who now owned Herbert's castle. The child was probably Lord Henry Herbert (b. and d.1621), son of the Earl of Pemboke and his wife, Lady Mary Talbot. Philip Herbert also had a son in 1621, but the Earl's letter seems to indicate that Lord Henry was the child concerned.

[10] The lines from Carew are:

> I do not love thee for those thighs
> Whose alabaster rocks do rise
> So high and even, that they stand
> Like sea-marks to some happy land.

[11] François de Malherbe (1555-1628) was noted for his odes, of which he wrote a great many, and were published between 1607 and 1628. Lytton Strachey praises his poem addressed to Louis XIII on the capture of La Rochelle as having "restrained, measured and weighty rhetoric, moving not to the music of individual emotion, but of a generalized feeling for the beauty and grandeur of high thoughts" (Lytton Strachey, *Landmarks in French Literature* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], 21).

[12] The poems by Carew, which do not concern us in detail, are "On Mistris N. to the greene sicknesse" and "To Mris. Katherine Nevill on her greene sickness," Dunlap, 113, 129.

[13] Lange was, incidentally, physician to the Elector Palatine Frederick IV, father of the Winter King. His description of the condition, *Epistola XXI: de morbo virgineo* is printed in R.H. Major, ed. *Classical Descriptions of Disease* (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 1955), 488.

[14] For example: "I cured a great Lady in London of an Issue of blood when all the Physitians had given her over with so easy a medicine that the Lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof" (22).

[15] Some examples: William Harvey, *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinibus in animalibus* (1628); Fabricius, *Cheirurgia militaris, id est opuscula militari-cheirurgica medicorum variorum* (1634); and Mundinus, *De genitura pro Galenicis adversus peripateticos* (1622). Herbert's friend

Liceti (see Chapter Two) wrote against Harvey's theory.

[16] The opening of this poem is compared to Carew's first poem on Katherine Neville, "Stay, coward blood, and do not yield/ To thy pale sister beauty's field" and to Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, III, v. Lord Capulet shouts at Juliet, "Out, you green-sickness carrion! Out, you baggage!/ You tallow-face!" (l.157-58).

[17] In Act V the statue of Hermione by Giulio Romano is described as being very realistic because of the painting of its skin, which Leontes is warned he must not smudge by touching. And, of course, the statue is "a second self," although, or because, as Northrop Frye says, "there never was any statue" (Northrop Frye, *On Shakespeare* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986], 169).

[19] The name *Melander* means "a black person." John Aubrey describes Herbert thus: "I saw him severall times with Sir John Danvers; he was a blacke man" (Dick 292).

[20] Donno believes that the earliest version of Marvell's poem, in the hand of the composer William Lawes (1602-1645) and that the printed version appeared in 1659 (221). Herbert's *Poems* was not in print until 1665, but it would be tempting to think that Herbert might have known the young Marvell in the 1640's. The metre is the same as that of Jonson's "An Elegy," (No. XXI of *Under-woods*): "Though beauty be the mark of praise" (Parfitt 158). Grierson, according to Moore Smith, believed that some of the poems in *Under-woods* were not Jonson's, which prompted Smith to wonder whether the "Elegy" might be Herbert's.

CHAPTER EIGHT

> Historia est proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum.
>
> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* X. i. 31.

Historical writing in England, at least until the middle of the sixteenth century, consisted of little more than chronicles which related, with varying degrees of accuracy, the progress of events. There was some attempt, as works like John Stow's *Annals of England* (1592) or Matthew Parker's *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* (1572) indicate (Breisach 174)[1] to do more than merely set down events, and there was a great interest in translations from ancient historians, such as North's Plutarch or Philemon Holland's Livy. This tradition continued into the seventeenth century, which was also the "golden age" of antiquarianism, such names as Aubrey and Dugdale requiring no introduction; a great deal to encourage these studies had been done by the foundation, in 1586, of the Society of Antiquaries. History was also relayed, on occasion, by biographies such as Sir Thomas More's *History of Richard III* (about 1513) which, for all its biases and innacuracies, was at least "a conscious attempt to compose the narrative rather than to narrate the events year by year." In additon to this, More's work was also marked by "a stress on human characteristics. . .and a reaffirmation of history's teaching role" (Breisach 166). Unfortunately, More's narrative was based mostly on his political and

personal ideals, and Richard emerges distorted, an *exemplum* not to be emulated and never to be admired. Perhaps the most notable of the historical works of the Tudor and early Stuart period was Sir Walter Ralegh's *History of the World*, which was written in prison while its author was awaiting execution. Ralegh makes historical forces subordinate to the will of God, but at the same time he attempts to show that human actions are important, indeed are more direct than those of God, even if they derive ultimately from him, and must not be ignored. "There is not therefore," Ralegh wrote, "the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling by chance and of no consequence, but that same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by" (Breisach 184). The role of God in history was not the only prevailing conception of the age; historians were also concerned with the role of the monarchy and, by the sixteenth century, with the part played by the rule of law. These two concepts had to be defined and brought into a practical relation with one another in order for history to be properly understood. Law, like monarchy itself, was thought to be almost immutable, an idea which was developed by its most eminent historian, Sir John Fortescue, in his *De laudibus legum Angliae* (1471). It was Fortescue who made the distinction between *dominium regale* and *dominium politicum et regale*, a concept which was to have great repercussions in the seventeenth century (Fox 56). Thus history becomes in part the account of how these two domains interact, in fact, a study of the past in the hope

that its lessons could be applied to the present. A figure like More's Richard III could be used as an *exemplum* for rulers to avoid, because, as Amyot wrote in his preface to North's *Plutarch*, history was "a certain rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth us to judge of things present, and to foresee things to come" (Haddock 19).

Running parallel to Fortescue's dichotomy of the law, there was also a distinction which humanist historians drew between *public* and *private* morality. It was gradually seen that good does not always prevail, and that it was possible to be a good *ruler*, as Cesare Borgia was to Machiavelli in *The Prince*, while not necessarily being a good *man*, an apparent contradiction which would have been obvious to Bacon in his *Henry VII* and to Herbert in his *Henry VIII*.

This concept of dichotomised morality was evidently very difficult to grasp, as "Machiavellian" became a perjorative term, synonymous with political villainy.[22] In other words, historians discovered that merely presenting models from the past as models for the present was a distortion; Thomas Blundeville, in his *The True Order and method of Writing and Reading Histories* (1574) declared that now historians must "tell things as they were done without augmenting them and diminishing them, or swerve one iota from the truth" (Haddock 20).[23] This meant, for example, that the habit of putting speeches in the mouths of central figures (as Thucydides did for Pericles) was no longer considered proper historical practice, because literal truth was now the object.

Blundeville and others did not, however, completely abandon the didactic side of history, because the actions of illustrious persons were thought of as capable of setting an example, although history could not be re-written by historians, and it should attempt to *explain* human actions in terms not only of chance and environment, but also in terms of what Blundeville called the "inward cause," the very essence of an individual's own reaction to the world around him. Human conduct, then, could be explained in terms of details, "how one self-effect springeth of one self-cause, and how the contrary proceedeth of his contrary," as Blundeville puts it (Haddock 20).

Following Blundeville came Bacon, who changed the way we look at history once again, and wrote his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* (1622), which served Herbert as a model for his overall method in *Henry VIII*; this time the Baconian influence is undeniable. Bacon's inductive method rested firmly on empirical foundations, emphasising the science of disciplined enquiry. Yet, as he points out in *The New Organon* (1620), we can misinterpret experience because of what he calls "Idols of the Theatre" (Bacon, *Organon* 48), preconceived notions or systems of philosophy which we use to explain experience, but which often distort it instead. To understand something, for Bacon, is to derive meaning from the material itself, not from some *a priori* idea or framework imposed upon it. It follows from this, then, that history needs to be redefined, or at least clarified; it cannot be

simply an abstracted study which leads to abstract generalisations, because it deals with individuals who are operating within specific contexts, and, in fact, *is* experience. The true historian, for Bacon, had to be someone intimately involved with his subject, preferably a man of affairs, whose own insights and intelligence could thus be displayed so that an intelligent prince or leader might find the material to elucidate statesmanship (Bacon, *Organon* 54). This obviously was in Herbert's mind when he dedicated both his historical works to Charles I.

Lord Herbert wrote two works, apart from his *Autobiography*, which may be considered historical; they are *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé* (?1630) and *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1639). The first was not published in the author's lifetime, and in fact its English version was not made available until 1860. The study of Henry VIII, however, has the distinction of being the only work written in English by Herbert to appear when he was still alive, with the exception of one or two poems. This chapter will be concerned with these two works.

The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé

Before any discussion of the book can take place, it will be useful to recapitulate the events which led up to its writing. On the surface, the landing of Buckingham with ten thousand troops on the small Isle of Ré in 1627 was

concerned with the plight of the Huguenots in La Rochelle, who were about to undergo suppression by the armies of Louis XIII. There were, however, many other factors for the outbreak of hostilities in this undeclared war, some of which I shall discuss here. First of all, the marriage between Charles I and Henriette Marie (now anglicised to Henrietta Maria), Louis's sister, had resulted neither in marital nor international tranquillity. Charles, "unhappy in his marriage. . .resented his brother-in-law's. . .reluctance to join in a war against Spain" (J.A. Clarke 141). Charles I did not yet declare war, but "England gave evidence of her hostility to France in all sorts of ways, and the dissention between her King and Queen seemed to reflect the political differences between the two countries" (Tapié 173). Louis XIII felt, with justification, that Charles I was hypocritical in passing himself off as the defender of religious freedom for Protestants in France while Catholics in England suffered legal and psychological persecution through discriminatory acts of Parliament. Louis had already pointed out this discrepancy to Herbert in 1624, although James I had done his best to maintain at least a low level of toleration, and the true feelings of the English government had not made themselves evident until Charles had married his Catholic bride and they were installed as King and Queen of England. "It appeared in retrospect," J.A. Clarke writes, "that the two nations opposed each other not so much because of their fundamental and irreconcilable interests, as in the

conflicting personalities of their sovereigns" (J.A. Clarke 141). This is the one point upon which French and English historians seem to agree.

Yet it cannot be denied that the fate of France's Protestants played a considerable role in the events of 1627. One of their most distinguished military commanders, Benjamin de Rohan, seigneur de Soubise, was in exile at the English court, having been defeated by Louis XIII in 1622.[4] It was only the threat of an invasion by Mansfeld and his Protestant armies which saved Soubise, and when this was averted Louis had, reluctantly enough, as Herbert's letters show, confirmed the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots remained relatively quiet until 1627, although Soubise made continual attempts to enlist English help to force Louis to stop any attempts at converting Protestants. During this period, as we have seen, events in the Valtelline and in Béarn convinced the Protestants that their religion was not safe.

In the autumn of 1626 Louis XIII, sensing a real problem, sent Marshal Basompierre on a special mission to England, where he was supposed to try and effect some sort of reconciliation between the two crowns before matters went too far. As Victor-Louis Tapié states, however, "Charles I went so far as to ask [Basompierre] whether he had come to declare war" (178). There is some reason to suppose that the belligerent attitude of the King had been encouraged by Buckingham, not only because the Duke was personally hostile to Cardinal Richelieu, but because he feared Louis's

extensive rebuilding of the French navy. Soubise and Buckingham had drawn quite close to one another by 1626; the Duke may have been genuinely concerned with the plight of the Huguenots, or at least may have relished the idea of appearing as their protector. Yet, for all his activity against the Catholics, Soubise himself was reluctant to declare himself formally as the "official spokesman of the Huguenots, nor did he compromise their loyalty to Louis XIII by setting himself up as their advocate" (Tapié 178). He was merely a private individual acting on behalf of an oppressed minority.

Whatever may have been the subtleties of the matter, Richelieu, for one, was seriously alarmed, a condition that was not allayed by Captain Pennington's unprovoked attack on French shipping in the Channel (March 1627). At about this time, Richelieu received intelligence that the English were planning an invasion, although no-one knew exactly when it was coming, or if it would land on Ré or the neighbouring island of Oléron. Because the latter had only a small garrison of some 1200 men, Louis XIII issued orders for troops to be sent to Oléron, a more likely place to land than Ré, which was heavily fortified. He then wrote to the Rochellais to assure them that the royal troops were not being sent to attack them, but to protect them from an imminent English invasion. Louis' position was strengthened further by the fact that Richelieu had just signed a treaty with Spain, and he was undisturbed by the confirmation that a

fleet was indeed assembling, and needed only a favourable wind to blow it to France.

The Isle of Ré is not very prepossessing. It is flat and narrow, and separated from the mainland by a strait some two miles wide. The island itself is about eighteen miles long. It was defended in 1627 by the fortress of Saint-Martin, a new but as yet uncompleted structure of great strength, and it contained a garrison of about five thousand men under the command of Marquis Jean de Toiras, an able and determined general. In addition to these troops, there were soldiers on Oléron, and they could all be supplied indefinitely from La Rochelle. To oppose them, Buckingham had over ten thousand men and sixty ships; he was also counting on assistance from the Rochellais, to which end he had brought provisions designed for their use should they be subjected to a siege by the royal army.

The only justification Buckingham had been given by Charles for his incursion was a set of instructions in which the King made the claim that France was trying "to dispossess us of that sovreignty in those seas which the Kingdoms of Great Britain have given denomination [*sic*] and which all our Ancestors have enjoyed time out of mind." Charles made an attempt to elucidate further by claiming that Louis wanted "to extend his monarchy into the Ocean-- to the prejudice of free trade & especially of our Merchants" (*CSP* [Dom. Ser.], lviii 57). Tapié, for his part, can find no evidence that either Louis XIII or Richelieu had any such intention,

although he believes that the rivalry was occasioned by commercial motives, "the only real object of naval supremacy being to protect commerce on the high seas" (180), specifically a monopoly which Charles wanted for English commerce. Charles's instructions to Buckingham make no mention of the sufferings of the Huguenots.

Historians have discovered various reasons why Buckingham should have been made commander of the English forces, and none of them is military. Towards the end of 1625, opposition to Buckingham had grown to formidable proportions, with attacks mounted in Parliament and a powerful alliance of the earls of Pembroke and Arundel against his policies. It was believed that behind Pembroke and Arundel stood the Queen and her confessor, the Bishop of Mende, who was Richelieu's nephew (Russell, *Parliaments* 266). It was evident that both Pembroke and Arundel opposed intervention on behalf of the Huguenots; this added to Herbert's difficulties in that he owed his ambassadorship to the good offices of Buckingham, but was allied through family ties with the leader of the opposition to the Duke. It was this factor, no doubt, which contributed to his lack of favour in the court of Charles I, although he seems not to have lost Buckingham's friendship or that of his powerful cousin. When Parliament met in 1626, Buckingham found himself facing not only the hostility of the Commons, but the covert activity which centered upon the Queen and her circle. Conrad Russell sums up what Buckingham had to deal with in

1626:

> He could not avoid a Parliament: the Spanish war, in which he and Charles had invested too much political capital to draw back, could not be sustained without one. Even if there had been an immediate peace, a Parliament would probably still have been necessary, to raise the money to meet arrears of pay already owed to soldiers and sailors under arms. Yet the very measures he had to take to survive a Parliament were the same ones which would further widen his breach with the French. Parliament wanted peace with the French, and yet at the same time wanted measures against recusants which probably implied war with the French (Russell, *Parliaments* 267).

All this points to the probability that a war against France, which could in fact be justified on religious and political grounds, was in reality a way for Buckingham to re-establish his prestige under the guise of either Protestant champion or as defender of King Charles's rights upon the high seas. At the least, it would get Buckingham out of the country for a while, and the air might be cleared by the time he returned victorious. Both Charles and Buckingham, blithely ignoring economic and political consequences, taking little notice of an already-depleted treasury, resolved to try England's luck as a European Protestant power, and a successful expedition to Ré was intended as a symbol of even greater things to come.

Buckingham arrived off the island on July 10, 1627, and immediately sent two emissaries, Soubise and Sir William Beecher, to sound out the civic authorities in La Rochelle. When they came to the city, they found the gates had been shut in their faces; only the intervention of Catherine de Parthenay, Soubise's mother, on her son's behalf, persuaded

some citizens to defy Mayor Godefroy's orders and admit the messengers. Beecher then read a manifesto written by Buckingham which professed Charles I's great sympathy with the people of La Rochelle; the prudent Rochellais listened politely, but did nothing. On July 26 the first encounter between the French and the English took place at Pointe des Sablonceaux. Toiras, outnumbered two to one, hotly engaged the English for several hours, and then beat an orderly retreat to Saint-Martin. Siege warfare then began, "conducted with chivalry, but without mercy, as Tapié puts it aptly (182)."[5] The English dug themselves in, hoping that they could starve the French into surrender, but, as Buckingham himself reported, "this is a place of great strength, invincible once perfected, and in the imperfect state. . .is so strong that the shortest way to take it is by famine" (Hardwicke II 27-8). Buckingham kept in constant touch with the Rochellais, but their loyalties were divided, and twenty thousand men under Louis XIII himself were now watching them to see what they would do, and kept up correspondence with both sides.

At this point Louis XIII fell ill, and the command devolved upon the duc d'Angoulême, who now moved the royal army close round the city. Richelieu, meanwhile, was busying himself organising relief for Toiras in the form of boatloads of supplies, which he sent to St-Martin in spite of an English blockade. On September 10, some of the Rochellais, who could stand the suspense no longer, rather foolishly

opened fire on the royal army, and Louis, who had by now recovered, declared formal war against his Protestant subjects. It was at this juncture that Buckingham should have realised that his hopes were doomed to failure.

Briefly, this is what happened. Shiploads of supplies were getting through to Toiras, and the English were running out of food and ammunition. Nevertheless, the French were still severely outnumbered, and Toiras had decided to surrender in October if no help arrived from the mainland. On October 8 a large contingent of fresh troops came over, and instead of preparing for surrender, Toiras contemplated a counter-attack. The English had not received assistance from La Rochelle, and an exasperated and despairing Soubise had commented that "the people's hesitation has been like that of slaves, who dare not proclaim their desire for liberty lest they should be beaten and their yoke aggravated" (*CSP* [Dom. Ser.] lviii 267-8). Richelieu, on the other hand, was urging the destruction of La Rochelle, loyal or not, because he could never be persuaded that the Rochellais would remain loyal to the French Crown:

> The Huguenots must be broken. If Ré holds out, it will be an easy task. If Ré falls it will be more difficult to destroy them, but it will still be feasible as well as necessary that it will be the sole remedy for the loss of Ré; for otherwise the English and the Rochellais will be united and powerful. Whether Ré is saved or lost, we will have to carry the war into England, for we shall in this way prevent the English from extending it into the interior. (Tapié 184)

On September 27 Buckingham ordered an all-out assault on

St-Martin, and at the same time the Rochellais attacked the royal army, thus opening the door to a double disaster. At the end of October, Marshal Armand-Frédéric de Schomberg arrived with 1200 more men, and Toiras launched his long-awaited counter-attack. The English now had no more stomach for fighting, and were driven back to the shore; on November 7, in great disorder, they struggled aboard their ships and sailed home in disgrace.

With Buckingham defeated, it was now the turn of the Rochellais, who, miraculously, held out with great courage and deprivation for nearly twelve months, long enough to witness two English fleets come and go without being able to relieve them. On October 29, 1628, La Rochelle surrendered to Richelieu, and the royal troops entered the city. The Cardinal, appalled by the famine and devastation, immediately ordered cartloads of provisions to be delivered to the survivors (Clarke 154). Some twelve thousand people had died during the terrible siege, and as Louis XIII made his triumphal entry in full parade armour at the head of his troops, he saw only a city of the dead. Louis forbade looting and massacre, and both he and Richelieu showed more humanity than Pope Urban VIII, who "himself chanted a *Te Deum* in the Vatican" (Clarke 155) and then sent the Most Christian King his hearty congratulations.

Lord Herbert and the Expedition

Herbert claims in his introduction that he was asked to write the book by the Duke of Buckingham, and there is no doubt that he felt personal loyalty and friendship towards the Duke. He may have started work on the book in 1627-8, but the assassination of Buckingham and the publication of the French account, Jacob Isnard's *Arcis Sammartinianae obsidio et fuga Anglorum a Rea Insula* (1629) may have caused some delay in completion of the work. Herbert probably did not finish the book until 1630 at the earliest. It was never published, although a Latin translation was made by Dr. Timothy Baldwin, a Fellow of All Souls, and published in 1656 during the first Cromwellian Protectorate. In 1860 the Earl of Powis acquired and published the manuscript, but the work then sank into absolute and complete oblivion, meriting only occasional mention in articles.[4]

Lord Herbert dedicated the book to Charles I; because of this dedication, and the involvement of Buckingham in its inception, *The Expedition* might be thought of, at first glance, as an apology for the Duke and for the disaster, and, indirectly, a method of getting its author into the good graces of the King. But the unpopularity of Buckingham, almost universal as it was, and the fact that by the time Herbert had finished the Duke was dead, make it unlikely that Herbert could have curried favour this way. In any case, he received his coveted English peerage in 1629, before the book was completed. Charles I, for his part, was aware of

Buckingham's unpopularity, and indeed was being increasingly made aware of his own; Herbert's place-seeking would thus be a masterpiece of the ill-timed gesture. Herbert genuinely felt that he owed a debt to Buckingham's memory, and by vindicating the Duke he could also vindicate his own views on foreign policy, because the war with France had resulted, indirectly, from the marriage which Herbert, as ambassador, had so vehemently opposed, and which opposition had cost him his job. In any case, Herbert had mixed emotions; he begins by stating that had Buckingham not asked him, he would never have written the book at all, but his loyalty made him resolve to do so. He then indulges in a little jingoism, claiming that when the French defeat the English, it is only through the use of superior force (which, in this case, was untrue) and even if it is not for this reason, their victories are hollow. Yet he ends the dedication in a way which, as W. Moelwyn Merchant observes, "could scarcely have been regarded as mollifying" (Merchant 16):

> I will ende, therefore, with a wishe or vowe, that your Majesty may always fix your selfe in that degree or state as may be out of the Power of Flattery to rayse, or Slander to depresse, or Envy to turne aside. (xxxi)

This hardly seems complimentary either to Buckingham or Charles I, especially coming as it did on the heels of the Duke's assassination.

Herbert begins by tracing the history of Anglo-French relations, emphasising the pacific policy of James I and praising James's co-operation with Louis XIII "in the midst

of his civill broyles and dissentions" (2). He proves his point by stating that as James's ambassador during that time, he knows how strenuously the King worked for peace between the two nations. He goes on to criticise James's policy regarding the Empire (which he calls Austria), and states that he does not believe in peace at any price, which was what the King had wanted. James's European policy, Herbert considered, had failed; "by entreaties and admonitions alone Hee could neyther restore his sonne-in-law. . .nor sufficiently defend the reformed Relligion in France" (4). It is obvious from this that Herbert felt that the two issues could not be entirely separated, even though he commends James for pro-French policy. When James died, he left "a troubled and perplexd condition of affayres." This changed with the accession of the "quicke and feareless" Charles, who was ready to wage war both for Bohemia and for the French Protestants. Herbert does not elaborate, but passes on to a discussion of the alliances between Louis XIII and the various German princes against Spain, and the general fear of the Empire's increasing power under the rule of Ferdinand II. The problem was, according to Herbert,one of geographical logistics, or how a war for Bohemia could best be fought in Europe.

Charles I and his advisers believed, Herbert tells us, that only a French base would allow war to be effectively waged, and even in 1625 there was still reason to hope for "a joynte unitinge our Forces to recover the Palatinate" (9).

It was, he thought, "no new thinge that Armes should evince what reason cannot, and that by strong Hand rather than reason stiffe-necked and stubborne dispositions should be reduced and rectified." It was, furthermore, in the interests of France to favour Bohemia and the Palatinate, because France and the Palatinate had formerly been allies, and helping James's son-in-law would secure France "from northern [English] incursions." Herbert blames the French for English disasters in the Low Countries, as they "did through the French-men's fault first lose their way, and after a great part of their Lives" (12). Contrary to modern historians, moreover, Herbert cites French interference with English shipping "in the full Peace betweene the two Crownes," conveniently omitting to mention Pennington's foray. These are the reasons Herbert gives for the beginning of hostilities towards France.

Herbert always linked the events in the Palatinate with the plight of the Huguenots, a result of his failure to make a proper distinction between religion and politics. Louis XIII and Richelieu were much more concerned with consolidating the power of the monarchy, and the elimination of a rival and powerful party of the other religion was essential to accomplish this. They simply could not believe in the loyalty of the Huguenots and the necessity of the Edict of Nantes. It may even be said in this context that even the policy of Luynes, although prompted by his narrow religious beliefs, was as much an attempt to strengthen the

monarchy as anything the more sophisticated Richelieu did. It cannot be doubted, moreover, that Louis XIII himself was perfectly capable of understanding the fine line between religion and politics. An alliance with Spain was more important than one with England, for the simple reason that Spain was adjacent to France and was Catholic, and its rulers were Hapsburgs. What was the Palatinate to France if peace could be secured with Spain and the Empire? Herbert's frustration and indignation against France reflected, at least after 1625, that of his government. Charles I, unlike James, had no "policy" at all, beyond identifying himself with Buckingham and those who had forced the Spanish war on his father, and his marriage, far from solving anything, had made matters worse. Herbert's historical method, at least in the analysis of the opening scenes of this undeclared war, echoes what he had been saying all along in his diplomatic correspondence; it is as if the book had been written by Herbert the conscientious historian at least partially as a vindication of Herbert the far-seeing statesman.

Chapter Two opens with a discussion of reasons why Ré was chosen as the landing site. It was near La Rochelle, but also to Spain, and would be easy to defend if English sea-power prevailed. Herbert complains that the invasion plans were not kept secret enough, and that intelligence enabled Louis to gather an army and "assemble near the coast of Poictou" (16). Herbert now pauses to introduce us to his straw-man and arch-enemy, Jacob Isnard, the French

chronicler, whose "sleight and triviall objections, as being scarse considerable, or worthy any answere, may be passed by" (17). Herbert has absolutely no intention of allowing Isnard to be passed by, and he leaves his digression to launch a full-scale attack on the scurrilous Jesuit.

Rossi, one of the few commentators on *The Expedition*, seems largely to accept Isnard's account of events, and even agrees with him that there were atrocities committed by the English. On the whole, he thinks that the whole episode was nothing more than a large-scale duel, an affair of honour undertaken merely to demonstrate the courage of the English and the military skill of the Duke of Buckingham (Rossi II, 454). Herbert would have disagreed. Once combat started, it took the normal course that combat did in the seventeenth century; there was chivalry, and there was brutality. By the end of the campaign some four to six thousand men had been killed and injured, and it seems therefore rather unlikely that either Toiras or Buckingham saw the engagements as duels.

The French, Herbert says, accuse the English of breaking treaties and of having a "Punique-Faith," but of course he will not contend with Isnard in "fowle language" (19). At the same time, Herbert does not disprove Isnard's contention, and only claims that England "slowly, and, as it were, unwittingly. . .took Armes" (20). It was the duc de Luxembourg's detention of English ships at Blaye (November 26, 1626) which Herbert blames for the final determination of

the English to retaliate, and England attacked French ships only when a state of hostilities actually existed. Herbert goes on to claim that Soubise had nothing to do with the expedition, although he does not say why he accompanied the fleet, unless we are to assume that he merely needed a ride to see how his mother was getting along in La Rochelle. When Soubise went with Beecher to the city, Herbert tells us, it was under the pretence of visiting his mother!

Having dismissed Isnard so far, and denied a role to Soubise, Herbert then claims that after Beecher and Soubise spoke to the "Senate" (the Mayor and Council) of La Rochelle, they immediately agreed to assist Buckingham in whatever way they could. Shortly afterwards, the chivalrous Toiras, having been informed that the English were suffering from sea-sickness, and that in general "all things were in confusion and tumult" (29), ordered an attack, which the English, outnumbered, repulsed. Isnard, says Herbert, concealed the real numbers of French troops, and he points snobbishly to the number of "quality" casualties on the French side, but admits in the end that the English also suffered heavy losses. Herbert also questions Isnard's method of counting casualties, but the details of this do not really concern us here.

An interesting aspect of this early section of the work is Herbert's apparent backtracking in the next chapter. He becomes extraordinarily defensive about his lack of qualifications for writing the book, but he nevertheless

attacks Isnard's command of the French language for the simple reason that Isnard criticised Buckingham's French in the manifesto which was delivered to La Rochelle. After this rather pointless digression Herbert breaks off and returns to his former topic, explaining that "this expedition was undertaken wholly without my knowledge and not disclosed before it was fully resolved" (42). Yet Herbert says he "must not deny the cause was just," and continues:

> Neyther should it have moved mee that lesse motives have heretofore been causes of greate victories. For not alwaies from the past, but present and even future times (bee it spoken in a good hower) judgments are to bee taken where the whole frame of businesses are laid before us. (43)

Of course, if Herbert is discharging a debt of friendship he can hardly deny the justice of the cause, and it may be expected that he will now try and prove that Buckingham was as great a general as, say, Tilly or Mansfeld. This is not what he does. He reminds the reader again and again of Buckingham's personal courage, but he also stresses the Duke's willingness to take advice; for example, when it is clear that the English are defeated, Buckingham neither fights a pointless battle nor beats a hasty retreat, but "calld together a selecte counsaile of worthy persons, hee... desires them to speake their minds freely" (268-69). Buckingham seems to have been, at least in his knowledge of the capability of the St-Martin fortress, correct in assuming that only famine would defeat the French, and there is no evidence, at least in Herbert's account, that he was ever

headstrong or unreasonable. However, it is apparent that Herbert was having some difficulty in making a case for Buckingham's handling of what was, after all, a disastrous venture. The Earl of Powis quotes Sir Henry Wotton's comments on *The Expedition*, which sum it up as well as anyone's:

> This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much learning, and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right; which in truth it greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure, even from some of the French writers, than it had generally amongst ourselves at home. Now, because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes; and these only touching the Duke's own deportment in that Island, the proper subject of my own quill. (Powis xx)

The chapters following (to Chapter XXXII) deal with the details of the campaign itself, which may be assumed as accurate as that of Isnard. The two writers generally agree in the outlines of the campaign, and both have a tendency to criticise the other's *minutiae* rather than make any serious counter-attacks. It must be admitted here also that the present writer's ignorance of military tactics and his aversion to reading about them makes it difficult for him to pass a judgment on Herbert's skills in this area, and therefore his comments can only be vague and general. Merchant, without expressly stating why, is of the opinion that Herbert was fairly *au courant* with such matters, and in this he is supported by Rossi (Merchant 22; Rossi II, 455).

Herbert's style in this book is rather prolix, perhaps because he is concerned with vindicating Buckingham on the

military level. His "Isnard-bashing" may indeed be interpreted as a smokescreen for knowing that the Duke was not a great general, but being unwilling to criticise him openly, especially after having dedicated the book to Charles I. Buckingham may, of course, have taken so much counsel simply because he did not know what to do in the situation, and his indecisiveness could only be disguised by continual reference to the inaccuracy and unfairness of French accounts. *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé* is not one of Herbert's better books, but it is worth reading in conjunction with Isnard because at least both sides of this event are presented and may be compared. The sense of immediacy which Herbert can bring to some of the events, also, is not to be missed:

> For the English were then in great want of all thinges, and cheefly of health; least any thinge should bee omitted that might bee to the purpose, a fier-shippe, by the favour of the tide and winde, was sett a flote, to fall into the Navy, but it succeeded not; for before it could take effect it was drawne a side by the French and consumed in his owne Flames. The day at length cleering our men did beate this navy with their greate shott. . .But the English were not content with this. Therfore they rann to the sands in two divisions, with intention to draw out the French to fight in a place altogether advantagious to them. But the garrison was so busy in takinge their provisions out of their shipps that it was not easy to provoke them. . .(153-54)

The last chapter of the work elaborates on Herbert's statement that he has "written nothinge out of Partiality" (281) in his account of the expedition. It is addressed to French readers, and in it Herbert professes "to have sayd nothinge here with desire to offend you. . .The rash folly of

Isnard indeed provoked mee so farr as I thought it fitt not to leave it uncorrected" (281-82). He attempts to explain his own role as a historian, and strives to conclude on an objective note:

> I must say that there was enough done for honor, too much for effusion of blood on eyther parte. Lett both Nations, therfore, have their due Glory. It will perpetually renowne you that you preserved both Cittadells; that you affected a safe rather than a doubtfull victorie (as beinge that which argues best the providence of a Generall) besides that great slaughter you made of our men and takinge away of our Coullors, may bee reputed amonge the cheefest Trophees and spoiles you have ever gotten. (283)

He then goes on to enumerate the various victories won by the English, the number of guns taken, and so forth, to the disparaging of the French. "Yf it bee granted that the French did triumphe over the vanquished," he states, "it must not bee denyed but that the English triumphed even over the Victory it selfe" (286). Yet even this statement is mitigated by the concluding passages of the work, which articulate Herbert's wish that both nations may have learned that peace and harmony is better than war and discord:

> This freely interposed judgment concerninge the passages betwixt both nations, that you who are worthy minded will not take ill is my desire, beinge ready with the same temper to heare yours. Lett it be lawful for every one to defend the dignity of his Cuntrey, unlawfull for any to sowe or nourish the seeds of dissention. This, if it bee approved by you, I shall little esteeme all wranglers who, in my epistle to the reader, shall find their ready and perpetuall answer.
>
> Fare you well, in the meane while, and exercise all mutuall testimonies of goodwill. (287)

The Life and Reign of King Henry VIII

This is a far more substantial work than the *Expedition*. Herbert employs all the historical tools at his disposal, and in fact *Henry VIII* is, as I hope to show here, a pioneering work of historical scholarship. As such, the dedication to Charles I provides some evidence; Herbert was working from documents provided by the King, and indeed the genesis of the book, according to Herbert, came "from Your Majesties particular, and (I may say) unexpected commands."[7]

"I am not ignorant," Herbert explains, "that the King, whose History I write, is subject to more obloquies, than any since the worst Roman Emperors times" ($A-A_1$). He then goes on to explain exactly how he sees Henry VIII as a subject for biography:

> But I shall little care for censure, as long as the testimonies I use do assure and warrant me; since I pretend not to describe him otherwise, either good or bad, but as He really was. Only where he holds any doubtfull part, I conceive it will be but just to give a favourable construction. For if even private men will expect the like in their own case, it will be much more due to Princes: both as a reverence belongs to their persons, and that they above all others must be thought to endeavour the common good, who will suffer more than any else in a general calamity. (A_1)

A king, Herbert declares, has more right than a private individual to be given, wherever possible, the benefit of the doubt, because one must assume that a monarch desires the good of his people. This belief was, of course, at the base of James I's theory of the Divine Right of Kings; it was not that a King would deliberately choose to do evil, because his

responsibility to God was so awesome. Herbert admits this freely in his introduction: first he says that "the advantage of many is seldom obtained without the detriment of some," and then that "reason of State" is to "procure the greater good: So that if some mixture of ill be discovered therein, it might conduce to the general."

Herbert then elaborates further on his idea by indicating what he believes the "State-Government" ought to be like, if the above maxims are allowed as givens:

> I wish yet that good Princes may seldom use this maxim, it being (at best) but a dangerous and suspected wisdom. Since State-Government, where it is well-administered, will rarely need such helps, nor otherwise than as extreme and last remedies. Therefore in my opinion recourse should not be had to them, but where other means fail; the practice of Vertue and Piety being alone a just exercise for a healthful and well constituted Commonwealth. Neither will there be any danger this way of distraction; those causes which make men good, uniting them best. . .yet experience teacheth, that neither fortitude hath been always successful, nor temperance safe, nor justice it self opportune: the fury and insolence of outragious people having in some insurrections grown to that excess, that it hath been more wisdom to pass by a while, than to punish them. So that until a due election and choice be had, even vertue it self will be obnoxious. (A_{22}-A_{23})

Herbert expresses similar misgivings on the opening page of the work itself. "It is impossible," he states, "to draw his Picture well who hath several countenances," and he is particularly concerned with the last days of Henry VIII, when the King fell "at last into such violent courses, as in common opinion derogated not a little from those virtues which at first made him one of the most renowned Princes of

Christendom" (1). This particular king, instead of sinking into a peaceful and tolerant old age, "inverted all," as Herbert puts it, and became a terrible tyrant. This state of affairs seems to have been largely responsible for Herbert's wishing to write about Henry VIII; he wished to see what makes a man such as Henry undoubtedly was during a large part of his reign, turn into a man "of whom no one thing may constantly be affirmed."

A random selection of modern historical biographies of Henry VIII seems to restate Herbert's dilemma, and perhaps even the undoubtedly great resources of psychobiography have still been unable to answer the questions which the personality of this man pose for those who study him. Lacey Baldwin Smith concludes in his book *Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty*, that "it may be well to remember that the years rarely bring out the best in us; men, deprived of the masks with which they confront the world, become, so to speak, 'caricatures of themselves." All Smith can do at the end of the chapter is to quote Whitman's *Song of Myself*, "Do I contradict myself?/ Very well then I contradict myself,/ (I am large, I contain multitudes.) (L. Smith 13) and confirm Herbert's observation that "it is probable contradictories should agree to the same Person" (1). A later historian still than Smith, Carolly Erickson, writes in her preface to *Great Harry: The Extravagant Life of Henry VIII* (1980) that "He seemed to know everything, be everywhere at once" (Erickson 14) and G.R. Elton chose to overlook the

contradictions, although denigrating "the. . .blood guilt," which "lies with the King" (Elton, *Henry VIII* 22) and concentrating on Henry's attempts, at the end of his reign, to pursue "moderate orthodoxy" (Elton, *Tudors* 201) in religion. Smith quotes the Danish historian Øve Brinch describing Henry as "a psychopath of the boasting, swaggering, self-maintaining and self-glorifying type" (L. Smith 14) and, of course. we have the verdict of Charles Dickens that Henry was "a blot of blood and grease upon the history of England" (L. Smith 14). Finally, J.J. Scarisbrick, perhaps the most judicious of recent biographers of the King, points out that Henry was "a huge, consequential and majestic figure," who "had raised monarchy to near-idolatry," but who also effected a permanent division in the religion of his subjects and who was, in the words of the French ambassador Chastillon, "a wonderful man. . .but an old fox" (Scarisbrick 498). As Herbert saw it,

> [Princes] have many ways to be wise, and seldom err while they keep their Estate and reputation. Nothing is so easie as to reign, if the body of Government be well framed. Let the Counterpoises of Reward and punishment go aright, the Wheels of this great Clock seldom fail. This King used both well so long as his means and complexion suffer'd him; though at last, passing these bounds on either side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers irregularities. (2)

It can be seen from these extracts that Herbert's purpose in this book is partly didactic. Styles, in fact, states that *Henry VIII* was an example of one of the historical studies "intended as manuals for statesmen" (Fox 50). Its dedication to Charles I would tend to bear this

interpretation out, and the originality of the work lies not in this aspect, which was common to the age, but in Herbert's use of original documents, and in his refusal to turn the book into a glorification of monarchy. If, as Robert Hooper claims, the seventeenth century was a time when men tried "to shore up the most precious elements out of the emblematic and sacramental past" (Hooper 163), then Herbert was taking an oblique route, and the emblematic value was, at best, dubious.

As we have noted, Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* served, at least in part, as a model for Herbert's work on Henry VIII. However, Bacon, unlike Herbert, did not have access to documentation, and constructed his narrative upon chronicle histories such as those which Shakespeare used for the background to his history plays. He believed that the chroniclers were accurate insofar as actually relating the facts was concerned, and Bacon was not so much interested in the "facts" of the reign of Henry VII but in a portrait of the King himself. As B.A. Haddock points out, Bacon's purpose was to write "a character study informed by general principles of statecraft," and "any attempt at flattery would have made the *History* useless as a source of political instruction" (Haddock 24). This meant that Bacon was committed to explaining his subject's mistakes and shortcomings while at the same time holding Henry VII up as a useful *exemplum* for statecraft. And Bacon, as a statesman himself, had an idea of the genaral principles of statecraft,

which meant that he could justifiably apply his interpretations to Henry's reign.

Of course, the book also gave Bacon a chance to apply his own philosophy to historical writing, especially as it applied to some of the moral questions which arose at the very beginning of Henry VII's reign. In fact, Henry could have been (and indeed was, by some) considered a usurper; he came to the throne by killing the incumbent, Richard III, and his claims, in spite of his marriage to Richard's niece, were not exactly strong. Bacon explains Henry's solutions to these and other problems in terms of the times at which the king reigned; those who accuse Henry VII of Machiavellianism and usury (amongst other sins) are simply committing what Butterfield would later term the "Whig fallacy" of history. Anyone who admired and wished to emulate Henry VII, who, after all, was a successful, if not popular ruler, would be forced to study the king's own character in relation to his times and to his methods of ruling, and understand what worked for him and what did not.

There was another dimension to Bacon's treatment of history, which was also important to Herbert. Where historians like Ralegh emphasised the role of God or Divine Providence in history, Bacon split understanding into two areas, that which concerned natural phenomena, and that which concerned the divine. Haddock explains it thus:

> Acquired in radically different ways, these types of understanding were mutually exclusive. 'For all knowledge admits of two kinds of information'

> [wrote Bacon]; 'the one inspired by divine revelation, the other arising from the senses.' The character of the 'good' life, for example, was a matter of revelation; but the prudential management of men had a place within the science of man once these parameters had been established. (Haddock 25)

Thus when the historian came to explain, for example, the political manoevres of Henry VII, he was performing a *scientific* act, and the Divine Purpose had no place in the explanation. History was not, as Ralegh had claimed, the working-out of a divine plan, but really a "science of man." Haddock quotes Bacon as stating the historian's task, in part, as "to carry the mind in writing back to the past. . .freely and faithfully to report, and by the light of words to place it before the eyes" (Haddock 27).

Herbert's work uses the chroniclers in much the same way as Bacon's did, but, as Haddock notes, while Herbert had the correct qualifications as a man of affairs, "he coupled this with the diligence of the scholar in his seven years of intermittent labour on the original sources which supplemented and corrected the received accounts" (Haddock 29). The diligence of the scholar, however, must be balanced with that scholar's view of his subject, which, after all, was a king generally considered, as Herbert points out in his dedication to King Charles, a tyrant and oppressor, unlike Bacon's subject, a ruler feared and respected, but never denounced as a tyrant.

It is therefore worth considering what Herbert thought about the monarchy. His political apprenticeship, indeed his

career, had been under a system where, in the words of James I,

> The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth. For kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There be three principal similitudes that illustrates the state of monarchy. One taken out of the word of God, and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the Scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families, for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man. (Wootton 99)

Herbert's own thoughts on the two gods he served were equivocal. We have already seen some of them in his satirical verse, but between this and the 1640's, with the exception of what he allows himself to express in *Henry VIII* (at the beginning and end only), Herbert says nothing. Yet in 1642 he wrote "Questions touching upon Obedience to magistrate in eminency" in which he tried to answer the question, "What if Princes become Tyrants, are they then to be obeyed?"[47] He begins by agreeing with King James that "they are by private Persons, though they should become *slaves*," because no-one has the right "to lay his hand upon the Lords anointed, or to make publique talke of his faults." Yet Herbert's next question, "But what if a Prince shall sett himselfe *to destroy the Kingdome*. . .?" elicits the answer that any monarch who does this is "infringing of his oath taken at his Coronation," and he may then be deposed, but only by his Nobles and Gentry." These last, Herbert

concludes, have as much responsibility for the wellbeing of the Kingdom, collectively, as the King, and indeed help him to govern, and therefore "it is manifest that the powers are not all in [the King's] sole hand. . .and that therefore the offending kinge may bee pulled in" (Rossi III, 494). This would have horrified King James, and had it been voiced under Henry VIII would have led to the immediate imprisonment and subsequent beheading of its perpetrator. "The wickedness, therefore, of the king," James wrote, "can never make them that are ordained to be judged by him become his judges. . .all sudden mutations are perilous in commonwealths" (Wootton 102). And Herbert's contemporary, Sir Robert Filmer, declared in *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques* (1652), that he could find no authority, in Scripture or anywhere else, "where any power or commission is given to a people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governors, or to alter the manner of government at their pleasure" (Wootton 111).

In *Henry VIII* Herbert skirts these problems, having already stated that Henry must be given the benefit of the doubt, although we should note that his words about the deposition of the monarch were written only three years after the publication of *Henry VIII*. If he wants to get at the truth about Henry VIII, "without either *presuming audaciously* to condemn a Prince, heretofore Sovereign of our Kingdom, or *omitting the just freedom of an Historian* (my italics)" (632), Herbert has to show that "his History will

be his best Character and description." He therefore attempts to list what he considers Henry's good points, his "most deep judgment in all Affairs *to which he applyed himself* (my italics)," his liberality, and his "Royal courage." Herbert believes that Henry was "ever most zealous of his Honour and Dignity," and whatever he did, "he was the most Active Prince of his time" (633) because he made his presence felt in European politics. Politically, moreover, Henry was more astute than his predecessors, and none of them "understood the temperament of Parliaments better than himself, or. . .prevailed [*sic*] himself more dexterously of them."

Herbert's most interesting comments are reserved for Henry's faults, which he treats of with some detail and a certain amount of circumspection, although not enough to disguise them as virtues. Henry listened too much to rumour-mongers:

> Insomuch, that the impressions privately given him by any Court-whisperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the persons near him had a singular ability; while beginning with the commendations of those they would disgrace, their manner was to insinuate such exceptions, as they would discommend a man more in few words, than commend him in many: Doing therein like cunning wrestlers, who to throw one down, first take him up. (634)

Henry was thus condemned as cruel, because he over-reacted when he suspected someone, and "although he gave some proofs yet that he could forgive," they were "few and late, [and] served not to recover him the name of a Clement Prince." Henry's main fault, to which many testified, was

covetousness, "as extending not only to a promiscuous overthrow of Religious Houses, but a notable derogation of Title of Supreme Head of the Church. . ." Herbert believes there was no excuse for Henry's rapaciousness in the case of the monasteries, although he concedes that it might have been possible for Catholics to have contributed financially to foreign incursions, had there been any. On this subject, Herbert concludes:

> For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their [the monasteries'] excessive numbers in proportion to a well composed State, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him; since, together with the supernumary and debauched Abbeys, Priories and Nunneries, he subverted and extinguished the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for such as through age or infirmity being unapt for secular business, would end their days in a devout and retired life. (636-37)

Of course, Herbert's judgment reflects his own eirenic mind, rather than the mind of Henry VIII or of Thomas Cromwell one hundred years earlier, and it is unlikely that either would have thought of some monasteries as being good, others as being debauched. In any event, the dissolution was a vast project, carried out in several stages, and, as Scarisbrick suggests,

> the question was not whether the monks should be hammered but whether the purging of monasticism should not be included in a much larger programme which tackled the problem of redisposing the wealth of the entire Church, secular as well as regular, bishoprics, chapters and parish churches etc., at the same time as religious house.
>
> (Scarisbrick 337)

Henry was also a prodigal man, Herbert notes, and often

exhausted his treasury, "that he was constrained at last to have recourse to unusual and grievous ways for relieving his wants." It is just possible that Herbert was alluding to Charles I's illegal methods for raising revenue in the 1630's, and for spending what he had on foreign wars, but he sticks very closely to his subject, and there is no hint, apart from the tradition that history was the manual of princes, that he meant to criticise any monarch except Henry VIII. Herbert then writes about Henry's "lust" and "concupiscence" (636), but takes his usual stance on these subjects, that it may be "a disease of Repletion" in some, but "in others a Necessity of nature," and that it was Henry's "inordinate desire to have Posterity (especially masculine)," which led him to behave the way he did. In the end, "with all his crimes," Henry VIII "was one of the most glorious Princes of his time" because all Europe knew him, and all his subjects felt his power. Those who attacked Henry after his death, Herbert says, were "either discontented Clergy-men. . .or offended Women (for divers severe examples against their Sex)," and the result has been that objective histories were not written. Herbert ends, however, on an ambiguous note:

> But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of State, Conscience, or Honour, a diligent observation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, then any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave him in his Grave.

Some years later, however, a reader, Jonathan Swift, was

rather more direct in his comments:

> And I wish he had been Flead, his skin stuffed and hangd on a Gibbet, His bulky guts and flesh left to be devoured by Birds and Beasts, for a warning to his Successors for ever. Amen.
> (Swift 251)[9]

Herbert as an Historian

It is difficult to draw more than a few tentative conclusions about Herbert's place in historiographical scholarship. His originality, as I have stated, lies in his use of original documentation, but he does not analyse his documents or use them to promote a particular historical view.A fact is stated, the document presented. For example, when Herbert wishes to discuss Henry's negotiations with the Pope over Katharine of Aragon, he prints the entire Latin text of a letter from Clement VII to Henry (359-62) and proceeds with a day-by-day relation of events in strictest chronological order. He makes few authorial comments, although some bias may be discerned in his description of how Katharine "Negotiated puissantly with the Pope" (359) behind the King's back. Generally, however, Herbert carries out Blundeville's objective of relating the facts without bias, and he eschews invented speeches and speculation about what people thought at certain times. The work is organised chronologically, and meticulously detailed; thus we get a full account of the Concord of Madrid (1526) with all forty-four of its articles itemised (174-81), of the demands made

to the emperor Charles V by Henry's envoys in 1527 (215-21) and a letter probably written by Anne Boleyn to Henry in 1537 (447-8). This last provides readers with a rare example of authorial judgment; Anne, Herbert believes, was innocent of what her detractors imputed, although she did not realise fully that "Prosperity is a dangerous estate to those that use it not reverently," and that "Beauty is not always the best keeper of it self" (445). Herbert also pauses to examine Henry's reaction to Anne's real or imagined adultery, and how far Henry himself may be blamed for what happened:

> I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her Honour in those times. . .but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath Condemned her; and that whether She, or any else were in fault, is not now to be discussed. This is certain, that the King had cast his Affection already on *Jane Seymor* (daughter to Sir *John Seymor* Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which followed, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody, but where Law, or at least pretexts drawn from thence, did countenance his Actions. But suspition in great and obnoxious minds, is other than in the Mild and Temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toss all that comes thereon. So that I dare say nothing hath been Author of so much confusion; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the mind without Remedy; how farr yet suspition wrought on our King, is not for me to define. (445)

This appears to be an acute psychological analysis; Herbert focusses on the problem of suspicion, which is different and more dangerous in a king than in someone not wielding absolute authority. He also examines the personality of the

man and shows how it interacts with the *persona* of a king to produce results which may lead to "tragedy."

This passage also serves as an example of Herbert's debt to Bacon. He draws certain conclusions from the evidence about Anne herself, weighing it carefully and concluding that court gossip could not be trusted, placing the abstraction of "the Law" above suspicion, but at the same time making a general conclusion about the nature of Henry's jealousy as well as Anne's foolish sense of her own security as Queen. The psychological acumen of the conclusions Herbert draws about how the King's mind was often at variance with the mind of the man Henry Tudor is largely constructed through induction, as are the general remarks about the nature of princes. Herbert's own interaction with princes was based upon his first-hand knowledge of three very different kings, Louis XIII, James I and Charles I, and the passages quoted from the *Autobiography* and Herbert's letters on Louis XIII may be contrasted with those on the mind of Henry VIII. Herbert's ordering of his vast amount of material also owes something to Bacon, although in the case of lengthy Latin documents it seems as if he has not done much reducing of empirical data; this may be due to the fact that Herbert was attempting something new, and felt unsure enough of his own capacities as a "new historian" that he needed to overwhelm readers with the evidence.

Herbert also owes much to the older historians, such as Blundeville. He does make, in his study of the King, a

distinction between Henry's public and private morality, and tries to explain that Henry needed, in fact was duty-bound, to act like a King in those circumstances where he would have been condemned as a mere man. Herbert is not comfortable with this convenient humanistic dichotomy, and his concluding remarks at the end of the work show that he did not quite overcome his distaste for his subject's cruelty. In Henry's case the dichotomy was blurred, and Herbert knew it. Herbert's careful description of Henry's education and upbringing, impressively set out and documented as it is, is offset by the account of his prosecution of the two unpopular ministers of his father's, Empson and Dudley, "detested of all, but especially the poorer sort, who found it easier to hate then to pay" (6-7). Herbert then goes on to list all the major powers of Europe and describes their governments, with a view to placing England in its relation to Europe and the world, rather than focussing narrowly on Henry VIII's immediate environment. This fulfils Blundeville's dictum that human conduct depends upon observation of detail, that men (or kings) are not isolated from each other, and at the same time allows Herbert to be more "Baconian," as he draws conclusions about Henry from what evidence may be gleaned from other European courts.

Herbert's *Henry VIII*, then, is a curious mixture of two historical methods, with the newer one allowing the work its pretences to originality. It is useful to note that Herbert does not actually claim to be original in this book as he did

in *De veritate*, and indeed *Henry VIII*, like the *Expedition*, seems to have been something less than a labour of love. Yet his use of extensive documentation. and the conclusions which he draws directly from it, may be termed original, as Herbert is certainly the first scholar to use this method in England. As Herbert points out in the Epistle Dedicatory, "*I shall little care for censure, as long as the testimonies I use do assure and warrant me; since I pretend not to describe him otherwise, either good or bad, but as He really was*" (A_3).

Notes to Chapter Eight

[1] John Stow (1525-1605) was by profession a tailor, but he was also a self-taught scholar. He compiled a *Summary of English Chronicles* (1565), and his *Annals* were an attempt to build up a genuione history of England from the earliest times. Matthew Parker (1504-1575) was Archbishop of Canterbury. His work was actually written by a committee, of which he was the head. As Breisach notes (168) Parker wanted to write a history of Christianity and ended up with a history of the English church drawn from Anglo-Saxon records.

[2] See, for example, Shakespeare, *I Henry IV*, I, iii. Hotspur's hatred of the King is based on his superficial reading of Machiavelli, and his description of "this vile politician, Bullingbrook" epitomises Machiavelli's "ideal" Prince. And Richard III, of course, is the Machiavellian prince personified and exaggerated.

[3] Breisach praises Blundeville for being a "continental" historian, influenced by the Italian humanist historians such as Giacomo Aconcio (1492-1566), who lived in England from 1559 and whose work Blundeville promoted. For a good short account of the Italian *ars historica* controversy, see Breisach, pp.153-60

[4] Benjamin de Rohan, Sieur de Soubise (–)

[5] Casualties at the first engagement included Toiras's brother the Marquis de Restinchères and Celse-Bénigne de Rabutin, baron de Chantal, the father of Madame de Sévigné. See Frances Mossiker, *Madame de Sévigné, A Life and Letters* (7-8). There is, apparently, a legend that Chantal was killed by Oliver Cromwell, but I have found no evidence that Cromwell served under Buckingham in the campaign.

Jean de Saint-Bonnet, marquis de Toiras (1585-1636) saw service under the Prince de Condé in 1610 and fought at Ponts-de-Cé under Louis XIII against the forces of the Queen Mother (1620). He defeated Soubise at St-Martin (1625) and after Buckingham's forces retreated he took part in the seige of La Rochelle. He was then suspected by Richelieu of disloyalty, but was cleared in 1628 and became Governor of Casal in the Valtelline War. His defence of the town against the Imperialists led to Toiras's being created a Marshal of France by Louis XIII, and Richelieu employed him to negotiate a treaty with Savoy and Venice (1631). Toiras then refused to return to France to collect the Order of the Holy Spirit (1633) because he mistrusted Richelieu. The latter persuaded Louis XIII that Toiras, like his surviving brothers, was a supporter of the King's rebellious brother Gaston, and the Marshal was stripped of all honours except his marshal's rank. He was killed by a musket-shot at the siege of Milan.

[6] Lord Powis supplies the following information on *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhe*. He acquired the MS in 1855 from David Laing of Edinburgh, who picked it up in a sale. "The manuscript," Lord Powis stated, "is handsomely bound in yellow morocco, stamped alternately with the Rose and Fleur-de-Lys. The Dedication to King Charles is in Lord Herbert's handwriting" (xviii). The MS has no preface to the Reader, from which Lord Powis concluded that Baldwin's Latin translation must have been made from a different MS version. A date, "*Dabam Castr. de Montgomery, Aug. 10, 1630*" appears at the end of the Dedication of Baldwin's book, which is not in the MS, and there are no chapter-headings or index in the MS. A few words and the occasional paragraph do not appear in the translation, but these are of little importance, at least the ones I detected from an examination of the two works. Rossi adds some further information. There is an incomplete English MS (now in the Powis Collection, NLW, P. II. XVIII, 7c) which, as Rossi states, is "in dreadful condition" (III, 486). It contains Chapters III-VIII. The corrections in Lord Powis's MS, which he believed to be in the hand of Charles I, are cautiously described by Rossi as being "in an unknown hand." Apparently Laing, the original owner, also supposed them to be by Charles. More

interestingly, perhaps, there are also two Latin MSS, one (P. II. XVIII, 7b) with an autograph note by Herbert, "*25 febr. 1630 natus ex Richardo filio mihi nepos*," which, according to Rossi (III, 487), proves that the MS was complete by 1630. Another autograph (P. II. XVIII, 7a) has a signed dedication and the date Aug. 1, 1631. There also exist a Latin version of the dedication (P. II, XVIII, 7d) dated Aug. 10, 1630, fragments (in English) of Chapter I (P. II. XII, 9), and some notes on documents related to the event (P. II. XII, 3-6). See also Mario Rossi, "*Lo sbarco inglese nell' Isola di Re (1627) e la polemica militare nel XVII secolo*," *NRS*, XXI, III-IV, V-VI.

[7] Rossi provides the following information on the MSS and printed versions of *Henry VIII*. Jesus College, Oxford, has three MSS of the work and one of another version, which Herbert did not use in his final copy. They are numbered MSS. Jesus Coll. LXXI-IV. The first is a MS of fifteen folio pages covering the years 1509-27, the second is pages 236 to 661 (1525-35) and the third is numbered 662-1090, the remaining years (1635-47). Rossi spends much of his time describing the fourth MS, which he believes is a collection of notes and documents not used by Herbert in his final version (Rossi III, 489). The MS has no date, but the handwriting in it belongs to Herbert, Thomas Master, and others, the latter being especially evident in ff. 1088-89. The Dedication is in the hand of Master, but corrected by Herbert, and there is also evidence that Master, in some places, corrected Herbert. Rossi noted that the work was formally divided into 7 books. On the first folio appear the words "The beginning is to be a little altered." One of the interesting deletions concerns Henry's "lust": apparently Herbert had referred to the King's "lust and wontouness," as well as the problems of the French king, François I. Henry, wrote Herbert, "escaped better than Francis, who had *un ulcere verolé*," and Charles [V], who " was not without some Symptomes of the Venerean Malady." Rossi felt that one Thomas Earle, from Brasenose College, and later rector of Sharncote, may have owned this copy of the MS, which might have come to him in 1643 on the death of Master, or perhaps in 1648 after Herbert's death. In any case, Earle presented the MS to Jesus College in 1648 through the agency of the antquarian Henry Topp (d. 1666). See Rossi III, 479-80. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a MS (1143), with annotations in an unidentifiable hand, and there is yet another in the Bodleian Library (S.C. 3074).

The first printed version appeared in 1649, "Printed by E.C. for Thomas Whitaker." Rossi (III 539) prints "E.G.," but this is wrong, and Coates was probably the printer. My own copy is the 1683 edition (3rd), "Printed by *M. Clark*, for *Robert Littlebury*, *Robert Scott*, in *Little Brittain*, and *George Wells* in *S. Pauls* Church-Yard." The only modern edition is *The History of England under Henry VIII by Edward Lord Herbert* (London: John Murray, 1870), reprinted from the

1719 edition.

[@] Herbert, "Questions touching upon Obedience to Magistrate in eminency" (c.1642). NLW P. II. XXVI. Also see Rossi III, 493 for accurate printed texts of some of these papers.

[☞] Swift indulged in a fair amount of scurrilous marginalia, no doubt reflecting his hate of tyranny in any form. Some choice comments on the person of the King include "Hellish Dog of a King" (247); "the profligate Dog of a King" (247); "bloody inhuman Hell-hound" (248) and "Dog, Villain, King, Viper, Devil Monster" (249). On the subject of Henry's concupiscence, the Dean commented "as men go to Stool so he was damnably laxative" (250). He considered Herbert "this palliating Author, [who] hath increased my Detestation of his Hellish Hero in every Article" (250). I am indebted to Dr. Helen Molitor of the Department of English, University of Manitoba, for unearthing these reader's comments.

CHAPTER NINE

De veritate, as W.K. Jordan remarked, is "not really a theory of truth at all, but of natural religion" (435).[1] Herbert had presented an examination of the structure of religion and had denounced the depravity of the priesthood as much as he had attacked Aristotle or the Scholastics. He had ended his arguments with the five religious common notions, which, he believed, could be shown to form the basis for all religions. He had discarded traditional views of the immortality of the soul, and in their place had proposed "a kind of physical immortality which man gains when the elements composing him are dissolved and made available for the reformation which nature constantly arranges" (Jordan 437). D.P. Walker agrees that although *De veritate* takes, ostensibly, the form of an epistemological treatise, "its aims are clearly religious, and the kind of knowledge discussed in concrete examples is exclusively religious" (165). As we have seen, Herbert consulted two of the most eminent scholars he knew, Grotius and Tilenus, before he allowed *De veritate* to be published. Similarly, that curious account at the very end of the *Autobiography*, in which Herbert describes his receiving a heavenly sign, may be interpreted as a measure both of the importance in which he held his philosophical work and of his uncertainty about it. The account is given in full below:

> That the two great Persons above mention'd [Tilenus and Grotius] did so highly value it, yet

> as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it: being thus doubtful in my Chamber one fair day, in the Summer, my Casement being opened towards the South, the Sun shining clear and no wind stirring, I took by Book de Veritate in my hand, and kneeling on my Knees devoutly said these words.
>
> O Thou Eternal God Author of that Light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee of thy infinite Goodness to pardon a greater request than a Sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied whether I shall publish this book De veritate, if it be for thy Glory, I beseech thee give mee some Signe from Heaven, if not, I shall suppress it.
>
> I had no sooner spoken these words but a Loud yet Gentle noise came from the Heavens (for it was like nothing on Earth) which did so comfort and cheer mee, that I took my Petition as graunted, and that I had the Signe I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my Book: This (how strange soever it may seem) I protest before the Eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not onely clearly hear the Noise, but in the Serenest Skye that ever I saw being without all cloud did to my thinking see the Place from whence it came. (120-21)

This episode has puzzled and irritated readers ever since Horace Walpole and his friends guffawed over it in 1764, and it is usually taken as evidence that Herbert was, to say the least, inconsistent in ideas and attitudes, condemning revelation in the same book where he claims to have received one. Yet it should be remembered that in *De veritate* Herbert only lays down stringent conditions for revelation, and does not deny, anywhere in the book, that they could ever take place. Furthermore, he allows for *personal* revelation as being the only kind of revelation having any credibility whatsoever; he makes no claims for revelation outside the narrow province in which it was granted. And for all his

protestations of truth, Herbert is hesitant even about his own experience, using words like "took the Petition for granted," and that "to my thinking" he saw where the noise came from. Epistemologically speaking, these statements are uncertain, but he is, at least, sure that he heard the noise.

Herbert's experience is, indeed, difficult to take seriously, especially if one takes him to have been a rationalist philosopher cutting through the verbiage of superstition, or if one believes him to have been a dilettante or a charlatan. Basil Willey, for example, explains that Herbert's revelation was the granting of "one supreme favour," the approbation of God, "on whose behalf [Herbert] had written *De veritate*" (127-28).[32] J.M. Shuttleworth prefers to avoid reference to the episode altogether, pointing out that Herbert has sometimes been "charged with an over-active Welsh imagination" (xvi), presumably along the lines of Owen Glendower summoning the spirits at will, and C.H. Hurford glosses it over by pointing out that what really mattered to Herbert was the approval of Grotius and Tilenus, "whatever we may think of the final appeal to divine judgment" (viii).[33] Only Rossi concedes that Herbert's claim is at least consistent with his own theory of personal revelation (Rossi I, 493-589).

Herbert's apparent departure from the path of right reason or Deism cannot be ignored. It may be explained, for example, as a form of *gnosis*, which is quite in keeping with a theory of Natural Religion and with what Herbert says in *De*

religione gentilium, the subject of this chapter.

We may connect Herbert with the Gnostics through the central doctrine of the Resurrection, which was to become the most crucial aspect of the eighteenth-century Deist controversy. For our purposes, the Resurrection is a form of vision or revelation of Christ occurring after his death, seen by certain persons with whom he had formerly been intimate. Neither Herbert nor most Gnostics denied that there had been a Resurrection, but rejected the literal explanation of it as a manifestation of the actual body of Christ. The people who "saw" Jesus after death encountered him on a spiritual plane, such as "may occur in dreams, in ecstatic trances, or *in moments of spiritual illumination* [emphasis mine]," as Elaine Pagels explains it in her study of Gnosticism (5).[4] The Resurrection was a moment of spiritual illumination, then, about which Jesus himself had spoken when alive. And in Herbert's case, there was the additional matter of stress, a factor which Pagels suggests may have been operating when Saul (later Paul) had his unsettling experience on the road to Damascus (Acts 9: 1-9). Herbert, we recollect, was worried about the reception of his work, that he might "hazard my Selfe to a general Censure concerning the whole Argument. . ."(120). This particular thought, he wrote, "did not a little animate me."

Of course, Herbert does not claim to have seen Christ, or to have "seen" anything except the brightness of the day; the experience was aural. The brightness of the day,

however, heightened the experience, and may be compared with a dream-vision reported in the gnostic *Apocalypse of Peter*, one of the recently-discovered Nag Hammadi texts. Peter has a vision of Christ, who tells him , "I am the intellectual spirit, filled with radiant light" (Barnstone 534). This, in turn, echoes, or is echoed by, the Hermetic texts; Poimandres appears to a dreamer, who "beheld a boundless view; all was changed into light, a mild and joyous light; I marvelled when I saw it" (Scott I, 115). Poimandres goes on to tell the dreamer that if he wants knowledge he must learn to know this light, for it is the light of wisdom. Both these experiences are examples of *gnosis*, and Herbert's falls easily into the same category. Herbert had, moreover, "an anxious and divided mind" (*De veritate* 85), and in *De veritate* he was seeking for enlightenment, the illumination which would bring him some peace and security. At the very beginning of her book on Bruno, Frances Yates warns us that "the great forward movements of the Renaissance all derive their vigour, their emotional impulse, from looking backwards." Having established this, she continues:

> Man's history was not an evolution from primitive animal origins through ever growing complexity and progress; the past was always better than the present, and progress was revival, rebirth, renaissance of antiquity. The classical humanist recovered the literature and monuments of classical antiquity with a sense of return to the pure gold of a civilisation better and higher than his own. The religious reformer returned to the study of the Scriptures and the early Fathers with a sense of recovery of the pure gold of the Gospel, buried under later degenerations. (1)

Herbert was no exception to these observations: he looked

back, however, beyond the Gospels and the early fathers to an even more fundamental spirituality. This approach to spirituality may be characterised by a great interest in the notion of Being itself, and a concern for how man may fit into the cosmos, how he operates as part of Nature. Groups of thinkers who may be said to espouse such a view include the Stoics, the Neo-Platonists, and, from about 1614 onwards, the Rosicrucians.[83] There is also, however, the approach taught by orthodox religion, which suggests that man is a tribe or individual who operates within the context of world history, and is somehow destined to dominate or control nature through the imposition of certain laws. Examples of this approach are the ancient Israelites as they are depicted in the Old Testament, and the Catholic Church from the Middle Ages to the Counter-Reformation. Herbert rejected the latter approach utterly; for him, man needed a set of common beliefs which went back beyond any formal systems to what he called "the ancient religion of the Gentiles." In his own time, moreover, Herbert could find some support for his theories in the works not only of men like Grotius or Tilenus, but of Bruno, Campanella, Vossius, and Selden.

D.P. Walker has written extensively in *The Ancient Theology* about the influence of Bruno on Herbert, stressing Herbert's "strong tendencies towards a type of Brunonian religion" (165). In his *De umbris idearum* (1582), Bruno explains the hierarchical structure of nature as being "intelligible in so far as it is the expression of divine

ideas" (Copleston 3, II, 66).[6] Our own ideas, he believes, are but pale reflections of divine ideas, but we are capable of achieving a higher level of knowledge as we move from the sublunary to the superlunary world. Bruno insists, however, that we can never comprehend the nature of the Deity, which remains ineffable. It is easy to understand how this concept looked forward to the Deist idea of an "absentee Landlord" God. In *Della causa, principio e uno* (1584), Bruno asserts that we can have knowledge of the things which God has created, but only in a truncated, vestigial form, "so that to know the universe is like knowing nothing of the being and substance of the first principle" (Copleston 3, II, 67).[7] The actual cause of things is the World-Soul, and our tiny intellects are capable only of producing universal ideas of what it has wrought. In *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* (1584), which Herbert had in his library, Bruno demonstrates that both God and the universe are infinite, but in different ways. God is "wholly in the whole world," and is composed of infinite parts of attributes (*totalmente infinito*); the universe, "because it has no margin, limit or surface," is also infinite (*tutto infinito*). The latter differs from the former because "any part we take is finite" and the worlds which make up the universe are themselves finite. Nature, Bruno explains, is "an organic whole which stands in the centre of the picture, and not. . .human beings, who are *circonstanzie*, or accidents of the one living world-substance" (Copleston 3, II, 70).[8]

Campanella,[9] whose approbation of *De veritate* Herbert assiduously sought while the Italian philosopher was in prison, believed that Nature was the actual image of God. His *Philosophia universalis seu metaphysica* (1639) proposed that there were two ways through which man could come to know God: study of the Bible and using sense-experience to understand Nature. Unlike Herbert, Campanella felt the need to supply proof of God's existence (which for Herbert was a common notion), and posited a hierarchical state of perfection, on which he arranged all finite things. Campanella derived this from Plato, but added the idea that things were made up of two opposing elements, being and not-being (Copleston 3, II, 65). Like Herbert, Campanella believed that some knowledge was possible, and that voluntary action existed. To understand being, he asserted, we must first understand ourselves, and to that end all knowledge is self-knowledge, an idea which Herbert promoted in *De veritate*, and which re-surfaced in the eighteenth century in works like Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733-34). For both Herbert and Campanella man was a microcosm who mirrored what was happening in Being itself, or, as Donne expressed it, "I am a little world made cunningly/ Of Elements, and an Angelike sprite" (Grierson 295). With Bruno and others, Herbert added that the microcosm was less than perfect: "All beuties vulgar eyes on earth do see,/ At best but some imperfect Copies bee,/ Of those the Heavens did at first decree," as he writes in "The Idea" (Smith 75). Campanella sees God reflected in

his creatures (somewhat like the metaphysical poet Henry Vaughan), and from that it follows that "knowledge of the best being known to us is the key to knowledge of being in general" (Walker 188-89).[10] Thus the relationship of microcosm to macrocosm is a justification of Campanella's idea that Nature may be interpreted, as may anything else, through analogy to ourselves. In *Atheismus triumphatus* (1631) Campanella expressed his desire for a universal religion, although in his case, as Yates points out, it was really "a reformed, 'natural' Catholicism, which would introduce the Millennium, the City of the Sun" (388).

Vossius and Selden are Herbert's main sources for historical information about ancient religions. He was especially influenced by Vossius's *De theologia gentilium sive de origine ac progressu idolatriae* (1641) and *De idololatria* (1642). Herbert asked Vossius to publish *De religione gentilium*, but the project was never completed in Herbert's lifetime.[11] Vossius, for his part, had been influenced by Selden's *De dis Syris* (1617), in which Selden traced the historical origins of ancient Syrian religions and compared them with the Old Testament. Selden's approach was purely historical and antiquarian, rather than religious, but Vossius was concerned to prove that the pagans, although they were correct in searching for God in nature, were mistaken in worshipping God's creatures. Vossius thought that they were led into this error because they lacked the Christian benefit of direct revelation. He stressed, however, that the Sun was

a central part of the worship of the old religions, which was a point Herbert later made. Vossius's material, though interesting in its own right, is "drowned in a sea of erudition," as Walker observes (168), which makes Herbert's tortuous Latin almost crystalline, but Herbert owed Vossius a considerable debt for the concepts of the *cultus proprius* and the *cultus symbolicus*.

Herbert also drew on his own works, most particularly the 1645 edition of *De veritate*, but also, to a lesser extent, *De causis errorum* and *Religio laici*, both of which were published in 1645. He may also have written, in an attempt to gain a wider audience, the English *Dialogue between a Tutor and his Pupil*, which, if it is indeed Herbert's is his only philosophical work in that language. In the new edition of *De veritate* Herbert organised his five religious common notions into what he called a *religio rotunda*, which he explains thus:

> For what is sufficient is due to God, excess is due to us. Why, then, as I have said elsewhere, following the law of common reason, can we not apply the same rule of the perfect sphere of the religion of God that we apply to any circle? If anything is added to it, or taken away from it, its shape is destroyed, and its perfection is ruined. . .I would, indeed, firmly maintain that it is impossible to remove any feature from religion. But whether anything can justifiably be added to the orb of religion, as is possible within a circle, I am not so certain; though the shape of a visible circle is continuous, so that no part of it is hidden. (305-06)

As Walker indicates, this poses certain difficulties for readers because it is now "much more difficult to take [the

religious common notions] as the basis for a Christian superstructure" (168). Yet this, surely, is the point: Herbert's system is not Christian, although it does not disallow the inclusion of Christianity within its boundaries. This addition, together with others, was what turned *De veritate* from "a truncated, eirenic Christian apologia" (Walker 167)[132] into the foundation for a more radical work which would, in effect, aim at removing Christianity from its pretensions of pre-eminence in the European cultural tradition. In *De veritate* Herbert had set out to supply humanity with the epistemological principles for the holding of certain common beliefs, amongst which he included religious beliefs. In *De religione gentilium* he attempted to supply a religious system which would replace all others with the least amount of conflict; it therefore appears that Johann Musaeus, who fulminated against "Cherburianism," was not altogether wrong in supposing that Herbert *was* trying to supplant Christianity with a new system, and of course Herbert's evident caution belied his intentions and covered his anticipation that his purpose may have been correctly understood. Bedford, however, does not believe that *De religione gentilium* was a "manifesto" at all, although the reaction of critics like Musaeus and his followers suggests that they, at least, saw it as one (179).[133] The idea of an unholy trinity consisting of Hobbes, Herbert and Spinoza was the manifestation of a very real intellectual fear. I believe, furthermore, that in Herbert's consistent (and

repetitive) attacks on the priesthood there is further evidence of the polemical nature of his work.

What, then, is the "ancient religion of the Gentiles?" It is, perhaps, more proper to call it, as Walker does, the "ancient theology," but the other title is Herbert's as translated from the Latin by William Lewis, and seems more appropriate to Herbert himself. As Walker defines it, the ancient theology is "a certain tradition of Christian apologetic theology which rests on misdated texts" (2). The texts in question include Orphic hymns, the Hermetic *libelli*, and certain material from Stoic, Gnostic, Platonic and Neo-Platonic sources. As well as these, there are certain works ascribed to the Seven Sages, Pythagoras, and other semi-mythical "magi," and there are elements from old religions as well. As Walker explains:

> In the Renaissance this theologico-philosophic tradition was usually accompanied by other beliefs and ideas, mostly already present in its sources: good natural magic and astrology, numerology, powerful music, patriotic national history (so that, for the English and the French, the Druids became Ancient Theologians), the assumption that deep truths must be veiled in fable and allegory, and, together with these, Biblical typology. (175)

Walker believes that Herbert was forced in the direction of the ancient theology because of his reliance in *De veritate* on the idea of *consensus gentium*; the further back he could trace the roots of religious belief, and the more certainly he could show that the common notions existed in primordial times, the greater authority his eirenic arguments would have. Herbert was thus bound to show that there was some

truth in non-Christian religious systems, and that *consensus gentium* must include the "consent" of virtuous pagans such as Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, the Emperor Julian, and even Hermes Trismegistos. Moreover, if Herbert had ended up with a Christian system, which I do not believe he does, it would be scarcely recognisable amidst the elements of Platonism, Hermeticism, and "gnostic, astrally-centred pantheism" (Walker 188) which make it up. An astral religion cannot be Christianity, and, as Baxter and others had noted, there are few references to Christ in Herbert's writings, which suggested that he saw no need for a "redeemer" or a "saviour," or, indeed, for a "son of God" at all. In this context Herbert parts company with his two illustrious predecessors Bruno and Campanella, who, although they were "Platonic sun- and planet-worshippers," not only "wished to remain in the Church, but. . .had hopes of somehow combining with, or transforming it into this true and ancient religion" (Walker 189).

De religione gentilium

The arrangement and argument of Herbert's book may be summed up quite simply and rapidly. After consigning his infallible zetetic method to oblivion, Herbert restates the *religio rotunda* of the five religious common notions. He then embarks on a discussion of salvation, in which he asserts first that no-one should be damned merely for having

had the historical bad luck of being born B.C. All people should be judged, according to Herbert, on evidence which points to their general innocence or guilt. The next chapter shows how man came to worship heavenly bodies, and how they were seen as immutable in contrast to earthly things. Chapters 3 through 12 are devoted to a discussion of the objects of worship, such as the sun, stars, planets, Olympian deities, and heroes. Chapters 13 and 14 show how the ancients developed faith in a Creator by asking questions about the cosmos. Here Herbert starts to attack the priesthood, which he castigated for having invented meaningless ritual, instituted polytheism, and manipulated the ignorant and credulous. In spite of this, people clung to monotheism. In Chapter 15 he demonstrates that the ancients, like the Christians after them, had a system of rewards and punishments after death, and encouraged piety, virtue and penitence. In the final chapter Herbert argues that just as priests of old destroyed the old religions by adding to them, and by their insane lust for power, so will Christianity be undermined, as anyone would understand by looking at recent history, of which Herbert, of course, had first-hand experience.

Herbert's purpose, then, is to show that the religious common notions lie at the root of *all* religion, and his method is to isolate some of the formal elements of reason in order to demonstrate that all religions contain, essentially, the same "truth" (Bedford 184). What is true, as opposed to

what the priests claim to be true, may be determined by judicious application of right reason, which is how we apprehend the truths which God has imprinted upon all (normal) minds. As religious common notions may only be apprehended this way, they are irrevocably true, and those who share them, that is, all of us, may attain salvation. Herbert cites as authorities here Plato and Cicero; the Pelagians and Arminians, to name two branches of Christianity, both heresies, also believed in the doctrine of the virtuous pagan, as did Hooker, Milton, and Baxter.[14] Shortly after Herbert's time we may find the same doctrine expressed by Richard Burthogge in *Organum vetus et novus, or A Discourse of Reason and Truth* (1675) and by Dryden in his poem *Religio laici* (1682), the title of which is taken from Herbert. Dryden, in fact, goes as far as to argue that pagans might have had revelations, which Vossius, for example, explicitly denied. In *Religio laici*, after the Deist has had his say, Dryden's speaker takes him to task for claiming to know more than the pagan philosophers:

> 'Tis Revelation what thou thinkst Discourse,
> Else how comst thou to see these truths so clear,
> Which so obscure to heathens did appear?
> Not Plato these, nor Aristotle found,
> Nor he whose wisdom oracles renowned.
> Hast thou a wit so deep or so sublime,
> Or canst thou lower dive or higher climb?
> Canst thou by reason more of Godhead know
> Than Plutarch, Seneca, or Cicero?
> (193)

A much earlier and more orthodox view of this particular aspect of belief may be found in Dante's *Divine Comedy*; while not specifically condemning Plato and Aristotle, Dante

consigns them, together with Socrates, to limbo, because they did not know Christ:

> And when I raised my eyes a little higher,
> I saw the master of knowledge, Aristotle,
> Sitting there with a company of philosophers.
>
> All looked to him, and they all did him honour:
> I saw there Socrates, as well as Plato,
> The two who stood out and were nearest to him.
> (*Inferno* IV, IV, 130-35)[15]

To Herbert, even this would have seemed unacceptable, because it was contrary to the professed tenets of Christianity.

Herbert believed that the ancient religion was manifested in Nature, the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars. These things were not themselves gods, and did not need worship, but they were the external demonstrations of God's eternity and immutability. That which is immutable cannot reflect, or be created by, something that is mutable. The things of the earth are transitory, but the stars and planets function through God's power and themselves exercise power over terrestrial objects. "In the stars," Herbert states, "may be seen the more illustrious works of God, and in these works man may understand God himself" (7).[16] This notion may be compared to Bruno's concept of the two kinds of eternity, and of the finite nature of man. The sun and stars have also the visible attributes of splendour, and when man invoked them, it was a recognition that the eternal objects of God, if not God himself, could be apprehended. They served as a link between the human and the divine, like Donne's "angelic sprite" or even Wordsworth's "intimations of

immortality." To understand God, even in such a limited way, was to partake of the divine nature, as Herbert himself wrote in an early poem: "Child of the Sun, in whom his Rayes appear,/ Hatched to that lustre, as doth make thee wear/ Heavn's Livery in thy skin " (Smith 69). In time, men would come to adore these eternal objects themselves as gods, but Herbert, following Vossius, believed that such worship was erroneous.

Man's use of the divine gift of reason led to speculation as to whether there was any order or purpose in the universe. It was this gift which enabled him to "discover" God. Herbert drew the comparison between the Creator and the composer of a beautiful melody; we do not need to know the name of the composer, or anything at all about him, to appreciate the beauty of the composition. Similarly, as Herbert shows in the poem quoted above, we can admire "Heavn's Livery" for itself, although we known now that it represents something far beyond our comprehension.

The ancients also used reason, Herbert believes, to draw distinctions between the composer of the universe and the actual tune itself. "Throughout [*De religione gentilium*] Herbert insists that the pagan cult of natural objects and of men [heroes] was of symbolic nature" (Walker 177), and this form of worship he termed the *cultus symbolicus*, a description borrowed from Vossius. There was also the *cultus proprius*, which was the direct worship of something as a god. He cites Greek and Hebrew names for God and uses evidence

drawn from Orphic hymns to show that all these names referred originally to the sun; on a less serious note, at least for readers, he also uses the Orphic hymn to demonstrate that the phallic fertility-god Priapus was once an avatar of the sun (Walker 178; Herbert 16-19, 20-31 [Latin version]). Ingeniously quoting Plato, the Stoics, and Aquinas (the former "imbecile" from *De veritate*), Herbert amasses evidence that these authorities believed that the heavenly bodies were somehow "alive." He even enlists the help of "a learned Jesuit in his 4th. dissertation on the Heavens" to show that if Aquinas was right, natural phenomena may be considered "holy" and worthy of worship (Walker 178).[17] It is only natural that the learned Jesuit should agree with Herbert and Aquinas, because "those things that are higher seem to deserve greater worship than those which are lower." That which is higher, moreover, is eternal, and "sempiternal felicity is enjoyed in the heavens and stars" (40). These Neo-Platonic ideas had become, by Herbert's time, rather more literary than philosophical, but were perhaps half-believed, as this short poem by one of Herbert's younger contemporaries, the Poet Laureate Sir William Davenant, may serve to illustrate. I quote this poem, "The Lover and the Philosopher: to a Mistress dying," because it deals succinctly and skilfully with the issue:

Lover. Your beauty, ripe and calm and fresh
As eastern summers are,
Must now, forsaking time and flesh,
Add light to some small star.

Phil. Whilst yet she lives, were stars decayed,
Their light by hers relief might find;
But Death will lead her to a shade
Where Love is cold and Beauty blind.

Lover. Lovers, whose priests all poets are,
Think every mistress, when she dies,
Is changed at least into a star;
And who dares doubt the poets wise?

Phil. But ask not bodies doomed to die
To what abode they go;
Since Knowledge is but Sorrow's spy,
It is not safe to know.
(Gardner 275)[16]

The metamorphosis of the beloved mistress into a star confirms her immortality, and in this version of astral religion the poet becomes the priest or *vates*, although the philosopher remains rather sceptical about what exactly will happen after death, with the telling line "Since Knowledge is but Sorrow's spy" looking forward to Pope's famous lines in the *Essay on Man* about the limitations of human knowledge.

In ancient times, the stars and the planets were regarded as the dispensers of universal fate (*heimarmene*) to man and to the natural world. In the words of Hans Jonas, the sky became "the purest embodiment of reason in the cosmic hierarchy, the paradigm of intelligibility, and therefore of the divine aspect of the sensible realm" (Jonas 255).[17] Herbert's vision came from "the Serenest skye that ever I saw being without cloud" (121), and he addressed in his prayer not Christ or the God of the Christians, but "O Thou Eternal God Author of that Light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward Illuminations," a being which provides humans with twofold light. The sun is evoked here as the *symbol* of

the divine light, the intellectual spirit of the Gnostics. According to Jonas, the Gnostic conception of the sky led to "the deification of the heavens or of the chief heavenly bodies," which is, in essence, what Herbert states in Chapter 3 of *De religione gentilium.* Jonas states further that this deification "*is for the most natural and universally operative reasons* [emphasis mine] an element in all ancient religions (except the Jewish one)" (Jonas 259).[20] We might also recall here the monotheistic sun-worship in Egypt under Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), which was no innovation, but an attempt to turn back to purer times, and which, like the attempted revival of paganism, especially sun-worship, under the Emperor Julian, ended in disaster for all concerned. In the case of Akhenaten, had he known the history, Herbert would have taken grim satisfaction in the account of priestly power-mongering in the second millennium before Christ. Some notion of solar supremacy could be found in Greek religion (although Zeus was a sky-god) and in the Hellenistic faith of the Emperor Julian, whose *Oration IV* is subtitled "Hymn to King Helios." In exalted language, Julian speaks of "an extraordinary longing for the rays of the god," which, he says, "penetrated deep into my soul" (Julian I, 353).[21] A little later he describes "the divine and beautiful universe," which "from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god." Helios, for Julian, is "the Supra-intelligible, or the Idea of Being. . .the One" (Julian I,

359). And even Irenaeus, that intractable enemy of gnosticism, may be found referring to "the Sun, that creature of God" (Irenaeus I).[222]

The stars, too, were seen as immutable, their very perfection somehow guaranteeing the "immutability of the whole" (Walker 180; Jonas 257-58). Herbert writes:

> Nothing could more reasonably occur to a pagan accurately observing the nature of the stars than to say that the fixed stars are God's eternal law and that the planets are his prophetic book. Why should the supreme God, by natural decree, not inscribe certain immutable principles of his law in the Stars, as he has in the hearts of men, since it is manifest that certain [principles] exist in the same manner in all things? Why should God not show certain reasons both of present and future things in the planets, since from their motion the movement of all sublunary things takes its origin? (48)

Returning for a moment to the *cultus symbolicus* in connexion with the above, the stars are to be worshipped as symbols of the eternal law of God, and the planets as the symbols of the future. Vossius would not have agreed with Herbert's interpretation; in *De idololatria* he expressly states that the sun and the stars were, in pagan times, a *cultus proprius*, and that it was wrong for the pagans to have worshipped them in that capacity. For Vossius, moreover, a "symbol" was something like the statue of a hero like Hercules, who had become a demigod and to whom people raised altars and prayed. In *De theologia gentili et physiologia Christiana* (1641), Vossius argued that the pagans had no revelations, and that they sought god only through the worship of idols. If this was the case, he went on, they

were not really worshipping God at all, but were falsely attributing divinity only to parts of God's creation. Curiously enough, this looks rather like the Gnostic Valentinus's attack on orthodox Christianity, as we shall see at the end of this chapter. For Herbert, as for Vossius, worshipping the stars as a *cultus proprius* would be wrong, but Herbert claims that they were a *cultus symbolicus*. The natural religion that Herbert is looking for *must*, in order to have any validity, be symbolic; if it were not, the religious common notions themselves would be severely weakened, and he would also lose the weighty authority of pagan or classical writers. Herbert states, therefore, that he would "completely reject the opinion of the Gentiles" if they worshipped the stars directly, or, as he puts it, "unless the worship was originally symbolic of the supreme God, sometimes symbolic of the Supreme God in the Stars, sometimes of the Stars in Heroes" (222).

Herbert next considers the planets, of which Jupiter is pre-eminent. This planet achieved its position, Herbert believes, because it was extolled by the Stoics as Zeus, whom they considered not merely the King of the Gods, but a pantheistic deity. Herbert may have had in mind the "Prayer and Hymn to Zeus" written by the Stoic philosopher Cleanthes, a few lines of which may be quoted here as an example:

> Lead me, O Zeus, and thou, O Destiny, to the end that ye have ordained for me. I will follow and will not resist. Were I a fool, and refused, I should nevertheless be forced to follow.

> Most glorious of the immortals, Zeus
> The many-named, almighty evermore,
> Nature's great Sovereign, ruling all by law:
> Hail to thee! On thee 'tis meet and right
> That mortals everywhere should call.
> (Grant 152)[223]

Mars and Saturn come next in importance, and they give us, respectively, the qualities of heat and cold. Herbert is concerned that he might be sounding too occult at this point, and starts inserting references to Kepler and Galileo as evidence for the qualities of these planets. He also brings in Roger Bacon, whom he credits with having noted that the Jews very sensibly have their sabbath on Saturday because it is governed by Saturn; that cold planet, Bacon said the Jews realised, was "idle and slow. . .not fortunate, or suitable for doing anything" (48). Pythagoras and Kepler, are seen as authorities for the "harmonious proportion of the planets," and the fixed stars, which Herbert treats next, may be consulted by "empirical astrology" as laid down by Kepler in his *De fundamentis astrologiae certioribus* (1602) (Walker 182).[224] The stars are, Herbert declares, "the Law and universal prophets of God" (50); God supplies the common notions directly, but the stars create, as demiurges, natural things, while the planets preside over the irregularities in creation.

Herbert next touches on the matter of the afterlife, stating that good people, like the mistress in Davenant's poem, go to heaven, and their souls become stars. Veneration of "good" people like heroes, he states, is the pagan version of the Christian veneration of saints, and as long as it

remains a *cultus symbolicus* he sees no reason to condemn it. There is a slight problem when Herbert has to deal with the sexual appetites of gods and heroes, but he skirts it by declaring that the stories were all "calumnies invented by priests of rival national religions" (Walker 183). This allows Herbert to renew his attack on the priests in the next section of the book.

Herbert does not simply rail at the priests, but attempts to trace the historical development of priestly religion and to this end he sets up a dialogue between himself and an anonymous pagan priest, who explains how religion came to be distorted. We are told that God created three kinds of demiurges: (1) the supercelestial, who are next to God, and uninterested in the world; (2) the celestial, through whom God directly rules the universe, and from whose minds derive our minds; (3) the subcelestial, who preside over God's mercy and justice, and are distinguished by their occasional capriciousness. All three groups, the priest explains, are worthy of worship, but only God must be venerated and adored with faith, hope and charity. There is a special mode of worship for each group, although the priest forgets what it is for the supercelestial demiurges. Herbert comments that even at this stage, the system is "not uncomely" (80), but with time, further modifications took place, and the old religion changed, "discarding the better part of [its] theology, leading the plebs into idolatry, and even introducing human sacrifice" (Walker 183). Herbert

pauses to look back nostalgically at the age of Julian, but reflects that even by then, "Christianity had absorbed and extracted all that was good, and there was only a *caput mortuum* left" (Walker 184).

Herbert's system, and his attack on the priesthood, were, had he known it, closely allied to some Gnostic believers of the first century A.D. Pope Clement I (c.90-100) issued a letter asserting that the priests, and particularly the Bishop of Rome (i.e. himself) held their authority directly from God, who delegated it "to certain rulers and leaders on earth" (Pagels 40). Clement concluded the letter by threatening with death all who presumed to disobey priests. Yet the Gnostic poet Valentinus and his followers insisted that the God of the Old Testament was a demiurge, and an unreliable and sadistic one at that, whose Master, the real God, was somewhere beyond; we mistake the God we worship for the real one, but *gnosis* will point us away from that error (Pagels 44).[285] That hierarchy of demiurges which Herbert found "not uncomely" is closer to Valentinian gnosticism than it is to orthodox Christianity. Herbert and the Gnostics were also linked by the fact that they had to endure attacks from theologians who considered their theories dangerous and heretical; from the time of Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* in about 180 A.D. to Epiphanius of Salamis's *Panarion* two hundred years later the Gnostics were assailed by the orthodox, (Vallée 63-87) and Herbert from within twenty-five years of his death to the present

day.[326] In spite of the intellectual distaste of many Christian theologians for deism or natural religion, trace elements of Herbert may be found in the writings of such modern theologians as René Guénon, who "posited the existence of what he called Primordial Tradition, a body of the highest universal truths. . .that lie at the heart of every authentic religion" (Needleman 11).[327] The discovery of the Nag Hammadi documents and a renewed interest in Gnosticism has revived the old religions, and has branched into fruitful research on Hellenism, Orphic religion, Hermetism and Neo-Platonism.[328] I am inclined to think that Herbert saw, in the old religion of the stars, a chance for man to rediscover not so much truths about the universe, as an alternative way of examining his relation to the universe. At the same time, the epistemological system articulated in *De veritate* was preserved in *De religione gentilium* and allowed room for such Christian notions as revelation as long as its authenticity could be demonstrated. Herbert's system, because it effectively reduced religion to the five common notions, led quite naturally to the deism which had its flowering in the eighteenth century.

Religio laici

In *De religione gentilium* Herbert sought to provide an historical argument for the existence of his religious common notions, as in *De veritate* he had supplied epistemological justification. In *Religio laici* he turns to the problem of

the individual, or "Wayfarer," as he calls him, who wonders about the problems of religion from a lay point of view and who seeks some guidance for his beliefs. *Religio laici* is really the application of the theories in everyday life, and as such is short, succinct, and relatively clear. These questions Herbert considers with "more pointed intellectual vigour," according to Hutcheson, "than is to be found in any of his philosophical works" (48).[29] In this short work we discover a more personal Herbert, a man pleading a case in as simple a way as he can. The result is "a remarkable plea for toleration and common sense in religious matters" (Wright 295), a minor *tour de force*. There are two versions of this work, one Latin and one English. Herbert Wright, who rediscovered the English version, believes that the two works are independent, but "it is possible that [the English manuscript] represents a first attempt on the part of Lord Herbert to set down the ideas which were afterwards amplified" (Wright 295). The Latin version is longer and more scholarly, which suggests that Wright is correct; the English one is far more spontaneous, and more attractive to the general reader. The Latin version was appended as a set of conclusions to *De causis errorum*, itself a rather uninteresting and truncated repetition of some of the main points of *De veritate*.

Using the translation of the expanded Latin version, one can quite briefly sum up the contents. Herbert begins by asking what the Wayfarer should do in the face of all the

choices of religion which exist in the world, a similar question having already been asked about philosophy in *De veritate*. All religions, Herbert says, have at one time made claims that they are the only way to truth and salvation:

> Many faiths or religions, clearly, exist or once existed in various countries or ages, and certainly there is not one of them that the lawgivers have not pronounced to be as it were divinely ordained; so that the Wayfarer finds one in Europe, another in Africa, and in Asia, still another in the very Indies. Indeed, I have scarcely anywhere offered arguments drawn from the land of my birth, for Asia boasts its extraordinary apostles, and teachers; Africa its penetrating geniuses and exalted theologians; India its gymnosophists, Brahmans, Banians and Bongi; Europe its own illustrious and distinguished spirits.[30]

Given this situation, the Wayfarer must make an analysis of the various options open to him, which are really only two, faith and reason. Faith, Herbert says, must be based on "well-known attributes" of God, and he recommends that the Wayfarer begin with reason, the kind of reason Herbert has outlined in *De veritate*. He must "search out doctrines which are analagous to the internal faculties, and afterwards about which there is most agreement" (89). The search, properly conducted, will ultimately reveal the presence of the religious common notions, "by [which] truths alone is this universe governed, and disposed to a better state; these therefore consider the catholic truths of the church" (90-91).

Herbert then passes on to faith. "When therefore the word Faith is employed," he cautions, "we should notice whether the discussion is about the past or the future" (91).

Faith in the past has to do with "assent to histories," whilst in the future it is concerned with "the causes of eternal Faith in God" (Hutcheson 50). The Wayfarer should not believe everything written in histories, "for much depends on whether [historians] have themselves seen the things they relate, or have accepted them from others" (93). All this was, of course, discussed in greater detail in *De veritate*, but is much clearer here. The further back we go in history, Herbert claims, the more difficult it becomes for us to tell whether or not historians "were easily deceived because of their stupidity, rashness, or superstition, or because of being led astray by hate or love." As Hutcheson points out, Herbert realises "the profound instinct on which religious faith is based, and recognises at the same time the credulity that results whenever this faith is divorced from reason" (Hutcheson 51). He urges the primacy of instinct over tradition: miracles recorded by historians may well have happened, but the fact that they were related by humans means that they are open to question. Belief in God still remains a common notion apprehended by *instinctus*, and may not, as such, be called into question. Reason itself, of course, is fallible, but may be confirmed, as *De veritate* shows, by rational process and Natural Instinct. In fact, reason may only become "right reason" when it is confirmed or guided by Natural Instinct. We should, Herbert believes, have *faith* in reason, which is one of the main tenets of the Cambridge Platonists, for whom faith *was* reason.

Hutcheson recognises, as we should, that there are teleological implications to this mode of thought. If Natural Instinct derives from the divine, it is reasonable to think that if a miracle happens, it will in fact conform to the truths of instinct. As Herbert says, "let the Wayfarer then believe possible those things which do not conflict with divine attributes, and which are performed for some good end" (97). Herbert is restating, in more concise terms, his conditions for the veracity of miracles from *De veritate*. Time and time again he suggests that there is almost always the possibility of priestly or political manipulation of religious "events":

> It should, furthermore, be observed at the same time whether dogmas have crept into the context, or whether interpreters have come at it. For the miracles which are tacked on, and the expositions or commentaries which are added, in order to establish some new government or religion, are not free from suspicion. (97)

Herbert then turns to the question of whether sacred scriptures themselves may be considered authoritative:

> When the Wayfarer, therefore, amid divers churches and groups which have cried up the word of God for their exclusive advantage, takes in hand their Sacred Book (whatever its name), he should observe, as we said above, what is to be considered appropriate to right reason--to a just conformation of the faculties, that is--and what to Faith regarding the past, so that he may decide about each one separately. (98-99)

Herbert nevertheless advises Europeans to place their trust in the Bible, provided that "there be a common privilege of studying and arriving at conclusions. . .about the consequences of acts" (99). A Church, he allows, may have

its prerogative of "faith in the historical narrative," but readers of the scriptures must have "the liberty of passing judgment." Insofar as the Scriptures confirm the religious common notions, Herbert concludes, they may be admitted to be the word of God. Furthermore, he points out, most readers, including the Wayfarer, are unlikely to have the time or leisure to sit and ponder great theological questions, and judgment should therefore be suspended. The only truths one may rely on are the undisputed ones revealed by the religious common notions.

Anticipating his critics to a certain extent, Herbert then considers the question as to whether anything would be lost were religion to be reduced to the five common notions. He admits that a loss is possible, "but nothing, certainly, will be lost to a pious life or to virtue" (109), which is, after all, the *raison d'être* of religion. Getting rid of superfluities will actually enhance the observation of virtue and piety; the priesthood will be responsible for setting an example of these precepts. Priests could do what they have always done, he adds, but

> Only let them beware, in these activities, against inventing false attributes for God, or setting up more than one god; against judging the inward and genuine worship of God too much according to the externals, or making external salvation depend upon things which are greatly debated; against speaking overmuch of the easy remission of sins, or meting out other punishments than are equal to the fault and suitable for the transgression, or being wise beyond their faculties. Certainly if they do otherwise they will be cheating, but especially in the matter of forgiveness of sins, which is to be reserved to the divine mercy exclusively. (111)

The last part of the treatise recapitulates some of the material in *De religione gentilium* and renews the attack on the corruptions of the priesthood. He concludes by pointing out that there can be no selective salvation, otherwise the greater part of humanity would be doomed. If God rules the *whole* universe, Herbert tellingly argues, then he must be concerned with the salvation of the whole universe, and to suppose that he is selective is to imply that God actually *created* evil so that a large number of souls could be sent to perdition. God bestows his rewards "not strictly in accordance with the inner workings of our soul, or to inward actions, but according to his immeasurable goodness and mercy" (131). He ends by suggesting that anyone who needs more details should consult his other works, and restates his eirenic intentions with a short invocation, "God grant that what we here have written serve to increase his Glory and to establish the common peace" (133).

Religio laici, for all its logic and rationalism, is essentially a humanist work. "The intellectual Herbert was a rationalist," Hutcheson states, "only because the spiritual Herbert was a humanist" (53). If this is the case, Herbert is attacking religion's apparent indifference to the welfare of ordinary lay people, although Hutcheson goes too far in asserting that the five religious common notions are "a comprehension of the purpose of Christ's ministry, which was... to call sinners to repentance, and to remind men of the ultimate separation of sheep and goats" (Hutcheson 54).

Herbert is, whether Hutcheson likes it or not, rarely specifically Christian in his outlook, and he repeatedly stresses the presence of "Christian" tenets in pagan religions. Salvation, repentance or pious living, he points out, are not Christian monopolies, although he uses Judaeo-Christian examples because he is writing from that tradition. Nothing in his doctrine, I repeat, may be termed exclusively Christian, and his commendation of Christianity occurs for the simple reason that both he and his readers inhabit the Christian world. In *Religio laici* Herbert wanted to help the lay Wayfarer by writing a manual which shows that ordinary people *may* understand the mysteries of religion and lead lives free of fear and superstition, and conversely allow others to do the same.

Notes to Chapter Nine

[1] After a judicious presentation of Herbert, Jordan spoils his work by making a silly comparison of Edward and George Herbert. He dislikes the former's "cold materialism" and prefers the latter's "gentle piety and mystic devotion." Like Baxter before him, Professor Jordan suffers from a surfeit of the parson of Bemerton, and manages to do both brothers a disservice.

[22] Willey had not heard of Carré's translation of *De veritate*, for he complains that the book may not be had in English. He misses any connexions with ancient religions, and accuses Herbert of over-simplification, vanity, and egoism.

[23] Daniel Tilenus (1563-1633) was a former Calvinist turned Arminian. He served as Grotius's host whilst the latter was living in Paris. Tilenus had been appointed Professor of Theology at a Protestant Academy founded by the duc de Bouillon, and was tutor to the latter's son, the famous Marshal Turenne. In 1620 he became "the champion of the absolute authority of princes and the passive obedience of their subjects" (Nicolas 45, 236). Tilenus was the author of *Systema theologiae* (1617) and *Canones synodi Dordracinae* (1622), which was dedicated to James I, who invited Tilenus to visit England in 1622. The work by Grotius which Herbert read was probably *De veritate religionis Christianae (1627)*, a statement of Arminian beliefs which does not mention ancient theology. Grotius, unlike Herbert, rejected both the letter and spirit of the so-called Hermetic canon.

[24] The primary source for Gnostic texts is J.M. Robinson, ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977). I have used Willis Barnstone, ed. *The Other Bible* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984), a generous selection of works from the *Pseudepigraphia*, the early Kabbalah, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Library.

[25] The Rosicrucians were mysterious from the outset. In 1614 a pamphlet appeared in Cassel entitled, in its short form, *Fama fraternitatis*, which proposed the reformation of science. A hidden "Brotherhood of Light," or Rosicrucians, purported to have been founded by one Christian Rosenkreutz (1378-1484), a German knight. The *Fama* relates his life, and tells how his uncorrupted body was found over a hundred years after his death. No-one could find out who the Rosicrucians were, although a second pamphlet came out in 1615 which invited people to join them! For a good short account, see Ellwood 61-62.

[26] Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) left the Dominicans in 1576 and wandered around Europe lecturing and teaching, even spending some time at Oxford. He was arrested in 1592 and imprisoned, but refused to recant his pantheism and was burned at Rome. Catholic apologists sometimes claim that he was only burned in effigy, but there is no trace of him after 1600. According to Copleston, Bruno was the successor of the Italian Platonists (Ficino and others), and "the inner movement of his speculation was towards the idea of divine immanence, and so towards pantheism." *De umbris idearum* was written in Paris shortly before Bruno went to England. For further discussion, see Yates, *Bruno* 192-99.

[7] Copleston notes the importance of Nicholas of Cusa as an influence on Bruno, especially in his doctrine of *coincidentia oppositorum*, but this did not filter down to Herbert. Walker suggests (189) that Herbert probably did not think much of *De l'infinito*, because "he was not even convinced of the movement of the earth." It seems, however, that what Herbert makes the pagan priest say about demiurges in *De religione gentilium* may be traced to this idea. It may be, however, that Herbert, as Walker believes, got much of his knowledge of Bruno from Mersenne's *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim* (1613), but I have not seen this work. Another interesting suggestion comes with Walker's mention of Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, which deals with a celestial reform and the renaming of the stars. In any case, Mersenne is the source for the "learned Jesuit" whom Herbert later (mis)quotes.

[8] Bruno linked his cosmology with the Copernican hypothesis, which is perhaps why Herbert uses it. Yet Herbert was not sure that the Polish astronomer was correct, and sometimes, Walker says, quotes him "irrelevantly." For Bruno and Copernicus, see Yates 235-38.

[9] Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) was, like Bruno, a Dominican, but he remained in the Order. His *Civitas solis* (1623) was a Utopian work based on Plato's *Republic*, and his other philosophical works included *Astrologicorum libri sex* (1629), *Atheismus triumphatus* (1636) and *Philosophia universalis seu metaphysicas* (1638), all of which Herbert had in his library. In the work on atheism Campanella developed a system of natural religion rather like Herbert's *religio rotunda*, although he kept well within Christian bounds; it was "a cautious, oscillating defence of ancient star-worship, which ends with a plainly regretful dismissal of it" (Walker 187) on the grounds that God never granted a revelation on the subject.

[10] Herbert never *cites* Campanella in *DRG*, but was extremely anxious to get his reaction to *De veritate*. The resourceful Diodati managed to get a copy to Campanella just before the latter left Rome for Paris. From Peiresc's letters we know that Campanella read it, and that he strongly disapproved of Pope Urban VIII's placing it on the *Index*, but he died before he was able to send Herbert a reply.

[11] Gerard Jan Vossius (1577-1649) was a Dutchman, born in Germany, whose father had been expelled from the Netherlands for Calvinism. Vossius was a polyglot scholar who wrote on rhetoric, philosophy, theology, history, and literary criticism. He was especially interested in poetry, and wrote a commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*. He was an intimate friend of Grotius, and probably met Herbert in Paris during the ambassadorship. Vossius himself died before he was able to publish *DRG*, but his son Jacob saw it through the press in

1663.

[12] Walker notes that it is unusual for a Christian apologist to write about rational truths and to base his arguments for faith upon them *without* concluding that Christianity is a unique and superior belief-system. Herbert subjected the Decalogue, for example, to rigorous analysis before deciding in its favour, "so that," as Walker states, "the revelation adds nothing to what is already known by the light of nature."

[13] He calls *DRG* "an attempt to present a factual, empirical support" for the claim that religious common notions exist. He believes that Walker has taken Herbert's affiliations with the ancient religions too far, and that if *DRG* is not specifically Christian, it is not specifically anything else either. Bedford views Herbert merely as a man "suspicious of institutional Christianity" (189).

[14] Arminianism was propounded by the followers of Jacob Arminius (1560-1609), a Dutch theologian who rejected predestination and limited atonement. Anyone who believes in Christ may be saved, and salvation is made possible not only by works and deeds, but needs God's grace, which may be accepted or rejected. The Arminians also wondered whether God could withdraw grace once it had been given, but never resolved the question. This "heresy" was condemned by the Synod of Dort. Pelagianism seems to have been invented by one Pelagius (fl. 400-25), an English monk. He believed that God would never tell people to do things they could not do, and that we are free to do either good or evil. Sin is only a quality of an action: this is curiously close to Herbert's view on ther matter as expressed in *De veritate*.

[15] Earlier in the poem Dante says that these men were in limbo because "they lived before the Christian era--/ They did not adore God as he should be adored" (37-8).

[16] The Latin, which I have translated, reads: *in Stellis illustriora Dei supremi opera, in operibus suis Deum ipsum coluerant olim homines.* The page numbers under passages from *DRG* refer to this edition. I haver used Walker's translations in preference to my own whenever possible, but see no reason to supply the Latin for every passage.

[17] Lewis's translation, which Walker quotes, reads: "Verily indeed, if they are alive, they can be worshipped with some sacred and religious cult, as is fittingly given to holy men." Adam Tannerus, the "learned Jesuit," wrote *Dissertatio peripatetico-theologica de coelis* (1621), and was quoted extensively by Vossius in *De idololatria*.

[18] Sir William Davenant (1606-1668) was appointed Poet Laureate by Charles I in 1638. He was known as a dramatist,

poet, and impresario. His works include *The Platonick Lovers* (1636), a tragedy, and *The Wits* (1636), a comedy, as well as *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), which became the first opera produced in England. His best-known work today is probably his epic poem *Gondibert* (1651), a tale of chivalry which ends by Davenant finally announcing, after some 1700 verses, that he is bored with the whole thing. Davenant may have been Shakespeare's godson, and is said to have intimated that Shakespeare had been more than "friendly" to his mother. He collaborated with Dryden, and with Thomas Killigrew founded the Duke's Theatre and helped revive the English drama.

[19] Jonas distinguishes three kinds of "Sidereal piety" in the ancient world. (1) solar monotheism, which has a hierarchical system starting with the sun and moon; (2) astrological pluralism. "the most pronounced star-worship of antiquity" (256). which was epitomised by the religion of the late Babylonians; (3) philosophic star-religion, "the valuation of the stars in Greek philosophy." Here, the stars are divine, "not by their action but by the hierarchy of things according to their immanent properties" (257). For further discussion, see also Jaeger 51-54.

[20] Herbert, of course, would have included Yahweh because of his connexions with the sun.

[21] Flavius Claudius Julianus (331-363) succeeded Constantius II in 361, dying only two years later in a skirmish with Persian cavalry, having defeated the main Persian army. He attempted to restore the pagan religion to the Roman Empire, for which he received the title "Julian the Apostate" from Christians, aware that he had been raised Christian. An intelligent, witty and enlightened man, Julian died realising that his reforms would never last. Indeed, his successor, the Emperor Jovian, proclaimed the Universal Edict of Toleration in 364, and the power of the old religion died. Julian's own religion was a kind of Hellenistic Neo-Platonism, with the Sun as supreme deity.

[22] See Vallée 9-41.

[23] The original, available to Herbert, was quoted in Stobaeus, *Eclogae*, I. Cleanthes of Assos (331-233 B.C.) was the head of the Athens school and the founder of Stoic theology.

[24] Roger Bacon (c.1212-1295) was the English philosopher who was said to have invented gunpowder. The fourth part of his *Opus maius* was concerned with the stars and planets. See Copleston, 2, II, 164-71.

[25] Valentinus (fl. 140) may have come to Rome from Egypt, but his exact origins are unknown. He claimed to have been taught by one Theudas, a disciple of Paul of Tarsus. For

details, see Jonas, Chapter 8, 174-99, and Pagels, 43-47. Some texts are printed by Barnstone, 610-21.

[26] See, for example, Orr's book on Deism discussed in Chapter Six.

[27] Also see René Guénon, *The Reign of Quantity and the Signs of the Times* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972).

[28] See, for example, G. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (Göttingen University Press, 1978), 144-57; Elaine Pagels, "The Demiurge and his Archons: A Gnostic View of the Bishop and his Presbyters?" *Harvard Theological Review* 69.3-4 (1976) 301-24, and Arthur Darby Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*. 2 volumes (Cambridge University Press, 1972).

[29] All quotations are taken from this edition and are listed by bracketed page-numbers under text. Rossi lists five extant MSS of this work, all of them now in the Powys Collections in the National Library of Wales. The first one (P. II.XIX) is an incomplete holograph consisting of forty pages entitled *Appendix* [to *De causis errorum*]. The second MS (P. II.XIX) is a series of holograph folio sheets, almost the same as the first, and numbered identically. The *prima bella copia* (as Rossi calls it), is P. II.XIX 6 "43." The number 43 is written on it in red ink. The fourth one (P. II. XXVI) is 14 sheets long, bearing the title *Laicus de religione*. The last, MS 5295 in the National Library of Wales, is of 9 folio sheets; Rossi believes it to be a translation of *RL* with corrections in Herbert's hand (Rossi, III, p. 505), and this seems likely. This is the problematic version. Herbert Wright, in "An unpublished Manuscript by Lord Herbert of Cherbury entitled *Religio laici*," *Modern Language Review* 28 (1933) believes that this MS is "throughout in the hand of Lord Herbert of Cherbury" (295) and that it is not a translation, but an early draft, in English, of *RL*, with corrections. It was later translated into Latin and expanded into "a medium suitable for communication to the learned world" (294), rather like Bacon and his *Novum organum*. Rossi is not sure that Herbert's hand may be identified here with certainty, and suspects that the MS in a redaction by Charles Blount, presumably so that he could crib it for his own *Religio laici*. As I have not seen a specimen of Blount's hand (and Bonanante does not reproduce one), I cannot comment further on this puzzle.

The printed history of the book is a little less complex. It was published in 1645, appended to *De causis errorum* and an *Appendice ad sacerdotes*. Dr. Blayney believes that because of the pagination, it is possible that some copies were also issued separately, and he supplied a great deal of information on the printing, which I shall summarise here. The printer was Richard Cotes, who had printed the 1645 edition of *De veritate*. Dr. Blayney deduced that the

facsimile we were working from (no original being held in the Folger Library) was made from a misbound copy, which made it difficult to work out the formula. "Tentatively, then," he writes, "the revised formula for a complete copy would be:
4°: A^4 (-A4 + "A4"^{2}) A-P^4Q^2 R-V^4X^2, $^2A^4{}^2B^4$ (-B4), $^2A^4$
The last problem is the title of the book. Hutcheson uses *De religione laici*, which appears as the title for the 1645 printed edition. Wright and Rossi prefer *Religio laici*, which is what appears on MS 5295. The first title at least sets Herbert apart from Blount and Dryden, but the weight of Rossi's authority and the fact that *RL* was often printed without a title at all (Rossi III, 538) make it perhaps more accurate to call it simply *RL*.

[30] This is an example of Herbert's wide reading, although his knowledge of Eastern religions is limited by today's standards. Buddhism, for example, was not studied seriously until Schopenhauer's time. Herbert had several books in his library which might have been useful, such as Jan de Laet, *De imperio magno Mongolis sive India vera commentarius* (1629) and the same author's *Persia seu regni Persici status cum aliquot inconibus incolarum* (1641). He also possessed Henry Hudson's description of China and Japan, and he may well have spoken to his kinsman Sir Thomas Herbert, who had travelled to Delhi in the late 1630's (see Chapter One). Herbert had several books on Judaism, and he may also have passed a few hours in conversation about religions with Grotius and Selden, to name two of his learned friends. Herbert's mention of the various Indian groups is interesting, too. The gymnosophists were naked *saddhus*, Hindu holy men who covered themselves with ashes; the Banians, however, are a caste of merchants. Professor Terence Day informs me that Herbert might have been confusing caste and class in their case. Hutcheson cannot identify the Bongi. but Prof. Day believes they might be the *punga*, or "sky-clad" (i.e. naked) Jains, which would fit in with the gymnosophists and Brahmans. Herbert does not say what African religions he means, but the Portuguese had been in Africa since 1462, and he may have read accounts of what are now Ghana and Nigeria.

CHAPTER TEN

> But when this life is from the body fled,
> To see it selfe in that *eternall Glasse,*
> *Where time doth end, and thoughts accuse the dead,*
> *Where all to come, is one with all that was*
> Fulke Greville, Baron Brooke, *Caelica*
> (Sonnet 87)

The years remaining to Herbert were not happy ones, either in terms of his personal life or political success. He remained in semi-retirement from 1641 onwards, but was caught, unwillingly, in the events which led up to the Civil War. He was forced, in the end, to take sides in that conflict which finally destroyed the world as he had known it for most of his life. His depressions are reflected in the poetry of those years, and his prose expresses the wavering doubts about the monarchist cause which oppressed his mind during the war. These last years were a sad chronicle of family woes, financial failures and general disillusionment with life and with his own achievements.

Herbert and the Civil War 1640-1642

I shall not present a detailed narrative of events or an analysis of the causes which led to the Civil War, but will recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the political situation in the last years of Herbert's life, because it is a necessary prerequisite to understanding his actions in the years from 1641 to 1648.

From 1629 to 1640 Charles I had been ruling without

Parliament. He managed to cope financially because, after the capture of La Rochelle, he had made peace with France and had thus freed himself from a costly burden of war. At the same time, Charles resorted to a number of quasi-legal measures to raise capital, for which he employed unpopular and sometimes corrupt ministers. During this period the chief advisers to the King were Thomas Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury; lesser lights included Richard Weston, Treasurer until 1635, William Noy, the Attorney-General, Lord Chancellor Cottington, left over from Buckingham's time, Sir Henry Vane the Elder, Comptroller of the Household, and "the unscrupulous and pretentious" (Hibbert 139) Lord Chief Justice Finch. Apart from Laud, one of the few men of integrity amongst Charles's ministers was Weston's successor in the Treasury, Bishop William Juxon of London, whose appointment offended no-one, especially not those "who would stand to lose so much money by the more rigid controls of royal revenues that a sterner official might introduce" (Hibbert 139).

Wentworth and Laud, working as a team, introduced temporal and spiritual oppression, but, paradoxically, it was the latter that proved more harmful, if indeed they could really be separated at all. Laud's attempt to reform the Anglican Church from within alienated Puritan elements, who declared Laudian tenets idolatrous because of the emphasis the Archbishop placed on form and ritual. Laud's policies,

especially his introduction of a modified version of The Book of Common Prayer for use in Scottish churches, led to two disastrous wars with Scotland. As J.M. Reid suggests,

> Both [Charles I and Laud] wished to bring the Scots Church into conformity with the English one. It seems fairly certain that their aims went even beyond that. It was difficult to make far-reaching changes in the Anglican Church without the consent of Parliament. . .the Scots Kirk and Parliament looked weaker: in King James's day they had seemed very submissive. If the King could impose his will on the Church in Scotland he might establish a precedent which could be followed in England later on. (64)

In 1637 the Scots acted against the new Prayer Book, and by the next year a National Covenant had been signed and an army collected; Charles also raised troops, but as he could not afford to pay them they would not fight, and he was forced to sign a treaty at Berwick (June 1638). But as Charles remained obstinate on the subject of episcopacy, the Scots rose up anew, and this time they were backed by English politicians opposing their King's policies. The result was that when Charles called a Parliament in April 1640 it would not grant him the funds for a Scots war. This Parliament, aptly dubbed the Short Parliament, was dissolved within a month, and Charles ordered the arrest of some of its leaders.

With Parliament gone, Convocation, the assembly of the Church, showed its servility to the King by granting him £20,000 as a "benevolence" (Hill 14), but this was hardly enough. Charles tried, and failed, to get a loan from London merchants, and his army, the same ill-trained and poorly-paid rabble which had capitulated at Berwick, retreated from

Scotland and mutinied, allowing the enemy to penetrate England as far as Newcastle. At this point Charles summoned a Great Council of Peers to York, and was told that he had better recall Parliament and make peace with the Scots. He held off until November 3, 1640, but the Parliament which he then summoned, the Long Parliament, would sit, in various manifestations, until 1660.

Herbert's reactions to his sovereign's plight during these years were unenthusiastic. Charles had summoned the peers just before the opening of the Short Parliament, and Herbert attended only after protesting that he was still deeply in debt "upon occasion of my embassage," and that he had to find money to pay the copyists and research assistants whom he had been employing on *Henry VIII* (Lee 145). He did volunteer to accept a command if the King should offer it, but noted that his arrival would be delayed because he was involved in lawsuits. Herbert took part in the 1639 campaign in Scotland, during which time he wrote "The Idea," and in 1640 he was present at the General Council in York. Here he argued that no concessions should be made to the Scots; he described peace treaties as "thin, airy things," and pointed out that if Charles gave in it "would reflect upon the Honour of His Majesty abroad" (Lee 146). After Charles signed yet another treaty at Ripon (November 1640), Herbert returned home to Wales. His health was not good and his suggestions had been ignored; he saw now that he was living in an era of political duplicity and ethical relativism which made his

diplomatic career under James I seem wide-open in its honesty. Once safely in Wales again, Herbert retreated into scholarship, began his revisions of *De veritate*, planned to write on education, and probably started the *Autobiography* as well.

Herbert remained in Wales until 1642, when he went to London in May to attend debates in the House of Lords. In the meantime Strafford had been impeached and executed (May 1641) and a revolt had broken out in Ireland; shortly afterwards the Commons passed the Grand Remonstrance, "a comprehensive indictment of royal policy" (Hill 12). This led to Charles's infamous attempt to arrest five Members of Parliament, after which he left London, having been forced meanwhile to exclude bishops from the House of Lords and to approve a bill for subjugating Ireland. Various attempts at reasoning with the King having failed, and Charles having formally declared war on Parliament by raising the royal standard at Nottingham, Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex to command its armies, and the Civil War began.

In a debate on May 20, 1642, Herbert supported the position of the Commons that if Charles made war he was violating his coronation oath. Unfortunately he added a rider that he would lend his vote to the resolution if and only if it could be shown that the King made war *sine causa* (Lee 147).[1] The Commons thereupon had him arrested and put into the Tower until he apologised; shaken, Herbert retreated once again to Montgomery Castle. His sense of failure, and

the realisation that his political life was over, far from allowing him to view the world with detachment, simply made him irresolute and almost querulous.

Herbert's private life also contributed more and more to his emptiness and despair. He had been a widower since 1634, although Mary's death could not have been much of a blow to him, given the nature of their relationship after 1610. By 1640 only his brother Henry remained of his immediate family, and his son Richard was becoming a source of financial trouble, no doubt encouraged by his father's example of living beyond his means.[28] Many of his old friends, too, were dead--Donne in 1631, Jonson in 1637, Sir Thomas Lucy in 1640, Carew in 1642, and Aurelian Townshend in 1643. His cousin Pembroke, scholar and patron of scholars, had died in 1630, to be succeeded in his titles by his odious brother Philip, who had at least returned Montgomery Castle to Herbert.

Herbert's Last Years

During the period 1643-48 Herbert's life continued on its downward spiral. He seems to have cherished a hope that Charles I, whose world and monarchy were about to crash down in flames around him, would somehow remember his old servant, and he clung on to that hope through the years of disappointment. As Lee notes, Herbert certainly had "the mental resources. . .which ought to have enabled him to take his political disappointments platonically" (147), but his

temperament prevented him from doing so; the scholar was still, as Lee forgets, a man of action, and he was unable to sit idly by. He ought to have been a political figure of some renown, but yet he had not been. In 1643 he wrote sadly to Henry that now "of all of us there remains but you and I to brother it" (Lee 148).

Montgomery Castle did not long stay isolated from the outward conflict, and in 1642 both Charles I and Prince Rupert encroached upon Herbert's peace, the former in Chester and the latter in Shrewsbury. Richard Herbert raised a troop of horse at his own expense, in spite of the financial difficulties from which his father had previously complained of having rescued him, and he went to Shrewsbury to join the royalist army. Richard's son Edward, Herbert's favourite grandson, and Herbert's younger son Edward also joined up, but Lord Castle-Island, as he was known, remained undecided.

It was unfortunate for Herbert that Parliamentary forces began to get the upper hand in his immediate vicinity. Parliament appointed Sir Thomas Middleton as Sergeant-Major-General of Parliamentary Forces in North Wales (June 1643), and he immediately marched to join his forces with those of Sir William Brereton, who had been making gains on the Welsh border near Cheshire. This cut off Herbert's communication lines with Prince Rupert in Shrewsbury, and he told Henry that "we are here almost as in great straits as if the warre were amongst us" (Lee 150). When Charles I summoned Parliament to Oxford, it was Richard Herbert who attended,

not his father. Most of the other members of the Herbert family had royalist convictions, and Parliament ordered confiscation of all Herbert property in London (Lee 150), an exercise which was not carried out, but which must have frightened Herbert, who was chronically short of money.[35]

In February 1644 Prince Rupert asked Herbert to meet him at Shrewsbury, but Herbert refused. If Rupert wished to send soldiers to Montgomery Castle, Herbert told him, he was wasting his time, for "betweene my servants and my neighbours I am always able to put a sufficient garrison in this place." He went on to tell Rupert that his son Richard commanded troops in Montgomery town, and if the Prince wanted to help, he could do so by providing "constant pay" for Richard's men (Lee 152). Rupert made no reply, but left to relieve Newark; Middleton, meanwhile, had been recalled to London. By June Prince Rupert had been forced to remove to York, and shortly afterwards he and the King were severely defeated at Marston Moor (July 2, 1644). Rupert's army retreated towards the Welsh border, and finally got to Shrewsbury, whence Rupert issued frantic orders to Herbert and other Welsh landowners to assist him. "Though I have the ambition to kisse your most valorous and princely hands," Herbert wrote to the son of his old friend Frederick V, "because I am newly entered in to a course of physiq I do humbly desire to bee excused for the presente" (Lee 152). It was obvious to Prince Rupert that he could expect no help from Lord Castle-Island now.

On September 3 Middleton, now back from London, captured

the town of Montgomery. He expected that Lord Herbert would resist from his well-garrisoned and well-provisioned castle. Herbert, who was accompanied by his daughter Beatrice,[4] declined at first to reply to Middleton's demand that they surrender. Lee claims that Herbert resolved in the end to hand the castle over because he was afraid that he would lose all his London property, including his library,[5] and there is some justice to this claim. It is likely that Herbert, who had no reason to be loyal to Charles I, finally made up his mind that he must declare for Parliament, as the luxury of neutrality was no longer an option. From Herbert's writings on monarchy, which I have presented in a previous chapter, it seems that he was more than merely disenchanted. Accordingly, he surrendered (September 7) and signed an agreement with Middleton that he was not to be deprived of his library or property, and that the twenty soldiers now to be stationed in the castle leave him alone. He sent agents to London to make sure that his property was not sold, and that Parliament knew of his loyalty, and by September 23 they had informed him that he was secure.

Herbert now intended, restored to his former state, to pass the remainder of his years in studious isolation and neutrality. Yet after 1644 many of his former friends turned against him, and regarded him as a turncoat. The royalist commander at Shrewsbury, Sir Michael Ernley, branded him "the treacherous Lord Herbert" (Lee 155), and marched against Middleton, whom he defeated. Colonel Mitton, Middleton's

second-in-command, blockaded himself inside Herbert's castle with the Parliamentary foot. Herbert and Beatrice were now stranded, facing a siege by Middleton, Brereton, and Sir John Meldrum, Parliamentary general in Lancashire. Assistance was also on the way from Sir William Fairfax. Lord Byron came from Chester to reinforce Ernley, and Colonel Wodehouse from Ludlow. Byron attacked the Parliamentary forces (September 18), but was driven back; Fairfax, however, was killed. Lord Herbert and Beatrice had been observing the battle from the castle, and must have been relieved at the defeat of Byron, a man not renowned for his mercy towards the defeated.[4] Herbert then left Montgomery Castle for Oswestry, in the company of Brereton, and Parliamentary forces occupied Herbert's home. On November 2 Herbert was in London, petitioning Parliament to assist him, and on December 19 the House of Commons duly granted him £20 a week for living expenses (Lee 157).

Herbert settled in Camden House, his London residence, and retreated once more into studious silence. In 1645 he issued the third edition of *De veritate*, which was followed shortly by *De religione gentilium*. A further consolation to the elderly man was a renewed correspondence with foreign scholars; in 1647 he felt up to a last visit to France, where he visited Gassendi. While still in London he received a letter from the scholar James Howell, who wrote recommending a young man as a secretary. He had "a desire to devote himself to your Lordship's service," and Howell

invited Herbert to treat him "like a spare watch, which your Lorsdship may wind up with pleasure" (Rossi III, 245 n.3).[7] This Herbert did, as he needed a replacement for his former secretary, Rowland Evans. By 1647 Herbert had received back his rights to Montgomery Castle, and had been appointed Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall and Warden of the Stannaries by Parliament (October 1646). He did not take up the duties of either position (Lee 158).

On his visit to Paris in 1647, Herbert saw Mersenne and Gassendi (September 2).[8] It is possible, but not certain, that he also visited Hobbes, who had been in France since August with the Queen and the royal family, and was recuperating from "nervous fever" (Rossi III, 265). The visit was short, possibly due to Herbert's poor health, and when he returned to London Herbert was fined (November 9) for not attending the House of Lords. Because of his health, the fine was remitted, and he was soon back at Camden House.

On August 1, 1648, Herbert made his will, which is extremely long and detailed, but, as even Lee admits, it shows him "to unexpected advantage" (159). He left large legacies to his two sons, Richard and Edward. He did not blame them for fighting on the royalist side, and he was also very generous to his grandson Edward, who inherited a great deal of land in Wales. Herbert also left his books to Edward, which he enjoined him not to sell or give away, and with the books went enough money for Edward to go to university or to "travel beyond the seas" (Lee 160). Herbert

left his Latin and Greek books to the Library of Jesus College, where they would be well-housed by Sir Eubule Thelwall, now Master of the College.[9] Apart from Edward, the executors of the will were Evan Thomas, a local friend, and John Selden.[10]

Death came for Lord Herbert of Chirbury on August 20, 1648, at Camden House. On his death-bed, according to Aubrey, Herbert sent for Archbishop James Ussher, Primate of Armagh:

> James Ussher, Lord Primate of Ireland, was sent for by him when in his death-bed, and he would have received the sacrament. He sayd indifferently that *if there was any good in anything, 'twas in that, or if it did no good, 'twould doe no hurt.* The Primate refused it, for which many blamed him. He then turned his head to the other side and expired very serenely. (293)

Rossi comments that Ussher had played no part in Herbert's life until now, but that he was a friend of Selden's, and was "as liberal a prelate as the Anglican church permitted" (III, 284).[11] His refusal to administer the last sacrament was, in that case, doubly uncharitable, although Herbert's characteristic indifference was the immediate cause: Rossi remarks that Herbert was treating the religious rite as if it were some sort of medicine with uncertain efficacy, but without harmful side-effects (III, 285)!

Herbert had stipulated that he be buried at "twelve of the clock at night in the parish church where I shall die, without pomp or other ceremony than is usual. . .[without] mourning or show of mourning, desiring my friends

nevertheless to love my memory" (Lee 161). He was buried in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, under a plain stone bearing an inscription probably written by his friend Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield:[132]

> HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS EDVARDI EQUITIS BALNEI, BARONIS DE CHERBURY ET CASTLE-ISLAND, AUCTORIS LIBRI, CUI TITULUS EST *DE VERITATE*. REDDOR UT HERBÆ; VICESIMO DIE AUGUSTI ANNO DOMINI 1648.

Rossi calls the inscription "anodyne" (III, 161) and it is sad to note that in spite of Stanhope's obvious good intentions it was not the epitaph Herbert himself would have chosen. He composed two for himself, one in Latin, intended to be placed as a memorial in Montgomery Church, and another, in English, which appears amongst his poems. He hoped the Latin epitaph might find a home in a small chapel to be built in Montgomery church near his father's tomb, but this never happened (Lee 162). It reads as follows:

> QUID ASPECTAS, LECTOR? NON IACET ULLIBI EDWARDUS BARO HERBERT DE CHIRBURY ET CASTRI INSULAE DE KERRY SED MELIORI SUI PARTE IN BEATORUM SEDES ABIJT SERAM POSTERITATEM TESTATUS, NIHIL ITA RELICTUM NISI QUOD SECUM ABDUCERE NOLUIT! VALE, LECTOR, ET STUDE ETERNITATE.[133]

Poetical Activity 1630-1640

The death of John Donne (March 31, 1631) occasioned a minor outpouring of commemorative verse from various authors, some of whom were poets, and others who were people obliged to write tributes in what they thought was verse. Amongst the former were Henry King, Thomas Carew, and Sir Lucius

Cary; amongst the latter may be mentioned one Henry Valentine, whose opening lines, "All is not well, when such an one as I/ Dare peepe abroad, and write an *Elegie*" (Grierson 342) speak for themselves. Herbert's poem for Donne does not appear in this compilation, and it was first published by Sir Henry Herbert in 1665.

There have been various interpretations of this poem, none of them very satisfactory. Smith calls it "dry and abstract" (xviii) and Rockwood compares it unfavourably with Carew's magnificent elegy, remarking that "it may be that Herbert's emotion was so strong he actually was unable to express it" (378). Paolucci asserts that the failure of the critics is due to the fact that they have not perceived the significance of "money and titular images" (154) and have therefore misunderstood the poem, which is not about Donne at all, but about Herbert's social position and debts. Indeed, there are references to these, but the overriding concern in the poem is the nature of *poetic* worth in general, and Donne's in particular. The formality of the poem may be explained in terms of psychology, and Rockwood's remarks are actually pertinent here, because nowhere else did Herbert attempt such a work, confining his elegiac output to Latin epitaphs and shorter English poems such as the one on Cecilia Boulstred. It should be remembered, moreover, that Herbert is linked to Donne through an intellectual friendship as well as poetic one, which went very deep for both men.

The poem begins in what appears to be a cynical, almost

satirical vein, recalling the language of Donne's satires as well as Herbert's:

> What though the vulgar and received praise,
> With which each common Poet strives to raise
> His worthless Patron, seem to give the height
> Of a true Excellence; yet as the weight
> Forc'd from his Centre, must again recoil,
> So every praise, as if it took some foil,
> Only because it was not well imploy'd,
> Turns to those senseless principles and voyd,
> Which in some broken syllables being couch'd,
> Cannot above an Alphabet be vouch'd,
> (l. 1-10)

The "common Poet" is in the position of having to use "vulgar and received praise" to elevated his "worthless Patron," and the praises produced are based on "senseless principles and void." For praise to have worth, its subject must be worthy, as Samuel Johnson intimated to Lord Chesterfield a century later. Most patrons need, Herbert feels, a great deal of "new forms" (12) to raise them above their "easie matter" (14), as if poetry could somehow gain them immortality.

The next section of the poem is syllogistic, and Herbert explains what "praise that wants truth" (15) does. It negates itself, thereby negating its subject's worth and that of its author, and its terms, "however elevate and high" (17), have no substance, "And into their first elements resolve" (22). Thus the poet, bestowing praise where it is not due, is false to his craft as well to his patron:

> Praises, like Garments, then, if loose and wide
> Are subject to fall off: if gay and py'd.
> Make men ridiculous; the just and grave
> Are those alone, which men may wear and have.
> (23-26)

This seems to be the standard stuff of elegy, the disclaimer

on the part of the writer that he is using empty phrases, whilst at the same time suggesting that no praise is sufficient for his subject. In the elegies for Donne, several poets use the same kind of rhetoric; "At common graves we have Poetique eyes/ Can melt them selves in easie Elegies," writes King, "But at thine, Poeme, or Inscription/ (Rich soule of wit, and language) we have none" (Grierson 339); Carew asks, "Have we no voice, no tune? Did'st thou dispense/ Through all our language, both the words and sense?" (Grierson 346) and Jasper Mayne enquires "Who shall presume to mourn thee, *Donne*, unlesse/ He could his teares in thy expression dresse" (Grierson 351). The theme of all these poems is the inadequacy of language to mourn a great poetic innovator rather than a worthless patron for whom they could all have written copious elegies with similar disclaimers. Herbert notes, in another quatrain set apart from the previous one that it would be an ideal state of affairs if "each had that part/ Which is their due" (27-28) and that here "no fraudulent Art" (28) is needed to disguise the truth.

The next two sections complete Herbert's explanation of what praise should actually be. It is, he says, "publick inheritance" (31), and if anyone gives or takes "more praise than doth belong/ Unto his part" (33-34) he is deceiving the public, whose image is moulded from the praises of poets. He concludes with a metaphorical definition of praises:

> Praises should then like definitions be
> Round, neat, convertible, such as agree

> To persons so, that, were their names conceal'd,
> Must make them known as well as if reveal'd:
> (39-42)

Having disposed of false praises addressed to hypothetical worthless patrons, Herbert now comes to the subject of John Donne himself. Interestingly, Herbert notes that "my witty *Carew*" (50) is also writing an elegy, but rather than compete with his friend, he finds he needs "A language by it self, which should exceed/ All those which are in use" (52-53). He agrees here with the other poets cited, showing that it was Donne's use of *language* which had made his loss so irreplaceable. No language, Herbert says, is adequate, and although he perforce must use "Those common words, which men may even rake/ From Dunghil-wits" (54-55), he finds them "so defil'd,/ Slubber'd and false" (55-56) that they simply will not do. Herbert's introduction of this kind of diction recalls Donne's satires, or perhaps the angry *persona* at the beginning of "The Canonization." In either case, it indicates that Herbert had a deep understanding of his friend's poetry. The legal imagery, which is prominent in the first part of Herbert's poem, is also a link with Donne and was employed by other poets, such as George Herbert. Herbert was certainly concerned with all things in general being given their proper value, living as he was now in a world where this did not seem to be the case; Donne was of a generation slightly older than Herbert's, and he, at least, seemed to have reaped his reward with the Deanery of St. Paul's and his poetic fame. But Paolucci's contention

that the legal imagery *necessarily* indicates Herbert's disgust with the world or his loss of self-esteem seems overly-forced into a particular critical mode (130-31), and must be tempered with the more obvious allusions which grow out from the poetry itself.

The next section elaborates on the theme of language and its inadequacy for doing justice to Donne. When Donne died, that "matter" and "words" which he wielded so skilfully died with him:

> Let therefore none
> Hope to find out an Idiom and sence,
> Equal to thee and thy Eminence,
> Unless our Gracious King give words their bound,
> Call in false titles, which each where are found,
> In Prose and Verse, and as bad Coin and light
> Suppress them and their values, till the right
> Take place, and do appear, and then in lieu
> Of those forg'd Attributes stamp some anew,
> Which being currant, and by all allow'd,
> In Epitaphs and Tombs might be avow'd
> More than their Escocheons.
>
> (64-75)

Herbert does indeed refer to "false titles," but they are such as occur "in prose and verse," and he alludes also, possibly, to Charles I's lack of literary interest or judgment. It was, after all, James I who promoted Donne (through his prose, hardly his verse), it was James who read Bacon, and James who himself wrote in prose and passable verse. Charles was a discriminating buyer of paintings, but others, such as Endymion Porter, made his choices for him as a rule. Herbert failed, of course, to find the patronage he wished from Charles, in spite of royal co-operation with *Henry VIII* and his assessment of Buckingham in *The Expedition*

to the Isle of Rhe.

This section of the poem, then, is an expression of Herbert's regret that Charles I did not "give words their bound" and patronise true poets. The references to Herbert's own situation only reinforce his argument. Donne, Herbert continues, was envied by those who could not have hoped to match him, and his enemies will most certainly attempt to dig up what they consider to have been his vices. Some may have considered, for example, that Donne's deanery itself was the result of the poet's flattery and obsequiousness.Furthermore, Herbert's bringing in the name of the King stresses Donne's intense loyalty to the established order; "the Church, like the individual believer, Donne insisted, must humble itself before the king" (Carey 114). But now times had changed, Donne was dead, and degeneration had set in. Poetry, as Carew put it in his elegy for Donne, was indeed "widow'd," and society was as well, now that the King had abandoned his responsibilities.

Herbert ends by excoriating those who would attack Donne now that he was gone:

> Let thy detractors thy late life detect,
> And though they term all thy heat, frowardness,
> And on this false supposal would inferr,
> They teach not others right, themselves who err,
> Yet as men to the adverse part do ply
> Those crooked things which they would rectifie,
> So would perchance, to loose and wanton Man
> Such vice avail more then their virtues can.
> (78-86)

Linking the detractors with those purveyors of false praise described in the opening lines, Herbert shows that, like

them, they prove themselves liars and bring down vilification on their own heads, not on Donne's, whom they can no longer touch. A careful reader will note the similarities between the section on detractors and the words which Donne spoke at the funeral of Magdalen Herbert, quoted in Chapter One.

Herbert and Neo-Platonic Poetry

Both Moore Smith and Rossi recognise the predominant influence of Platonism and Neo-Platonism in Herbert's later poetry, although they do not agree precisely upon the form which it takes. They are aware, too, of the analogue between Herbert's "The Idea" and Spenser's "An Hymne in Honour of Beautie," which appeared in *Fowre Hymnes* (1596). Lastly, Rossi stresses the influence of Marsilio Ficino in the transmission of Platonic ideas to Herbert through his exegesis of the *Symposium*, the *Commentarium in Convivium*.

Rossi is far more detailed in his examination of Herbert's Platonism than is Smith. He bases his assessment on the assumption that "all forms of mysticism are Platonic" (III, 11) and that Platonism, as found in Herbert, is degenerate, served up through the medium of Cicero, Plotinus, Augustine and the Italian humanists. It will be remembered that Rossi has already discussed this "degeneracy" with reference to *De veritate*, and that he considered the latter shot through with Aristotelianism as well. Furthermore, according to Rossi, in the hands of humanists (and Herbert)

the central notion of "Platonic love" becomes paramount, although it bears little resemblance to the kind of homosexual love described in the *Symposium*. It bears no resemblance at all to the spiritual love advocated by Paul in the New Testament. What happened, Rossi believes, was that the *idea* of love was translated into a male/female dichotomy, with woman as a spiritual vehicle (*ascensore spirituale*) (Rossi III, 11). Hugh Maclean, in his edition of Spenser's poetry, attributes this transformation of Platonism not to Ficino, but to the *Canzona della amore celeste e divino* by the fifteenth-century humanist Bienvieni and to a commentary on it by Pico della Mirandola (453 n.5).[14] Bienvieni envisaged a "ladder" of the various aspects of love, the lowest rung of which was physical attraction, moving up to the highest form, Neo-Platonic love.

The notion of the woman as spiritual vehicle is, of course, older than Bienvieni, being found in Dante, to name the most obvious example, and subsequently in Petrarch and in the sonnets of Michelangelo Buonarotti (Rossi III, 12). It was the humanists, however, who reinterpreted this idea through Classical eyes, giving it a kind of "classical consecration" (Rossi III, 12). In the case of Herbert's Neo-Platonic poems, they are all addressed to a woman who remains unidentified.[15] It is scarcely necessary, moreover, to mention that Donne's love-lyrics often contain Platonic references which might also have influenced Herbert.

In Herbert's "The Idea" and Spenser's "Hymne in Honour

of Beautie" there is similarity in the Neo-Platonism, but the difference is that Spenser's poem exhibits Christian overtones not present in "The Idea." Although, as Maclean notes, "critics are no longer much inclined to read the *Hymnes* primarily in terms of their relationship to one or another Neo-Platonic rendering of the Platonic "ladder" or "ascent" (484), but in the case of Herbert the Neo-Platonic reading is the most fruitful one. Nevertheless, it will be useful to say something about the earlier poet's use of Neo-Platonism, because the sources for the two works are essentially the same.

In Spenser, as in Herbert, "the way to a vision of heavenly Beauty begins. . .with beautiful appearance in the world," according to William Nelson (Maclean 459). Venus is evoked as that power without which "Nothing on earth seems fayre to fleshly sight" (459) and whose assistance is needed by the earth-bound poet to start him off on the ascent. Herbert begins by stating that the beauty which we see on earth is merely a pale copy of that created by heaven, and that the *ideas* of beauty that we conceive are likewise inferior copies of those conceived in the eternal mind. Similarities with Bruno may be noted here, as well as with Spenser and Ficino; the former states that "many a gentle Mind/ Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,/ Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,/ Or through unaptnesse in the substance fownd" (462).

In Herbert's poem, Nature may be responsible for the

ugliness and deformity of earthly things, even when they still bear heavenly characteristics in the same sense that Wordsworth later spoke of "intimations of immortality:"

> As Nature yet the at a Distance view'es
> And doth besides but vile materialle chuse,
> Wee in Her workes observe no small abuse.
>
> Some of her figures therefore soild & blurr'd,
> Shew as if Heaven had no way concurr'd
> In shapes so disproportiond & absurd.
>
> W^ch being againe vexd w^th a Hate and spite
> That doth in y^ts Vengeance & Rage excite
> Seems to be tortur'd & disfigured quite.
> (10-18)

In Spenser, it is "this Worlds great workmaister" (Maclean 463) who is directly responsible for the creation of beauty, and here there is a direct correlation with Plato's *Timaeus*, when it is stated that as the Creator has "an unchangeable pattern" from which he is working, his work "must necessarily be made fair and perfect" (28b). For Herbert, as we have seen, Nature is responsible for the disfigurement of the perfection of heavenly ideas, although there is no doubt that beauty may shine through the apparent ugliness. Nature, "the imperfect craftsman working with defective and flawed materials" (Paolucci 136), becomes almost an evil force, which must somehow be transcended.

The beauty of the woman, the spiritual vehicle, is the means by which one may transcend Nature, or the world in general, and the poem progresses towards the description of the vehicle, showing, as one of the additional stanzas states, that "Fair's the true outside to the Good within" (Smith 76):

In some y^e^ supreme Power yet so doth guide
Natures weake Hand: as hee doth add besides
All by w^ch^ Creatures can bee dignifyed

While we in y[ou] see so exact a line
That through each part a bewteous glympse doth shine
Of y^eir^ Originall and forme divine.

Therfore ye Characters of Faire & Good
Are so comixt & tempered in your blood
As each in the other may be understood.

That Beauty so accompanyed with grace
And equally conspicuous in y^e^ Face
In a faire womans outside take their place.
(25-36)

Spenser promotes a similar idea:

So every spirit, as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
So it the fairer bodie doth procure
To habit in, and more fairly dight
With chearfull grace and amiable sight.
For of the soule the bodie forme doth take:
For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make.
(127-33)

A little later, however, Spenser admits that it is not always the case that what is beautiful outside will be beautiful inside, and he claims that "Nathelesse the soule is faire and beauteous still,/ How ever fleshes fault it filthy make" (159-60). For Herbert, the contemplation of love of the beautiful woman is a way of transcending the world of flesh and of nature itself:

That Beauty so accompanied with grace
And equally conspicuous in y^e^ face
In a faire womans outside take their place.

This while in her all rare perfection meetes
Each (as with Joy) its fellow Bewty greetes
And varies so into a thousand sweetes.

Or if some tempting thought do so assault
As doubtfull shee twixt two opinions hault,
A gentle Blush corrects & mends y^e^ fault. (35-42)

All this is an echo of the *Phaedo*:

> Surely the soul can best reflect when it is free of all distractions such as hearing or sight or pain or pleasure of any kind--that is, when it ignores the body and becomes as far as possible independent, avoiding all physical contacts and associations as much as it can, in its search for reality. (65c, 48)

All souls, to attain this state, wish to be free from their bodies, and like statues throwing away "y^e^ outward clay" (54), the inner reality may be revealed. Contemplation of the woman's outward beauty, itself the reflection of her inner state, is the first step to appreciating what is inside the divine sculptor's model. "For," Herbert asks, "who still covered with y^e^ir Earth would lye?/ Who would not shake y^e^ir fetters of & flye?/ And bee, at least, next to a Deity!" (58-60). The woman may now achieve what Spenser terms the "perfect Beautie which all men adore" (171), and which she possessed before the soul became imprisoned in the body (Maclean 459). This is what Herbert describes as her "second selfe renewed in y^r^ owne mould" (65).

He, having achieved the heavenly state, now contemplates the Platonic Idea:

> Ffor while I doe yo^r^ comming there attend
> I shall much time on y^e^ Idea spend
> And note how farre all others y^e^^e^ transcend
>
> And though thus you more y^n^ an Angell bee
> Since beeing heere to sinne & mischiefs free
> You will have raised y^r^ selfe to their degree
>
> That so victorious over death & fate
> And happy in y^e^ everlasting state
> You shall triumphant enter Heavens gate
> (70-78)

The state described here is that which exists after death, when the things of the earth hav recovered their divine influences, and have been reunited with the Creator's great pattern. Yet the poet does not wish to achieve that blessed condition immediately, preferring the present to the as yet-unrealised Idea, although contemplation of the Idea suggests the transcendence of the woman's beauty:

> Hasten not hither yet: for as y^{ee} are
> A Beauty upon Earth w^{ch} out compare
> You must shew best still where y^{ee} art most rare.
>
> Live all our lives yn if y^{e} Picture can
> Here entertain a loving absent Man
> Much more th' Idea where y^{ee} first began.
> (79-84)

We may be reminded here of another, perhaps greater Platonic poem, King's "Exequy To his Matchlesse never to be forgotten Freind," where the poet asks his wife to meet him after, rather than before death: "Stay for mee there: I will not faile/ To meet Thee in that hollow Vale" (Crum 71). Herbert, in contrast to King, knows that Platonic perfection is visible in the Idea, and that death is not yet a necessary part; transcendent beauty is rare on earth, but because of that it is, paradoxically, shown best there. The last two lines of this poem, which refer to the "Idea where y^{ee} first began," echo Donne once more in "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning," which also deals with the subjects of parting and absence. Like Herbert, Donne ends his poetic enthymeme with a tautological reference, "Thy firmnes makes my circle just,/ And makes me end, where I begunne" (Grierson 45).

At approximately the same time as he wrote "The Idea" Herbert also produced a number of other Platonic poems. There are three poems in his canon which bear the title "Platonick Love." Two are apostrophic in form, addressed to a woman, and one is impersonal. Smith does not attempt to date them, but they are probably late poems because Sir Henry Herbert places them near the end of the book, and they deal with the subject in the same way as "The Idea." The first poem is conventional, with the woman's "beauty and. . .lovely parts (2) being refined until they become "divine" (9). Characteristically, the contemplation of the refined form allows the observer to achieve a state of "pure Intelligence" (12) and abstraction. The woman is compared to angels, who "in their starry Orbs proceed/ Unto affection, without other need/ Then that they still on contemplation feed;" (19-21). The poem ends with the image of the woman's face as the source of all light, the One, "through whom we do discern each Grace,/ The multiplied lights from every place" (28-29).

The second poem is more substantial, beginning with a claim that Love "is not such a toy,/ As it is sport but for the Idle Boy,/ Or wanton Youth (1-3)." Love, to the young, "is not yet affection, but disease,/ Caus'd from repletion, which their blood doth vex,/ So that they love not Woman, but the Sex" (7-9). Of course, this is a straightforward description of what Donne calls "dull, sublunary lovers' love," and Herbert, likewise, develops a contrast between sense and "the Souls spacious and immortal field" (18). The

fifth stanza deals with the familiar theme of absence, yet again reminding the reader of Donne, and then Herbert moves on to a description of Platonic love itself, clearer than that in the first poem, and movingly expressed:

> And thus a love, made from a worthy choice,
> Will to that union come, as but one voice
> Shall speak, one thought but think the others will,
> And while, but frailty, they can know no ill,
> Their souls more then their bodies must rejoice.
>
> In which estate nothing can so fulfill
> Those heights of pleasure, which their souls instill
> Into each other, but that love thence draws
> New Arguments of joy, while the same cause
> That makes them happy, makes them greater still.
> (31-40)

The poem continues with the image of the two lovers, "their exalted fire/ B'ing equally inlarg'd with their desire" (43-44) transformed "to one Starr at last" (45), as in Davenant's poem quoted earlier.

The third poem is interesting only because it changes from the apostrophic mode and is in the first person. It is formal and rather courtly in tone, and "constantly asserts the supremacy of mind over matter, the immortality of the spiritual part of man's nature, the relation between the beautiful body and the beautiful soul" (Smith xx). The poem also serves as a good example of how Herbert, while he may have learned much from Donne, was quite unlike him in many ways. He is more rarified than Donne, because he is working towards one goal, the refinement of the senses and the triumph of the Neo-Platonic order. As Smith notes, "Herbert's lyrics differ from Donne's not by greater obscurity or ruggedness, but by a more studied art" (xviii).

Herbert's later poems are all designed to fit into his philosophy, and perhaps represent his attempt to put philosophy into human terms, to apply it to the things of the world such as love; the result, of course, is that the things of the world become elevated and refined, and are put on their correct tracks towards the source of light.

The *persona* of the poem is "Disconsolate and sad" (1), and his mistress, as she pities him, actually increases his grief because she makes herself unhappy. We almost seem to have retreated into a Petrarchan world of exaggerated emotional states expressed in formal language, deployed with the full panoply of courtly love imagery and religious symbolism:

> For when she should repent,
> This Act of Charity had made her part
> With such a precious Jewel as her Heart,
> Might she not grieve that e'er she did relent?
> And then were it <not> fit I felt the smart
> Untill I grew the greater Penitent?
> (7-12)

The *persona* takes this proposition and worries it over the succeeding three stanzas, arguing that if "she pleas'd to call for her Heart again" (14) he could not complain, because it would "her Clemency abuse" (16) and he would find himself rejected yet again. Begging for mercy, the speaker concludes, would lead to her unfaithfulness, so that "she at length should prove,/ Rather than beg her pitty I would sterve" (29-30). This leaves him with the problem: how should he view his mistress? The answer is that she must be "serene,/ Alike exempt from pity and from hate" (31-32) and,

as with the women in the previous poems, remain on her Neo-Platonic pedestal, so that "from her glories something I shall glean,/ For when she doth them every where dilate,/ A beam or two to me must intervene" (34-36). He concludes that the woman must "remain/ Still Great and Good" (40-41) in the Platonic sense, and that will suffice. Passion has therefore been conquered, and something more meaningful set in its place.

Last Poems

There remain three poems which, by their content, appear to have been written in the last five years of Herbert's life. One of them, "Enraging griefs," is dated October 14, 1644. In addition to three English poems, Smith also dates four Latin works to 1643-44 (xxxii).

"<An appeal to his hopes not to fail him>" is a restatement of the Platonic views of Herbert's previous poems, but in a rather more general, and hence more complex manner. The "Beauty" to which his hopes aspire here seems to be no particular woman, but rather a feminine manifestation of Philosophy as she appeared to the dreamer in Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*. The tenor of the poem is far too impersonal, even for Herbert, to be merely Platonic love poetry; it is, rather, an appeal to a higher power from great adversity, an attempt by Herbert to cope with his troubles "Platonically," as Lee believed he should have. His hopes

are described by the *persona* as "restrained" (1), and not at all commensurate with his "desire" (2), but yet he wishes to keep them free from despair, because "in what form so'er you keep intire,/ I shall the less all other comforts need" (4-5). His original hope had been to "love a Beauty which I should adore" (10) and to "assure that none could love her more" (12). This beauty, although "on low Objects it doth still express/ An equal force, while it doth rule all hearts/ Alike in the remot'st as nearest parts" (14-16) should not be thought a lesser beauty, but rather a beauty as yet unperceived properly by the observer. Again, Herbert claims that if the beauty appears dim, it is because it functions, in part, as an earthly beauty, and the earth-bound observer is unable to "see" it. This is perfectly consistent with the role of *discursus* as laid down in *De veritate* and the desire to elevate mere knowledge into right reason. When his wish to see her "full glory. . ./ An Image of that Light which is divine" (31-32) is granted, he

> . . .then should see more clear, while she did draw
> Me upwards, and the vapors 'twixt us aw:
> To open her eyes were to open mine,
> And teach me wonders which I never saw.
>
> Nor would there thus be any cause to fear,
> That while her pow'r attractive drew me near,
> The odds betwixt us should the lesser show,
> Since the most common Understandings know,
> That inequalities still most appear,
> When brought together and composed so.
> (33-42)

His hope, although it is hidden, is still alive, and will remain so, "till she forbid" (50). Even if his suit is

rejected, his hopes are so strong that "They would a Being in them selves project" (52), and would themselves become "infinities" (53).

In spite of the conventional imagery of the lover being close to rejection by the beloved, this poem, as I have stated, is far too impersonal to be about the sixty-five year old Lord Herbert's love for a woman. The imagery is philosophical rather than amatory, with references to ideal Beauty, transcendence, and knowledge expressed by words such as "study," "remark," "Understanding," and "know." In the penultimate stanza Herbert makes a startling juxtaposition: "Why may not faith and truth then join so well,/ As they may suit her rare perfections best?" (47-48). Here, Philosophy is pictured as the unity of faith and truth (*veritas rei*) to which Herbert aspired in *De religione gentilium*, and for which the philosopher needs special eyes to understand.

"A Meditation upon his Wax-Candle burning out" is one of Herbert's most profound poems, dealing with the subject of the philosopher facing death. It takes the familiar form of the kind of poetry found in works such as Quarles's *Hieroglyphikes* (1638), and indeed echoes a stanza of the last poem in that book, "Hieroglyph XV:"

> So have I seene the blazing *Tapour* shoot
> Her golden head into the feeble Ayre;
> Whose shadow-gliding Ray, spred round about,
> Makes the foule face of black-brow'd darknesse faire;
> Till at the length her wasting glory fades,
> And leaves the night to her invet'rate shades.
> (Quarles 59)

Herbert employs the same metre as Quarles, as well as a six-

line stanza:

> While thy ambitious flame doth strive for height,
> Yet burneth down, as clogged with the weight
> Of earthly parts, to which thou art combin'd.
> Thou still do'st grow more short of thy desire,
> And doth in vain unto that place aspire,
> To which thy native powers seem inclin'd.
> (1-6)

The subject and the metaphor of the candle are the same, but Herbert eschews the obvious Christian solution to the problem of mortality and looks elsewhere. Death reduces us to our "proper principles" (8), but "Though thy terrestrial part in ashes lies,/ Thy more sublime to higher Regions flies,/ The rest b'ing to the middle ways expos'd" (10-12). Part of us becomes one with the Universe,

> Others a kind of dignity obtain,
> Since thy pure Wax in its own flame consum'd,
> Volumes of incense sends, in which perfum'd,
> Thy smoak mounts where thy fire could not attain.
> (15-18)

The next stanza elaborates on this idea, somewhat in the manner of Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding mourning," which, if the analogues hold, must surely have been one of Herbert's favourite poems by Donne:

> Much more our Soules then, when they go from hence,
> And back into the Elements dispense
> All that built up our frail and earthly frame,
> Shall through each pore & passage make their breach,
> Till they with all their faculties do reach
> Unto that place from whence at first they came.
> (19-24)

The "elements" are "atoms" or "principles," as Herbert could have found them in Aristotle, and, as he himself had written earlier, "All things best by principles are known" (Smith 67).[16] Herbert uses the same image in the "Elegy for Doctor

Dunn," comparing syllables to the atoms which constitute matter. The "faculties" to which Herbert refers in l. 23 are those which he discusses in *De veritate*, and which assist us in the apprehension of objects. After this, Herbert answers the reader's enquiry whether "those poor Carkasses" (26) which are left behind are unhappy by stating that "Each in his Element their place will get" (28). This rather ungrammatical line means, presumably, that the bodies, being dissolved into elements, are now themselves "elemental," and, like the souls, have their place in eternity.

In any case, the souls, in the following stanza, are described, as they were in previous poems, as generating stars, and Herbert supplies a marginal note that this phenomenon has been observed "*In the Constellation of Cassiopeia, 1572.*" What is more, Donne writes in *An Anatomie of the World*: "And in these Constellations then arise/ New starres, and old doe vanish from our eyes" (Grierson 215), with reference to what he calls "*Disformity of parts*" (also a marginal note) in the universe. We may remember in passing that there is also an echo of Donne's *Anatomie* (at least "The First Anniversary") in the previous poem by Herbert discussed here, with female figures holding the universe together and keeping it from disintegration. For Donne this figure is Elizabeth Drury, but Herbert keeps it impersonal, and it probably stands for Philosophy.

Here, however, the souls themselves are being described acting; both Donne and Herbert are "in pursuit of an ideal--

trying to stretch language to make it embody the most exaggerated things that could be thought" (Carey 103). It is at this point that Herbert takes on his characteristic "obscurity," although readers may also say the same of Donne's "Anniversary," especially when he discusses the "disformity of parts." We live, says Herbert, in thes stars which the souls have become, and "so in them we more then once may live,/ While these materials which here did give/ Our bodies essence, and are most of use" (38-40). Then follows a reference to "the worlds common soul" (40), a concept which Herbert had developed many years before in the "Elegy for the Prince:"

> Do we then dye in him, only as we
> May in the worlds harmonique body see
> An universally diffused soul
> Move in the parts which moves not in the whole?
> (Smith 22)

And, later on in the same poem:

> And may not we deceiv'd
> Think that those powers are dead, which doe
> but sleep,
> And the world's soule doth reunited keep?
> .....
> Because that we are so
> Unto each other, whom as yet we live
> A life his love and memory doth give,
> Who was our world's soul, and to whom we are
> So reunite. . .
> (28-30; 34-37)

Prince Henry in that poem was to Herbert what Elizabeth Drury was to Donne in "The first Anniversary." In "A Meditation" the ordering principle is impersonal, in fact it is the "world-soul" itself, and here Herbert, being non-Christian, parts company from Donne, who in "The First

Anniversary" admonishes the reader to remember that "heaven keepes Soules,/ The Grave keepes Bodies" (Grierson 221). For Herbert, it is "this dross of Elements" (47) itself, originating with the body, which is refined "unto a better state" (46). Herbert does not, like Donne, consign the body to oblivion, but makes it become one with nature, and even suggests that parts of it may element themselves into the material from which the soul creates a new star. This, in effect, is Herbert's own *credo*, one which Archbishop Ussher could never have hoped to understand:

> And therefore I, who do not live and move,
> By outward sense so much as faith and love,
> Which is not in inferior Creatures found,
> May unto some immortal state pretend,
> Since by these wings I thither may ascend,
> Where faithful loving Soules with joys are crown'd.
> (55-60)

The last English poem in the book is simply titled "October 14, 1644," although it originally read "1664."[17] This is, for Herbert, a very personal poem, although one may wonder somewhat at the expression of Christian piety at the conclusion of the poem. The poem was written about a fortnight after Herbert finally decided to support the Parliamentary cause, and it is, indeed "subjective, introverted, emotional and highly personal" (Paolucci 140). In this poem the *persona* presents his heart surrounded by griefs, and shows how it struggles to overcome them, eventually succeeding. To the last Herbert seems to be echoing Donne, here, of course, in "An Hymne to God the Father." Both poems stress, in different imagery, the

strength of sin and how the heart overcomes it, and in Donne, the *persona* asks for the gift of life through Christ:

> at my death thy sonne
> Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
> And, having done that, Thou hast done,
> I feare no more.
> (Grierson 338)

In Herbert's poem, the heart takes on the "enraging Griefs" (1) in battle, and challenges them to attack him:

> Then storm't at once, I neither feel constraint
> Scorning your worst, nor suffer any taint
> Dying by multitudes, though if you strive,
> I fear my heart may thus be kept alive,
> Until it under its own burden faint.
> (11-15)

The griefs may do their worst, but even if the protagonist faints, he will, paradoxically, become stronger and more resolute; the "multitudes" may be the griefs, but it is possible that Herbert means them to represent his own resources as the *persona* finds strength in defeat (Smith 162; Paolucci 141). In the end, the besieged looks to God:

> Why then, my God, I find,
> Would have me use you to reform my mind:
> Since through his help I may from you extract
> An essence pure, so spriteful and compact,
> As it will be from grosser parts refin'd.
>
> Which b'ing again converted by his Grace
> To godly sorrow, I may both efface
> Those sins first caus'd you, and together have
> Your pow'r to kill turn'd to a power to save,
> And bring my Soule to its desired place.
> (16-25)

Yet if this looks Christian, let the reader remember Herbert's religious common notions, in which repentance is included. And let it be noted that here God is playing the part of the Neo-Platonic source of light, or the One, by

divinely alchemical means "extracting" the "essence pure" from "grosser parts." Herbert *calls* his Supreme Being "God" for convenience, and it performs many of God's functions, but so does Valentinus's gnostic demiurge. Herbert did not, by some magical process, move from Neo-Platonism to Christianity because of the tribulations of his final years, but rather to a reconciliation of religious thinking, in which Christianity had a place, but not primacy. The last poem is an eloquent eirenic statement, a fitting end to the canon, and its author's "desired place" in the intellectual history of England.

Notes to Chapter Ten

[1] Although an entry in the *Commons' Journal*, ii, 554 states that Herbert was offering money to Parliament, Lee is correct in wondering *which* Herbert was meant. See also *Lords' Journal*, V, 77 and *Historical MSS Commission Report*, V, 24.

[2] Richard, 2nd. Baron Herbert of Chirbury (d. 1655) compounded for his estates in 1648, but in 1649 was forced to allow the destruction of Montgomery Castle. He was permitted to sell the stone, but had to pay for the demolition crew himself. Richard then lived in London at Camden House. Friends of Richard close to the Lord Protector were allowed to bury him in Montgomery Church with his ancestors.

Edward, 3rd. Baron Herbert of Chirbury (d. 1676) never wavered in his loyalty to the royalist cause, and was duly rewarded in 1660. His first wife was the daughter of his grandfather's old adversary Sir Thomas Middleton, and his second, the daughter of Lord Chandos, son of Herbert's old commander in the Low Countries. At Edward's death his title passed to his brother Henry (d. 1691), the 4th. and last

Baron of the original creation.

In 1694 William and Mary conferred the title on Henry Herbert, the son of Edward's brother Henry. When he died in 1709 he was succeeded by his son Henry (d. 1738), who was the last of the second creation. In 1748 the earldom of Powis reappeared, and from 1804 onwards Chirbury was one of its subsidiary titles. For more information see Hanford 317-32.

[3] Prince Rupert of the Rhine, later Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness (1619-1682), was the third son of Frederick V and Elizabeth of Bohemia. As such, he probably deserved more consideration from Herbert than he received. Known for his impetuous valour, Rupert left England in 1646 and settled abroad. The rest of his career is not relevant here, but it should be noted that he was interested in science and painting, and is also credited with the invention of mezzotint. E.G. Warburton edited his *Memoirs* in 3 volumes (London, 1849).

[4] Beatrice Herbert (b. 1604) seems to have been Herbert's favourite child, and she inherited some of her father's talent. In the Powys Castle MSS there is a copy (in a later hand) of one of her poems, which reads as follows:

Poem by Beatrix [sic] Herbert, daughter of the 1st. Lord Herbert of Chirbury, found on a leaf of "Greenchase Counsels," one of the old chained books in Chirbury Rectory out of Montgomery Castle. It has in it the name of her uncle Henry Herbert- 1657. The spelling is very antiquated.

> Mysterious God! thy thorough piercing eye
> Views our black deeds locked in night's treasury;
> The air is thy register, where we
> With our own breath, pen our own history;
> Our thoughts are characters, to thee more clear
> Than to Man's optics, Mountains can appear--
> Who then can 'scape, when our deeds night displays,
> Our words, our breath, our thoughts, our heart betrays?
> Lord, none, except thy grace inspire us so
> Our deeds, our words, thoughts only from thee may flow.

(NLW Powis MSS [1965])

The date of Beatrice's death is not known, and she appears to have died unmarried. A sister, Florence, died young.

[5] Herbert owned extensive lands in Wales, as well as those included in the barony of Castle-Island, Kerry, and lands previously held by the Herberts of St. Julian's. He also owned several houses in London, and moved from one to the other from 1633 to 1642. Camden House was his last residence.

[6] John, 1st. Baron Byron was a royalist cavalry commander of questionable skill and much daring. At Marston Moor he was

largely responsible for the defeat of the King's forces.

[7] James Howell (1594-1666) attended Jesus College, Oxford, and became a diplomat. An avowed royalist, he was imprisoned in the Fleet from 1643 to 1651. His best-known work is a collection of letters written to imaginary people, *Epistolae Ho-elianae* (1650), but it was not published until 1892. Howell was also a satirist and travel-writer, as well as the author of *Londinopolis: an Historical Discourse or Perlustration of the City of London* (1657). His political sympathies do not seem to have affected his friendship with Lord Herbert.

[8] Mersenne died two days after Herbert in 1648. Too little is known of Herbert's connexion with Hobbes, but Rossi made some notes on a MS of Herbert's *De principiis cognitione & De principiis actionis*, translations of works by Hobbes. From these unpublished English notes the following information was obtained. The existence of this MS (NLW 5297) indicates that the contacts between the two men were not superficial, and they had several common friends, notably Gassendi, Mersenne and Descartes. Rossi is surprised that Herbert did not know Bacon, who was a friend of Hobbes. He believes that Herbert and Hobbes met between 1637 and 1640, when Hobbes was in England and Herbert was writing *Henry VIII* and the emendations to *De veritate*. From 1640 to 1648 Hobbes was in exile with the Stuarts, who were displeased with Herbert's wavering loyalty. Rossi thinks that Herbert must have borrowed Hobbes's MS before 1640, and did not return it to him until much later, perhaps as late as 1647. Hobbes read *De veritate* in Paris, as his letter to Newcastle indicates. Although Hobbes praises the book, he does not give it an endorsement. Hobbes favoured absolute monarchy, which for Herbert was an encroachment on the rights of the nobility. Hobbes believed that natural religion and revelation were independent sources of faith, but Herbert says that revelation is controlled by religious ideas imprinted on the mind. Hobbes always means *Christianity* when he mentions religion. Unlike Hobbes, Herbert was uninterested in mathematics or the physical sciences, and was not a political theorist.

[9] Herbert's grandson was directed by the will to see that all Herbert's books were taken from Camden House to Montgomery Castle. As Richard Herbert was having problems with the castle, Sir Henry Herbert came into possession of the Latin books, and Selden had some trouble getting him to transfer them to Jesus College. Lee prints a letter from Selden to Sir Henry (160 n.1):

NOBLE SIR,-- This gentleman, Mr. Williams, comes from Dr. Maunsell, head of Jesus College, in Oxford, about the legacy of books made to them by my Lord Herbert of Chirbury. I presume he will take just care of the safe delivery of them, if he shall receive them from your hand, which I desire he

may, together with the catalogue, to take a copy of it and return it again. Sir, I ever am,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

J. SELDEN.

November 1, 1648, *White Friars*.
The Hon. Sir HENRY HERBERT, Knight.

[10] Herbert's will, which unfortunately I have not seen, contains a statement of his religious beliefs in 1648. Lee calls it an "interesting document" (159) and it is extremely long. It is held at Somerset House (MS Essex 138).

[11] James Ussher (1581-1656) was Archbishop of Armagh from 1625, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1599 he started to make a systematic reading of patristic writings, spending eighteen years on the task, and in 1615 became Vice-Chancellor of Trinity, during which time he made a continuation of John Jewel's history of the Western church. Ussher supported Laud, and was in England during the Irish rebellion, in which he lost everything except his library. In 1645-6 Ussher was in Wales, where he may have met Herbert. Lee states (159) that the two were intimate, but Rossi, as noted, disagrees. Ussher's *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (1639) so impressed Cardinal Richelieu that he offered its author asylum in France, which was tactfully declined. Ussher is best-known for having mathematically deduced that God created the world in 4004 B.C. Although Ussher was "a man of incomparable learning and great sincerity," he was also rather naive, and "seems not to have comprehended fully the political ramifications of his period" (Riddell 421).

[12] It will be remembered that Herbert met Buckingham at Lady Stanhope's house. Catherine Stanhope (d. 1636) was the daughter of Lord Hastings, and in 1605 she married Philip, Lord Stanhope. In 1628 he became Earl of Chesterfield, ancestor of Johnson's would-be-patron through his son Henry.

[13] *Reddor ut herbae* was Herbert's own anagram on EDWARD HERBERT; making due allowance for the non-existence of "w" in Latin, Herbert uses the Italian form of his first name. Smith (163) thinks that Herbert's own Latin epitaph may have been written in Italy, where he wrote "In tumulum domini *Francisci Vere*." The Latin epitaph runs this:

Epitaphium in Anagramma nominis sui,

Reddor ut herbæ.

Quas turgens flos mane decet, quas aruit omnes
Una dies, quas morte cita, nova vita sequetur;
Non umquam moritura tamen, sic *Reddor ut herbae*.
(Smith 87)

An interesting point about this epitaph is that it flatly contradicts the Biblical notion that "all flesh is grass." We may translate the anagram thus: "I am returning as grass," which suggests that rather than withering, Herbert's flesh is springing up anew. In none of his epitaphs, including the one written by Stanhope, does any Christian imagery appear.

[14] Another influence which might be mentioned is Castiglione, who writes in *The Courtier* that "Beautie is the true Monument and spoile of the victory of the soule, when she with heavenly influence beareth rule over material and grosse nature, and with her light overcometh the darknesse of the body" (Castiglione, tr. Hoby. Maclean 459 n.7)

[15] Boethius describes Philosophy, who drives away the Muses of poetry and calls them 'sluts,' as "of awe-inspiring appearance, her eyes burning and keen beyond the usual power of men" (35). It is interesting to note that on Philosophy's skirt there was a design of embroidered Greek letters (and) with a "ladder of steps. . .from the lower to the higher letter" (36). stands for practical philosophy and for speculative philosophy.

[16] The exact reference is to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, 1013-14 (McKeon 753-54).

[17] Smith emended '1664' to '1644' (162n).

Appendix I: Herbert's Latin Poetry

Lord Herbert wrote a fair amount of Latin poetry, although not as much as his brother George. Much of it takes the form of short epigrams or epitaphs, although there are several philosophical poems, and a lengthy verse address to his nephews. which is a redaction of the religious common notions. Only Smith has commented on the Latin poetry, and there are no translations of it except one of "De vita humana philosophica disquisitio" in Shuttleworth's edition of the *Autobiography* (136-37). The latter text derives from the 1645 and 1656 editions of *De causis errorum*. "De vita celesti" is also included by Smith in his edition of Herbert's poems, although Sir Henry Herbert did not print it. An abridged version of this poem, however, was inserted into the *Autobiography* by Herbert.

Smith is by and large fair to Herbert's Latin verse, although he perhaps underestimates the importance of the three longer poems. Herbert's Latin, he notes, "is not free from the solecisms common in verse of the time" (xxii), and there are frequent odd constructions and obscure words. As the same characteristics are common in Herbert's Latin prose, we may assume that his verse was not ghost-written by Thomas Master, and that the idiosyncracies are all his own! Smith finds "De vita" rather "hard to follow," but a knowledge of Herbert's philosophy, if not his Latin prosody, solves that particular problem. He praises the poem on the shovelboard,

the epitaph on Dr. Master, and "Euryale Moerens," which, he says, "are impressive in their accumulation of gloomy images" (xxiii). Indeed, there is little else in the last-named poem:

> Spelæorum inferna ducentium horrores sacri,
> Infaustæ stryges, bubulantia stygiæ avis omina,
> Rauci stridores, torvorum colla anguium sibila,
> Prodigalium monstrorum exerta passim capita
> (93)

De vita humana philosophica disquisitio

Smith dates this poem to 1643, but adds "perhaps much earlier" (xxxii).[1] Herbert shortened the title to "Vita" in the *Autobiography*.

The poem may be summarised as follows. The first section (l. 1-6) describes the beginning of life, "where a formative impulse longed to realise its promise" (*Procurasse suas Dotes Ubi Plastica Virtus/ Gestiet*), after which, "forces acting together. . .cause the whole foetus to accustom itself to life in safety." Herbert then shows the mental and physical growth of the foetus, "creating no mean shelter for the mind," which has come down from heaven, and which "brought the whole slothful mass into order and made it useful" (l. 7-13). The third part of the poem (l. 14-24) deals with the peregrinations of the soul, which "wanders about with its own special movement and perceives the laws and eternal principles of the universe." The soul, Herbert says, was allowed to see how "the greatest divinity" busied

itself with the harmonious regulation of the workings of the universe, "and gave esay access to one pouring out holy prayers and supplications." The conclusion (l. 24-30) is the fourth stage of development, which Shuttleworth calls "elliptical" because it "seems to reiterate Herbert's known doubts about the validity of one religion to the exclusion of others" (136). Indeed, this is what the final lines seem to suggest:

> *Quid in modo QUARTA sequatur*
> *Sordibus excussis cum mens jam purior instat,*
> *Et nova successit melioris Conscia fati*
> *Spes superis haerens toto lustratq; Caelo.*
> *Et ses sancto demittit Numen Amori;*
> *Traditur aeterne hec fallax tessera Vitae,*
> *Cumq; Deo licuit non uno jure pacisci.*
>
> [Thus, the fourth stage follows, when the mind, baseness cast out, now eagerly follows a purer course and there ensues a new hope, conscious of a better fate, clinging to the spiritual things and enlightened by Heaven. And the Divine Power descends to conjoin holy love; this false token of life is handed over universally; God is not bound by one law alone.] (Shuttleworth 136)

This last section deserves attention not so much for the quality of the verse, which is a little heavy, but for its reiteration of Herbert's eirenic beliefs. Directly following the poem he explains that "since my coming into this world my soule hath formed or produced certaine Facultyes. . .Hope, Faith, Love, and Joy." These faculties, he continues, "never rest or fix upon any Transitory or perishing Object in this world," but "acquiesce finally onely in the Perfect, Eternal and Infinite." He concludes by noting that although the faculties operate in the world, their proper object "is God onely upon whome Faith, Hope and Love were never placed in

vayne" (13). But the "God" is not the Christian God; it is the *Numen* of his poem, or Godhead. The importance of the faculties and their link with the Divine is, moreover, attested to by the opening of Herbert's will, where he speaks of "my rational soul, with all its divine faculties, being, understanding, will, hope, faith, love, and joy" (Lee xxix).

Herbert's Latin poetry, as a whole, does not display the variety of forms to be found in that of his brother George. But, as Smith observes, they differ from George Herbert's verse because they contain "no prettinesses or petty remininscences of the classical poets" (xxii). The Latin poems are erudite, complex, and sometimes very subtle, made so by the original mind of the poet and the philosophical constraints which informed it.

Appendix 2: Herbert on Education

Herbert did not write a treatise on education, but it is clear from his long digression in the *Autobiography* and the Latin poem addressed to his heirs that it was a serious concern. We may also remind the reader that Herbert was in correspondence with, and may have met Jan Comenius.[1]

After stating in the *Autobiography* that he wishes to "give some observations concerning ordinary Education; even from the first Infancy untill the departure from the University" (17), Herbert launches into a discussion of

childhood ailments and their cures. He recognises the hereditary nature of many diseases, and suggests that nurses be given medicine in advance, so that their milk can provide prevention. "Though I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases," he modestly concludes, "[I] shall leave them to the Expert Physitian" (18).

Early childhood education, Herbert says, must be carefully planned. Children should have their own attendants who must concern themselves with the correcting of vice; "neither the Master should Correct him for faults of his manners nor his Governor for faults in his Learning." Education at school, Herbert believes, is for the teaching of knowledge, not values. He recommends Comenius as a beginning author for children, and says that Greek should be learned before Latin as it is older, and just as easy.The "governor" must accompany the student as far as university, "it being the fraile nature of youths as they growe to ripenes in Age to bee more Capable of doing ill" (19). Gentlemen, Herbert continues, should not stay in university as long as those who wish to study law or science, because they are taking up space and wasting the time of tutors, who "comonly spend much tyme in teaching them the subtilityes of Logicke," which gentlemen put to little use. He approves, however, of "those parts of Logicke which teache men to deduce their proofes from firme and undoubted principles and show men to distinguishe betwixt truth and Falshood."

He recommends Plato and Aristotle, as well as Severinus

Danus's *Idea medicinae philosophicae*, and the works of Patrizi and Telesio,[8] the latter because they "have examined and controverted the ordinary peripateticke Doctrine" (20). This may all be done in a year or so, plus six months for logic, "for I am Confident a man may have quickly more than he needes."Further studies should include Geography, Political Studies, Religion, Astronomy, Arithmetic and Science, especially medicine (21-24).

Still, the education of the gentleman is not complete, for he needs "morall vertues and Theologicall learning" as well. Here, the usual broad-based eirenic approach, based on *De veritate*, is recommended:

> since Christians and Heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of Vertues It would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his Moralls hath given as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonique, Stoiques, and other Philosophers, and in generall by the Christian Church as well as all Nations in the World whatsoever, They being Doctrines imprinted in the soule in its first Originall and Contayning the Principall and first notices by which man may attaine his happines here or hereafter, there being noe man that is given to Vice That doth not finde much Opposition both in his owne Conscience and in the Relligion and Lawe as taught elsewhere, And this I dare say That a vertuous man may not onely goe securely throughall the Relligions but all the Lawes in the world and whatsoever obstructions he meete obtayne both an Jnward peace and outward wellcome among all with whome hee shall negotiate or Converse. (24)

Of course, it is easy to recognise in this eloquent passage some of the ideas from *De religione gentilium*, with references to "doctrines imprinted on the soule," and the repetition of the eirenic vision. In the intellectual scope

of the proposed areas of study, some affilation with Comenius's Pansophism may be detected, although Herbert, irritatingly, does not enlarge further.

Herbert now returns once more to his hypothetical gentleman. He adds Rhetoric to the list of subjects, but stipulates that by it he means also "public speaking," as we would term it, not just elegant writing. If we do not know how to use the various tropes and figures, he asserts, we are just acquiring affectations. "Speake common things ingeniously or wittily," he advises, "there being noe litle Vigor and Force added to words when they are delivered in a Neate and fine way and somewhat out of the Ordinary Rode" (28). Specific authors recommended here are Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, although care must be taken with the last two, "Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious and Quintilian too short and Concise" (29).

Another short passage on Religion follows, in which Herbert restates yet again the five religious common notions, and he cites various criticisms of established religion which he had written in his books at various times. "Either I must studye Contraversie in all Languages Countryes and Times which were an Jnfinite and impossible Labour," he remarks, "or otherwise that I must insist cheifly upon these five Catholique poynts as the most knowne and generally confessed meanes of coming to God" (30).

Next Herbert passes on to activities generally associated with Renaissance gentlemen. He recommends riding,

fencing, and dancing, although he remarks that he never found the last as relaxing as "Acquiring of some Art or Science more usefull" (31). Dancing is good exercise, however, but riding is better; Herbert goes into details about how to fight duels on horseback (33-4) and how to look after horses during wartime. He recommends Pluvinel's *L'instruction du Roy en l'exercise de monter a cheval* (1625), edited by his friend Menou and later translated by the Duke of Newcastle.[35] Swimming is useful, but Herbert concedes that he himself cannot swim (33), and that his mother "heard of more drowned than saved by it." Jumping and archery are excellent, and Herbert even claims, anachronistically but perhaps with some truth, that an archer could shoot and hit twice as fast as a musketeer. Hunting, hawking and horseracing, however, are useless pastimes, although he allows "a little bowling soe that the Company bee choice and good." Dice and cards are condemned, and he leaves his audience with an admonition to read della Casa's *Galateo* and Guazzo's *La civile conversazione*.[4] He then adds, as a side-thought, that what is really important is a good understanding with one's children, neighbours, tenants and servants, and that he will "make a litle Treatise concerning these poynts" (36).

Appendix 3: A Dialogue between a Tutor and his Pupil

There is no agreement between Herbert scholars about this work. To come to such an agreement, a full examination would have to be carried out, and this may be something for a future project, although for the moment I shall merely outline its genesis and some of the arguments on both sides. Rossi argues that the work is not by Herbert, but against him must be placed the authority of Hutcheson and Aaron, as well as that of Gawlick, the only modern editor of the work. Bedford states that the book "would seem to be, at any rate, an unquestionably Herbertian production" (189).

The *Dialogue* appeared in print, anonymously edited, in 1768. Its editor declared that because of obvious internal evidence he had concluded that the book was by Herbert and could be by no-one else. Rossi contradicts this view. First, he says, the work is a serious philosophical treatise, and should therefore have been in Latin, given the fact that Herbert usually employed that language. Secondly, there is no trace or mention of the work in Herbert's own manuscripts or letters. Thirdly, there is no sign of Herbert's handwriting on the extant MS of the work. Fourthly, Rossi argues that Herbert would not have had the time to write such a book in 1645, assuming by its content that it is a late work. Lastly, the Tutor's views are even more extreme than those in *De religione gentilium* (Rossi III, 531-33). Rossi also notes that the attribution to Herbert was made by

Abednego Seller (1646-1705), an ex-student of Lincoln College, Oxford, vicar of Plymouth and author of *An Infallible Way to Contentment in the midst of Publick and Personal Calamities* (1679). Seller, whom the anonymous editor credits with the discovery of the MS, was also a notable antiquarian who left several hundred coins and some valuable MSS (including one by William of Malmesbury) to the Bodleian Library. This information could lead to speculation as to whether Seller himself, perhaps, wrote the work, but the editor does not tell the whole story, and even Rossi could not establish a connexion between the Herbert family and Seller.

The *Dialogue* contains material and ideas from *De religione gentilium* and *Religio laici*, and also repeats the concept of plastic virtue from *De veritate* (17). The Tutor has great contempt for the priesthood, and explains how the priests expanded their powers by inventing ceremonies and rites (94-95). Yet he sometimes tells the Pupil to put questions directly to the priests. It is unfortunate that Rossi offers few insights into the work, other than to observe its anti-clerical vehemence, but this in itself is not proof that Herbert did not write it. The early editor, moreover, was quite correct in pointing out that some passages seemed to be lifted *verbatim* from Herbert's Latin works and translated. Furthermore, if Herbert had an awareness of the increasing familiarity of ordinary literate people with religious topics, his publishing a book in

dialogue form (as did Plato, Joseph Butler, Berkeley and others) and in English may have been an attempt to widen his readership. The English *Religio laici* attests to this conclusion, as do books on similar topics by Herbert's contemporaries, such as Lord Brooke's *The Nature of Truth* (1647) and Viscount Falkland's *Discourse on Infallibility* (1651).[5] It may not be out of place to remind readers that Descartes also used the vernacular, as did Bacon and Galileo.

Appendix 4: The Autobiography

It may seem a little superfluous to discuss further a book that has been mentioned so many times, but the *Autobiography* merits some formal discussion within its genre, and I would like to examine it further.

Herbert's is one of the earliest autobiographies in English, although semi-autobiographical mystical works exist, such as those by Margery Kempe and Richard Rolle of Hampole. Other autobiographical works outside England include Augustine's *Confessions*, Abelard's *Historia calamitatum* and Henry Suso's *Dieners Leben*. Closer to Herbert's own time, moreover, we have Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography*, Montaigne's *Essays*, and Cardano's *De vita propria* (1576),[6] the last an important but rather neglected work.

Agnes Heller describes Cardano's work as being the product of "a struggling nature" (239), and Delaney believes that it was an important source of inspiration for Herbert

(7). *De vita propria* did not appear until after 1643, and this late date makes it even more likely that Herbert drew upon it. Delaney notes:

> In fascination with himself [Herbert] was the equal of Cardano (whom he probably read): he shared the intellectual openness of Montaigne, and the forceful unmediated egotism of Cellini. Unfortunately, despite his intelligence and his advanced philosophical thinking, Herbert was too invincibly complacent to produce an autobiography which advanced the art of introspection. (16)

Cardano selected that material from his life which showed where "the destinies of the individual and the world meet," as Heller puts it (239). Montaigne, on the other hand, makes the external internal, and performs scientific analysis on himself, altogether more subjective than either Cardano or Herbert, and more objective at the same time. This is because Montaigne, unlike the middle-class Cardano, was a significant figure who operated within "an interesting world" (Heller 241).

Herbert is unlike either Montaigne or Cardano, because his work is so lacking in self-analysis. Yet he manages, at the same time, to convey a person not unattractive, although egotistical in the extreme, but nevertheless a significant person, above all a *public* figure; this is, of course, exactly opposite to Montaigne. "I am convinced," writes Delaney,

> that no simple, or direct connection can be demonstrated between disparate manifestations of 'individuality'; between, say, the decision of a Dürer to paint his own portrait and the decision of an Herbert of Cherbury to write his autobiography. (168)

English autobiography, moreover, he continues, shows, in any case, little interest in self-analysis, and was not written for that self-expression which is so obvious in Cellini. Although Delaney does not feel that the rise of autobiography in the seventeenth century depended on the cultural habits of the writer's class, he notes, with a nod to Stone, that there was a concern with social status, and there are more than mere traces of this concern in Herbert, who was worried about the loss of good things from the previous age.

The kind of "Renaissance individualism" (Delaney 167) which breathed through the pages of Cellini or Cardano was lacking in English works, and the personalities of the authors, while they are there, are rather one-sided. For example, the autobiography of Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1617) is entirely factual, telling readers what he did, not what he was, and even that of the much more flamboyant Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), the *Private Memoirs* (1628) is not what one would think it should be. This last was the product of an immensely learned and witty man, but Delaney calls it a "sentimentalized autobiography of youth" (123) and Bush dismisses it as little more than "a vindication of [his late wife] Venetia Stanley" (241).

On the other hand, it must be remembered that towards the end of the seventeenth century the spiritual autobiography (which one may also term one-dimensional) really came into its own, especially in the hands of men and women involved with the Puritan movement. A fine example of

this kind of writing, which would probably have horrified Lord Herbert, is *The Life of the Reverend Mr. George Trosse*, written in about 1692 and "published Posthumously according to his Order" and termed by its modern editors as "perhaps excelling [Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*] in the handling of circumstantial detail" (1). Trosse claims that "going abroad into a *tempting World*, with a *blind Mind*, a *foolish Fancy*, and a *graceless Heart*, without any considerable Experience of *Humane Affairs*," he was "easily led into *great Sins* and *dangerous Snares*" (49). This sort of writing is at an opposite pole to Herbert.[7]

What, then, *is* Herbert's *Autobiography*? Is it the "history of the formation of a personality," or is it, "to the extent that it describes how experiences educate a human being and how through those experiences he shapes himself. . .a *Bildungsroman*"? (Heller 232). Is it, perhaps, Herbert's "brave attempt to disguise [a] sense of failure from himself and his posterity" (Bottrall 81), with the result that the author only deceived himself? Is it what Bush calls "a naive appeal to the traditional code of chivalry" (241) or simply "flamboyant self-dramatization" (Delaney 122)? The verdict pronounced by Sir Sidney Lee was that Herbert was "no common liar. . .with plausible amiability he suppresses the truth rather than commits deliberate perjury" (xviii-ix) and he dismisses the defence that the elderly Herbert might have had a less than perfect memory. By their very nature, autobiographies become public documents, exposing their

subjects to the scrutiny of readers, or at least revealing those aspects of themselves which the writers choose to reveal to their readers. The authors then become open to charges of exaggeration, dissimulation or just plain lying or misinterpretation. These charges are often based on preconceived notions or ideas existing in the minds of readers, without regard to the authors' belief-systems or even bearing in mind the fact that honesty with oneself may not correspond to the readers' ideas of that virtue. Thus readers of Kaiser Wilhelm II's *Aus meinem Leben* are unlikely, in the long run, to try and see events, actions and people *through the eyes of the author*. The same is true for readers of Herbert, especially after they have read Sidney Lee's introduction to the *Autobiography*, or have even laughed with Horace Walpole over the book's first forty pages. Yet in his own mind, Herbert was an important public figure, and his family was a significant family; its deeds in general, and his in particular, needed to be extolled in the face of an age where such things as the Herberts had achieved seemed to be losing their importance. Yet as Cicero is often censured for his continual mention of his own one-year consulship, so Herbert, who achieved so much more as a purely political figure, is censured for his conceit and exaggerations. By the same token, it may be said that all the surmises and judgments of modern writers on the *Autobiography* contain some measure of truth, and that the "true" purpose of Herbert's *Autobiography*, unlike those of Montaigne, Cardano, or Digby,

may never be fully comprehended, because Herbert himself did not know, and he died before completing it. We do not know, even granting his inordinate vanity, whether Herbert would have published it or not.

The tendency of most critics is to think of Herbert as a philosopher, not as a man of the world. What is acceptable in a Kenelm Digby, for example, is not acceptable in a Herbert, because readers, while they complain of "one-dimensional" biographies, are happier when a subject is categorised, and do not *wish* to see that subject as Jonson saw Herbert, "so many men." Digby, who made few serious contributions to seventeenth-century intellectual history, is forgiven the canonization of his Venetia, but Lord Herbert, the brother of George Herbert, is not. He should have produced a properly serious spiritual autobiography, not a tale of blood and thunder interlaced with observations about his sweet-smelling sweat and his attraction to other people's wives.

It is eternally to the credit of Herbert's first editor, Horace Walpole, that he never criticised the *Autobiography* for not being what it never set out to be. Walpole, no Herbert-worshipper, fairly sums up his subject and the book:

> As a publick Minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when his Prince disgraced it. . .These busy scenes were blended with and terminated by philosophical inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality with a succession of imployments which wou'd better become him. Valour and military activity in youth; business of state in middle age; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the

> calmer scenes of closing life: This was Lord Herbert. (A_{∞})

For those who want philosophy, the books are available. It would have served little purpose for Herbert to have detailed the complexities of his system in his *Autobiography*, and there is little to suggest that his immediate posterity would have been very interested anyway. He wrote the work, as he says, "under obligation of speaking to those so near me" (1), not for the edification of future ages. As Sir Lucius Carey wrote of Donne, so too we may say of Herbert, "His age saw visions, though his youth dream'd dreames" (Grierson 351).

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I was able to make only limited use of MS copies of Herbert's works, specifically those listed in the Chapter Notes for Chapter Four, *De veritate*, and the MS copy of Herbert's poem "The Idea." These were in the Powys Collection at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth. Others, which I did not see, are at the British Library and the Public Record Office, London.

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