

Studies in the Works of Thomas Fuller

E. Cope

Royal Holloway College

Masters

ProQuest Number: 10096357

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10096357

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



## Studies in the Works of Thomas Fuller

This thesis is an attempt to supply a critical assessment of Thomas Fuller's achievement as a man of letters. Biographical facts have therefore been used merely to provide the background for an appreciation of his literary qualities. The object has been to collect for the evaluation of Fuller as a scholar and man of letters more material than has previously been assembled for that purpose. In particular

### STUDIES IN THE WORKS OF THOMAS FULLER

(1) The aims, qualities and characteristics of Fuller as a learned writer and religious and devotional writer have been investigated.

#### Summary

(2) Fuller's methods of compilation and standards of historical scholarship have been discussed against the background of Stuart theory and practice:

(3) His methods of research as an antiquary have been assessed. This has necessitated a new survey of the antiquarian movement preceding Fuller - a survey which has shed interesting light on the structure of The Worthies. These investigations have made it possible to supplement the only major treatment of one of Fuller's works, W.H. Haughton's The Formation of Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane States", by demonstrating the possible influence of Fuller's pulpit

## Studies in the Works of Thomas Fuller

This thesis is an attempt to supply a critical assessment of Thomas Fuller's achievement as a man of letters. Biographical facts have therefore been used merely to provide the background for an appreciation of his literary qualities. The object has been to collect for the evaluation of Fuller as a scholar and man of letters more material than has previously been assembled for that purpose. In particular

(a) the aims, quality and affiliations of Fuller as a sacred orator and religious and devotional writer have been investigated.

(b) Fuller's methods of compilation and standards of historical scholarship have been discussed against the background of Stuart theory and practice:

(c) his methods of research as an antiquary have been assessed. This has necessitated a new survey of the antiquarian movement preceding Fuller - a survey which has shed interesting light on the structure of The Worthies. These investigations have made it possible to supplement the only major treatment of one of Fuller's works, W.M.Houghton's The Formation of Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane States", by demonstrating the possible influence of Fuller's pulpit

technique on his characters and essays, and by stressing the inter-relationship of biography and didactic prose.

In addition to these major investigations, it has proved possible to shed light on two lesser points:-

- (a) the link between Fuller and Richard Bernard
- (b) certain critical exaggerations current re Good Thoughts in Worse Times and The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience.

This study supports the view that Fuller's works have artistry and bear the stamp of a distinctive literary personality. In every major context whatever is characteristic in Fuller's ordonnance and expression has been studied, and in the Conclusion an attempt has been made to define anew the nature of his wit and style with reference to such contemporary trends as emblem-writing.

COPE

STUDIES IN THE WORKS  
OF THOMAS FULLER

## Table of Contents

	Page
<u>Chapter I.</u> <u>Life and Reputation</u> ...    ...    ...	1
<u>Chapter II.</u> <u>The Sermons: A Consideration of Fuller's</u> <u>Pulpit Oratory..</u> ...    ...    ...	28
<u>Chapter III.</u> <u>The Historie of the Holy Warre</u> ...	91
Appendix: <u>A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine</u>	159
<u>Chapter IV.</u> <u>The Holy and Profane States</u> ...    ...	170
Appendix: <u>Abel Redeivus</u> ...    ...	216
<u>Chapter V.</u> <u>Certain Minor Works</u> ...    ...    ...	227
<u>Good Thoughts in Bad Times</u>	
<u>Good Thoughts in Worse Times</u>	
<u>Mixt Contemplations in Better Times</u>	
<u>The Cause and Cure of a Wounded</u> <u>Conscience</u>	
<u>Chapter VI.</u> <u>The History of the Worthies of England</u>	277
Appendix: <u>List of Sources</u> ...    ...	327
<u>Chapter VII.</u> <u>Conclusion: Fuller and Seventeenth</u> <u>Century Wit.</u> ...    ...    ...    ...	344
<u>List of Works Consulted</u> ...    ...    ...    ...	366

### Prefatory Note

The Church History of Britain has been omitted from detailed consideration in this thesis. The existing books on Fuller devote considerable attention to the work: to go beyond what has already been written would be unduly to enlarge this study. In addition, the Church History presents special problems, since, unlike The Historie of the Holy Warre, it has value as a primary source. Some purely historical treatment of its accuracy and authenticity would therefore be necessary. For these reasons the work has not here been given detailed treatment, though frequent reference has been made to it throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER I

Life and Reputation



## CHAPTER I

Thomas Fuller, Master of Arts of Sidney College, Cambridge, first attempted to win literary fame as a poet. The twenty-three year old curate of S. Bene't's put out in 1631 an elegant pocket volume entitled Dauids Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance. Heavie Punishment. If this narrative poem had been distinguished by even slight poetic merit it would have sold well, for verses on religious themes found a ready market. The pious, however, proved as unresponsive as the poetry lovers. No second edition was called for, and Fuller's poetic aspirations were effectively quenched. Yet that a young Cambridge divine should have made this attempt was natural. The University was a breeding ground for poets, and the students, inspired by the example of the Fletchers, Quarles, Wither and Herbert, assiduously cultivated verse. They celebrated the discovery of a book in the maw of a codfish<sup>1</sup> or the birth of an infant princess,<sup>2</sup> and the range included

---

(1) The Wits of the University made themselves merry thereat, one making a long Copy of Verses there-on, whereof this Dystick, I remember, If Fishes thus do bring us Books, then we May hope to equal Bodlyes Library. (The Worthies, Glouc. p.359).

(2) The birth of Princess Mary was celebrated in a collection of University poems, Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli et Mariae, 1631. Fuller has a contribution, p.7.



jingles in English and stately complimentary verse in Latin. Fuller, in selecting a Biblical theme, was following the example of several illustrious Cambridge predecessors in the ministry. Dauids Hainous Sinne in its stanza form, a variant of the Spenserian<sup>1</sup>, and its easy fluency, is reminiscent of the work of the Fletchers. The cloying intimacy of the portrayal of God and Christ<sup>2</sup> has something of the enervated sentimentality of Giles at his worst. But although Fuller's taste causes him to enjoy the ease and decorative sweetness of the Spenserians, his own temperament and lack of genuine poetic faculty leads to unexpected results. A prosaic sentiment or pungently commonplace word destroys the carefully created "beauty" of many stanzas. It is no inspired poet, but the practical young divine, who exclaims:

"Ah happy age, when Ladies learn't to bake,  
And when Kings Daughters knew to knead a cake;"<sup>3</sup>

- 
- (1) The stanza consists of seven lines of five feet, riming ababccc. Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island, 1633, has the same rime scheme, but the seventh line is an Alexandrine. He employs a stanza identical with Fuller's in his complimentary verses Upon the Contemplations of the Bishop of Exeter. The Poems, ed. Grosart, 1869, Vol. III, pp.244-5. Fuller may have devised the stanza himself, but it is very possible that he had seen Fletcher's verses in M.S.
- (2) See, for example, section two of the poem, entitled Dauids Heartie Repentance, Stanza 12.
- "And all perfum'd his Father with the smell,  
Whereat his smoothed face most sweetly smil'd,  
And hugging in his arms his dearest child,  
Return'd these welcome words, with voyce most milde."
- (3) Section three, Dauids Heavie Punishment, Stanza 11.

and though a true Spenserian might have written,

"That heavenly voyce to heare, I more desire,  
Than Syren's sweetest songs, than musicke made  
By Philomele chiefe of the winged quire;"<sup>1</sup>

it is a humorist who follows the lines with a reference to the "hackney Dolphin" of Arion. These very incongruities effect a projection of personality, so that this unsuccessful first work has at least the merit of conveying some flavour of individuality. The most striking incongruity is undoubtedly Fuller's lavish use of the undergraduate pun in the poem, with results which Hood himself might have envied. Addison, writing in the Spectator, was to say of Cambridge that it had been "formerly very much Infested with Punnings;"<sup>2</sup> even the fastidious Lady of Christ's had been bitten and had quibbled in his elegies on Hobson, the University Carrier:

"Rest, that gives all men life, gave him his death,  
And too much breathing put him out of breath;  
Nor were it contradiction to affirm  
Too long vacation hastened on his term."<sup>3</sup>

The exchange of undergraduate witticisms intensified what must have been a fundamental habit of mind in Fuller: he played on words to the end of his life, but nowhere more persistently than in this first poem: Joab is reproached for

- (1) David's Heartie Repentance, Stanza 26.  
 (2) The Spectator, Thurs. May 10th, 1711, No. LXI.  
 (3) Milton: Poetical Works, Ed. Masson, 1874, Vol. II,  
 p.415.

conniving at the killing of Uriah:

"Hee that to summe the people of the land  
Withstood the King, now with the King doth stand  
Too buxome for to finish his command."<sup>1</sup>

Absolom's mule rejoices to be

"rid of him, that rid on her before."<sup>2</sup>

This incongruous combination of sweetness and pungency, piety and juvenile humour, was later to deceive certain enthusiasts, who were to find in Fuller's verse something of the wit of the metaphysicals without their obscurity or strong lines.<sup>3</sup>

Though the experiments of the metaphysicals, however, may have done something to licence Fuller's word play, there is no comparison between the penetrating wit of Donne and this ebullient quibbling. Fuller's own contemporaries rejected his verse, and he himself accepted the judgment recorded by the

(1) David's Hainous Sinne, Stanza 45.

(2) David's Heavie Punishment, Stanza 45.

(3) Oldys notes that Fuller's "versification is more compact or limited, and usually flows with smoother cadence than that of some riper wits of great name in those days." Biographia Britannica, 1750 Vol. III, p.2050, footnote B. Bailey firmly places Fuller with the metaphysicals. "The title-page at once gives Fuller a place amongst the quaint poets of that quaint age - Johnson's "metaphysical" class - which may be said to have begun with Lyly, culminated in Donne, and closed with Cowley. We shall see that Fuller was thoroughly imbued with the mannerisms and spirit of this school of poets"...John Eglington Bailey: The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1874 (referred to throughout as the Life), p.125.

lack of sales, commenting wryly in The Holy and Profane States from his own experience, that music and poetry are "both excellent sauce, but they have liv'd and died poore that made them their meat."<sup>1</sup> He retained a fondness for his own versifying faculty, and insisted on garnishing the solid repasts he prepared of history, geography and antiquarian lore with the sauce of his poetry, but it was only under the extraordinary excitement of the Restoration that he again burst forth into a full scale composition, A Panegyrick to His Majesty, on His Happy Return, Grosart, whose idolatry caused him to undertake (for private circulation) a collected edition of Fuller's verse, declares that he "kept singing unto the end."<sup>2</sup> When we read the eulogy of Charles,

"Civil the citizens you entertain'd  
As if, in London born, y'ad there remain'd,"

we may rejoice that the singing was so intermittent.

After this false start Fuller refrained for eight years from venturing into print. Instead he quietly fulfilled his ministerial duties at S. Bene't's, Cambridge until 1633, and after 1634 at Broadwindsor, Dorset, to which living he had been presented by his uncle, Bishop Davenant. This period of obscurity and domesticity - he married Eleanor Grove, daughter of the M.P. for Shaftesbury, in 1637 -, was valuable, inasmuch

---

(1) The Holy State, 1642, p.74.

(2) Alexander Grosart; The Poems--of Thomas Fuller, 1868. Introduction, p.17.



as it enabled him to discover wherein his real talents lay, and develop those interests which were to find literary fulfilment ten and twenty years later. His success in sermon composition must have gone far towards convincing him that prose was his medium; his contact with sailors - Broadwindsor was only eight miles inland - country folk and local gentry must have enriched his knowledge of humanity, widening his experience which had been until then restricted to his native village of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, and the University town where he had lived since he was thirteen. When at the age of thirty he was ready for a second attempt to win literary recognition, he was fully aware of his own potentialities and the nature of his talents and interests. He produced in 1639 his Historie of the Holy Warre, an account of the Crusades which catered for, without pandering to, popular taste. After his successful appearance Fuller could look forward to a dual career as divine and man of letters.

The work which is most perfectly adjusted to these two roles is The Holy and Profane States, published 1642, for this collection of characters, essays and biographies, for all its apparent literary affinities, comprises a comprehensive conduct book, clearly didactic in purpose.<sup>1</sup> Fuller wrote the

---

(1) It is significant that the occupants of Little Gidding made transcripts of the work, obviously impressed by its instructive value. The discovery of these MS. transcripts caused the work to be attributed at one time to Nicholas Ferrar. See Bailey, Life, p.228-230.

work largely in London, for some time in 1640-41 he had removed to the capital and had received in 1642 the appointment of minister at S. Mary Savoy. His literary ambitions and the desire for further ecclesiastical preferment (perhaps whetted by his attendance at the notorious Canterbury convocation of 1640) would sufficiently account for the move from Breadwindsor; it is, however, permissible to surmise that his wife's death in 1641, after giving birth to their only child John, might have unsettled him and confirmed him in his decision to seek a London pulpit. Personal success as a city preacher and increasing literary fame followed the removal, but Fuller was given scant time to enjoy these benefits. Scarcely a year after the publication of The Holy and Profane States events forced him to flee from London and join the King at Oxford. He had been one of the last Royalist parsons to be permitted to preach in the capital, for unlike many of his contemporary divines he had used the pulpit not for inflammatory propaganda but for reasoned pleas for moderation. His position, however, became untenable by August, 1643. Rather than take without reservation the oath prescribed by Parliament to the effect that the swearer would not consent "to the laying down of arms so long as the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament, shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof"<sup>1</sup>, he left London and joined the Royalists at

---

(1) See Bailey: Life, p.257.

Oxford. His life in the city as literary divine, which, in quiet circumstances, might have led him to the Deanery of S. Paul's, was over.

The vicissitudes of the civil war, though personally painful, were ultimately of value to Fuller as a writer. As chaplain to Lord Hopton's Royalist forces, chaplain in Exeter to the Princess Henrietta Anne, and dispossessed minister sheltered by various noble patrons, he made numbers of valuable contacts and collected innumerable anecdotes and snippets of information. Many of these were gleaned on his journeys round the countryside which, since he disliked exercise, he might never have acquired the habit of making in more settled times. Moreover this condition of civil strife served to intensify Fuller's qualities of moderation and charity, and to transform them into positive literary virtues. An outlook which might have been insipid in peaceful circumstances was rendered admirable and rare; so that Fuller's works are the more original and refreshing by reason of this background of civil turmoil. The conflict provides an admirable foil for his habits of mind. At this time actively involved in the struggle, however, Fuller could be conscious only of the setbacks to his cause and his ambitions. Hope of ecclesiastical preferment was gone; his projected masterpieces, The Church History of Britain and The History of the Worthies of England seemed

to be indefinitely postponed. He could and did collect material for them, but the settled leisure with access to good libraries which was essential if he was to perform the herculean task of reducing his masses of information to coherent order, was denied him. He had to be content to supplement his income and keep his name before the public by producing short works requiring little sustained application. Thus it is to the unsettled period from 1643-49 that many of Fuller's minor productions belong. Five sermons<sup>1</sup>, two volumes of contemplations<sup>2</sup> the Life of Andronicus<sup>3</sup> and The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience<sup>4</sup> were brought out within these six years.

Early in 1649 the Earl of Carlisle bestowed on Fuller the living of Waltham Cross, Essex, thus providing him with a settled home in congenial surroundings (Foxe had written much of his Actes and Monuments in the parish, and Bishop Hall had been Fuller's predecessor in the curacy of the Abbey). Fuller enjoyed the additional benefit of acquiring a library through the generosity of one of his parishioners, Lionel, third Earl of Middlesex, who gave him the books collected at

- 
- (1) Jacobs Vow, 1644, Fear of Losing the Old Light, 1646, Sermon of Assurance, 1647, Sermon of Contentment, 1648, Just Mans Funeral, 1649.
- (2) Good Thoughts in Bad Times, 1645, Good Thoughts in Worse Times, 1647.
- (3) Andronicus, or, the Unfortunate Politician, 1646.
- (4) The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, 1647.



Copt Hall by his father. His good fortune continued and sometime in 1651 he was made Lecturer at S. Clements, Eastcheap, and then at S. Bride's, Fleet Street, Peter Heylin, an admirable but irritable martyr to his Royalist principles, attributed Fuller's rapid return to prosperity to compliance with the times. Certainly there is something both pathetic and impressive in the former's rigid adherence to Laud and King Charles, adherence which cost him all hope of a living during the Commonwealth period, whereas Fuller's acceptance of temporary conditions has nothing heroic about it. Yet neither has it anything dishonourable. He had played an active part on the King's side; he continued to express his views fearlessly, if without rancour, all through the Commonwealth period. He saw no virtue, however, in unnecessary martyrdom and like many a firm-principled contemporary retained friends on both sides. He made no quixotic refusal of proffered help but was grateful for any opportunity of resuming a settled life as minister and author. In 1652 he married a second time, and the fact that his bride was a daughter of Sir Thomas Roper and sister of Thomas, Viscount Baltinglass, testifies to the re-establishment of his fortunes. Further and more interesting evidence of the quiet prosperity which he now enjoyed is provided by the appearance of two major works. In 1650 A Pisgah Sight of Palestine was published, and in 1656 the long awaited

Church History of Britain was finally printed. This latter aroused immediate controversy, but there could be no doubt of Fuller's contemporary stature. The work had been eagerly awaited; its appearance might give rise to scurrilous ridicule<sup>1</sup> from South and animadversions from Heylin<sup>2</sup>, but these attacks merely demonstrated that here was a stimulating and much publicised volume which no one could afford to ignore.

Fuller resigned from the curacy of Waltham Abbey in 1658 after Lord Berkeley, a patron of some years' standing, had bestowed on him the living of Cranford in Middlesex. That same year Cromwell died. The movement for the King's Restoration gathered momentum, and in 1659 Fuller, with an admixture of political opportunism, insight and genuine enthusiasm for Charles's return, published An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales, dedicated to General Monk and advocating the immediate election of a free Parliament. In 1660 he rushed through the press his Mix't Contemplations in Better Times, dedicated to Lady Monk. The same year he crossed with Lord

- 
- (1) Robert South was "Terraefilius" at Oxford in 1657 and in the course of one of his speeches attacked Fuller. See Bailey: Life, pp.611-614.
- (2) Peter Heylin: Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories, 1659.

Berkeley to the Hague as one of the mission to escort the King to England. In spite of these exertions he gained little in the Restoration scramble for preferments. He achieved no bishopric (though occasionally he has been posthumously granted one<sup>1</sup>). In 1660 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was bestowed upon him, and in 1661 he was made chaplain in extraordinary to Charles II, both encouraging signs, but before further honours could be bestowed he sickened of a fever and died in his Covent Garden lodgings on the sixth of August. He was buried in Cranford Church.

Fuller's death in 1661 robbed him of his bishopric and also of the satisfaction of seeing his long-cherished History of the Worthies of England<sup>2</sup> in print. In some respects, however, it provides the final example of the unflinching tact which distinguishes his life. He died when his fame was at its zenith and before the change of taste at the Restoration had robbed him of readers and respect. His own contemporaries valued him highly: he had built up for himself the reputation not only of an author whose publishers never lost by him, but of a scholar, a man of wide erudition in an erudite generation, a "walking library"<sup>3</sup>. His works were not only popular

- 
- (1) See, for e.g. Caroline F. Richardson's English Preachers and Preaching 1640-1670, 1928, p.130.
- (2) The History of the Worthies of England [referred to hereafter as The Worthies] came out in 1662.
- (3) The Life of that Reverend Divine, and Learned Historian, Dr Thomas Fuller, 1661 [referred to hereafter as The Anon. Life] p.69.

but respected. A few readers might cavil at his opinions, more might feel that the exuberance of his wit marred the dignity of his more serious studies. The majority of his contemporaries, however, would not fail to perceive and respond to the stature of his major achievements, their basic qualities of sound scholarship, energy and gusto. His reputation was not popular only, but was based on the esteem of scholars. Baillie, the learned Principal of Glasgow University, after reading The History of the Holy Warre and A Pisgah Sight of Palestine wrote warm congratulations to Fuller:

"For these and the like happy labours, we, at so great a distance, can but encourage yow with praise, love, and prayers to God, which yow shall have, I promise yow, from me, as one who very highly pryces the two wrytes I have seen of your hand, and judges by these that the rest yow have done or shall doe, will be of the same excellencie".<sup>1</sup>

John Lightfoot, the great Hebrew scholar, abandoned a chorographical survey of the land of Canaan on which he had already embarked, on learning that "another workman, a far better Artist," had a description of Palestine in hand, and publicly stated his refusal to challenge comparison with Fuller's work:

---

(1) Robert Baillie: Letters and Journals, Vol. III, p.265-266. Cited Bailey: Life, p.492.



"Yet when I considered what it was to glean after so clean a reaper, and how rough a Talmudical pencil would seem after so fine a pen, I resolved to sit down, and to stir no more in that matter,---"<sup>1</sup>

It is an indication of the impression made not only by Fuller's physical bulk and warm hearted personality but by his mental capacity that Pepys, a man not lightly impressed, should instinctively term him "the great Tom Fuller".<sup>2</sup> He received the unusual tribute of two published eulogies at his death, one in verse by James Heath<sup>3</sup>, one in prose - the anonymous life which provides the basis for all biographical studies of Fuller.<sup>4</sup>

This latter work is not merely evidence of the high regard which some personal acquaintance felt for him. It went into three editions<sup>5</sup>, and therefore serves to demonstrate the widespread interest in Fuller, the curiosity about his life, of those aware that a great man had died. Fuller would have been pleased to know that even after his death he could still draw the public.

His reputation, however, was not long to survive undiminished. The Restoration dominance of the High Church party

- 
- (1) Lightfoot: The Works, 1648, Vol. I, pp.559-560. Cited Bailey: Life, pp.489-490.  
 (2) Pepys: Diary, 5th Jan. 1660-1.  
 (3) An Elegy upon Dr Tho. Fuller, 1661.  
 (4) See ante, p.12, footnote 3.  
 (5) 1661, 1662, 1662.

caused Fuller's theological position to be suspect; his style became increasingly distasteful to those nurtured on neo-Classical principles. The Church History and The Worthies were consulted as necessary works of reference, but increasingly it was felt that grave errors of taste marred these studies. Bishop Nicolson, writing in 1736, while grudgingly admitting of the Church History that "if it were possible to refine it well, the Work would be of good Use,"<sup>1</sup> nevertheless seems prompted by an almost personal animosity towards Fuller in his strictures on his works. The Worthies "was huddled up in haste, for the Procurement of some moderate Profit for the Author, tho' he did not live to see it published. It corrects many Mistakes in his Ecclesiastical Story; but makes more new ones in their stead."<sup>2</sup> The Church Historian is "so full of his own Wit, that he does not seem to have minded what he was about.... If a pretty Story comes in his Way, that affords Scope for Clinch and Droll, off it goes with all the Gaiety of the Stage;..."<sup>3</sup>

There were certain individuals who still responded wholeheartedly to Fuller's appeal; Oldys, who wrote the life of

---

(1) William Nicolson: English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries, 1736, p.117.

(2) ibid., p.6.

(3) ibid., p.117.

Fuller for the Biographia Britannica<sup>1</sup> obviously warmed to his subject, with the result that the biography is both thorough and enthusiastic. The prevailing critical attitude, however, is expressed by Bishop Warburton's caustic reference to "Fuller the Jester".<sup>2</sup>

The revival of interest in Fuller is invariably attributed to the Romantic critics, Coleridge, Southey, Lamb. Certainly it was the enthusiasm of this coterie which inflated Fuller's reputation. He had probably never, however, entirely lost his reading public, for his volumes of 'thoughts' must have been read in many pious homes, and his Worthies would still be delighting country gentlemen unaffected by changes in literary taste. There is some evidence, too, that critical opinion was ripe for a reconsideration of Fuller's quality, and that the under-valuation of his achievement was already being adjusted before 1800. Thus in The Gentleman's Magazine a correspondent writing on March 9th 1799, appeals for a new edition of Fuller's works, claiming that they are "all of them too excellent to remain buried in oblivion."<sup>3</sup> It is probably more accurate, therefore, to think of Coleridge and Lamb not

- 
- (1) William Oldys: Biographia Britannica, 1750. Vol. III, pp.2049-2069.  
 (2) William Warburton: Directions for the Study of Theology, The Works, 1811, Vol. X, p.370.  
 (3) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 69, p.200.

as setting the pendulum swinging, but as considerably increasing its momentum. Indeed they did this with such enthusiasm that one might almost accuse them of sending it out of control. Coleridge, who placed Fuller with Shakespeare, Milton, De Foe and Hogarth as a peculiarly English genius<sup>1</sup>, Southey, who regarded him as his "prime favourite author,"<sup>2</sup> Lamb, who found affinities between himself and the "dear fine, silly old angel"<sup>3</sup> over whose books he weakened his eyes,<sup>4</sup> these raised Fuller to a cult. The object of a cult is seldom viewed judiciously, and these critics were not only recording a personal reaction to an admired and loved author - if that had been all the cult would have died rapidly - but were giving expression to a response that went far beyond their own circle. The result was that their generous but injudicious statements on Fuller were not even necessarily read in their contexts but

- 
- (1) Notes Theological, Political and Miscellaneous, 1853, p.101. "Shakespeare ! Milton ! Fuller ! De Foe ! Hogarth ! As to the remaining mighty host of our great men, other countries have produced something like them - but these are uniques."
- (2) Southey's son-in-law, Warter, gives us this information in the Preface to Common-Place Book, IV, 1849-51, p.VI.
- (3) Letter to Gilman, 1830. "The Life, Letters and Writings of Charles Lamb, Ed. Fitzgerald, 1924, Vol. II, p.417.
- (4) Letter to Bernard Barton, ibid., Vol. II, p.355, Dec. 8th, 1829. "I write big, not to save ink but eyes, mine having been troubled with reading through three folios of old Fuller in almost as few days,..."



were accepted as absolute critical verdicts, and as the century advanced the author became increasingly an object of almost sentimental veneration. Fuller's optimism and materialism, his unflinching good sense, appealed to the shrewd Victorian business instinct; at the same time his warm-hearted Christian charity endeared him to a pious and philanthropic public. In addition all these eminently satisfactory qualities were expressed in a manner both entertaining and "quaint". Each of Fuller's major works resembled a period mansion, possessing all the charm and fascination of the antique, but no disturbing spiritual manifestations. Some "restoring" of the old fabrics was carried out by various editors. Thus the tendency to break down Fuller's works into extracts, a tendency implicit in Coleridge's emphasis on Fuller's wit<sup>1</sup>, and his suggestion that the reader will "hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself - as motto or as maxim"<sup>2</sup> resulted in some twenty-five anthologies of selections. In addition however, the unabridged works were reprinted for the benefit of the thorough going enthusiast. Thus each of Fuller's extant writings appeared in at least one Victorian edition, and all told, twenty-six publications of his complete

---

(1) Notes on English Divines, 1853, Vol. I, p.127.

"Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect".

(2) ibid., p.127.

books came out in the course of the century.

It is appropriate that the most important biography of Fuller should have been produced in the age that revered him so highly. John Eglington Bailey's The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D. With Notices of his Books, his Kinsmen and his Friends came out in 1874 when enthusiasm for Fuller was still unabated. This biography would have been an impressive feat from a scholar of ample means and leisure: it is an almost incredible achievement from a man who had no formal academic training<sup>1</sup>, / and who was in daily employment at the warehouse of Messrs Ralli Brothers, Manchester, until his health broke down, 1886. Bailey was a man Fuller would have enjoyed knowing: his gift to his bride-to-be of a copy of the Book of Common Prayer meticulously transcribed into Pitman's shorthand demonstrates just that combination of reverence for the past with ready employment of modern techniques that Fuller would have been the first to appreciate. As a biographer he has his limitations. His knowledge of and response to literature was inadequate: he found it difficult to write critical assessments of Fuller's works and therefore he falls back on the comments of previous writers, sometimes reproducing them verbatim, sometimes recasting them, rarely adding anything fresh. Moreover his enthusiasm for his subject leads him to overweight his

---

(1) Bailey attended evening classes at Owens College, Manchester.

volume with detail. He pursues relentlessly every dedication, and produces genealogies of a variety of noble families whose sole distinction consists of having earned a passing reference in A Pisgah Sight or the Church History. A building or district remotely connected with Fuller is honoured by several paragraphs of potted history. Yet in spite of these defects his biography remains the finest piece of work on Fuller. In the Manchester Central Library are some half dozen box files.<sup>1</sup> Each contains a welter of notes, correspondence, British Museum tickets, sketches, shorthand memoranda, picture post-cards - the raw material of the great volume. One gains an immediate impression of the scale of the enterprise, the indomitable Victorian vigour and self-confidence which could undertake and triumphantly conclude such a work during evenings and brief holidays. Inevitably Bailey was forced to depend on the researches of others for much of his information. The files are full of politely worded replies to his requests for information - replies sent by librarians, country gentlemen, scholars and clerics. One letter, written with rather more vigour than the majority, comes from a certain S.F.Fuller who, anxious for the honour of his titular ancestor, urges

---

(1) Messrs Taylor, Garnett & Co. handed over Bailey's collection of Fulleriana to the Manchester Free Library, from which it ultimately passed to the present Central Library, Peter's Square.

"Don't call that poor Devil W<sup>m</sup> Fuller a rascal in your book. Imposter is better."

W.H.Turner, of the Bodleian seems from his letters to have been particularly helpful, even searching at the Record Office and offering to investigate the Canterbury registers. But though indebted to a wide range of correspondents for assistance, Bailey nevertheless not only organised the material, but did much of the hard digging for facts. He spent his holidays conscientiously visiting the localities connected with Fuller, or working in the Record Office and the British Museum. A ticket granting him permission to use the Reading Room from August 22 - 28, 1871, is preserved - obviously his work on Fuller was a "labour of love"<sup>1</sup> to which summer holidays could readily be sacrificed. Incredibly he yet found time for further activities. He was interested in local history and archaeology and contributed papers to the Manchester Literary Club, the Historical Society of Lancashire, the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. He wrote articles for the Academy and Notes and Queries. He was Honorary Secretary of the Chetham Society and, a true Victorian, of the Sunday School Teachers' Book Society - one box file reveals that he

---

(1) The Saturday Review, Feb. 6th, 1875, in reviewing the biography, termed it "this unique labour of love."



has rather regrettably used the back of one of the latter's printed forms for dashing down notes. To produce, therefore, amongst the multifarious demands of an over-full life, a biography of exhaustive detail (only one fact, the name of Fuller's first wife, escaped him), of sound and enthusiastic scholarship, is an achievement deserving more than the faintly patronising acknowledgments which is all that some have granted him. He further put scholars into his debt by preparing a fine edition of Fuller's sermons. His prodigious exertions, however, had undermined his health; he collapsed before the two volumes were quite completed<sup>1</sup> and died in 1888 at the early age of forty-eight. Despite his limitations in training and sympathy he was a fine scholar, painstaking, energetic, accurate; he had an enormous zest for his subject and a completely self-sacrificing devotion to his researches. Fuller would have delighted in such a "worthy".

Overpraise can in the long run be more damaging to an author's reputation than under valuation. The note of sustained eulogy sounded in almost a century's criticism of Fuller brought the inevitable reaction. At first critics

---

(1) A friend W.E.Axon, completed the editing of the two volumes, and contributed a brief memoir of Bailey as preface to Vol. II. They came out in 1891 under the title The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D. (referred to hereafter as The Collected Sermons).

attacked tentatively, fearful of opposing too directly a subject bolstered by the weight of Coleridge's support. Thus Augustus Jessopp, after a slightly deflating review of Fuller's works, shows his uneasiness by declaring:

"If in this review of Fuller's life and of his literary work I may seem to some to have rather under-estimated the greatness of a writer whose name is a household word, and whose enthusiastic admirers have numbered among them some of the most subtle and some of the most profound of England's critics and thinkers, there will be found in the pages that follow abundant proofs of the Wit and Wisdom, which give a never-ending charm to the writings of Thomas Fuller."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time as Fuller's appeal to scholars was waning, his hold on the general public was relaxing. The twentieth century reader had scant reverence for wholesome piety, was impatient of optimism, disliked the materialistic element and found Fuller's wit tedious. Direct attack was scarcely necessary. While critics were still making tentative thrusts, the object of their attacks toppled into obscurity. The revival of interest, after the 1914-18 war, in seventeenth century writers paradoxically damaged Fuller's reputation further. The poetry of the metaphysicals, the prose of Andrewes, Donne,

---

(1) Wise Words and Quaint Counsels of Thomas Fuller, 1892, p. XXXI.

Browne and Burton, provided just those elements which that generation of critics and readers demanded and Fuller lacked. The psychological subtlety of these writers, their vein of mysticism tinged with melancholy, their questing intellects and penetrating wit, all served to high-light Fuller's shortcomings. He was largely ignored as a writer whose works had no relevance for the modern reader.

Yet Fuller is an ebullient artist. Already there are signs of his re-emergence - a new edition of the Worthies is promised for this year. The two recent biographies, Mr Dean Lyman's The Great Tom Fuller, 1935, and Mr William Addison's amiable study Worthy Dr Fuller, 1951, are perhaps almost as much tributes to Bailey as to Fuller. The Manchester City News of December 5th, 1874, had stated; "The Life of Fuller has now been well and fully written, and needs not to be done again" - somewhat naively failing to perceive that the existence of such a mine of information was going to tempt future writers to quarry there. Of much greater significance than these two works, since it initiates a new critical approach to Fuller as a literary artist, is Mr Walter E. Houghton's The Formation of Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane States", 1938. This study is restricted to an investigation of one book. Within this limited field, however, the author corrects the false stress laid on Fuller's wit, which had been



responsible for the Victorian anthologies and which is still manifested in Addison's biography where Fullerisms are collected into a "Fuller Alphabet". Instead, in this work, Fuller is treated not as the pious yet jovial purveyor of the shrewd apophthegms and homely witticisms, but as a conscious artist and literary craftsman whose works in their entirety excited the admiring approval of a not unintelligent seventeenth century reading public. For a writer once much read and admired Fuller has received remarkably little purely critical consideration. The tendency has been to react to the man, and to the writings as expressions of the man's personality. This accounts for the emotional tone of some of the responses to Fuller, from the enthusiastic outbursts of Coleridge and Lamb to the irritable carping of Bishop Nicolson and, by a coincidence, his namesake Sir Harold Nicolson, who in a superficial and prejudiced review of seventeenth century biography, childishly terms Fuller a "tiresome old man".<sup>1</sup> Fuller's writings are too much impregnated with his personality ever to be received with indifference; indeed one could say that one of the few consistent features of criticism of his works has been this emotional

---

(1) The Development of English Biography, 1927, p.51. Nicolson is discussing Abel Redevivus: "the tiresome old man" who compiled the work was forty-three when it was published.



response of critics to the author. It is this that helps to account for the preponderance of biographical studies, three Victorian<sup>1</sup> and two recent<sup>2</sup> (though, as I have suggested, Bailey's comprehensiveness may have something to do with the latter.) What is now needed, therefore, is not any further consideration of Fuller's life: five investigations of an unsubtle personality and a comparatively uneventful existence are more than sufficient. Instead if the embryonic revival of interest is not to develop into a short-lived concentration on the individual and his circle of acquaintances, to the exclusion of his works, the critical approach suggested by Houghton must be taken up and developed. Fuller's books must be considered in their entirety, not as disconnected "ana"; their author must be treated seriously as a literary artist, as a historian, biographer, essayist and antiquary. In this study I have attempted such a consideration of Fuller. I have investigated his sermons, believing that his specialised training as a divine must have left its mark on his secular writings. I have studied his productions<sup>2</sup> in relationship to his period, and

---

(1) Arthur Russell: Memorials of the Life and Works of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1844.

Henry Rogers: An Essay on the Life and Genius of Thomas Fuller, with Selections from His Writings, 1856.

(2) For the omission of detailed treatment of The Church History see Prefatory Note.

in relationship to each other, feeling that only by such a treatment can a judicious estimate be made of his achievement in various genres. It is hoped that this examination will go far towards explaining why Fuller was not only Lamb's "dear, fine, silly old angel," but also Pepys's "great Tom Fuller".

## CHAPTER II

Fuller achieved genuine success as a preacher. The anonymous elegist<sup>1</sup> refers with enthusiasm to the size of his congregation at S. Mary Savoy:<sup>2</sup>

"-----witness the great confluence of affected Hearers from distant congregations, insomuch that his own Cure were (in a sense) excommunicated from the Church, unless their timorous diligence kept pace with their devotion; the Doctor affording them no more than their extraordinaries on the

## CHAPTER II

Lord's day, than what he allowed his habituated abstinence on all the rest. The Sermons: A Consideration of Fuller's audiences, one without the pale, Pulpit Oratory; the windows of that little Church, and the Sextonry so crowded, as if Bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourses."<sup>3</sup>

More impersonal evidence is provided by the number of his sermons published, twelve coming out separately and eight collections appearing in print during his life time. That these may not constitute the full total we know from fragments

- 
- (1) I adopt the convention used by Lyman of referring to the author of the Anon. Life by this phrase.  
 (2) Fuller preached at the Savoy from 1641-2 to Aug. 1643, when he was compelled to leave London.  
 (3) The Anon. Life, p.15.



CHAPTER II

Fuller achieved genuine success as a preacher. The anonymous eulogist<sup>1</sup> refers with enthusiasm to the size of his congregation at S. Mary Savoy:<sup>2</sup>

"-----witness the great confluence of affected Hearers from distant congregations, insomuch that his own Cure were (in a sense) excommunicated from the Church, unless their timous diligence kept pace with their devotion; the Doctor affording them no more time for their extraordinaries on the Lord's day, then what he allowed his habituated abstinence on all the rest. He had in his narrow Chappell two Audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little Church, and the Sextonry so crowded, as if Bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse."<sup>3</sup>

More impersonal evidence is provided by the number of his sermons published, twelve coming out separately and eight collections appearing in print during his life time. That these may not constitute the full total we know from fragments

- 
- (1) I adopt the convention used by Lyman of referring to the author of the Anon. Life by this phrase.
  - (2) Fuller preached at the Savoy from 1641-2 to Aug. 1643, when he was compelled to leave London.
  - (3) The Anon. Life, p.15.

preserved in Spencer's Things New and Old<sup>1</sup>, where nineteen passages from otherwise unknown sermons are attributed to Fuller. Altogether it is safe to assume that he was a popular preacher whose works found a ready sale. With the Restoration and the resultant change in taste, however, his sermons came to be neglected.<sup>2</sup> Even the enthusiasm of the Romantic Critics for Fuller failed to cause their resurrection, for naturally the attention of Southey, Lamb and Coleridge was concentrated on his more literary works. The Victorian admiration of Fuller combined with the Victorian practice of reading sermons led to a number of editions<sup>3</sup>, including a collection by Morris Fuller of nineteen sermons under the stimulating title of

- 
- (1) John Spencer: KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ. Things New and Old. Or a Store-house of Similies, 1658. Of the 19 extracts, two are from a sermon or sermons preached in S. Dunstan's East; the remaining seventeen were preached at S. Clement's, Eastcheap, See The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.543-555.
- (2) Only two of Fuller's sermons were reprinted during the Restoration period, and they appeared in a popular collection entitled The House of Mourning --, 1660 and 1672. Fuller's contributions were The Just Mans Funeral (in the 1660 and 1672 eds.) and a funeral sermon on Mr George Heycock (in the 1672 ed. only).
- (3) 1865 A Comment on Ruth. Nichol's Series of Commentaries.  
1867 Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat..and David's Heinous Sinne, ed. William Nichols.
- (4) 1868, 1872. A Comment on Ruth: and Notes upon Jonah from a 1699 edition of Eight Sparks of Prayer, by Several Reverend and Holy Divines, ed. Nichols.

[2] The edition was a limited one of four hundred copies.  
[3] Jessopp, op. cit., p. XLVI.



Pulpit Sparks<sup>1</sup>. Not until 1891 were all the extant sermons published in the two volumes prepared by Bailey and Axon. Already, however, the reaction against Fuller had begun, and the above work was the achievement of enthusiasts and not the answer to a public demand.<sup>2</sup> Augustus Jessopp in 1892 declared succinctly: "As a divine, or theologian, Fuller was simply nowhere."<sup>3</sup> This remark, puncturing the pious platitudes of the Victorian editors, was but one of a series of deflating comments on Fuller from a variety of critics. Since this reaction coincided with the decay of sermon reading as a popular practice, it is not surprising that Bailey's two volumes never went into a second edition. The twentieth century has witnessed a revival of critical interest in the sermon. Fuller's, however, continue to be largely ignored. They have little intrinsic literary merit. The plain, practical Christianity expounded in them seems lacking in subtlety and depth; the personality revealed is too wholesome and mundane to stimulate investigation. Fuller's sermons have remained in obscurity, undisturbed by literary critic or psycho-analyst.

---

(1) Pulpit Sparks, 1886. Morris Fuller borrowed the title from a 1659 edition of Pulpit Sparks or Choice Forms of Prayer, by Several Reverend and Godly Divines.

(2) The edition was a limited one of four hundred copies.

(3) Jessopp, op. cit., p. XXVI.

(4) See W. Fraser Mitchell: English Pulpit Oratory From Andrew to Tillotson, 1952, p. 9.

Nevertheless Fuller's pulpit oratory presents features of very genuine interest. His sermons deserve consideration for their individuality, for, as will be demonstrated, they belong to no specific school of preaching. More important still, a study of them reveals aspects of Fuller's personality, technique and literary habits which illumine his practice in his other works. His training as a divine necessarily influences his handling of secular material, and it is impossible to make any sound assessment of his achievement as a man of letters without first considering him as a preacher. Such consideration will necessarily involve some brief survey of his theological position, for a minister's doctrinal affiliations had a direct effect on his style. It is impossible, of course, to fit the sermons of all divines within stringent sectarian categories. Brownrig, though the staunchest of Calvinists, nevertheless preached in the manner of Andrewes and the Anglo Catholics. On the whole, however, a preacher's method was the result not only of his own temperament but of his doctrinal position<sup>1</sup>.

Fuller was a staunch upholder of the Elizabethan Church Settlement and was equally opposed to the innovations of the extreme Puritans on the one side and of the Arminians on the

(1) See W. Fraser Mitchell: English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson, 1932, p.9.

(2) Ibid., vol. II, p.317.

other. He revered the Thirty Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and the institution of Episcopacy, and complained bitterly of the extremists who sought to abolish these in their demand for a complete reformation:

"And indeed such Sectaries take a great share to themselves, having taken away all the Common Prayer out of most places, and under pretence to abolish superstition, have almost banish't decency out of God's Church."<sup>1</sup>

Even under the Commonwealth régime he still had the courage to declare:

"Not to dissemble in the sight of God and man. I do ingenuously protest, that I affect the Episcopal Government (as it was constituted in its self, abating some corruptions which time hath contracted) best of any other, as conceiving it most consonant to the word of God, and practice of the Primitive Church"<sup>2</sup>.

Though opposed to the more fanatical Puritans, Fuller equally disliked the innovations of the Arminian party. He wished for a decent ceremonial, but not for the multiplication of outward ceremonies which had resulted from Laud's policy:

"Not that I am displeas'd with neatnesse, or plead for nastinesse in Gods service. Surely God would have the Church,

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.275.

(2) ibid., Vol. II, p.317.



his Spouse, as not an Harlot, so not a slut; and indeed outward Decencie in the Church is an Harbinger to provide a lodging for inward devotion to follow after. But wee would not have Religion so bedaubed with lace, that one cannot see the cloath; and the Ceremonies which should adorne, obscure the substance of the Sacraments, and Gods worship."<sup>1</sup>

Doctrinally he accepted, as did his uncle, Bishop Davenant,<sup>2</sup> just so much Calvinism as the masterly ambiguities of the Thirty Nine Articles admitted. Thus he was a firm, though not harsh, believer in election, predestination and justification by faith.<sup>3</sup> The new Arminian tenets he counted "Treason to Gods grace."

"Many errors in Doctrine and innovation in Discipline did creepe fast into our Church. Arminian positions, Tenents,

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.217.

(2) Bishop Davenant preached at Whitehall, 1630, before Charles I, on the text Rom. VI.23. Two days afterwards he was called before the Privy Council and censured for handling the topic of predestination. In a letter written to his friend, Dr Ward, the Bishop declares: "Then I stood upon this Defence, that the Doctrine of Predestination which I taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: First, because in the Declaration all the Articles are established, amongst which, the Article of Predestination is one. "For a full account of this incident see Fuller: The Church History of Britain, 1655, Cent. XVII, Book XI, pp.138-141.

(3) For a statement of Fuller's position see A Sermon of Assurance, Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.469-489, and The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, 1647 (Discussed Chap. 5, pp.269-269).

Treason to Gods grace, invaded the truth of the Word in many places."<sup>1</sup>

In short, Fuller was one of a great body of clergy who found complete spiritual satisfaction in a moderate interpretation of the Elizabethan Church Settlement. He felt that in that settlement the lost glories of the primitive church were restored to England. He was distressed by the extremists on both sides, and feared that their activities, through propagating schisms, would destroy the reformed church. He desired men to concentrate on those points on which there was general agreement, to claim for themselves "no other Christian name then the name of Christians, or other surname then Christian Protestants; neither answering to, nor calling others by any term of disgrace!"<sup>2</sup>

Fuller's pulpit method reflects the essential moderation of his theological position. He belonged to no specific school.

"For his ordinary manner of teaching, it was in some kind different from the usuall Preachers method of most Ministers in those times;"<sup>3</sup>

In spite of this declaration by the anonymous elogist, Morris Fuller, in his introduction to Pulpit Sparks, makes a weak

- (1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.249.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. I, p.254.  
 (3) The Anon. Life, p.79.



attempt to class the early sermons along with the sermons of Andrewes and Donne:

"The former [Fuller's early sermons] point to the fact that they were composed upon the model set by Donne, Andrewes, and others, and affected by the same spirit, which rendered them popular, the effects of whose influence are to be found in homiletic literature, more or less, since their days. We allude to the grotesqueness in their sermons, both in thought and expression, which goes by the name of "quaint". But even in his earlier sermons Fuller followed these models longo intervallo"<sup>1</sup>.

The whole of this awkward statement, however, reveals Morris Fuller's own sketchy knowledge and the difficulty of placing Fuller in any specific category. Bailey repeats the above comment almost verbatim and without acknowledgment, but adds nothing of significance to it:

"The former [Fuller's early sermons] serve more plainly to show that the preacher had to some extent been affected with the spirit of such discourses as Donne, Andrewes, and others of that school had made popular, - the effects of whose influence are noticeable in so large a portion of our pulpit literature since their day. We allude to the grotesqueness in

---

(1) Morris Fuller: op. cit., p.VI.

both words and thoughts; a style which we now briefly characterise by the word "quaint". But Fuller even in his earlier sermons followed his models at a long distance."<sup>1</sup>

It was not until W. Fraser Mitchell published in 1932 his comprehensive study of the early seventeenth century sermon<sup>2</sup> that the characteristics of the various schools were adequately analysed, and the individuality of Fuller's pulpit method was for the second time acknowledged. Such individuality is in itself a personal contribution to an art, and is therefore worthy of further comment and illustration.

The Reformation had inevitably led to a revival of interest in the art of preaching. The new truths had to be expounded from the pulpit, the old errors combated, and it was vital that the clergy should possess the necessary rhetorical skill to put forward adequately the Protestant viewpoint.<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) The Life, p.198.

(2) Fraser Mitchell, op. cit., (see ante p.31 Footnote 1).

(3) There was, of course, no complete break in preaching methods at the Reformation. There had been in the Middle Ages intense cultivation of homiletic rhetoric and distinct schools had emerged. Some of the characteristics and techniques of these schools were carried over into the reformed preaching ministry. Moreover references on pp.62,63 [footnotes] will show how medieval religious writings were still consulted. Though there was considerable continuity however, the Reformation provides a convenient starting point for the consideration of Fuller's pulpit technique, since the movement was characterised by a great revival of interest on the part of ministers and congregations in the art of preaching.

To assist the minister to meet the requirements of earnest, and sometimes critical, congregations, reformed scholars and clerics produced a considerable number of helpful manuals. In all of these the importance to both preacher and congregation of an orderly method of exegesis was rightly stressed: "Not onely the learners, but also the teachers themselves have neede of iuste disposition of partes: these verely, least in the discourse of their Sermon they shoulde bee compelled to stound, and by silence to doubt of what poynt it were best for them to speake: and those to thintent they maye the more easily perceive each thing by hearyng, and when they are returned home, or whersoever els they wyl repeate the principall partes and Chapters by hart."<sup>1</sup>

Opinions differed, however, as to what was precisely the best method of organisation. Many clerics adopted the "plain, (but effectual) manner of preaching by Use and Doctrine"<sup>2</sup> popularised by the German, Wolfgang Musculus, and this was the mode of exegesis chosen by Fuller. To explain the significance of such a choice it is necessary to examine the development of the method.

- 
- (1) Andreas Gerardus (Hyperius): The Practis of Preaching, 1577, pp.16, 16b.  
 (2) Fuller: The Church History, XVI Cent. IX Book, p.222.  
 "For as Musculus in Germany (if I mistake not) first brought in the plain, (but effectual) manner of preaching by Use and Doctrine: so Udal was the first who added reasons thereunto, the strength and sinews of a Sermon."



One of the earliest and most enthusiastic of English exponents was John Udall who, in his Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Jeremy, gives a clear exposition of this system of organisation - a system which he himself had strengthened by the addition of "reasons".

"Then it cannot be denied, that, seeing it is onely the word of God that can perswade the conscience, the first thing that is to be done in the right teaching of the same to God's people, must needs be, the cleere and evident deliverance of the sence of the text in hand; that out of the same, as from a fountaine that runneth cleerely, all that he is further to deliver may be seene to be derived. Secondly, seeing whatsoever was written aforetime was written for our learning, Rom.15.4. it must needs be that every sentence of the holy Scripture containeth in it (at least) one generall doctrine; and therefore the sence being once understood, the next thing that is to be considered is, the collecting of the same out of the text, in such plaine and manifest manner, as must needs be acknowledged in the conscience of the hearers to be so; which being enlarged by the examples and testimonies of the Scriptures, and manifested by the force of reason grounded upon the same, must needs take such roote in <sup>the</sup> conscience of the hearers, as they shall either be throughly perswaded of the trueth of it (if it be rightly and effectually handled) or leave such a

print therein as shall convince the same. Thirdly, seeing the generall doctrine is like unto goodly meat set upon the table before young children, which needeth to be carved unto them, that everyone may have his portion in due season, Mat. 24.45. Therefore is the right use to be propounded unto them of the same doctrine, that it may appeare how it is profitable, either for all Christians in generall, or for certain speciall ones in particular."<sup>1</sup>

Richard Bernard, who published in 1607 The Faithfull Shepheard, a comprehensive manual of instruction for ministers, warns his readers against the danger of excessive subdivision that might result from the system. "But in all this which I have spoken, my meaning is not, that in Preaching, a Minister, after hee be entred upon his text, should ever say: This is the doctrine, this is the prooffe, this the use: now to the reasons, now we will make application, and prevent or make objections: which is, I confesse a plaine way, to a rude congregation, easie to bee conceived and written of such as attend and will take the paines: but it interrupts the course of the speech, and it is too disiointed, and lesse patheticall. Therefore albeit for the understanding of the things distinctly by them, I have made severall Chapters, yet the Preacher,

---

(1) A Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Jeremy, 1595:  
"To the Christian Reader", A.2.



which will follow this course, may in speaking knit them altogether in a continued speech after the maner of an oration, keeping the method to himselfe: passing from the doctrine to the prooffe; from the prooffe, to the use; from the use, to the reasons thereof; from thence to the application, and to prevention of objections: and finally so conclude everie doctrine: and one finished, passe by transitions, uttered sometimes in one tearme, sometimes in an other, to a new doctrine in like maner, and so in all to the end of the Sermon: the finall conclusion of all."<sup>1</sup>

By 1612 the method had so established itself that John Brinsley in his Ludus Literarius: or the Grammar Schoole could recommend that pupils in the highest forms should be required "to set downe all the Sermons. As Text, division, exposition, or meaning, doctrines, and how the severall doctrines were gathered, all the proofes, reasons, uses, applications... And also for further directing them, and better helping their understanding and memories, for the repetition thereof; cause them to leave spaces betweene every part, and where neede is to divide them with lines. So also to distinguish the severall parts by letters or figures, and setting the sum of everything in the margent over against each matter in a word or two. As, Text, Division, Summe.

---

(1) The Faithfull Shepheard, 1607, pp.79-80.

First Observation or 1. Doctrine, Proofes, Reasons

1.2.3. Uses 1 2.3. So, the 2 Observation or doctrine, proofes, reasons, &c. so throughout. Or what method soever, the Preacher doth use, to follow the parts after the same maner, so well as they can."<sup>1</sup>

These works just cited were written by men who were members of the Church of England, but members with pronounced Puritanical leanings. The appeal of this mode of division to such Calvinists is obvious. It lent itself to the memorising of the sermon by both clergy and congregation. The emphasis on "Use" or "Application" meant that a reasonable part of the discourse was devoted to the practical purpose of applying doctrines to morals and behaviour. The calling in of "Reasons" and "Proofs" along with "Objections" and "Solutions" demonstrates that employment of logic which is especially a feature of Calvinism and which provides a link with the methods of the Schoolmen. As time went on, this particular system of organization came to be so closely associated with the Puritan position that Abraham Wright in his Five Sermons, in Five Several Styles; or Waies of Preaching, 1656, reproduces a sermon composed on this method as an illustration of Presbyterian preaching.<sup>2</sup>

- 
- (1) Ludus Literarius 1612, pp.255-256.  
 (2) Five Sermons 1656, pp.67-159.

It is this form which Fuller generally adopts, although he shows flexibility in his employment of it. For example A Fast Sermon Preacht on Innocents Day, 1642<sup>1</sup>, progresses chiefly by means of numbered propositions, while A Sermon of Contentment, 1648<sup>2</sup>, shows Fuller basing his discourse on the allegory of a marriage. Generally, however, his sermons have "Doctrine" and "Use" carefully noted in the margins or clearly indicated in the course of the address. But Fuller never indulges in that absurd multiplication of subdivisions which makes some Puritan sermons exercises in misapplied ingenuity.<sup>3</sup> Instead the form of his discourses is essentially simple - a few doctrines stated, some useful applications made, perhaps objections raised, then answered point by point; everything methodical, but nothing over-ingenious nor tortuous.

"..the maine frame of his publique SERMONS, if not wholly, consisted (after some briefe and genuine resolution of the Context and Explication of the Termes, where need required, of Notes and Observations with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the Text, and naturally without constraint, issuing or flowing either from the maine body, or

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.231-262.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, pp.491-506.

(3) Udall in his commentary on Jeremiah (see ante, p. 38) adheres rigidly to his plan, and such is his enthusiasm that he can draw as many as thirteen doctrines from a single verse. (Verse 9, op. cit., pp.21-26).



from the several parts of it, with some useful Applications annexed thereunto;..."<sup>1</sup>

The fact, however, that Fuller did choose a method associated with plain, even Puritanical, preaching, even though he used that method in a modified form, is sufficient to distinguish his sermons from those of Andrewes and his followers.<sup>2</sup>

Though the form of Fuller's sermons links him with the plain preachers, yet his style is very different. He indulges in a wealth of metaphors, antitheses, surprising similitudes and quirks of fancy which separate his manner sharply from that of the austere Puritans. This characteristic employment of a wide variety of rhetorical figures can be clearly demonstrated by comparing Fuller's A Comment on Ruth, delivered about 1630 though not published until 1654<sup>3</sup>, with Ruths Recompence:

(1) The Anon Life, pp.79-80.

(2) Andrewes and his direct imitators, Brownrig, Hacket, Cosin etc. employed an elaborate and exhaustive word by word investigation of the significance of the text. Their sermons are deliberately broken and disjointed, due to the habits of "picking their texts to the very bone," and of constant citation. Donne adopted a more sustained technique, which corresponds to that advocated by Bartholomew Keckermann in his Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae, 1606 (See Fraser Mitchell, op. cit., p.96).

(3) In the dedication of this commentary to Lady Anne Archer Fuller states: "Indeed they were Preached in an eminent Place, when I first entred into the Ministerie, above twentie yeares since, and therefore you will pardon the many Faults that may be found therein." (p.V). Fuller was appointed to S.Benet's Church, Cambridge, some time in 1630. The sermons must have been delivered between then and 1632, because of the reference to Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden (pp.25-26) who died Nov. 1632. Fuller claims that he is publishing the text in order to prevent the appearance of a pirated edition.

or a Commentarie upon the Booke of Ruth brought out in 1628 by Richard Bernard, author of The Faithfull Shepheard<sup>1</sup>. These two works provide an interesting and previously unnoticed link with Fuller. The Faithfull Shepheard, surprisingly moderate and persuasive in tone in view of the writer's stormy career as a controversialist, describes a method of sermon composition akin to that adopted by Fuller. It is significant that a third and enlarged edition of this work came out in 1621, the year Fuller entered Queens' College, Cambridge. Bernard was an old Cambridge man of some distinction. Born in 1568 at Epworth, Lincolnshire, he had early attracted the interest of the two daughters of Sir Christopher Wray, the Lord Chief Justice. Under their patronage he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where he received his M.A. in 1598. While minister at Worksop, Nottinghamshire, he became associated with the Brownists, but later repudiated them with some violence in print.<sup>2</sup> He

---

Footnote contd.

would suggest that some-one had preserved a version for over twenty years, or that Fuller had preached the series more recently, which hardly seems probable in view of his apology for the "many Faults" ascribed to his youth. The third and likeliest possibility is that Fuller merely made use of the excuse of piracy in order to bring out a very early work. Perhaps when the sermons were first preached he was too obscure a person to find a publisher willing to print them in their unfinished state (the comment breaks off at Chap. II, v.23); perhaps he did not try to get them published immediately since Bernard's commentary had been out a mere two or three years.

(1) See ante, p.39.

(2) Bernard: Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also Disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, 1608.  
Plain Evidences: the Church of England is Apostolicall, the Separation Schismaticall, 1610.



remained throughout his life, however, rigidly opposed to all ceremonial, his views apparently being tolerated by his parishioners at Batcombe, Somerset, where he lived fairly quietly from 1613 until his death in 1641. When Fuller came up to Cambridge Bernard's reputation had already been established by the publication of several works, including a popular translation of Terence.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, highly probable that his excellent manual for preachers would have been brought to the notice of Cambridge students training for the ministry. Fuller may well have read and been influenced by The Faithfull Shepheard<sup>2</sup>. Certainly, as will be proved by direct comparison, in his first curacy he turned to Bernard's

- 
- (1) These include the 1607 and 1609 editions of The Faithfull Shepheard, Two Twinnes; or Two Parts of One Portion of Scripture, 1613, Davids Musick: or Psalmes..Unfolded Logically.., 1616, A Key of Knowledge for the Opening of the Secret Mysteries of St. Johns Mysticall Revelation, 1617. The Fabulous Foundation of the Popedome, 1619. Bernard's translation of Terence, Terence in English, 1598, had reached four editions by 1614, and was to go into a fifth and sixth in 1629 and 1641. His most interesting and popular work, however, the allegorical The Isle of Man: or, the Legall Proceeding in Man-shire against Sinne, had not been written at this date, but was to appear in 1626. For a complete bibliography of Bernard's works see John I. Dredge: The Writings of Richard Bernard, 1890.
- (2) The point cannot be proved, but it is perhaps significant that it was while reading The Faithfull Shepheard that I became convinced that such a manual could have guided Fuller to his particular method of sermon composition. I then turned to Bernard's sermons, and discovered Ruths Recompence. Thus the definite link was found only after the first apparently tenuous one had been surmised.

commentary on Ruth for guidance when composing a similar sermon series.

The Book of Ruth has always proved attractive to preachers and there exists a long line of commentaries on it. Before the connection between Fuller's and Bernard's can be established, therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the similarities observed are not due to dependence on a common source. Thus a brief survey of previous commentaries is essential. The ones which it has proved possible to investigate are:<sup>1</sup>

- 
- (1) The list of comments on Ruth given in John Wilkins's Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse Concerning the Gift of Preaching 1646, p.30, has been used for the purposes of this investigation. Some of the works cited are too late to be relevant; for example, Acosta's commentaries were first licensed by the Inquisition in 1634. Others it has proved impossible to trace; for example a search through Omnium Opera, 1648, of Hugo de S.Victoire reveals only one isolated annotation on Ruth (Vol. I, p.42). Similarly the commentaries of Alfonso Tostado, Thomas de Vio and Samuel Torshell seem to be no longer extant. Bede presents special difficulties. He is generally credited with a comment on Ruth, but this is no longer extant. In the Opera Venerabilis Bedae, Basle, 1563, Octavus Tomus, p.355 there is a note, not much longer than a paragraph, considering Ruth allegorically as a type of the Church. This is spurious (see The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, 1844, Volume IX, Preface, p.xii, note 3) but was perhaps in Wilkins's mind when he added Bede to his list. The inability to trace all the comments on Ruth does not invalidate the arguments which follow because in material so traditional anything of import in the earlier comments would probably be included in the six later ones traced.

Conradus Pellicanus: Opera: Tomus Secundus. In Quo Continetur Historia Sacra, Prophetæ Inquam Priores, Libri Videlicet Josue, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis, Regum & ex Hagiographis, Paralipomenon, Ezre, Nehemiae, & Hester, Commentariis....Illustrati. 1533.

Johann Brentz: In Librum Judicum et Ruth Commentarii, 1544.

Ludovicus Lavater: Liber Ruth..Homiliis XXVIII Expositus, 1578.

John Drusius: Historia Ruth, ex Ebraeo Latinè Conversa, & Commentario Explicata, 1586.

David Chytraeus: In Historiam Josuae, Judicum, Ruth;... Explicationes Utilissimae..., 1591.

Nicholas Serrarius: Commentarii in Sacros Bibliorum Libros, Josuae, Judicum Ruth..., 1611.

These vary considerably in treatment. That of Pellicanus is fairly full, considering the scope of the whole work, but Brentz selects brief extracts from the text and follows these with short comments. Drusius places the old Latin translation from the Hebrew parallel to his new translation, and adds very brief explanatory notes and a Greek version. The comment of Chytraeus is grouped under four broad topics:

1. Genealogia Christi.
2. De Aggregatione ad veram Ecclesiam.
3. De Vocatione Gentium.
4. Speculum Honestae Matronae.



Then follow short observations on a few points raised from each chapter. Serrarius proceeds by questions:

1. "Quis Elimelech ?"
2. "Quae huius Elimelechi uxor Noemi ?"
3. "Qui coniugum istorum filii ?"
4. "Quae, & quanta hos è Bethlehem, in Moab exturbavit, fames ?"<sup>1</sup>

Only the homilies of Lavater seem to have real affinities with the sermons of Bernard and Fuller, and it is possible that his work was consulted by them both. Certainly some of the similarities between the comments of the latter two can be explained by the fact that the preachers are writing on a common basis - the book of Ruth - and making use of established points of doctrine and the traditional solution of problems. For example, Lavater questions Naomi's action in persuading her daughters-in-law to return to their people:

"Sed cur, inquis, cum utraque; nurus se sponte comitem<sup>2</sup> offerat, eas a se repellit ? an non fuisset utile, eas ex idololatria ad veram religionem adduci, & tanquam ex incendio liberari ?"<sup>3</sup>

He then justifies her behaviour by arguing that she is merely testing the genuineness of the protestations of Ruth and Orpah:

- 
- (1) Serrarius: op. cit., pp.782-784.
  - (2) In cases where the original text fails to print the nasal (as, for eg., "comitē" for "comitem") I have substituted the full form, but have underlined the nasal.
  - (3) Lavater: op. cit. p.22.



"Respondeo, cupivisse quidem Naomi ambas ad veri Dei cultum converti, sed voluit sua illa dehortatione, explorare illarum constantiam: fortassis non satis habebat perspectum animum earum."<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Serrarius asks:

"An ab suo in Judaeam comitatu Ruth & Orpham dehortando, non peccavit Noemi?"<sup>2</sup> and gives this solution to the problem:

"In terram eas sanctam adducere optabat Noemi, sed si bonae constantisque mentis essent idque indagare ipsa & omnino, quantum fieri posset introspicere satagebat, prout e sequente rursum patebit quaestiuncula".<sup>3</sup>

Similarly Bernard states:

"But here it may be demanded, Whether Naomi did well, to persuade them to returne ? I answer, If she had done it in carelesnesse of their soules, or in a coldnesse of religion, shee had offended: but it was partly in her love to them for their outward estate, not knowing how to pleasure them, if they should take such paines to goe with her, and leave their owne country, and partly out of her wisdom to trie them, whether indeed they fully resolved to goe with her, let fall out, what might fall out. And this was praiseworthy in her, thus to try their soundnesse: for hereby shee found one rotten at the core, and the other most sound."<sup>4</sup>

---

(1) idem, p.22.

(2) Serrarius: op. cit., p.702.

(3) idem, p.703.

(4) Ruths Recompence, p.45.

Finally Fuller meets the difficulty with the same arguments. "To this accusation Naomi might justly answer: It is my hearts desire and prayer to God, that I may be an instrument of my Daughters in laws conversion; but the wisdom of the Serpent as well as the innocency of the Dove is to be used in all our actions, least we draw needlesse danger upon our selves... Wherefore without their minds would I do nothing, that their going might not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. To which end I will put them to the touchstone to see whether their forwardnesse be faithfull or faigned, sound or seeming, cordiall or counterfeit; I will weigh them both in the ballance, hoping that neither shall be found too light.

Upon these grounds learned men have acquitted Naomi from any fault in managing this matter, she doing it onely with an intent to trie them."<sup>1</sup>

Despite such agreement in the commentaries on broad issues, however, the similarities between Bernard's and Fuller's cannot be due to the fact that both are based independently on common sources. Lavater's comment is most akin, but though probably used by both men it often lacks details of illustration which the other two employ. Thus in the second of the extracts<sup>2</sup> which follow, Bernard and Fuller cite identical examples from

---

(1) A Comment on Ruth, Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.28-29.  
 (2) See p.51-53.

Luke, Kings, Samuel and Amos. Lavater recognises, as do all the other commentators, that famine is one of God's punishments:

"Quod famen attinet, apud prophetas inter quatuor numeratu flagella, quibus Deus homines castigat, sunt autem haec: pestis, fames, bellum, malae bestiae."<sup>1</sup>

Neither he nor any other writer investigated, however, employs these four illustrations. Similarly the examples of Lazarus, Abraham and Isaac, and Christ in the storm, in the seventh extract<sup>2</sup>, are peculiar to Bernard and Fuller. The available evidence, therefore, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Fuller had recourse to Bernard before composing his own sermon series. He does not follow slavishly. He enlarges some passages, omits many others, adds considerable sections independently, and at one point disagrees.<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) Lavater: op. cit. p.6.

(2) See p.55.

(3) When discussing the question as to whether second marriage between elderly people is permissible, Bernard says sternly: "And therefore let such widowes continue widowes, & betake themselves to God and his divine worship, as best befitteth them." (op. cit., p.66). Fuller, however, far less austere, declares: "Yet if any ancient persons, for their mutuall comfort and societie (which is not the least end for which Marriage was ordained), are disposed to match themselves herein, they are blamelesse; especially, if they have a care to observe a correspondencie of Age with those to whom they linke themselves." Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.41.

But Ruths Recompence provides him with his starting point. The extracts which follow reveal the connection between the two commentaries and also serve to throw into contrast various aspects of Fuller's style.

Ruths Recompence: Bernard.

A Comment on Ruth: Fuller.

I "Who penned this, is not certaine: but certaine it is by the Genealogie, Chap. 4.18,22 that the Scribe lived in Dauids time, and therefore it is held to be Samuels by some. But it is not necessary ever to know the Penners of every booke of Scripture, especially of Historicall and Dogmaticall, whose truth and authority depend not upon the writer or speaker, as Propheticall bookes doe, but upon the veritie of the things spoken, and written. The scribes name is concealed, the Lords pleasure was not to have it mentioned, and therefore after hidden things wee will not make further enquirie, especially in a matter of no more moment."

Page 2

"The Authors name (probably Samuel) is conceal'd, neither is it needfull it should be known: for even as a man that hath a piece of Gold that he knows to be weight, and sees it stamped with the Kings Image, careth not to know the name of that man who minted or coined it: So we, seeing this Book to have the superscription of Caesar, the stamp of the Holy Spirit, need not to be curious to know who was the Pen-man thereof."

Pages 7-8

II "In the Land of Canaan, the Kingdome of Israel, where God had placed them, planted them, and promised to them his blessings plentifully: yet see now, for their sinnes, in a Land once flowing

"Is this the Land whereof it is said, Gen. 49.20, Asher his bread shall be fat, and afford dainties for a King?..... How commeth it to passe that thy Rivers of Oyl are now dammed up? thy streams



Ruths Recompence: Bernard.

with Milke and Honey  
Ezech. 20.6 they find  
scarcity..."

Page 8

"And these sins in particular procure this plague; the abuse of Gods mercies, Luk. 15.14, Idolatrie, 1 King, 17.1.2. King 4.36. The murdering of innocents, 2 Sam. 21.1 and the oppression of the poore, Amos 4.1,6."

Page 9

III "Ephrathites of Bethlehem Judah. So termed, because Bethlehem was called Ephrata, Gen. 35.19 or for that the Countrey where Bethlehem stood, was so called, as may appeare in Mich. 5.2 and Judah is added not onely for a distinction of this Bethlehem, from the other in Zabulon, but for to make a difference of the Ephrathites here, from other in the tribe of Ephraim; for Jeroboam is called an Ephrathite, 1 King 11.26. By which wee see how carefull the holy Ghost is to make cleare the History, and to free it from ambiguity of speech that the truth might better appeare, and not be mistaken."

Page 17

A Comment on Ruth: Fuller.

of Wine drained drie ? that there is no bread found in Bethlem, the house of bread ?..."

Page 8

Famine is a heavy punishment, wherewith God afflicted his people for their sinnes....And these sinnes most especially procure Famine: 1 by Idolatrie, 1 King 17.1, 2 King 4.38. 2 by Abuse of Plenty: the Prodigall Child, Luke 15, from the keeping of Harlots, was brought to the keeping of Hoggs. It is just with God to make men want that to supply their necessity, which they have misspended in their nicetie. 3 by Shedding of Innocent blood, 2 Sam. 21.1. 4 by Oppression of the poor, Amos 4.6."

Pages 8-9

I begin with the place from whence he went, Bethlehem-Judah. This was the place, nigh to which Rachel as she was travelling fell into Travail, and ended her journey to Heaven in the midst of her journey on Earth: there was another of the same name in Zabulon, Josh. 19,15; and therefore Judah is added for difference and distinction. Observation. The Holy Spirit descends to our capacity, and in Scripture doth multiply words to make the matter the plainer..."

Pages 10-11

Ruths Recompence: Bernard.

IV And this commeth to passe, because the wicked are at home here; here their heaven and time of reioycing: but the godly are not here at home, the Lord looketh for their comming to him and therefore prepareth them by crosses, he loveth them, and therefore doth he correct them, that they might not be damned. Hence then it followeth, that we are not to iudge mens spirituall estates by outward prosperitie or adversitie; for the wicked have the greatest portion of the things of this life."

Pages 11-12

A Comment on Ruth: Fuller.

Let us not judge according to outward appearance, but judge righteous judgement, least otherwise we condemn the Generation of Gods Children, if we account outward blessings the signs of Gods favour, or calamities the arguments of his displeasure: neither let the afflicted Christian faint under Gods heavy hand; but let him know to his comfort, God therefore is angry in this world that he may not be angry in the world to come, and mercifully inflicteth temporall punishment that he may not justly confound with eternall torment."

Pages 11-12

V "Let not men in their abundance thinke to escape death: let them therefore not set their hearts on their wealth, for they must leave it. It is follie to trust in riches, for they cannot deliver from death, either ordinary, or extraordinary, lingering, or suddaine, naturall, or violent, as exemples and experience it selfe teacheth."

Page 21

"We see that no outward plenty can priviledge us from death; the sand of our life runneth as fast, though the Hour-glass be set in the sunshine of prosperitie, as in the gloomy shade of affliction."

Page 18

VI Death seized onely upon Elimelech and left Naomi, and also her sonnes, that she might not be utterly comfortlesse in a strange cuntry. From this may we note these two things:

Here we see how mercifully God dealt with Naomi, in that he quenched not all the sparks of her comfort at once; but though he took away the stock, he left her the stems; though he deprived her as it were of

Ruths Recompence: Bernard.

(i) That albeit death is due to all (in as much as all have sinned) yet it seizeth not upon all at once;....

(ii) That the Lord in afflict- ing his children, sweeteneth the same with some comforts: he wholly leaveth not them without some taste of his mercy and goodnesse, as we may see in his dealing with Naomi: he tooke away her husband, and left two sonnes: and after tooke them away, but gave her an excellent daughter in Law...."

Pages 23-24

And this the Lord doth in mercy, that his children might not be overwhelmed with griefe, and swallowed up of sorrow: therefore by one meanes he casts them downe, but by another sustaineth them."

Page 25

VII We are not to despaire in the greatest dangers, nor to thinke our selves forgotten in great extremities, but then seeke to God, trust in him, and doubt not of comfort. God will have Lazarus in the grave, before Christ will restore him to life; and Isaac bound upon the Altar, before he forbid Abraham to slay him: Till the ship be ready to sinke Christ will not awake...."

Page 37

A Comment on Ruth: Fuller.

the use of her own leggs by taking away her Husband, yet he left her a staffe in each of her hands, her two Sons to support her. Indeed afterwards he took them away, but first he provided her a gracious Daughter-in-law: whence we learn, God powreth not all his afflictions at once, but ever leaveth a little comfort, otherwise we should not onely be pressed down, but crush't to powder under the weight of his heavy hand.

Page 18

Gods punishments though they last sometimes long, yet alwayes they end at last: and yet sometimes for the manifestation of his power, and tryall of his Childrens patience, he suffers them to be brought into great extremities: Abrahams hand shall be heaved up to slay Isaac before the Angell shall catch hold of it: Lazarus shall be three dayes dead, before Christ will rayse him: the ship readie to sinke, before our Saviour will awake...."

Page 25



It will be obvious even from these brief extracts that such similarity in inference and illustration could only spring from the fact that Fuller consulted Bernard's commentary when writing his own. The interesting point is that though both preachers are saying approximately the same things their manner of expressing themselves is very different. A brief survey of the stylistic devices employed by Fuller will reveal the means by which he achieves his greater liveliness.

I. The effect is achieved in this passage by the similitude of the Book of Ruth, stamped by the Holy Spirit, to a gold coin stamped with the King's image. Fuller complicates the comparison by making "the stamp of the Holy Spirit" equivalent to "the superscription of Caesar". This additional metaphor springs, of course, from the coin image and the memory of the coin brought to Jesus. Perhaps Fuller intended the shock of surprise which results from this inner metaphor - the associations of the original story would normally lead us to regard Caesar's superscription as the opposite of "the stamp of the Holy Spirit". Perhaps he failed to analyse the figure and was content with the surface associations of the coin image.

II. Here Fuller employs somewhat flamboyant rhetorical questions, ending with word play on the original meaning of "Bethlehem". An example of 'paramoion' follows:



"...the Prodigall Child, Luke 15, from the keeping of Harlots, was brought to the keeping of Hoggs. It is just with God to make men want that to supply their necessity, which they have misspende~~d~~ in their nicetie."

III. The wit depends on the word-play on "travelling" and "travail", followed by the antithesis:

"...ended her journey to Heaven in the midst of her journey on Earth."

IV. Both passages comment on the basic contrast between rewards in this world and the next, but in Fuller's version the sentences are even more balanced and rhythmical, and thus the antithesis is sharpened.

V. The image of the hour glass, though conventional, makes Fuller's observation somewhat more memorable.

VI. This passage is enlivened by a series of metaphors of which the central one - Naomi crippled by being deprived of her husband but yet supported by her two sons - is so concrete as to be absurd.

VII. Bernard is content to cite the example of Abraham and Isaac. Fuller lends the illustration an emblematic vividness by compelling us to visualise the angel leaning down and seizing Abraham's uplifted hand.

Unexpected similitudes, alliteration, word play, balanced sentences, all help to invest Fuller's commentary with a sparkle which distinguishes it sharply from Bernard's

sober exposition. His style effervesces on the flat waters of traditional interpretations and inferences. Only by reading the two commentaries in their entirety, however, can their differences be fully appreciated, for many passages in Fuller have no equivalent in Bernard and cannot, therefore, be placed in direct contrast. Such are the lively dialogues which Fuller's fancy leads him to invent.

Elimelech's neighbour reproaches him for leaving Israel in order to dwell amongst heathens. Elimelech stoutly defends his action:

"...we see the flesh of fishes remaineth fresh, though they alwaies swim in the brackish waters; and I hope that the same God who preserved righteous Lot in the wicked City of Sodome, who protected faithful Joseph in the vicious Court of Pharaoh, will also keep me unspotted in the midst of Moab,..."<sup>1</sup>

Naomi warns her sons with many rhetorical flourishes against the seductive charms of the Moabitish women:

"Take heed therefore least long looking on these women you at length be made blind, least they suck out your souls with kisses, and Snake-like, sting you with embraces:"<sup>2</sup> curb

---

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.13.

(2) It is tempting to detect here not only an echo of Marlowe but of Arden of Feversham, Act V, Sc. I, lines 144-146.

Alice. "I shall no more be closed in Arden's arms,  
That like the snakes of black Tisiphone  
Sting me with their embracings!" ~~thax~~

your affections untill you come into Canaan where you shall find varietie of wives, who as they come not short of these for the beauties of their bodies, so they farre go beyond them for the sanctitie of their soules."<sup>1</sup>

These dialogues reveal little feeling for character and scarcely qualify for the epithet 'imaginative'. They are rhetorical devices, carefully constructed to include a good variety of the figures, and intended to enliven the sermons and delight the congregation. Within the limited scope of this intention they were doubtless highly successful.

It is unnecessary at this stage to cite further examples of the rhetorical devices employed by Fuller. Sufficient has been done to indicate the gulf which separates his style from that of the most austere Puritans, who dispensed with the figures of rhetoric not because they were ignorant of them, but because they felt, with Perkins, that "Humane wisdom must be concealed, whether it be in the matter of the sermon, or in the setting forth of the words: because the preaching of the word is the Testimonie of God, and the profession of the knowledge of Christ, and not of humane skill:"<sup>2</sup>

Specially interesting is the contrast revealed by the works of Bernard and Fuller, for here the comparison is not

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.19.

(2) William Perkins: The Workes, 1609, Vol. II, p.759.

between Fuller and the harshest of Puritans, but Fuller and a preacher who was also a man of letters. Bernard's flatter tone springs not from lack of literary skill but from temperament and policy. He can and does achieve pleasing effects; there is no harshness nor baldness. Yet his commentary pin-points by contrast those aspects of Fuller's style which caused the latter to be classed, by Victorians at least, with the "witty" preachers.

This, then, is the surprising feature of Fuller's sermons on Ruth, that he chooses for the form the plain method of "Doctrine and Use", that he chooses as the basis a Puritan commentary, and that he transmutes the whole by a style of the utmost liveliness. Yet, though Fuller's style is undoubtedly witty, it is not "witty" in the manner of Andrewes and his followers. Morris Fuller's attempt at classification will not stand either with reference to form or to style. For "wit" is a wide term, and it alone is not sufficient to justify the classification of a preacher as of the school of Andrewes. In an age when students quibbled at the Universities<sup>1</sup>, when James bestowed preferment on punsters<sup>2</sup>, when men could play on words even at their

---

(1) For some samples of college witticisms see Bailey: The Life, p.93.

(2) "That learned Monarch was himself a tolerable Punnster, and made very few Bishops or Priyy Counsellors that had not sometime or other signalized themselves by a Clinch, or a Conundrum." Spectator LXI.



executions<sup>1</sup>, in such an age the ability to coin a similitude or indulge in playful turns of fancy was not the sole prerogative of one section. Adams and Hall are both witty, yet neither is to be classed as a "witty" preacher. To avoid ambiguity, therefore, it will be preferable to abandon for the purposes of this chapter the contemporary designation for the Anglo-Catholic school, and instead to follow Fraser Mitchell's practice and transfer the term "metaphysical" from poetry to preaching. Thus Andrewes and his followers and Donne can be classed as 'metaphysical' preachers in order to distinguish them from such "witty" divines as Adams and Fuller.

Fraser Mitchell declares that when we speak of preaching as "metaphysical" we mean "that it is quaint and fantastic, not because it employs unusual or whimsical expressions or images, but that when it does employ such it derives them from a background of remote learning, and adapts them to use by a curious transmutation effected by means of the peculiar temperament or deliberate endeavour of the preacher."<sup>2</sup> A brief investigation of this "background of remote learning" will reveal the most characteristic features of the metaphysical sermon. It will be demonstrated that

---

(1) See The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech:..the 10 of January, 1644, 1644.

(2) Fraser Mitchell: op. cit. p.7.

Fuller does not share this background.

One of the most noteworthy practices of Andrewes and his followers<sup>1</sup> is their constant citation of the Fathers. Their sermons are a mosaic of patristic dicta; they quote or paraphrase the allegorical interpretations put forward by the Fathers and the Schoolmen<sup>2</sup>, and delight in noticing examples of rhetorical devices, isocolon, parison, paramoion, employed by them with consummate effect<sup>3</sup>. Moreover the debt of the metaphysicals does not stop at quotation and reference. What

- (1) In this category are included Thomas Playfere, John Hacket, John Cosin, Ralph Brownrig, Archbishop Laud, Henry King, Mark Frank, and (though he was not a direct imitator) John Donne.
- (2) Hacket: A Century of Sermons, 1675. "...St. Austin is bold to say this Ram in the Thicket was but a rellish and pregustration of him that was compelled to weare a Crown of thorns," The Third Sermon upon the Passion, p.520. See also Playfere: The Whole Sermons, 1623. "And Eucherius also saith, that the honours of the world are the waves of the world, which Christ did teach us to contemne, and tread under our feete, when hee himselfe did walke upon the water, The Path-Way to Perfection, p.197.
- (3) Hacket quotes Aquinas: "Vel propter mala quae timet ad Deum accedit, vel propter mala quae timet à Deo recedit," op. cit. The Fourth Sermon upon the Incarnation, p.37. He speaks of Bernard's 'elegancy' (ibid., p.32) and describes S. Basil as speaking "like an eloquent Orator in his Homily concerning Paradise," ibid., Third Sermon upon the Passion, p.517.
- See also Donne: LXXX Sermons, 1640. "Ubi morimur homicidae, (as St. Bernard expresses it powerfully and elegantly) that in those Duels and Combats, he that is murdered dyes a murderer, because he would have beene one; Occisor laethaliter peccat, occisus aeternaliter perit," Sermon I, On the Nativitie, p.5.

they observed, they imitated, and the existence of searching word-by-word exegesis by S. Augustine, word play and turns of fancy in S. Ambrose, antithesis in S. Basil and sustained imagery in S. Chrysostom justified their own frequent employment of such devices. Their theological position, which stressed the essential continuity of the English Church, made it possible for them to utilise all the wealth of devout scholarship and rhetoric to be found in the writings of the Fathers and the Schoolmen. Of this wealth there is scarcely a trace in Fuller's productions. The whole of the Comment on Ruth contains only three references to the Fathers<sup>1</sup>; in the sermons taken together there are not many more than thirty. Of these no less than four quotations from Augustine<sup>2</sup>, two from Ambrose<sup>3</sup>, two from Theodoret<sup>4</sup>, and one each from Chrysostom<sup>5</sup>, Jerome<sup>6</sup>, and S. Bernard<sup>7</sup> occur in one

- 
- (1) Fuller: Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.29. "...for, as Athanasius saith, It is a divine work to perswade mens souls to believe." "Is not that sentence most true, God stretcheth from end to end strongly, and disposeth all things sweetly? Strongly, Lord, for thee; sweetly, Lord, for me: so S. Bernard. ibid. Vol. I, p.69. "...but sure S. Austine in the first of his Retractationes complaineth, that he had too often used the word Fortuna; and therefore in the Pagans sense thereof we ought to abstaine from it." ibid., Vol. I, p.69.
- (2) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.416-7, 423, 427, 430.
- (3) Ibid., Vol. I, pp.420-21, 427.
- (4) Ibid., Vol. I, pp.416, 425 (These more in the nature of references)
- (5) ibid., Vol. I, p.414.
- (6) ibid., Vol. I, p.417.
- (7) ibid., Vol. I, p.420.

sermon, Jacobs Vow, 1644. This was preached before the King in Oxford, and for this occasion Fuller obviously made an effort. It was an effort he never repeated.

The speculations of the Jewish Rabbins and Cabbalists which had exercised a fascination over the Fathers also attracted the attention of the metaphysical preachers. They were not alone in this; Henry Smith<sup>1</sup> and Thomas Adams<sup>2</sup> could make use of Rabbinical scholarship on occasions. Nevertheless it is a sufficiently distinctive feature of the metaphysical sermon to be worth noticing.<sup>3</sup> Fuller, however, shows no interest in these speculations except occasionally to contradict them either directly or by inference. For example, in the Comment on Ruth he declares:

"I thinke not, with the Jewish Rabbins, that Ruth was the Daughter to Eglon, King of Moab;..."<sup>4</sup>

- 
- (1) Smith: The Workes, 1675, A Preparative to Marriage, p.5.  
 (2) Adams: The Workes, 1630. The Gallants Burden, p.3.  
 (3) See Andrewes: XCVI. Sermons, 1629. "...And, there is more in Orta. For, (it is Rabbi Moses note) that is (properly) when it springeth forth of it selfe, as the field flowers doe, without any seed cast in by the hand of man; so (saith he) should the MESSIAS come. Sermon II Of the Nativitie, p.102. See also Hacket, op. cit. The Seventh Sermon upon the Incarnation, p.66.  
Donne: Fifty Sermons, 1649, Vol. II.  
 "Where, as the Cabalists expresse our nearnesse to God, in that state, in that note, that the name of man, and the name of God, Adam, and Jehovah, in their numerall letters, are alike,..." Serm. XXIX, p.261.  
 (4) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.68.



and in two other sermons mentions the "fond conceit" of the Rabbins

"...that Manna did relish in the mouthes of men as the Eaters thereof did fancy to themselves...."<sup>1</sup>

Beyond this, however, Fuller did not venture into Jewish scholarship. As for the mystical significance of numbers, he is impatient of such nonsense. True he does on one occasion assert that

"The number of seven is most remarkable in Holy Writ, and passeth for the Emblem of perfection, or compleatnesse; as well it may, consisting of an Unity in the middle, guarded and attended with a Trinity on either side."<sup>2</sup>

This, however, is an isolated instance. Elsewhere he roundly declares:

"I am no superstitious observer, or ceremonious affecter of mystical numbers,"<sup>3</sup>

and proves it later by denying any special virtue to the number three.<sup>4</sup>

(1) ibid., Vol. II, p.552. See also Vol. I, p.458.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, pp.217-218.

(3) ibid., Vol. II, p.65.

(4) ibid., Vol. II, pp.92-93. "How came Satan now to leave our Saviour, rather then before?...It is not to be attributed to any latent operation, or mystical efficacie of the number of Three, as if the third resistance drave the devil away..."

This can be compared with Andrewes, op. cit., "To take a Song right, it behoveth to know the parts of it. And they are easily knowne; they divide themselves into the number blessed above all numbers, because it is the number of the Blessed Trinitie..." Sermon 13 Of the Nativitie, p.120.

A further characteristic feature of the metaphysical sermon is the employment of Greek, Hebrew and Latin terms and phrases, and it is from such terms that word play frequently springs.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the learned quality of metaphysical wit is emphasised by the fact that significance is found in the very tenses and cases of individual words.<sup>2</sup> Thus grammar itself is made a fruitful source of instruction. Fuller's sermons, however, are remarkably free from such displays of learning. It is exceedingly unusual for him to employ a Greek word; Latin phrases are rather more frequent but still very few. He allows himself an occasional indulgence:

- 
- (1) So Andrewes, speaking of Christ's command to Mary Magdalene, "Noli me tangere," says, "So, her offer would have beene in some more respective manner: her touch no Easter-day touch: her tangere had a tang in it (as we say)" op. cit., Sermon 15 Of the Resurrection, p.547.
- (2) "The other, be risen (the tense) is that right? For (ever) when we heare of the Resurrection, we are carried streight, to that of the dead, from their graves, at the later day. We conceive: Well, if He be risen, we shall rise: Shall, in the future tense. But, heer is newes of another, in the preter tense: (For, so it is; Be risen, not shall rise; be alreadie, not shall heerafter) ....But, this we beleve: as there is one to come of the body, at the last and great resurrection, which he treats of, to the Corinthians; so is there also one, which we are to passe heer, of the minde's; which heer he commendeth to the Collossians." Ibid., Sermon 8 Of the Resurrection, p.461. See also ibid., Sermon 14 Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost, p.748. Hacket, op. cit., agrees with the identification of the angelic herald to the shepherds as the angel Gabriel, on the strength of one definite article. The Third Sermon upon the Incarnation, p.21.

"Those are justly to be reprov'd, which lately have changed all hearty expressions of love into verball complements, which Etymologie is not to be deduced a completionē mentis, but a completē mentiri",<sup>1</sup>

and

"Thus love to men in want, was quickly turned into want of love, Mare Euxinum into Mare Axinum, Love-feasts into No-love-fasts."<sup>2</sup>

Such instances are rare, however, and generally Fuller's wit needs no knowledge of ancient tongues for its appreciation.

Such features of the metaphysical sermon as have been mentioned could easily tend to become merely external. There is no doubt that the sermons of the lesser men, who adopted all or some of the devices in order to be in the fashion, must have been as extravagant and tasteless as contemporary criticism by the other side would lead us to believe. The metaphysical preachers at their finest, however, rarely indulge in word play from mere cleverness or facetiousness. The tortured exegesis does not spring solely from ingenuity, but from an earnest desire to wrest from each word God's full intent. A pun may point in most memorable fashion

---

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.71.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.127.

some truth as to the nature of God and man's dependency on him<sup>1</sup>; a series of antitheses may be evoked by a reverent wonder at the great paradoxes of the Christian faith.<sup>2</sup> Thus of the finest of the metaphysical preachers it may be said, as Grierson has said of the metaphysical poets, that they reveal "the peculiar blend of passion and thought, feeling and ratiocination which is their greatest achievement."<sup>3</sup>

Fuller's achievement is different. His style gives no indication of a depth of learning to equal that of Andrewes and Donne; there is not the same intellectual wrestling behind his conceits. The very subject matter of his sermons treats of shallower themes; the whole tone is less enthusiastic, less "passionate", more moderate and kindly. Fuller was temperamentally opposed to too much speculation; he distrusted enthusiasm and deplored excess. Moreover, he seems genuinely to have felt that in his own stormy period God's purpose could best be served by the mild voice of moderation,<sup>4</sup>

- 
- (1) This is precisely what the "Immanuel", "Imanu-all" passage of Andrewes achieves, op. cit., Sermon 9 Of the Nativitie (Wrong pagination, 2nd page 76).
- (2) See Donne: LXXX Sermons, Sermon II, On the Nativity, p.19. Also Mark Frank: Sermons, 1849, Vol. I The Second Sermon on Christmas Day, p.80.
- (3) Herbert Grierson: Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century, 1921, Introduction, p.XVI.
- (4) This love of moderation may partly have been inherited. The writer of the anonymous life of Fuller describes the latter's father as "a man of a blameless and as private life, who spent himselfe in the discharge of his Pastorall office to w<sup>ch</sup> God had called him, without embarquing himselfe in the busie controversies of his time, that laboured under the fatigues of most importunate puritanism and pleading popery", p.2.



by emphasis on the practical precepts which should govern conduct and morals. Consequently in his sermons we find him stressing the duties of parents and children, reproofing the vices of drunkenness and gluttony, advocating honest work within one's calling and the correct payment of tithes. He does occasionally embroil himself in controversies, and enters the lists with his Sermon on Reformation<sup>1</sup>, his Infants Advocate<sup>2</sup> where he opposes the Anabaptists, and The Triple Reconciler<sup>3</sup> where he defends the prerogatives of the ministry in communion and baptism against the encroachments of the laity, and supports the universal use of the Lord's Prayer. Even here, however, the tone is refreshingly reasonable. As for the great themes which inspired the Fathers and later the Metaphysical preachers, they are surprisingly absent from Fuller's sermons. He has no series on the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection. He does not care to speculate, as they do, on the nature of hell fire nor of the angelic hosts. Indeed his views are crystallized in the following extract from his Sermon of Assurance, 1647:

"The Schoole-mens Bookes are stuffed with such questions, about the distances and dignities of Angels, as if men

- 
- (1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.289-313.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. II, pp.121-245.  
 (3) ibid., Vol. II, pp.293-370.

were to marshall them in Ranke and File, how that heavenly Hoste doe march in glory one before another. When men heare improbable matters from farre Countries related unto them, it is their usuall Returne, It is better to beleeeve them then goe thither to confute them. But let us not credit many unlikelyhoods concerning Angels, which the boldnesse of Schoolmen have obtruded upon us, but rather labour in Gods due time to goe to heaven, there with our owne happy experience to confute them.

ii. Well it is said of Socrates, that he was the first of the Grecians which humbled speculative into morall Philosophy. How well would the paines of that Minister be employed who should endeavour to bring downe and abate many superfluous contemplative Queries into practical Divinity!"<sup>1</sup> The last is the voice of Perkins, never of Donne.

Thus Fuller demonstrably shares hardly at all in the "background of remote learning" which is such a feature of the true metaphysical sermon. Instead his wit springs from more homely and accessible sources. Quotations from secular authors occasionally occur. He mentions Terence<sup>2</sup>, Suetonius<sup>3</sup>, Juvenal<sup>4</sup>, Perseus<sup>5</sup>, Tacitus<sup>6</sup>, and Vergil<sup>7</sup>, but

- 
- (1) ibid., Vol. I, p.469.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. I, p.26.  
 (3) ibid., Vol. I, p.93.  
 (4) ibid., Vol. I, p.175.  
 (5) ibid., Vol. I, p.209.  
 (6) ibid., Vol. I, p.221.  
 (7) ibid., Vol. I, p.452.

his real interests are more truly revealed in the anecdotes from Foxe<sup>1</sup> and Camden<sup>2</sup>. His most fruitful source of analogies and comparisons, however, is the Bible. Thus, speaking of the plantations in New England he declares:

"I conclude therefore of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two wines, Luke 5.39, No man having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new; for he saith the old is better."<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally the analogy is strained:

"As the Temple of Dagon principally leaned on two Pillars, and fell to the ground when Sampson took them away, so the buildings of our bodies chiefly relye on bread and water for outward sustenance, which being taken away, cannot but presently decay."<sup>4</sup>

Usually it is singularly dexterous. Thus when commenting on the Roman Catholic substitution of communion in one kind for communion in two, Fuller tellingly accuses the priests of being "guilty of that fault whereof Benjamin was taxed: they have stolne away the Cup."<sup>5</sup>

In Fuller's sermons, moreover, we see that same interest in proverbs which he shared with a majority of his contemporaries<sup>6</sup> and which all his works reveal. Obviously their

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.65-66.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, pp.79, 100-101.

(3) ibid., Vol. I, p.14.

(4) ibid., Vol. I, p.24-25.

(5) ibid., Vol. I, p.145.

(6) George Herbert published a considerable number in his selection: Jacula Prudentum, or Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences..., 1651. For other collections see Appendix to Chap. 6, p.349

pithy good sense appealed. Sometimes the proverb is a foreign one (but always translated).

"The French Proverb saith, They that laugh on Friday, shall cry on Sunday."<sup>1</sup>

More often it is English, sometimes introduced quite simply:

"But what saith our plain proverb, Ill will never speaks well,"<sup>2</sup> sometimes used as the source of a prolonged metaphor:

"A whet is no let, saith the Proverb: Mowers lose not any time, which they spend in whetting or grinding of their Sythes: our prayer to God in the Morning, before we enter on any businesse, doth not hinder us in our dayes worke, but rather whets it, sharpens it, sets an edge on our dull soules, and makes our mindes to undertake our labours with the greater alacritie."<sup>3</sup>

It is this employment of gnomic wisdom which contributes to the atmosphere of homely good sense which pervades Fuller's sermons.

It is impossible to indicate the full range of Fuller's irrepressible faculty for seeing analogies between the unlikeliest objects. A few illustrations must serve. Thus, self-distrustful Christians are compared to shaking chimneys:

- 
- (1) ibid., Vol. I, p.241.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. II, p.550.  
 (3) ibid., Vol. I, p.75.



"It is said in Building, that those Chimneys which shake most, and give way to the wind, will stand the longest: The Morall in Divinitie is true; those Christians that shiver for feare by sinnes to fall away, may be observed most couragious to persist in Pietie."<sup>1</sup>

Christians who are eager to pass judgment on others' chances of gaining Heaven are termed "Professours in spirituall Palmestry, who will undertake to read the Life-line, the line of eternall life, in the hands of mens soules."<sup>2</sup>

The existence of the special Court of the Star Chamber leads Fuller to speak of those "Slanderous Tongues ! which one day shall be justly fined in the Starre Chamber of Heaven,..."<sup>3</sup>

When defending the institution of marriage, he asks:

"Who can hinder it, if men of their Girdles and Garters make Halters to hang themselves ?"<sup>4</sup>

Turning to medicine, he declares that "God is no Mountebank, his receipts do the deed for which they were prescribed,"<sup>5</sup> and suggests that "most men are sick of the Rickets in the soul, their heads swell to a vast proportion, puft up with the emptinesse of airy speculations, whilst their leggs and

- (1) ibid., Vol. I, p.46.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. I, p.472.  
 (3) ibid., Vol. I, p.83.  
 (4) ibid., Vol. I, p.38.  
 (5) ibid., Vol. II, p.220.

lower parts do wast and consume, their practical parts do decay,...."<sup>1</sup>

Frequently Fuller's liveliest passages produce no shock of intellectual surprise but the smile which is the response to genuine humour. Occasionally he sinks to a cheaply ludicrous effect:

"But as that must needs be a deformed face, wherein there is a transposition of the colours, the blewnesse of the vines ['veins'] being set in the lips, the rednesse which should be in the cheeks, in the nose; so, alas ! most mishapen is our soule, since Adams fall, whereby our affections are so inverted, Joy stands where Griefe should, Griefe in the place of Joy."<sup>2</sup>

Such lapses, however, are rare in the sermons, where Fuller seems to have exercised on the whole a commendable self-restraint. Much more characteristic is the sly humour of his remark on the Parliamentary forces:

"I never knew nor heard of an Army all of Saints, save the holy Army of Martyrs; and those, you know, were dead first, for the last breath they sent forth proclaimed them to be Martyrs."<sup>3</sup>

(1) ibid., Vol. II, p.506.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.185. Evidently this went down well, for Fuller repeats it sixteen years later in the sermon The Worst of Evils, Vol. II, p.505.

(3) ibid., Vol. I, p.250.

In similar vein is the following:

"Some men there be whose charitable deeds are as rare as an Eclipse, or a Blazing-Starre; these men deserve to be pardoned for their pious deeds, they are so seldome guiltie of them:"<sup>1</sup>

Even these few extracts serve to show that Fuller's wit springs from the activity of a lively mind, remarkably quick to seize on analogies and comparisons, fond of the pungent phrase and pithy statement, but not profound, nor, for the period, over-weighted with learning. The associations made are surprising and stimulating, but the original ideas and objects associated are rarely obscure or exotic. There would be many amongst Fuller's city congregations who would possess equal raw material on which to work. What they lacked was Fuller's "entertainingly constructed" head.<sup>2</sup>

It now remains to be admitted that in Fuller's early sermons we can find occasional traces of the influence of Andrewes and his followers. Fuller was not the man to desire to insulate himself against the fashions of his day, and so it is not surprising to find him employing at times some of the images which had captured current fancy. Thus

---

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.99.

(2) Charles Lamb: Reflector No. IV, 1812. XIII, Specimens from the Writings of Fuller, the Church Historian, p.345.

he speaks of God as "that good Chymick that can distill good out of evill, light out of darknesse, order out of confusion..."<sup>1</sup>

He exhorts his congregation to be

"heartily thankfull to God for our plenty, who by the seasonable weeping of the Heavens hath caused the plentiful laughter of the Earth, and hath sent the former Raine to perform the part of a Midwife, to Deliver the infant Corne out of the wombe of the parched Earth; and the latter Raine to doe the duty of a Nurse, to swell and battle the Grain."<sup>2</sup>  
This can be compared with the more sustained birth image of Andrewes in his VIIIth Sermon on the Gun-powder Treason.<sup>3</sup>

Then again, Fuller takes over the favourite "conduit" metaphor<sup>4</sup> and, somewhat perfunctorily, applies it to Boaz: "She [Ruth] who formerly had been so thankfull to Boaz, the Conduit-Pipe, how can she be thought to be ungratefull to God, the Fountaine of all favours?"<sup>5</sup>

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.20.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.9.

(3) Andrewes: op. cit., p.975.

(4) See Andrewes: op. cit. Sermon 14. Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost: "the Father, the fountaine; the Sonne, the Cisterne; the HOLY GHOST the conduit-pipe, or pipes rather (for they are many) by and through which they are derived down to us," p.746. See also ibid., Sermon V, Of the Nativitie, p.52.

(5) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.89-90.



These, however, are superficial borrowings, the result of a young clergyman's desire to show awareness of current fashions. They perhaps help to explain, but they do not justify, the claim that these sermons "were composed upon the model set by Donne, Andrewes, and others,..." . Instead, as has been demonstrated, Fuller's pulpit technique even at the earliest was something peculiar to himself.

In this consideration of Fuller's pulpit oratory the Comment on Ruth has been used as the source of most of the illustrations. This has been done for a variety of reasons. The connection between the commentaries of Bernard and Fuller provides a useful means of contrasting the latter's style with that of a genuinely "plain" preacher. Moreover, the Comment on Ruth has always been Fuller's most popular sermon collection, and was accessible to the Victorians in <sup>two</sup> ~~three~~ editions before the complete sermons were published.<sup>1</sup> Thus the comments of critics before 1891 were based on a knowledge of this series in particular. Lastly, since this is the earliest of Fuller's prose works in composition, it is here that his style will be manifested in its most unpruned and youthful exuberance. If he had anywhere proved himself a metaphysical preacher it would have been in this commentary rather than in his later sermons composed during the Commonwealth period.

---

(1) See ante, p. 29, footnote 3 .

The question must be faced, however, as to whether there was any radical change in Fuller's pulpit technique during the thirty years of his preaching career. This will entail a brief survey of some of the sermons in their chronological order. Luckily such a survey is made possible by the fact that Fuller brought out his sermons during his own life time. Thus instead of the garbled versions taken from sermon notes or the records of shorthand scribes, which are all that remain of the pulpit eloquence of some preachers, (Ussher is a notable example), we have good dated texts which preserve distinctive stylistic features. Moreover, as far as we can judge, what we possess is substantially what Fuller preached, if we except the Notes on Jonah, which are unusually brief and unfinished, and the Comment on Matthew, which Fuller warns us has been condensed.<sup>1</sup> It is fairly safe to assume that, where no warning is given, what we possess is the actual sermon that Fuller's congregation heard. Certainly, if he had at all been in the habit of revising before publication, he would have removed from The Comment on Ruth some of the references to contemporary events which had become out

---

(1) Collected Sermons, Vol. II, pp.17-18. "To My constant Auditors at St. Clements Eastcheap." "If any say, These are not the Sermons you preached unto us, because there is much contracted in the Press of what you enlarged in the Pulpit; let them know, The Hand, when the fist is closed together, is the same with the same Hand, when the fingers were stretched forth and palm thereof expanded."

of date or even suspect when the work came to be printed.<sup>1</sup>

The group of sermons which has closest affinities with The Comment on Ruth is the collection entitled Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat, published 1640. It is impossible to state the exact date of composition of these sermons, though Lyman is led to suppose on rather slight evidence that they "must have been composed as academic exercises at a date even earlier than that of the Comment on Ruth."<sup>2</sup> He omits, however, to mention the one tangible fact, which is that the second sermon "How Far Examples are to be followed" is an excerpt from that very comment.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the excerpt comprises a section where Fuller pursues a subject independently of Bernard. There is, therefore, always a chance that Fuller based a sermon on a text from Ruth some time in the 1620s, and then incorporated the sermon into the longer work. It is much more likely, however, that he collected a set of sermons for publication, and then extracted one of the more original sections of his commentary, for insertion with them to make up a respectable number. Whatever the actual dates of composition of the various sermons, however, they have obviously more affinities with the Comment on Ruth than with

---

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.99. "...let that mercy make us to be mindfull of a former; his safe bringing back of our (then Prince, now) King from Spaine; when the pledge of our ensuing happiness was pawned in a forreine Country."

(2) Lyman: op. cit., p.19.

(3) See Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.47-51.

the London sermons which are closer to them in date of publication. For example, it is interesting to note that in Sermon V, A Glasse for Gluttons, Fuller applies an anecdote about the Spanish Inquisition in precisely the same fashion as he does in the Comment on Ruth<sup>1</sup>. To this instance can be added a reference to the "Star-chamber of Heaven" -

"To let them look on hungry was a despising of them in an high degree, a Scandalum Magnatum, censurable in the Star-chamber of Heaven,"<sup>2</sup>

which may be compared with the similar figure from the Comment on Ruth already cited.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, too, the whetstone

(1) Collected Sermons. A Glasse for Gluttons, Vol. I, p.202.

"Such is the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, that when they have brought a man to the doore of death, they will not let him goe in; when by exquisite tortures they have almost killed him, then by comfortable Cordials they doe again revive him: And whereas of God it is appoynted for all men once to dye, these mens cruelty makes men to dye often. Thus men, when they have stabbed and killed hunger with plentifull eating, with sauce and salt meats of purpose they restore it againe to life; and for severall times, according to their owne pleasures, kill and recall, stab and revive their appetites."

Comment on Ruth, ibid., Vol. I, p.88. "And as in the Spanish Inquisition such is their exquisite Crueltie, that, having brought one to the doore of Death by their Tortures, they then revive him by Cordials; and then again re-killing him with their Torments, fetch him againe with comfortable things; thus often re-iterating their Crueltie: so men, having killed their Appetite with good Cheare, seeke with Dishes made for the nonce to enliven it againe, to the superfluous wasting of Gods good creatures, and much endammaging the health of their owne bodies."

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.131.

(3) See ante, p.73



image of A Christning Sermon:

"I have seene a dull Wheat-stone set an edge on a Knife:"<sup>1</sup>  
 is a recollection of the other ~~wheat~~-stone image.<sup>2</sup> Though no  
 definite inferences can be drawn from such references as to  
 dates of composition, for, as has been shown, the commonplace  
 habit enabled Fuller to employ a passage sixteen years after  
 he had first used it,<sup>3</sup> yet such illustrations do serve to  
 show that Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat has many points of  
 kinship with the Comment on Ruth.

Moreover, in both sermon collections there is the same  
 exuberance of style. Alliteration and antithesis are em-  
 ployed prodigally; there is an abundance of word play and  
 surprising similitudes. At times the desire to create an  
 effect leads to a lapse of taste. For example in A Comment  
on Ruth Fuller develops the image of God's sheltering wings  
 until in the end he asks us to

"Hearke how the Hen clocks in the Psalmes, Call upon me in  
the time of trouble, and I will heare thee, and thou shalt  
prayse me !..... How she clocketh, Math. 7.7, Aske and ye  
shall have, seeke and ye shall finde, knock and it shall be  
opened unto you..."<sup>4</sup>

---

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.214.

(2) See ante, p.72.

(3) See ante, p.74, footnote 1.

(4) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.85.

Though there are no instances of a stylistic insensitivity quite so blatant in Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat, yet we can still find Fuller straining for a sensational effect:

"So if when the Drunkard sings, the drinke sighes; when the Glutton laughs, the Meate grieves to bee so vainely mispent by him."<sup>1</sup>

The three London sermons, A Fast Sermon Preacht on Innocents day, 1642, A Sermon Preached at the Collegiat Church of S. Peter in Westminster, on the 27 of March, being the day of His Majesties Inauguration, 1643, and A Sermon of Reformation, 1643, reveal a more sober Fuller. The tone is more urgent, and the pressure of events seems to have exercised a chastening effect. There is, however, no fundamental change in style. The reference to Joseph in A Fast Sermon is as extravagant as anything to be found in the earlier sermons: "Wherein the Prophet alludes to the story of Joseph, Genes 37, 24, who was put into a pit without water (except such as flowed from his eyes) where he must either dye for want of meat, or dye for being meat to wilde Beasts; and yet in the meane time his Brethren, though they saw the anguish of his soul, Genes 42.21, (made visible and transparent through the windowes of his weeping eyes, bended knees,

---

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.200.

begging tongue, folded hands) did most barbarously sit down to eate."<sup>1</sup>

There is employment of alliteration and antithesis:

"Put all these together; that warre makes a Land more wicked, makes a Land more wofull, is bad in it selfe, is worse in its traine, destroyes Christian people, and disgraces Christian profession..."<sup>2</sup>

"Let us pray faithfully, pray fervently, pray constantly, pray continually."<sup>3</sup>

"Her homebred wares enough to maintain her, and her homebred warres enough to destroy her...."<sup>4</sup>

We can find many instances of Fuller's characteristic wit:

"....for the sword cannot discerne betwixt truth and errour; it may have two edges, but hath never an eye."<sup>5</sup>

"The Reformation under Edward the sixth was like the Reformer, little better than a childe; and he must needs be a weake Defender of the Faith, who needed a Lord Protector for himselfe."<sup>6</sup>

There are even passages of strained bombast that are akin to the forced rhetorical effects of the earlier works. This

- (1) ibid., Vol. I, p.261.  
 (2) ibid., Vol. I, p.247.  
 (3) ibid., Vol. I, p.287.  
 (4) ibid., Vol. I, p.312.  
 (5) ibid., Vol. I, p.249.  
 (6) ibid., Vol. I, p.301.

invocation to the elements is specially interesting as a reminiscence of Dauids Hainous Sinne.<sup>1</sup>

"Speake, Lord, speake to the Fire, and it shall with flashes consume him; to the Ayre, and with pestilent vapours it shall choake him; to the Water, and with deluges it shall overhelme him; to the Earth, and with yawning chops it shall devoure him."<sup>2</sup>

If we leap ahead almost fifteen years and consider the collection of sermons which came out in 1656 and comprises The Best Employment, A Gift for God alone, The True Penitent, The Best Act of Oblivion, along with the Notes on Jonah, we shall find ample evidence of the permanence of Fuller's fundamental stylistic characteristics. Examples of practically every feature which has already been noted can be discovered in this group alone. The following can be cited for an instance of a similitude drawn from the Bible:

"As Joshua when he entred to Jericho was carefull to spare her house, at whose window the Red Lace did hang out, so God will be carefull to preserve such, at whose windows, at whose eyes, Rednesse made by their mourning, as a signe of their sorrow doth appeare,...."<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) Dauids Heartie Repentance, verse 4.

"Please it your Highnes, for to give me leave,  
Il'e scorch the wretch to cinders, said the Fire;  
Send me, said Aire, him Il'e of breath bereave;  
No, quoth the earnest Water, I desire  
His soylie sinnes with deluges to scoure;  
Nay, let my Lord quoth Earth, imploy my power  
With yawning chapps, I will him quick devoure."

(2) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.259.

(3) ibid., Vol. II, p.438.



This reference to the centurion converted by S. Peter reveals Fuller's persisting delight in antithesis and word-play:

"Instead of being proud towards others, in much humility he macerated himself with fasting (v.30). Instead of being guilty of Ignorance and Profaneness, he feared God with all his house. Let none hereafter envy this Centurion the height of his place, or repine at his power, ruling over a hundred, seeing he was a man of a thousand."<sup>1</sup>

Out of many examples of alliteration can be noticed:

"Here a Hypocrite hated him, there a Scribe scorned him; here a Lawyer left him, there a Pharisee forsook him;"<sup>2</sup>

There is still rich employment of metaphor:

"Lastly, the lameness of his Lie may be hidden or helped by lending it the Charitable Staffe of an equivocation."<sup>3</sup>

"Take heed, Atheisme knocks at the doore of the hearts of all men, and where Luxury is the Porter it will be let in."<sup>4</sup>

"For indeed, this doctrine will grow the best when it is sown in those furrowes, which age hath made in the face."<sup>5</sup>

Finally, this passage on the toothache is worth citing

- (1) ibid., Vol. II, p.395.
- (2) ibid., Vol. II, p.406.
- (3) ibid., Vol. II, p.429.
- (4) ibid., Vol. II, p.437.
- (5) ibid., Vol. II, p.452.

because the same mundane ailment finds a place in two previous sermons.<sup>1</sup>

"He that hath the Tooth-ach, cries out most, even to the disturbing of the standers by; and no wonder, if where the mouth be Plaintiff, it complaineth aloud of its own grievances: and yet all know the Tooth-ach not to be mortall; it hath raised many from their Beds, sent few to the Grave, hindred the sleep of many, hastned the death of few:..."<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious from this that Fuller's style suffered no fundamental change even during the critical period of the Commonwealth. The form of his sermons remained the same, for he started out by employing a simple form of the plain manner of "Doctrine and Use", and there was no cause to abandon the method. The modifications in style affect more the quantity of figures employed than the quality. Thus in A Comment on Ruth and Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat alliteration and antithesis, word-play and similitude, are used very liberally. In the sermons after 1641 the same types of figures occur, but they occur with less frequency. The wit

---

(1) See Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat, Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.167. "Let us therefore patiently endure the aking of the teeth; wee have all deserved the gnashing of the teeth."

Also Life out of Death Preached 1652 ibid., Vol. II, p.386. "What is thy disease, the Tooth-ach? indeed a grievous one of all that are not mortall: but blessed be God, it hath raised many from their beds, it hath sent few to their graves, often hindered sleep, seldom caused death; but know, if we had our due, it is not the aking of the teeth, but gnashing of the teeth which we deserve."

(2) ibid., Vol. II, p.436.

is unchanged, but manifests itself less extravagantly. Never after A Comment on Ruth does Fuller indulge in dialogues, and never after Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat does he insert characters into his sermons. Such devices are the experiments of his youth, which he sheds. But in a period when the plain puritan sermon came increasingly to be admired, Fuller still indulged in word-play and witticisms. They were no mere fashions, adopted in his youth and to be rejected when the fashion fell into disrepute. They were a fundamental feature of his style, differing greatly from the conceits of the metaphysicals, and employed, as Charles Lamb has stated, because "upon most occasions it would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them."<sup>1</sup> Increasing maturity, the pressure of public events, the chastening troubles of the Civil War period, and the growing demand for plain sermons, all exercised a sobering effect on Fuller's eloquence. To the end, however, he adhered to his principle that

"Though sermons may not laugh with light expressions, yet it is not unlawfull for them to smile with delightfull language:"<sup>2</sup>

It is easy to understand why Fuller enjoyed contemporary popularity. In an age when the pulpit was too often a

---

(1) Reflector, No. IV, 1812. XIII, p.342.

(2) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.497.

platform from which to hurl abuse at one's adversaries his sermons retained a refreshingly sane and friendly tone. He appealed to the many moderates who enjoyed a simple and orderly exposition, who were anxious for practical and straightforward advice and comfort, but who were nevertheless human enough to enjoy having their sermons enlivened by an entertaining anecdote, a skilful employment of similitude, or a stroke of wit. The extremists on both sides would think his discourses objectionable. There is no doubt, however, that many people must have found in Fuller's sermons a refreshing compromise between the obscure and pedantic discourses of would-be metaphysicals, and the interminable and bleak prophesyings of the predestined Saints.

One aspect of Fuller's pulpit technique deserves particular stress since it has relevance to his practice in his more literary works. Much has already been made of his use of a certain planned mode of exposition termed the method of "Doctrine and Use". Reasons have been suggested for Fuller's adoption of this method. He had a personal admiration for some of the plain preachers who made use of it; Bernard's The Faithfull Shepherd may have influenced him at an impressionable time; he may deliberately have adopted a form which would ally him with the more obviously Calvinistic ministers in order to counteract a style that



might otherwise have been deemed too exuberant. But in addition to personal and theological reasons Fuller may have been led to this choice by his feelings as a man of letters. It is very possible that he felt the need of a clear cut and definite method which would hold together his sermons. He must have been aware of his own tendency to work in short flights, to digress, and the system of "Doctrine and Use" would furnish him with a simple but firm framework. He could indulge in brief comments and his inevitable short paragraphs and still prevent his sermons from disintegrating. The method would provide a discipline not only theological but stylistic. The result is that Fuller's sermons are always orderly. This, of course, has not saved them from the aphorism hunters, who have broken them down, along with his other works, into collections of witty sayings, wise counsels, and "quaint nuggets". But it is important to realise that Fuller was a methodical, disciplined preacher because he has so often been treated as an unmethodical, undisciplined writer. Actually investigation reveals that each one of his works is constructed on a definite plan. The rhetorical training he shared with his contemporaries plus the specialised training he underwent as a student of divinity would make it almost impossible for him to proceed with any work without a "method". Sometimes the method is more fundamental than we might have suspected, and Houghton,

in his study of The Holy and Profane States<sup>1</sup> has revealed the essential order underlying that particular book. Often it is something more external and imposed from without, so that the work can be compared not to a living organism growing round a skeleton but to a parcel tied with lengths of strong string. But the strings are there, and to cut them is to reduce the contents to chaos. The strings are woven of a variety of devices, from the elaborate groupings of The Worthies which take twenty-four preliminary chapters to chart, ~~xxxx~~ through the simpler classification under headings of the Thoughts, down to the system of significant underlinings and the marginal numbering of points. Some of these devices may seem superficial, even childishly irritating, but they reveal an awareness of the necessity for clarity and orderliness, and an interest in organisation as such. They spring from the same desire to impose an order as impelled Fuller to choose the "plain, (but effectual) manner of preaching by Use and Doctrine." It is significant, therefore, that Fuller in his sermons, as in his literary works, attempted to marshal his notions "into a handsome method."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) Houghton: op. cit.

(2) Fuller: The Holy and Profane States, p.175.

CHAPTER III

The Historie of the Holy Warre

Appendix

A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine

CHAPTER III

The prestige of history in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was heightened by a combination of circumstances. The patronage of Italian despots, who had found in history a justification for their own ambitions, had encouraged a remarkable outburst of historical writing and theorising from the humanists among their subjects.<sup>1</sup> The impetus spread from Italy and reached Tudor England first in the person of Polydore Vergil, and then in the theories of Accotio Tridentino and Francisco Patricio, condensed and translated by Thomas Blundevill in 1574.<sup>2</sup> The practice of Guicciardini and Machiavelli was made available in the English versions of their works which appeared in 1579<sup>3</sup> and 1595<sup>4</sup>. Classical histories were read with new zest, and translators felt an almost evangelical urge to

- 
- (1) See Lewis Einstein: The Italian Renaissance in England, 1902, pp.286-288.
- (2) The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories, 1574.
- (3) The Historie of Guicciardin, Conteining the Warres of Italie and Other Partes... Reduced into English by G.Fenton, 1579.
- (4) The Florentine Historie... Translated into English by T(homas) B(edingfeld) Esquire, 1595.



render them in the vernacular. Queen Elizabeth herself was gracious enough to dabble in the art and lend it the prestige of her person and position. Moreover, the new scientific spirit was beginning to manifest itself, albeit in very tentative fashion, and this, combining with Renaissance humanism, gave to history fresh accuracy and depth. Finally a powerful stimulus to the study was supplied by the activities of the religious controversialists, who regarded all history as a gigantic arsenal.

As a result of all this renewed interest Clio remained inviolate no matter how the other muses were attacked. For the enthusiasts claimed that history possessed not only the negative virtue of being harmless, but the positive one of being the perfect instructor. Cicero's eulogy:

"Historia vero, testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis"<sup>1</sup>

became the centre round which all discussion revolved, and the virtues of the study indicated in this statement were reiterated in confident chorus throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. History was the most efficacious guide to the virtuous life, for a study of the past revealed telling examples of God's favour to the righteous and

---

(1) De Oratore Libri Tres, a Philippo Melanethone, 1534.  
'De Oratore', Lib. II, opp. p.52.

judgment on the wicked. Thus the diligent student would be "stirred by example of the good to followe the good, and by example of the evill to flee the evill", for "nothing is more meete to drawe us from vice and dishonest dealing, than the examples of evill successes, which God hath given to the wicked, as punishments for theyr evill deserts."<sup>1</sup>

This belief in the utility of history as an inducement to morality finds automatic expression in every writer on the subject. Thus Jean Bodin, whose Methodus, ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem, 1566 expressed for France many of the Italian theories, declares:

"This, then, is the greatest benefit of historical books, that some men, at least, can be incited to virtue and others can be frightened away from vice."<sup>2</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh, in spite of a certain scepticism, which may partly be the result of his own experiences, is sufficiently in the tradition to claim:

"wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens

(1) Blundevill, op. cit.; "What order and methode is to be observed in reading hystories".

(2) Method for the Easy Comprehension of History Translated by B.Reynolds, 1945, p.9. References throughout are to this edition.

fore-passed miseries, with our owne like errours and ill deservings."<sup>1</sup>

Richard Braithwait, in his Survey of History, observes darkly:

"There be many mazes for the young man":

and then records with enthusiasm:

"I have knowne many exposed to all delights, and (as it were) sold under the gage of prostitution, who by Historicall observations have not onely reclaimed their former errour, but grew singular mirrours of purity."<sup>2</sup>

Not only those intent on the heavenly kingdom, however, but those anxious to prosper in this world, were encouraged to turn to history. For there the accumulated wisdom of the ages was deposited, and by absorbing knowledge about the past a man might learn how to conduct himself discreetly in the present, and even to anticipate to some extent the future. Thus Bodin declares that

"Whatever our elders observe and acquire by long experience is committed to the treasure house of history, then men of a later age join to observations of the past reflections for the future and compare the causes of obscure things, studying the efficient causes and the ends of each as if they were placed beneath their eyes."<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) The History of the World, 1614. The Preface.

(2) A Survey of History: or a Nursery for Gentry, 1638, p.330.

(3) Bodin, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

Thomas Lodge, in the address to the reader preceding his translation of Josephus, states:

"All which being traduced to our private use, wee may either as partners in what we have past, or observed<sup>rs</sup> of future casualties, by precedent events, tye ages to our memories; and preventing our escapes, by survey of other mens repentance, briefly beget experience by sight, or foresight of worldly casualities, and forme a mirror of fore-passed errors, to for-iudge our future calamities."<sup>1</sup>

With a welcome clarity Thomas Hobbes in the preface to his translation of Thucydides roundly declares that the "principall and proper worke" of History is "to instruct, and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions past, to beare themselves prudently in the present, and providently towards the Future,..."<sup>2</sup>

The enthusiasts were not content, however, merely to indicate the general ways in which history could prove beneficial. They attributed surprisingly detailed practical results to the study. The courtier or politician could acquire insight into "the secrets of princes and the life of

---

(1) "The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus...Translated..by Tho. Lodge, 1620. "To the Courteous Reader, as touching the use and abuse of Historie."

(2) "Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre Written by Thucydides...Interpreted...by Thomas Hobbes, 1629, "To the Readers'.



the palace" by reading "Suetonius, Lampridius, Spartianus, Sleidan, and Machiavelli"; the statesman could acquire "civil training" from "Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Livy, Zonaras, Dio, and Appian."<sup>1</sup> The Commentaries of Caesar were acclaimed as the best guide to military success. Thus of Selim, Prince of the Turks, Bodin noted that

"Although his ancestors always avoided history on the ground that it is false, he himself first had the deeds of Caesar translated into the vernacular, and by imitating that general in a short time he joined a great part of Asia Minor and of Africa to the dominion of his ancestors."<sup>2</sup>

History could even act as a reviver of the sick, for in the same treatise we read of

"Alphonso and Ferdinand, kings of Spain and of Sicily; one recovered his lost health through Livy, the other through Quintus Curtius, although the skill of physicians could not help them."<sup>3</sup>

The majority of literate Englishmen tended to regard the study of history with the naive optimism implicit in these statements. The Puritans reserved their anathemas for the stage, and were careful to avoid criticising an art which in the hands of the Magdeburg Centurists and the

---

(1) Bodin, op. cit., p.54.

(2) ibid., p.13.

(3) ibid., p.12.

redoubtable John Foxe had proved such a valuable weapon in the attack on Roman Catholicism. Sober Calvinist merchants could buy chronicles and epitomes in the happy conviction that not only were they acquiring moral guidance, but practical hints which might help them to health, prosperity and social eminence. The governing classes saw in history a means whereby subservient elements could be controlled or roused, and the healthy respect paid by them to the subject is apparent in the fate of Sir John Hayward, who was imprisoned for the supposedly treasonable implications of his work on King Henry IV.<sup>1</sup> Finally the men of intellect revered history not necessarily as a record of Divine favour or retribution, but as the teacher of wise and expedient action. Men such as Bacon were quite aware of the fact that Providence was often unaccountably lax and failed to act with the poetic justice beloved of the naiver historiographers. Their rhetorical justification for the study<sup>2</sup> was that history did or should supply a record of acts and their causes and effects, from which the astute man could draw conclusions

---

(1) The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the 1111, 1599.

(2) Bacon and others must have studied history from a disinterested zest for information and a delight in extending knowledge. The century, however, required a justification for the study, and the men of intellect accordingly supplied it by stressing the utility of the subject in public and private life - a utility they doubtless believed in quite genuinely.

which would prove beneficial to him in the conduct of both his private life and civil affairs. It is for this reason that Hobbes praises Thucydides:

"He [the reader] may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe, and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their seate."<sup>1</sup>

It is for this reason that Bacon terms writers of histories (along with the poets)

"the best doctors of this knowledge; where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify, how they are inwrapped one with another, and how they do fight and encounter one with another, and other the like peculiarities: amongst the which this last is of special use in moral and civil matters;"<sup>2</sup>

Although philosophy could give a man this insight, history had a further ethical value, in that it not only demonstrated what a man was capable of doing, or what he ought to do, but inspired in him the very desire to do it. History was

(1) Hobbes, op. cit., 'To the Readers'.

(2) Bacon: The Works. Edited Spedding, Ellis and Heath, 1857-1874, Vol. III, p.438, 'Of the Advancement of Learning', Book II. This edition used throughout and referred to hereafter as The Works.

"philosophy teaching by examples", and therefore more potent. Leo Strauss, in his study of the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, has stated:

"One may therefore say: sixteenth-century development tends to replace philosophy by history."<sup>1</sup>

This tendency continued for a time into the seventeenth century, even affecting the younger Hobbes.

Such was the prestige enjoyed by history amongst all classes and sects. Many readers doubtless bought histories in order "to beguile time, and beget officious idleness, laughing away houres...",<sup>2</sup>

but although entertainment might be the prime concern of a good number of buyers, all could salve the conscience with thoughts of the benefits that would undoubtedly accrue. It seems natural, therefore, that when Fuller made his first major attempt to win public recognition, he should do it by means of a history. His own personal delight in the subject is obvious, for only a man prompted by genuine pleasure could devise for history the felicitous phrase "a velvet-study".<sup>3</sup> But personal delight alone would not have justified the

- (1) The Political Philosophy of Hobbes...Translated...By Elsa M.Sinclair, 1936, p.95.
- (2) An accusation levelled by Lodge; op. cit., "To the Courteous Reader".
- (3) The Historie of the Holy Warre, 1639. "The epistle Dedicatorie." (References throughout are to this 1<sup>st</sup> edition.)



venture. There is no doubt that when Fuller wrote he considered not only what he would enjoy writing, but also what would prove profitable for him to write, both morally and financially.<sup>1</sup> That was where history had the advantage over all the arts save divinity. Apart from divinity, no other study was at once so popular and so highly regarded. A man who wrote a good history could be confident of producing not only a best seller, but a work which would enhance his reputation both as a scholar and public benefactor. The whole climate of opinion was a direct inducement for Fuller, as a Protestant divine with a lively curiosity about the past and a taste for anecdote, to launch into a history. The result was The Historie of the Holy Warre, printed by Thomas Buck, one of the printers to the University of Cambridge, in 1639. When Fuller, in his dedication to the Honourable Edward Montagu and Sir John Powlet, claims for history that it "maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; priviledging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it

---

(1) Witness his revealing comments in The Worthies of England, 1662. One of his aims was "To procure some honest profit to my self" and he remarks with some satisfaction "Hitherto no Stationer hath lost by me," Chapter I, pp. 1 and 2.

Notice also Fuller's comment on Spencer's "Chaucerisms", "known by the learned to be beauties to his book; which notwithstanding had been more salable, if more conformed to our modern language." London, p.219.

not onely maketh things past, present; but inableth one to make a rationall conjecture of things to come," when he claims this, he has the whole weight of Renaissance and Reformation opinion behind his statement.

Why Fuller was attracted to history is apparent, but why he chose to write a history of the Crusades requires further investigation. No one can declare save on an author's own authority what prompts him to produce a particular work. Investigation of available evidence, however, can lead to suggestions which even if only tentative serve to illumine a writer's motives and background. Thus it is very possible that Fuller's own theological studies first gave him an interest in the Middle East. This specialised interest would be paralleled by the general interest evinced by all his contemporaries; some from motives of piety wishing to know more of the country from which the Christian faith had sprung, others for reasons of trade eager for any information about a region assuming increasing importance since the formation of the Levant Company in 1581.

Far more potent than any pious or business interest in the Middle East, however, was the fascinated curiosity felt by all classes in "The glorious Empire of the Turks, the present terrour of the world..."<sup>1</sup> The Turk served as a

---

(1) Richard Knolles: The Generall Historie of the Turkes, 1610, p.1.

focus for discussion and exhortation, and dominated the public consciousness somewhat as the atom peril does today, save that the Turk had at least the saving grace of picturesqueness.<sup>1</sup> The English, further removed from the danger than their European neighbours, could concentrate more on this aspect. The Elizabethan imagination had been inflamed by impressions of the sadistic cruelty and fanatical bravery of the Ottomans. Merchants and ambassadors brought back tales of the erotic opulence of the Great Turk's court. Intrepid travellers wrote accounts of their journeys into these dangerous regions. William Lithgow's A Most Delectable, and True Discourse, of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affricke, 1614, Sir George Sandys's A Relation of a Journey, 1615, Fynes Moryson's An Itinerary, 1617, Sir Henry Blount's A Voyage into the Levant, 1636, all testify to the lively curiosity about this area which persisted through the reigns of James and Charles. Interest in the Turks was sustained by news sheets which reported such events as

---

(1) The relevance to Fuller's history of the Crusades of the following evidence demonstrating seventeenth century interest in the Ottoman lies in the fact that then little clear distinction was made between Saracen and Turk. Both represented the Moslem threat. This point is elaborated pp. 108-115.

Good Newes from Florence: of a famous victorie obtained  
against the Turkes, 1614,

Newes from Turkie, or the Death of Achmet, 1618,

The strangling and death of the great Turke, 1623.<sup>1</sup>

Copies of supposedly authentic documents were circulated, and in 1613 there appeared in print a translation of The Greate Turkes Defiance to Sigismond the Third. With replie; in 1621 True Copies of the insolent letter lately written by the Great Turke, and in 1638 A Vaunting letter sent from Sultan Morat<sup>2</sup>. The presence in England of soldiers returned from volunteer service in Europe against the Turk, and of displaced persons, Hungarian and Greek, prevented the Turkish question from becoming purely literary and academic. Thus Thomas Coryate, in The Odcombian Banquet, is described as practising Greek with a refugee in S. Paul's<sup>3</sup>; in 1623 a certain John Albertus was granted a licence to have a general collection for his relief raised throughout England<sup>4</sup>, and in

---

(1) For a more complete list of this ephemeral literature see Samuel C. Chew: The Crescent and the Rose, 1937, pp.139-141.

(2) See ibid., p.141.

(3) The Odcombian Banquet, 1611. "A Character of the Author." "The greatest Politicke that advances into Paules hee will quitte, to go talke with the Grecian that begges there;..." Coryate adds an explanatory note: "Not to beg, but to talke Greeke the better with the naturall Grecians." B2.

(4) Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1859, years 1623-25, p.111.



1626 Contarini Paleologus was granted "liberty of collection at the Churches for redeeming his wife, children, and kinsfolks from the servitude of the Turks."<sup>1</sup> Orford gave shelter to three Greek scholars, one of whom, Nathaniel Conopius, has achieved a certain limited fame through being the first man to be seen drinking coffee by John Evelyn.<sup>2</sup>

Thus although by the 1630s the Ottoman Empire had passed its zenith and was no longer regarded with the almost fatalistic terror which it had once inspired, there is ample evidence that curiosity about the Turk remained lively and fresh in England, stimulated by travellers' tales, ephemeral literature and the presence of actual Turkish victims, with the result that anything connected with the Turk had definite "news value". That interest was far from flagging is obvious from the literature of the period. Thus Phineas Fletcher, inspired by a picture of Achmet, "the Turkish Tyrant", writes:

"His greener youth, most with the heathen spent,  
Gives Christian princes justest cause to fear  
His riper age, whose childhood thus is bent.  
A thousand trophies will he shortly rear,  
Unlesse that God, who gave him first this rage,  
Bind his proud head in humble vassalage."<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) C.S.P. Dom. Series, 1625-6, p.557.

(2) "He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, w<sup>ch</sup> custom came not into England till 30 years after."

Evelyn: Memoirs...Comprising His Diary, from the Year 1641 to 1765-6... Edited by William Bray, 1818, Vol. I, p.7. (10th May, 1637).

(3) The Poems... Collected and Edited...by the Rev. Alexander B.Grosart. In Four Volumes, 1869, Vol. III, pp.217-218.

The Sallee expedition was celebrated by Edmund Waller in his poem On the Taking of Sallee<sup>1</sup>. The series of plays with Turkish settings or associations continued in full spate, commencing with The Blacksmiths Daughter, 1579, and still persisting in the 1630s with

The Emperor of the East, 1631,

the second edition of Mulleasses the Turke, 1632,

The Royal Slave, 1636,

Aglaura, 1637,

Osmond the Great Turk, 1638,

The Phoenix in Her Flames, 1638,

The Rebellion, 1639.<sup>2</sup>

Even had there been nothing written or recounted of the Turks in this period, the activities of the Barbary pirates alone would have been sufficient to preserve in English minds an awareness of the Muslim problem. For these raiders who sailed from their bases at Algiers and Tunis harassed the English coast, attacked shipping, and on occasions almost paralysed trade. Renegade Englishmen, such as the notorious John Ward, often led the expeditions, but

---

(1) The British Poets, 1829, XIX, Vol. I, pp.80-81.

(2) For a more complete list of these plays see the introduction to Joseph Quincey Adams's edition of John Mason's The Turke, published in Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, 1913.

since the pirates were usually Moors and generally in alliance either officially or unofficially with the Porte, in the public consciousness all were classed with the Turks and considered as part of the general Turkish problem. Thus in the frequent accounts of raiding expeditions recorded in the State Papers the terms Turkish and Moorish become virtually interchangeable.<sup>1</sup> The terror inspired by these pirates can be realised from the sardonic report of Sir Henry Mervin to the Lords of the Admiralty, Jan. 31st, 1636. "That morning received their commands for the service to the westward. Has not heard of any Turks or others that molest the freedom of trade in those parts, but it is usual with the inhabitants to fancy the crescent in all colours, as they did last year by the King's ships which were employed for their safety, and fled from them, filling the country with acclamations of the Turks that chased them."<sup>2</sup> That such terror was frequently justified, however, is apparent from a petition made in 1636 by the "Merchants and Owners of ships in Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Weymouth, Melcombe Regis, and Lyme Regis," who complained that the pirates of Sallee "are become so numerous, strong, and nimble in their ships, and are so well piloted into these channels by English and

---

(1) C.S.P. Dom. Series, 1636-7, p.145, nos. 51, 52.

(2) C.S.P. Dom. Series, 1636-7, p.407.

Irish captives (of whom they retain almost 2,000 in slavery), that both these channels are so full of them that petitioners dare not send their ships and goods to sea, seamen refuse to go, and fishermen refrain to take fish, whereby customs and imposts are lessened, merchandising is at a stand, petitioners are much impoverished, and many of them utterly undone."<sup>1</sup>

This ever-increasing activity on the part of the Barbary pirates after the long lull of the 1620s resulted in the Sallee expedition of 1637, where, under the leadership of Captain William Rainsborough, the English were able to exploit a local revolt to such advantage that favourable terms were arranged with Morocco and three hundred Christian captives were redeemed. Their return intensified the problem of what was to be done with the renegade Christian who, under pressure of captivity, had "turned Turk". Archbishop Laud, in the account of his Province rendered to King Charles for the year 1637, relates how Bishop Hall had raised the problem with him:

"This year, by reason of the return of divers that were captives in Morocco, and having been inhabitants of those Western parts, there arose in my Lord the Bishop a doubt,

---

(1) C.S.P. Dom. Series, 1636-7, Sept. 2nd, p.111.



how they, having renounced their Saviour, and become Turks, might be readmitted into the Church of Christ, and under what Penitential form."

He then records how he with the Bishop evolved A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado, or Apostate from the Christian Church to Turcism<sup>1</sup>. With this document Fuller, as a divine, would probably have been familiar, and, as a man living in the south of England, might even at Salisbury or Broadwindsor<sup>d</sup> have witnessed the penitent, clad in the prescribed white garment, standing at the church door humbly beseeching the prayers of the congregation.<sup>2</sup>

The relevance of all this current interest in the Turk to Fuller's history of the Crusades is evident when it is realised that there was then little consciousness of the

(1) See The Works of Joseph Hall, 1837-39, Vol. 12, p.346.

(2) Fuller seems to have been specially interested up to the end of his life in the fate of those taken captive by the Barbary pirates. Thus in Chapter XI of The Worthies he makes a vehement plea for the redemption of such prisoners. "[I] could therefore wish, That there were in London, a Corporation of able and honest Merchants (whereof that City affordeth a plentiful choice) legally empowered to receive and imploy the charity of well affected people for a General Goale Delivery, of all English Captives, in Tunis, Tripoli, Algier, Salli, &c.... This were a Heroick Act indeed, whereby Christians endeavour to be like Christ himself, who was the Grand Redeemer.

Oh, that I might be but instrumental (in the least degree) to advance their Enlargement; I should behold it as an advancement to my self." p.37.

differences between Saracen, Ottoman and Moor. The Holy War in one sense ended in 1291 when the Christians lost their last stronghold with the fall of Acre. In another sense, however, it had never ended. Every attempt to push back the Ottoman Turk was regarded in the light of a Crusade. Bréhier makes the point that Vasco de Gama, Christopher Columbus, Albuquerque and many other explorers took the Cross, and believed that their discoveries might ultimately assist in the deliverance of the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> Even in England, more removed from direct danger, the question as to whether another Holy War should be undertaken was a favourite subject for discussion amongst Fuller's contemporaries. Though most of the argument was somewhat academic, as in Bacon's An Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre,<sup>2</sup> 1622, yet the proposition was not so completely unrealistic as to become a mere debating point. The emotional and imaginative links with the Crusades had never really been severed, and as Chew has stated, memories of the Crusades reinforced and lent colour to every summons to throw back the Turk.<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient, p.347, cited by Sir Ernest Barker in The Crusades, 1923, p.96.

(2) The Works; Volume VII, pp.3-36.

(3) Chew, op. cit., p.104.

That Fuller himself shared in the contemporary habit of regarding the struggle against the Saracens as merely the first round of a sustained fight with the whole Turkish Empire is obvious from the very interesting fifth book of his history. Here he passes on from his account of the Crusades proper to a discussion of such subjects as "Some offers of Christian Princes for Palestine since the end of the Holy warre, by Henry the fourth of England, Charles the eighth of France, and James the fourth of Scotland,"<sup>1</sup> "The fortunes of Jerusalem since the Holy warre; and her present estate,"<sup>2</sup>

and

"Whether it be probable that this Holy warre will ever hereafter be set on foot again."<sup>3</sup>

The last chapter of all treats

"Of the greatnesse, strength, wealth, and wants of the Turkish Empire; What hopes of the approaching ruine thereof,"<sup>4</sup>

and in the course of it Fuller reminds his readers:

"Nor must we forget the Pirates of Tunis and Algier; which are Turks and no Turks: Sometimes the Grand Signor

- 
- (1) The Holy Warre, p.272.  
 (2) ibid., p.275.  
 (3) ibid., p.277.  
 (4) ibid., p.282.

disclaimeth, renounceth and casteth them off to stand upon their own bottom; as when those Christian Princes which are confederate with him, complain to him of the wrongs those sea-robbers have done them. But though he sendeth them out to seek their own meat, he can clock them under his wings at pleasure: And we may verily beleeve, though sometimes in the summer of his own prosperitie he throweth them off as an upper garment of no use, yet in cold weather he will buckle them on again; and if necessitie pincheth him, receive them not as retainers at large but as his best servants in ordinarie."<sup>1</sup>

The whole volume ends with this sober advice to his contemporaries:

"As for our generation, let us sooner expect the dissolutions of our own Microcosmes then the confusion of this Empire: For neither are our sinnes yet truly repented of, to have this punishment removed from us; nor the Turks wickednesse yet come to the full ripenesse, to have this great judgement laid upon them."<sup>2</sup>

We shall therefore fail to understand what prompted Fuller to write a history of the Crusades unless we take into account the very lively interest in the Turk still

---

(1) ibid., pp.283-284.

(2) ibid., p.286.



manifested by Englishmen in his period and significantly stimulated by the activities of the Barbary pirates in the very years immediately preceding the composition of The Historie of the Holy Warre. Fuller was both sharing in and exploiting one of the main interests of his contemporaries. The subject, moreover, would be lent an additional attraction by the fact that it enabled him to combine the dual role of Protestant divine and historian. The Crusades were no ordinary war, but a "Holy Warre", and as such of particular interest to a cleric, who could put forward the Protestant point of view about legends which had previously been utilised to enhance the glory of the Church of Rome. Fuller could not have found a subject which would have made a more immediate appeal to his contemporaries.

Although all these considerations would carry weight, guiding Fuller either consciously or unconsciously to select the theme he did, it is very possible that the influence which ultimately impelled him to the Crusades was Bacon's. Houghton, in his study of The Formation of Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane States" has claimed that Bacon's was "the major influence behind his literary career"<sup>1</sup> and supports the claim with some telling evidence. Certainly there seems to be a direct connection between Bacon's

---

(1) Houghton: op. cit., p.155.

interest in the Turkish question and Fuller's history. For Bacon's Advertisement Touching on Holy Warre, an unfinished rhetorical exercise in which six characters debate the possibility of a further Crusade, had been read and admired by Fuller, as is apparent from his comment on it:

"Before I go further, I must deplore the worlds losse of that worthy work which the Lord Verulam left unfinished, concerning the Holy warre; an excellent piece, and alas ! it is but a piece: so that in a pardonable discontent we may almost wish that either it had been more, wholly to have satisfied our hunger, or lesse, not at all to have raised our appétite. It was begun not in an historical l but in a politick way, not reporting the Holy Warre past with the Turks but advising how to manage it in the future. And no doubt if he had perfected the work it would have proved worthy the Authour: But since, any have been deterred from finishing the same; as ashamed to adde mud walls and a thatched roof to so fair a foundation of hewen and polished stone."<sup>1</sup>

No-one, as Fuller had modestly observed, would care to continue and finish what Lord Verulam had begun. But the fragment might have crystallised Fuller's interests and

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.242.

inspired him to write not a completion, but a complementary work. As Houghton has suggested, such a course would avoid challenging any comparison with Bacon but at the same time would provide a link between his own work and that of the greatest man of his time.<sup>1</sup>

The Historie of the Holy Warre appeared in 1639 and was an immediate success. Four acknowledged editions came out during Fuller's life time, the second in 1640, the third in 1647 and the fourth in 1651, but that others were brought out unobtrusively<sup>2</sup> is obvious from Fuller's comment in The Appeal of Iniured Innocence:

"Here let me humbly tender to the Readers Consideration, that my Holy Warre, though (for some Design of the Stationer) sticking still in the Title Page, at the third Edition (as some unmarried Maids will never be more than eighteen) yet hath it oftner passed the Press,..."<sup>3</sup>

The reasons for the book's success are obvious. It was a history, and therefore contemporary taste assured it a

- (1) Houghton: op. cit., p.163.  
 (2) Strickland Gibson, in A Bibliography of the Works of Thomas Fuller, catalogues a surviving volume of another "third edition" of 1648 or 9, pp.96-98.  
 (3) The Appeal of Iniured Innocence, 1659, Pt I, p.6. Fuller is mistaken in saying that his work had stuck at the 3rd edition, for an acknowledged 4th edition had appeared in 1651.

welcome; it was a history of the Crusades, and therefore had the dual appeal of dealing with material which had legendary attractiveness and at the same time some relevance to contemporary conditions. Moreover the material was handled in a way that was lively without being unscholarly. Sound reading combined with a vigorous narrative style to produce a work which to the seventeenth century reader would be not only entertaining but authoritative.

A survey of Fuller's chief sources will supply ample support for this claim. The nature of The Historie of the Holy Warre makes such a survey specially valuable. For, as will be stressed later, the work has no permanent value as a contribution to our knowledge of the Crusades. Therefore a purely historical line of enquiry into the basis for and authenticity of each fact in Fuller's narrative is not necessary. Instead attention may be directed to more general considerations which will affect our estimate of Fuller as a man of letters, considerations of his method of work, his interests, his affiliations. Naturally it will be impossible in the course of such a survey to deal with all the authors cited, for Fuller shared in full the characteristic seventeenth century delight in filling his margins with impressive titles and references. But his main sources are obvious, and it will be demonstrated that his employment



of them is sound, and his citations more scrupulous than those of many of his contemporaries.

For his account of the first and second Crusades Fuller uses as his chief source the great history of William, Archbishop of Tyre, the Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum. William, whose nationality is unknown, was born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem c.1130. He studied abroad, and his brilliance ultimately qualified him for positions of eminence on his return. In 1174 he became Chancellor of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and in 1175 Archbishop of Tyre, both of which positions he retained until his death c.1183. William's scholarship and character had so impressed King Amaury that he had commanded him in 1167 to write a history of the Kingdom, and three years later had entrusted his son, Prince Baldwin, to his tutelage. William seems to have entered upon the former task with some reluctance, but, once involved, he pursued his investigations with remarkable thoroughness. His account of the First Crusade is naturally derivative.<sup>1</sup> For the Second Crusade, however, he becomes an original source. His history, in which he skilfully assimilates all previous material to which he had access and combines with it the record of events

---

(1) William employs such sources as the narratives of Albert of Aix, the anonymous author of Gesta Francorum, and Fulcher of Chartres.

which he actually witnessed, soon became an accepted authority for the first two Crusades and superceded all other accounts. Moreover, William's reputation was not only immense from his own century to the seventeenth, but has survived the critical onslaughts of the more scientific modern historians, who, while regretting the legendary nature of some of his material<sup>1</sup>, nevertheless acknowledge him "a great historian".<sup>2</sup>

Fuller employed William's account as his chief source for Books I and II of his history, using the Basle edition of 1549<sup>3</sup>, and his dependency is made immediately obvious by the frequency of the references to 'Tyrius' which cluster

- (1) Von Sybel was the first to prove that William's version of events had given a spurious authority to much legendary material. Even he wrote of him, however, that "the strong and persistent energy with which he mastered his materials enabled him to produce one of the greatest historical works of the Middle Ages." Heinrich Von Sybel: The History and Literature of the Crusades...Translated... By Lady Duff Gordon, 1861, p.255.
- (2) "His book thus begins to be a real authority only from the date of the Second Crusade onwards, but the perfection of his form (for he is one of the greatest stylists of the Middle Ages) and the prestige of his position conspired to make his book the one authority for the whole history of the first century of the Crusades. Nor was he (apart from his reception of legendary elements into his narrative) unworthy of the honour in which he was held; for he is really a great historian..." Ernest Barker: The Crusades, 1923, pp.108.
- (3) Belli Sacri Historia, Libris XXIII Comprehensa.... Gulielmo Tyris Metropolitano Quondam Archiepiscopo, ac Regni Eiusdem Cancellario, Autore...Basle, 1549.

his margins. It is interesting to speculate on the beneficial effect which such a close study of a great historian must unconsciously have exercised on him. The deliberate attempt to be unprejudiced which is apparent in all Fuller's work springs chiefly from temperament and upbringing, but must certainly have been encouraged by early study of a man who, according to his American editors, was unequalled "in freedom from prejudice, whether racial, social, or religious. The impartiality of his judgments, the breadth of his tolerance, and the range of his interests exceeded those of any of the contemporary chroniclers."<sup>1</sup>

Throughout Books I and II of The Historie of the Holy Warre Fuller has supplemented Tyrius's account with additions culled from a wide variety of authors, and in Book III onwards he is entirely dependent on these alternative sources. Thus for information about the exploits of the Germans he uses, with caution, the chronicle of Burchard, Abbot of Ursberg, whom he refers to as "Urspergensis"<sup>2</sup>. This is a continuation of Ekkehard of Aura's chronicle, and the whole constitutes a typical medieval universal history from the

- 
- (1) E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey: A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea. By William Archbishop of Tyre, 1943, p.37.  
 (2) Unless otherwise stated, the editions which follow are those actually used by Fuller. Where it has proved impossible to trace Fuller's edition, one near in date has been given, and the date of publication mentioned by Fuller has been added in brackets.

Chronicum Abbatis Urspergensis [With a preface by Philip Melancthon] Argentorati, 1537. [Basle, 1569]



Creation onwards. The English chronicles employed by Fuller are those of William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Hovedon and Matthew Paris. The first three he read in the Frankfurt edition of 1601, where all are bound in the one volume.<sup>1</sup> His edition of Matthew Paris was one brought out in 1571 and covers the period from William the Conqueror to Henry III, 1349.<sup>2</sup> The value of Matthew's version of the Crusades is negligible, but his greatness as a historian has been unanimously acknowledged, and Fuller must have found it stimulating to read the narrative of a man whose "pre-eminence among the historians of his age" was partly due "to his passionate interest in the world around him, his humanity in fact, amazing in a monastic historian;"<sup>3</sup>

The Byzantine historian employed by Fuller is Nicetas Acominatus, a younger brother of Michael, Archbishop of Athens, and a man who filled many important positions, including that of Governor of the theme of Philippolis in 1189. His history of the Byzantine Empire extends from 1117 to 1206.<sup>4</sup> It is of value as a primary source for much of this

- 
- (1) Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam Praecipui (Edited Sir Henry Savile) Francofurti, 1601.
  - (2) Matthaei Paris, Monarchi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Maior, Londini, 1571. [Misprinted 1671 in Historie of Holy Warre].
  - (3) Professor V.H.Galbraith: Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris, Glasgow Univ. Publications, LXI, 1944, p.38.
  - (4) Nicetae Acominati Choniatae...Imperii Graeci Historia... Iterata Editio Graecolatina, Hieronymo Wolfio Interprete. Geneva, 1593.



period, and is especially interesting for the account of the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, since Nicetas was himself an eyewitness and victim. Gibbon praises him as being "surprisingly fair"<sup>1</sup> in his tone towards the Crusaders, which in view of the circumstances is true enough. Fuller made good use of Nicetas not only in The Historie of the Holy Warre but later in his accounts of the life of Andronicus.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally Fuller does not restrict his reading to pre-Renaissance historians, but lends his work the prestige which comes from the citation of the new authorities of the Italian school. Thus he has consulted the Rapsodiae Historiarum Enneadum<sup>3</sup> of Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellicus), a professor of rhetoric in Udine who was commissioned by the Venetian government to write a history of the Republic. This was printed in 1487 and was an immediate success. He has used extensively the De Rebus Gestis Gallorum<sup>4</sup> of

- 
- (1) The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1898, Vol. 5, p.507.
  - (2) The Holy and Profane States, 1642, pp.429-434, and Andronicus, or the Unfortunate Politician, 1646.
  - (3) Rapsodiae Historiarum Enneadum Marci Antonii Cocci Sabellici... Lugduñ, 1535.
  - (4) Historiae Iam Denuo Emendatae Pauli Aemylii...de Rebus Gestis Gallorum Libri IX..., Basileae, 1569.

Paulus Aemilius. Paulo Emilio was a native of Verona who had been brought back to France in the train of Charles VIII and made royal historiographer. In the reign of Louis XII he completed a history of France which was published in 1539, ten years after his own death. Such was the work's success that it was rapidly translated into French, Italian and German. Book IV contains a detailed history of the Crusades which Fuller has used freely. Indeed Von Sybel says of Fuller that he "compiled the Historie of the Holy Warre chiefly from Paulus Aemilius and other later authors" and asserts that he merely "looked into"<sup>1</sup> William of Tyre and some other original authorities. This emphasis is false, as Fuller certainly did more than 'look into' William's history, which is his chief source for the first two books of his work. But his debt to Paulus Aemilius is nevertheless very great, and his frequent citation of an author held in the highest repute by his contemporaries would do much to enhance the prestige of his own history.

The other major group of historians which Fuller consulted is that formed by the controversialists, men who were primarily interested in the religious disputes of their day, and employed history as a weapon in their campaigns. Of importance to a Protestant divine was the work of the

---

(1) Von Sybel, op. cit., p.332.

Magdeburg Centuriists who, under the leadership of Matthius Flaccius, an Istrian, set out to write the history of the first thirteen centuries A.D. from a strictly anti-Catholic viewpoint. Flaccius, who knew Luther personally, became Professor of Old Testament Literature at the University of Wittenberg, but it was at Jena that with the help of his five colleagues he worked at the monumental thirteen volume chronicle, the first book of which was published in 1559 and the last in 1574.<sup>1</sup> The Centuriists provide a contrast to the new humanistic standards of the Italian historians. Their approach was both biased and uncritical, for they substituted apologetic literature for more objective compilation. Their immediate influence can only have been unfortunate. Nevertheless the indirect effect of the publication of the Centuriae was of great benefit, for it immediately roused intense and widespread interest in the study of history, and sent earnest men to investigate the records of the past with a zeal that sprang not only from scholarship but from religious enthusiasm. John Foxe produced his Actes and Monuments<sup>2</sup> in 1563, and Cardinal Baronius became champion

- 
- (1) Ecclesiastica Historia...per Aliquot Studiosos et Pios Viros in Urbe Magdeburgicae [viz. Matthius Flaccius, J. Wigandus, M. Judex, B. Faber, A. Corvinus, and I. Holthuter] Basileae, 1624.
- (2) Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, 1583, fourth edition.

on the Roman Catholic side with his tremendous Annales Ecclesiastici, 1588-1607<sup>1</sup> Fuller's method of employing the works of these men demonstrates his customary moderation. He does not restrict himself to the accounts of Protestants (though naturally he prefers their version of events) but consults such "moderate and refined" papists<sup>2</sup> as Christopher Besoldus<sup>3</sup>, and the downright controversialists Baronius and Bellarmine. Thus there occur some delightful juxtapositions in his margins.<sup>4</sup>

These works just cited deal only incidentally with the Crusades in the course of histories covering much wider periods. There were in existence, however, certain books dealing more specifically with the Saracens and the Turks. Of these the most impressive in English is The Generall Historie of the Turkes by Richard Knolles.<sup>5</sup> This is a compilation from continental sources, but is made memorable by

- 
- (1) Annales Ecclesiastici. Editio Altera, Priori Longè Accuratiore. Una cum Vita Eiusdem Illustrissimi Cardinalis; ...Moguntiae, 1623. [Colon. Agrippinae, 1624]
  - (2) The Holy Warre, p.16.
  - (3) Historia Urbis et Regni Hierosolymitani, Regum Item Siculorum et Neapolitanorum, 1636.  
[This date is misprinted 1536 in The Holy Warre ]
  - (4) For example, on p.135 Baronius rubs shoulders with the Magdeburg Centuriists.
  - (5) The Generall Historie of the Turkes...Together with the Lives and Conquests of the Othoman Kings and Emperours unto the Yeare 1610. Written by Richard Knolles, 1610, 2nd edition.



the sweep of the conception and the sustained dignity of the language. Since the work deals chiefly with the Ottoman Turk, not all of it is directly useful to Fuller, but he has drawn information from the earlier sections which treat of the Crusades and employs Knolles in particular for any general question relating to Saracens and Turks. For further background and information, this time particularly about customs and geographical features, he has made use of the great cosmographer, Sebastian Muenster<sup>1</sup>, and the records of such travellers as Sandys and Moryson.

Thus though much of Fuller's information is derived from William of Tyre and Paulus Aemilius he has drawn further facts from a wide variety of sources, ranging from the medieval chroniclers and a Byzantine historian to the Reformation controversialists and Stuart travellers. Moreover, Fuller does not only refer to these men; he has really read their works. He employs them as genuine sources, and a brief investigation of the marginal citations of The Historie of the Holy Warre reveals that the numerous titles mentioned are not mere embellishments, designed to impress. Naturally Fuller possesses the usual seventeenth century gift of making the very best display of his erudition, and

---

(1) Cosmographiae Universalis lib. VI, Basileae, 1550.  
[ No edition mentioned ]

it would be naïve to accept all the marginal notations as signs of first hand reading. Thus the references to Pliny<sup>1</sup> Suetonius<sup>2</sup>, Ovid<sup>3</sup>, Erasmus<sup>4</sup>, Piers Plowman<sup>5</sup>, are probably culled from his commonplace book. Then again, Fuller does not hesitate to cite one author through another, and with unusual candour admits it:

"Where I could not go abroad myself, there I have taken aire at the window, and have cited Authours on others citations; yet so that the stream may direct to the fountain."<sup>6</sup>

There are fairly frequent examples of this practice, amongst them being the instance on page 56, where Luther is cited through Lampadius; a similar instance on page 48, where S. Bernard is cited through Volaterran; and the notations on pages 110 and 112 where the references to Ritio, and Giovanni Antonio Summonte are both given through Besoldus. Moreover there are occasions when Fuller could and probably did put down two authorities for a statement when he had perhaps at that particular point only consulted on. Thus his first mention of the Rapsodiae Historiarum Enneadum of Sabellicus which occurs on page 10 where he is discussing

- 
- (1) The Holy Warre, p.68.  
 (2) ibid., p.9.  
 (3) ibid., p.9.  
 (4) ibid., p.23.  
 (5) ibid., p.50.  
 (6) ibid., "To the Reader".

the origin of the Turkish nation could have come through page 2 of Knolles's Generall Historie of the Turkes. Similarly on page 88 where the christening of the Sultan of Iconium is described, the reference to Matthew Paris could have come through Baronius, year 1169<sup>1</sup>, who is also cited in support of this statement. Even making full allowance, however, for the commonplace habit, and the citation of one author through another, whether admitted or otherwise, there is ample evidence that most of Fuller's marginal notations are not mere rhetorical apparatus but do represent a sound range of reading on the subject in hand. Thus Matthew Paris may be referred to through Baronius on one occasion, but the frequent and meticulous page references to a certain edition of the former author<sup>2</sup> could only come from first hand reading. This argument applies with equal force to all the major sources already mentioned.

To Fuller's contemporaries, therefore, The Historie of the Holy Warre would seem a sound piece of work. It was obviously based on a study of the most revered former writers on the subject, and no-one would have thought of condemning Fuller for not having restricted himself to

- 
- (1) Baronius: op. cit. p.434. "Narrant ista pluribus Matthaeus Paris hoc anno & Robertus in Appendice ad Sigebertum anno millesimo centesimo octogesimo primo."  
 (2) See, for example, p.188.

first hand sources. There was no necessity to consult the Gesta Francorum, Raymond of Agiles, Fulcher of Chartres, Tudebod, Guibert of Nogent, Balderick of Dol, when William's work had so magnificently superseded all former accounts; nor was it necessary to read Joinville's detailed life of S.Louis when the modern Paulus Aemilius had summarised all the necessary data about the French monarchy. Indeed the reports of eye witnesses were to a certain extent suspect. Obviously someone actually engaged in a momentous event would at the best be confused, at the worst be guilty of deliberate partiality. Far safer, then, were the accounts of historians removed at some degree from the incidents being recorded. Bodin summarises this point of view admirably when he declares:

"If we consider the well-known Polydore Vergil to have written most truthfully on English affairs (although, of course, he is suspect to the Scots and the French), Rhenanus on the German, Aemilius on the French, we shall not need to worry very much about Bede, Gaguin, Gazus, Saxo, and such writers, who have written on the same subjects confusedly."<sup>1</sup>  
This preference for the smooth later compilations as opposed to the early, perhaps confused, but certainly more authentic

---

(1) Bodin, op. cit., p.83.



accounts was only beginning to be broken down by the activities of the antiquaries. Certainly few of Fuller's readers would feel dissatisfied at the wealth of material taken over from second-hand sources, especially as those sources were generally efficient and revered. That which to modern historians is the chief defect of The Historie of the Holy Warre, namely, its frequent dependence on late compilations, would be considered a positive merit by many of Fuller's contemporaries.

That Fuller employed his sources not unthinkingly, merely because they were the accepted authorities, but with a certain amount of discrimination, is obvious from the comments on them which he makes from time to time. These are interesting as demonstrating the qualities which Fuller appreciated in other historians. Thus of William of Tyre he says:

"Let me adde, that this our Authour is above exception: for being a politick states-man and pious prelate, no doubt his penne strikes the true and even stroke betwixt King and Patriarch. Besides, he might well see the truth of this matter, writing in a well-proportioned distance of time from it.<sup>1</sup> Those who live too neare the stories they write,

---

(1) Fuller has just been describing the controversy between Godfrey of Bouillon and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and of course William did live "in a well proportioned distance of time" from this event. Fuller seems for the moment to be ignoring the fact that William actually lived through many of the events of the Second Crusade which he records in his history.

oftentimes willingly mistake through partiality; and those who live too farre off, are mistaken by uncertainties, the footsteps of truth being almost worn out with time."<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that once again it is William's impartiality which is stressed by Fuller in this further comment: "This Baldwine had the benefit of excellent education under William Archbishop of Tyre, a pious man and excellent scholar, skilled in all the learned Orientall tongues, besides the Dutch, and French his native language; a moderate and faithfull writer"<sup>2</sup>

Fuller's appraisal of Nicetas is particularly lively, and demonstrates the distinction which he felt should be drawn between the historian and the partisan. Thus, speaking of the latter's account of the fall of Constantinople, he declares:

"Nicetas Choniates, hitherto an historian, now a plaintiff, (writing so full of ohs and exclamations as if the while pinched by the arm) rather without measure than cause bemoneth the outrages the Latines here committed.... But when the object is too neare the eye, it seemeth greater then it is: and perchance he amplifieth and aggravateth the cruelty of these Pilgrimes, being nearly interested therein

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.50.

(2) ibid., p.95.

himself; especially when the rhetorick of grief is always in the Hyperbole. "<sup>1</sup>

This suspicion of pronounced partiality in former historians causes Fuller to view with distrust the various estimates of the character of the Emperor Frederick II made by Guelphs and Ghibellines. The situation is rendered especially difficult because "whilst Protestants cut off the authority from all Papized writers of that age, and Romanists cast away the witness of all Imperialized authours then living (such as Urspergensis is, and generally all Germanes) counting them testes domesticos, and therefore of no validitie, betwixt them they draw all historie of that time very slender, and make it almost quite nothing."<sup>2</sup>

For his part Fuller intends to depend on "Matth. Paris, a moderate man, whom we follow most,"<sup>3</sup>

and characteristically informs his readers:

"We will not engage ourselves in their quarrels; but may safely beleve, that Frederick was neither saint, nor devil, but man."<sup>4</sup>

This discriminating employment of respected sources would give Fuller's Historie of the Holy Warre a genuine authority in the eyes of many of his contemporaries. There

(1) ibid., pp.137-138.

(2) ibid., pp.160-161.

(3) ibid., marginal notation, p.160.

(4) ibid., p.161.

were, moreover, other ways in which the work fulfilled the theoretical demands of a good history. There is no one specific document or collection of documents which embodies the seventeenth century critique of the art, but sufficient information can be gathered from scattered sources, translations, prefaces, addresses to the reader, etc., to allow us to determine what the main lines of post-Renaissance theory were, and to state whether Fuller was in the modern tradition or no. It is even relevant to cite not only Stuart theorists but those of the previous century (as has already been done), for the conception of the function and demands of historical writing was largely dictated even in Fuller's day by the ideas first introduced into England from Italian humanist sources - ideas which were being developed and modified but slowly. And the first thing that can be noted as placing Fuller among these moderns is his very choice of subject, for, as he himself claims, his is a "particular" history.<sup>1</sup> In place of the unwieldy chronicle, which survived to a remarkably late date<sup>2</sup>, he has selected a series of related actions, the Crusades, and has thus bestowed on his work the unity that comes from a single theme. Bacon had

---

(1) The term is Bacon's. See The Works, Vol. IV, p.308. Translation of the "De Augmentis".

(2) See, for example, Sir Richard Baker: A Chronicle of the Kings of England, 1643.



protested at the folly of those historians who attempted to encompass universal histories:

"...the laws of regular history are so strict, that they can scarce be observed in such a wide field of matter;"<sup>1</sup> ...

It is far better to choose "a manageable and definite argument,..."<sup>2</sup> This Fuller has done, and yet has not narrowed his scope unduly, for of necessity he deals with the actions of many nations. Thus he can claim in his "Epistle Dedicatory":

"Now amongst all particular histories (I may say) none is more generall then this of the Holy warre..."

Fuller's full discussion of the causes of events is a further characteristic which allies him to the more progressive theorists and practitioners. He has passed beyond the bare attribution of all incidents to the direct intervention of God. To him God is still just as much the first cause of all human actions as he was to any Medieval chronicler, but he has absorbed the humanist conception of the value of assessing secondary causes also. For the Italian theorists had recognised that if history was to have the instructive force that they desired, then the full chain of cause and event must be recorded as completely as

(1) The Works, Vol. IV, p.309. Translation of 'De Augmentis'.

(2) ibid., Vol. IV, p.305.

the historiographer was able. Only from such a record could the reader make the sound deductions which would enable him to guide his behaviour aright. Thus Camden proudly claims in the address to the reader prefacing his Annales:

"I have not omitted any circumstances, by which, not only the events of things, but their reasons also and causes may be known;"<sup>1</sup>

Bacon declares:

"Above all things (for this is the ornament and life of Civil History), I wish events to be coupled with their causes."<sup>2</sup>

Bolton complains that Christian authors "while for their ease they shuffled up the reasons of events, in briefly referring all causes immediately to the Will of God, have generally neglected to inform their Readers in the ordinary means of Carriage in human Affairs, and thereby singularly maimed their Narrations."<sup>3</sup>

Fuller is not guilty of such neglect, but conscientiously explores the mundane reasons behind events. Thus where Baronius had attributed the defeat of Baldwin I at Rhamula

(1) Annales... Translated Abraham Darcie, 1625.

(2) The Works, Translation of "De Augustis", Vol. IV, pp.300-301.

(3) Edmund Bolton: Hypercritica: or a Rule of Judgement, for Writing or Reading Our History's, 1618 ? Printed in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, 1605-1650, Ed. J.E.Spingarn, 1908, pp.84-85.

to God's judgment on him, Fuller declares:

"But to leave hidden things to God, the apparent cause of his overthrow was his own rashnesse , being desirous to ingrosse all the credit alone, without sending for succours and supplies from his neighbours."<sup>1</sup>

The climax of Fuller's meticulousness occurs in Book V, Chapters 9 - 18, where twelve reasons for the failure of the Holy War are thoroughly investigated.

The seventeenth century saw an increasing particularisation of the nature of historical truth, and an increasing suspicion of the writer who obtruded his own direct comments on the recorded facts. Bodin had been unable to make up his mind on the problem:

"But grave doubts trouble me whether historians ought to praise or to vituperate and to express judgments about the matter under discussion, or whether they should leave to the reader the formation of an unbiased opinion."<sup>2</sup>

By the Jacobean period, however, opinion had crystallised and there was a revulsion from any direct intervention on the part of the author. Thus Thomas Lodge objects to those writers who "like to certen Architects (by interposing their iudgements) doe vainly praise some things, supposing

(1) The Holy Warre, p.57.

(2) Bodin, op. cit., p.51.

that our imitation should be tied to their pleasure;"<sup>1</sup>. Instead of commenting on the facts, or tampering with them to suit some moral purpose, the historian should record them as they were. Thus Bacon praises the author of The Prince: "...we are much beholden to Machiavelli and other writers of that class, who openly and unfeignedly declare or describe what men do, and not what they ought to do."<sup>2</sup>

This does not mean that there was any conception of "scientific history" as we understand the term. As long as the functional value of the study was stressed there could be no open suggestion of knowledge merely for the sake of knowledge, nor any attempt to pursue the chimera of purely impersonal recording. There was, however, an increasing feeling that a historian should not allow a moral purpose to obtrude, nor tamper with the facts. Fuller may have had Bacon's praise of Machiavelli in mind when he complains that "Many Historians (like some painters, which rather shew their skill in drawing a curious face than in making it like to him whom it should resemble) describe Princes rather what they should be than what they were; not shewing so much their goodnesse as their own wits."<sup>3</sup>

- 
- (1) Lodge, op. cit., "To the Courteous Reader".
  - (2) Works, Translation of 'De Augustis', Vol. V, p.17.
  - (3) The Holy Warre, p.132.



Certainly he is fully conscious, in theory at least, that the historian should attempt an objective narration, although in practice he cannot always restrain himself.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, because he has made a deliberate attempt to keep to his narrative that he finds himself at the end of his history with many observations still to be made, and therefore groups them together in Book V, after carefully absolving himself from censure by declaring:

"And now I conceive my indentures are cancelled, and I discharged from the strict service and ties of an Historian; so that it may be lawfull for me to take more libertie, and to make some observations on what hath been past."<sup>2</sup>

If comments on the evidence came to be frowned upon, then even more abhorrent to advanced opinion was the invention of set speeches. The practice of placing orations in the mouths of historical personages had persisted to a late date, chiefly because of the impressive example of Thucydides. Increasing emphasis on the fact, however, caused such rhetorical exercises to become suspect. Thus Camden claims:

---

(1) See ibid., p.6. "But for fear to exceed the commission of an Historian (who with the outward senses may onely bring in the species, and barely relate facts, not with the common sense passe verdict or censure on them) I would say, they had better have built in some other place, (especially having room enough besides) and left this floore where the temple stood, alone to her desolations."

(2) ibid., p.242.

"I have thrust in no occasions, but such as were truly spoken; or those reduced to fewer words: much lesse have I fained any."<sup>1</sup>

Even those orations which had been recorded in previous histories and therefore had the prestige of old tradition were handled with increasing caution. Thus Fuller not only refrains from inventing speeches himself, but on many occasions is careful to turn previously recorded ones into indirect speech. This may be dictated partly by the necessity of compressing much of his material, but it is also a means of indicating that he is not attempting to reproduce the actual words spoken. Thus he records the gist of Pope Urban's oration at Clermont, but only turns to direct speech for the last two sentences in order to effect a climax, while in the margin he notes that Sabellicus, Tyrius, Baronius and William of Malmesbury "All have severall set orations."<sup>2</sup>

It is worth noticing that Fuller is aware of two other new conceptions, the importance of both geography and chronology to history. His awareness is demonstrated in a fashion that seems somewhat crude. Thus, before engaging on his record of events within Palestine, he devotes several chapters to what he terms a "Pisgah Sight" of that country<sup>3</sup>,

- 
- (1) Camden, op. cit., Preface.  
 (2) The Holy Warre, p.12.  
 (3) ibid., chapters 18-23 inclusive.

after pointing out to his readers that "If in bowling they must needs throw wide, which know not the green or alley whereon they play; much more must they misse the truth in storie, who are unacquainted with that countrey whereon the discourse proceedeth."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless in these chapters Fuller is attempting to set the scene for the incidents which are to follow, and demonstrating his awareness of the principle (first emphasised by Bodin) that

"such is the relationship and affinity of this subject to history that the one seems to be a part of the other."<sup>2</sup>

His attitude to chronology may seem somewhat lighthearted when we encounter such statements as the following:

"Yea, so great is the varietie of Historians in their dates, that every one may seem to have a severall clock of time, which they set faster or slower at their own pleasure: but as long as they agree in the main, we need not be much moved with their petty dissensions."<sup>3</sup>

When it is remembered, however, that history was long regarded as a mere storehouse of rhetorical examples and that even in Fuller's day the functional aspect of the study was

- (1) ibid., p.27.  
 (2) Bodin, op. cit., p.25.  
 (3) The Holy Warre, p.25.

the most important, then obviously it was the event rather than the date of the event that was considered vital. Thus Daniel declares:

"The Computation of Tymes is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken, the 10 of July, and the 6 of August, with a yeare over or under, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is only that hee desires."<sup>1</sup>

In view of this attitude, which was only gradually being modified, it is significant that Fuller has troubled to copy from Helvicus<sup>2</sup> a chronological table which will clarify his history, and has even added six columns to it culled from "severall authors". Obviously, though untroubled by petty differences of a week or so, he would agree with Bodin that "Those who think they can understand histories without chronology are as much in error as those who wish to escape the windings of a labyrinth without a guide."<sup>3</sup>

Finally Fuller is with the progressives in his attitude towards all the legendary accretions of history. It was natural that the spread of Protestantism should encourage a less credulous approach to the pious legends of the past,

---

(1) Samuel Daniel: The Collection of the Historie of England, 1618. 'To the Reader'.

(2) Christopher Helvicus: Theatrum Historicum: sive Chronologiae Systema, 1629.

(3) Bodin, op. cit., p.303.



and since Fuller is dealing with events which had been particularly subject to embroidery by the devout, he has plenty of scope for exercising this new attitude. His tone is one of hard sanity throughout. Thus he warns his readers "once for all, not to expect that I should set down those many miracles wherewith Authours who write this warre so lard their stories, that it will choke the belief of any discreet man to swallow them."<sup>1</sup>

This rejection of legendary tales is dictated by the new Protestant attitude, but naturally such astringency of outlook could not be restricted solely to those stories which had a certain religious significance. Instead it combined with the new desire to search out the facts from the records of the past, and thus affected the approach to all unlikely anecdotes. For example Fuller, though he cannot resist recording the story of the heroism of Eleanor, wife of Prince Edward, who sucked the poison from her husband's wound, records it only to dismiss it with the rueful observation: "Pity it is so pretty a story should not be true (with all the miracles in Loves Legends) and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex: Yet can it not stand with what others have written;"<sup>2</sup>.

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.27.

(2) Ibid., p.220.

Fuller's care in sifting fact from legend is most strikingly demonstrated in Book V, Chapter 26, where he records his perplexity on discovering an account of a supposed voyage by William, Landgrave of Hesse, seemingly recorded by Calvisius. In order to clarify the matter he writes to Mr Joseph Mead of Christ's College, Cambridge, who correctly divines that the "Fab.", on whose authority Calvisius seems to be citing the tale, in reality signifies "Fabula", Calvisius's own comment on the anecdote.<sup>1</sup> This letter has been recorded, but there may have been several unrecorded enquiries made by Fuller in his attempt to get at the truth behind the legend.

The Historie of the Holy Warre, therefore, provides us with ample evidence that Fuller aligned himself with the moderns and had a conception of history that was still considered advanced in 1639.<sup>2</sup> We, as well as his contemporaries, can appreciate the care with which he selected his material, his checking of unlikely anecdotes, his attempt to demonstrate events going on contemporaneously, and his recognition, in theory at least, that impartiality is necessary and that the historian should not obtrude between fact and the reader. Fuller was not, as sometimes seems to be suggested,

---

(1) ibid., p.274.

(2) Contrast Fuller's conception of history with the reactionary outlook of Richard Braithwait as revealed in A Survey of History, 1638.

a partial throwback to the Medieval chronicler<sup>1</sup>, but a post-Renaissance scholar who was well aware of the requirements of his calling even if he lacked the temperament always to adhere rigidly to the necessities of his theory. Thus we can admire the deliberate attempts he makes to present both sides of a question.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, his own anti-papal feeling is so fundamental that he cannot rise above his basic conception of the Crusades as a series of plots designed to impoverish the Pope's enemies. This outlook colours his treatment of many of the legendary heroes of the Holy War, and of Peter the Hermit in particular, who is reduced from an almost saintly character to an unscrupulous papal agent. Even Foxe's brief mention of Peter follows the traditional lines, and he attributes the Hermit's activity to

- (1) This is surely implied in the following, extracted from Douglas Bush; English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660, 1946. "Though Fuller is a rambling annalist, not a philosophic historian..." p.221. "Even the scientific Camden, not to mention the late and unscientific Fuller, clung to the annalistic method." p.210.
- (2) See Fuller: The Historie of the Holy Warre, Book I, Chapters 9 and 10. Also his admission re the pilgrims "that many of them were truly zealous and went with pious intents", ibid., p.18. He defends S. Bernard, ibid., pp.82-83, criticises Richard I's ~~is~~ cruelty to the Saracens, p.123, attempts to hold the balance between the various views of the character of the Emperor Frederick II, pp.160-161, and produces arguments "both for the innocence and guiltiness of the Templars", pp.230-232 and pp. 232-234.

genuine indignation at the Christians' plight.

"The cause of this voyage first arose through one Peter, a monk or hermit, who, being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope Urban, and was therein a great soliciter to all christian princes."<sup>1</sup>

The only implied criticism is that he was "a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an army."<sup>2</sup>

With this Fuller's version may be contrasted:

"Now, though many cry up this Hermite to have been so pretious a piece of holinesse, yet some suspect him to be little better then a counterfeit, and a cloke-father for a plot of the Popes begetting: because the Pope alone was the gainer by this great adventure, and all other Princes of Europe, if they cast up their audit, shall find themselves losers: This with some is a presumption, that this cunning merchant first secretly imployed this Hermite to be his factour, and to go to Jerusalem to set on foot so beneficiall a trade for the Romish Church."<sup>3</sup>

Thus for the legendary visionary Fuller substitutes an

(1) Foxe, op. cit., Vol. II, p.142.

(2) ibid., p.143.

(3) The Holy Warre, p.11.



equally legendary figure, that of the cowardly<sup>1</sup> papal agent.<sup>2</sup>

Even more damaging than this fundamental bias, however, is the fact that much of the work is based on second hand sources; that it is a mere compilation to which Fuller could add no new material. As he himself cheerfully admits:

"In this work I can challenge nothing to myself, but the composing of it."<sup>3</sup>

Such a compilation would seem valuable to his contemporaries, but must be considered quite unimportant by the modern historian.

The interest of The Historie of the Holy Warre, of course, lies not in what it tells us about the Crusades, but in what it reveals to us of Fuller as a man of letters. It has already served to indicate the climate of opinion which provides Fuller with his background and stimulus; to

- (1) Fuller stresses with a certain relish Peter's attempted flight from the siege of Antioch, an attempt which William of Tyre, in his eulogy of the hermit, tactfully omits to mention. See The Holy Warre, pp.11-12.
- (2) This reassessment of certain of the participants in the Crusades does not immediately follow the spread of Protestantism (see Foxe). Instead, as long as the Turks remained a real menace, all who had ever fought against Mohammedanism were viewed in a heroic light. By Fuller's day, however, the Turkish power had passed its zenith, and he could therefore afford to take a more detached view of these past heroes.
- (3) "To the Reader".

illumine his methods, which, though typically seventeenth century in their clever display of erudition, are nevertheless more conscientious and deserving of respect than has sometimes been admitted; to reveal his tastes, which are already manifesting an antiquarian bias in his sympathetic reading of Medieval authors<sup>1</sup>, and his affiliations, which are whole-heartedly with the moderns. Of even more direct literary interest, however, is the actual structure of the book, for if in his first sustained prose work Fuller has succeeded in imposing an order upon a mass of material, then his powers of construction cannot be as negligible as has frequently been suggested. Anyone studying the history without preconceptions must come to the conclusion that Fuller has imposed an order. He is at some pains to keep to his theme of the "Holy Warre" and resists the temptation to explore such a side issue as the antagonism between Frederick II and the Pope.<sup>2</sup> His longest parenthesis occurs when he

- 
- (1) This is in contrast to the Baconian indifference to Medieval writers.
- (2) "I would farther prosecute these discords; and also shew how Frederick was forced to ask pardon of him who had most wronged him, and dearly to purchase his absolution from the Pope; (For though this Emperours heart was as hard as stone, yet was it furrowed, dinted, and hollowed at last with the Popes constant dropping and incessant raining of curses upon him.) But I dare wander no farther in this subject, lest any should question my Passe; but return back to the Holy Land," *ibid.*, p.167.

describes the beliefs and the fate of the Albingenses, and here he is open to criticism merely because of the undue prominence he gives to this episode, and not to his introduction of it, for, as he himself declares, he is "still resident on my own subject, this also being styled, The Holy Warre, The warre for the Crucifix, The army of the Church; the souldiers also bearing the badge of the Crosse on their coat-armour."<sup>1</sup>

What is more, not only does Fuller give his work the order which comes from adherence to one theme, but he has worked out a specific "method" for his book. Thus the whole is divided into his favourite five sections; Book I ends with the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, Book II with the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens, Book III with the regaining of Jerusalem by Frederick II, Book IV with the fall of Ptolemais and the virtual ending of the Crusades. Book V is a composite section designed "to hemme the end of our historie that it ravel not out."<sup>2</sup> The details of the plan can best be brought out in tabular form, and Books I and II lend themselves particularly to such an analysis.

---

(1) ibid., p.139.

(2) ibid., p.229.





<u>Survey of Ecclesiastical Affairs.</u>	Chaps 25-26
Events of Baldwin's Reign and his Death.	Chaps 27-32
<u>Character of Almerick.</u>	Chap. 33
<u>Survey of Ecclesiastical Affairs.</u>	Chap. 34
Events of Almerick's Reign and his Death.	Chaps 35-37
<u>Character of Baldwin IV.</u>	Chap. 38
<u>Survey of Ecclesiastical Affairs.</u>	Chap. 39
Events of Baldwin's Reign and his Death.	Chaps 40-42
<u>Life and Death of Baldwin IV and succession of Guy.</u>	Chap. 43
<u>Survey of Ecclesiastical Affairs.</u>	Chap. 44
Events of Guy's Reign.	Chap. 45
Fall of Jerusalem.	Chap. 46

One of Fuller's Victorian critics, Henry Rogers, states that "The historical works of Fuller are simply a caricature of the species of composition to which they professedly belong; a systematic violation of all its proprieties... His very method - if we may be allowed such an abuse of language, - consists in a contempt of all method."<sup>1</sup>

In view of the preceding analysis, such a statement is patently absurd.<sup>2</sup> In this case not lack of method, but

- 
- (1) An Essay on the Life and Genius of Thomas Fuller: with Selections from his Writings, 1856, part I, pp.40-41.
- (2) It is significant that Fuller commends Walter of Coventry for excelling in "the two Essential Qualities of an Historian, Faith and Method, writing truly and orderly," The Worthies, Warwickshire, p.124.

adherence to too schematic a "method" is the point where Fuller, if anywhere, is open to criticism. The reason, of course, that his plan has hardly been recognised as such is that he varies the number and lengths of the chapters devoted to each topic, and also within its framework indulges in a number of illustrative or purely entertaining asides and anecdotes. For example, when discussing the fact that Godfrey of Bouillon's grave has never been violated by the Turks, he suggests that

"perchance the Turks are minded as John King of England was, who being wished by a Courtier to untombe the bones of one who whilest he was living had been his great enemy, Oh no, said King John, would all mine enemies were as honourably buried."<sup>1</sup>

He observes that King Fulco's "greatest defect was a weak memory (though not so bad as that of Messala Corvinus, who forgot his own name)..."<sup>2</sup>

He recounts that on one occasion the Turks "were killed in such number, that whole piles of dead bones remain there for a monument: like those heaps of the Cimbrians slain by Marius near Marseils, where afterwards the inhabitants

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.51.

(2) ibid., p.68.

walled their vineyards with skulls, and guarded their grapes with dead men."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's anecdotes are told with a sparkling brevity and his contemporaries, trained to seize on a "method", would easily perceive the underlying pattern of the book as a whole. It is only for the modern reader concentrating unduly on the interesting aside or lively tale, that the evidence of organisation is obscured.

The anecdotes which Fuller introduces into his history are not brought in purely on a personal whim. True, he loves a good story, but he relates such a story not only to please himself but to refresh his readers. As a clergyman he was trained in the art of holding attention, of enlivening the bare fact with the illustrative anecdote, of illumining a point with a flash of wit, of guiding the hearer so skillfully that the message was grasped without weariness. Something of that same rhetorical skill colours his historical method. He invites the reader into his confidence, varies his narrative with incidental snippets of information, introduces an entertaining story at the judicious moment, and decides "to solace my self and the reader with a merry digression, after much sorrow and sad stories;"<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) ibid., 68.

(2) ibid., p.80.

(3) ibid., p.129.

This desire to entertain as well as instruct the reader is a delightful feature of many seventeenth century writers. Thus Peter Heylin temptingly promises at the beginning of his Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World, 1621:

"I have enterlaced those more serious affaires with Poeticall fables, and other pleasant relations; yet so that neither these will bee offensive to graver men, nor the serious matters tedious to the younger sort: but both shall pleasantly lead along all readers, that they may steale to the end before they thinke they are at the beginning."<sup>1</sup>

Later on in life Heylin sourly suggested that Fuller's "Merry Tales, and scraps of Trencher-jests", should be "put into a Book by themselves," and "serv'd up for a second course to the Banquet of Jests..."<sup>2</sup> In view of his earlier practice one suspects that his annoyance sprang not only from Fuller's introduction of such "Merry Tales" into a

(1) Microcosmus, Preface.

(2) Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories, 1659. "A Necessary Introduction to the Following Animadversions on the Church History of Britain. Touching the Title of the Book and the Preface to it." b.2.



serious work, but also from the fact that Fuller's stories were so much more successful than his own had ever been.

Fuller's rhetorical training is demonstrated in the pattern of his work and in his exhilarating employment of anecdote. More impressive is his skill at interweaving a mass of varied material - a sustained passage from a Medieval historiographer with a snippet from a German cosmographer, a fact from an Italian historian with a detail from a Stuart traveller and a comment from a modern controversialist. All are brought together and fused into a coherent narrative, and it is this fusion that gives to The Historie of the Holy Warre a shape and structure far more fundamental than any achieved merely by adherence to a pattern imposed from without. Fuller's success is due to his powers of selection and compression. He has had to cut down his material ruthlessly, for compared with the twenty-three books of Tyrius his own work is lightweight. The great danger of compression is bareness with consequent dullness. How brilliantly Fuller has avoided this danger is obvious to anyone reading his history, but his achievement can only be appreciated fully when his sources are studied also. It is obviously impossible to demonstrate his skill at all adequately within a brief compass, but two passages may serve to give some indication. The first concerns Godfrey of Bouillon, whose

dominant characteristics were heroism combined with great piety and modesty. William of Tyre, to illustrate these characteristics, describes a duel which Godfrey reluctantly fought, and then goes on to recount exploits in battle, when singlehanded he killed the Duke of Saxony. His account of these incidents occupies pages 194 and 195 in his history.<sup>1</sup> Fuller conveys the essentials in less than a paragraph.

"Whilest he lived there, there happened an intricate suit betwixt him and another Prince about title of land; and because Judges could not untie the knot, it was concluded the two Princes should cut it asunder with their sword in a combat. Godfrey was very unwilling to fight, not that he was the worse souldier, but the better Christian: he made the demurre not in his courage, but in his conscience; as conceiving any private title for land not ground enough for a duell: Yea, we may observe generally, that they who long most to fight duells, are the first that surfet of them. Notwithstanding, he yeilded to the tyranny of custome, and after the fashion of the countrey entred the lists: when at the first encounter his sword brake; but he struck his adversary down with the hilt, yet so that he saved his life, and gained his own inheritance. Another parallel act of his valour was when being standard-bearer to the Emperour,

---

(1) In the Basle edition used by Fuller, see ante, p. 117.

he with the imperial ensigne killed Rodolphus the Duke of Saxonie in single fight, and fed the Eagle on the bowels of that arch-rebell.<sup>1</sup>

Then again Matthew Paris has a vivid account of the flight and death of Robert, Earl of Artois.

"Cum igitur videret Longam spatam hostibus undique denso agmine circumvallatum, & pondus totius belli sustentem, exclamavit Comes R. nimis impudenter & imprudenter, dicens: O Willielme dimicat contra nos Deus, non possumus amplius resistere. Consule tibi per fugam, ut posses via elabi, dum te tuus equus portare praevallet, ne velle incipias cum non possis. Cui Wil. breviter, prout tantus tumultus permisit, respondit: Non placeat Deo, ut filius patris mei fugiat per aliquo Saraceno, Malo foeliciter mori, quam infoeliciter vivere. Comes igitur Atrebatensis Robertus videns se iam circumquaque hostibus saeptum & vix fugam patere, flexis loris fugam iniit repentinam. Et vectus equo rapidissimo versus flumen, quod vel Nilus fuit, vel Thasnis, quem Nilus absorbet, armatus intravit, credens flumen transnatare, quia equum noverat validissimum, non potuit, quia ferro & multis alijs impedimentis fuerat irretitus. Submersus igitur miser periit, nulli miserabilis, fugitivus & superbus, humiliatus non sponte, sed invitus, nullius lachrymis

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.44.

deplangendus, quia generoso sanguine Regum procreatus alijs exemplum praebuilt perniciosum, & secundum illud Poeticum: Tantò conspectius in se Crimen habet, quantò qui peccat maior habetur."<sup>1</sup>

This is Fuller's version of the incident.

"As for the French Earl who went on like thunder, he went out like smoke, crying to the Earl of Sarisbury, Flee, flee, for God fighteth against us. To whom our Earl, God forbid my fathers sonne should flee from the face of a Saracen. The other seeking to save himself by the swiftnesse of his horse, and crossing the river, had there water enough to drown him, but too little to wash from him the stain of rashnesse and cowardise. Thus died the Earl of Artois: who had in him the parts of a good Generall, but inverted and in transposition, bold in counsel, fearfull in execution. He was of that princely quaternion of brothers which came hither at this voyage and exceeded each other in some quality; Lewis the Holiest, Alphonse the Subtillest, Charles the Stoutest, and this Robert the Proudest."<sup>2</sup>

Though so much shorter Fuller's version records all the essentials both of the manner of the Count's death and his dominant characteristics. If anything, the contrast between

---

(1) Matthew Paris: op. cit. (ante p.119) p.1051.  
 (2) The Holy Warre, p.194.



French Count and English Earl is heightened by his compression of their speeches.

Fuller seizes unerringly on the essential personality of his hero, or the vital incident in the episode he is describing. Having made his selection he burnishes his account with such brilliance of language that his minute engraving gleams more brightly than the full scale efforts of his predecessors. Indeed Fuller's wit does not only give the polish and sparkle to his narrative; it has in this work a far more integral part to play. It is his major instrument of compression, for in a pregnant metaphor he packs sufficient meaning to occupy many sentences of non-figurative language. Thus, in speaking of the Patriarch of Antioch, who had to go to Rome to answer charges levelled against him, Fuller remarks:

"Rodolphus coming to Rome found the Popes doores shut against him, but he opened them with a golden key."<sup>1</sup>

The act of bribery could not be more succinctly recorded. Then again, Fuller's description of S. Ignatius Loyala as "the lame father of blind obedience"<sup>2</sup> combines the physical defect of the saint with the most notorious feature of his order in a phrase of memorable brevity. In his description

---

(1) ibid., p.70.

(2) ibid., p.89.

of the Tartars Fuller wishes to stress their hardy physique, their lack of any defensive armour, the fact that such a lack was no disadvantage to them, that their chief weapon was the bow, that their conquests were marked by savagery, and that they overran Eastern Europe in innumerable hordes. All this (and the names of three of their conquests) is contained in the following extract:

"They needed no steel-armour who had iron-bodies. Onely with bows, cruelty, and multitude they overranne Lituania, Podolia, Polonia, and those countreys which are the East-boundanes of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Obviously Fuller's wit has a dual function, that of compressing the information he wishes to impart, and of preventing such information, once compressed, from becoming bare and dull. In The Historie of the Holy Warre the brevity of the language renders each incident the more memorable.

It is the speed of the narrative and the liveliness of the wit that constitute the history's chief charm for us to-day. We relish the brilliant miniatures, the surprising and at times delightfully irreverent comparisons, the pregnant asides, even the patches of doggerel with which Fuller occasionally embellishes his pages. We agree with his friend, William Johnson, who writes of the work:

---

(1) ibid., p.169.

"Though it of bloud relate,  
 And horrid Warre whose very name we hate,  
 Yet clad in arras language; and thy phrase  
 Doth not affright, but with delight amaze,  
 And with such power upon our senses seise,  
 That makes Warre, dreadfull in it self, to please."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's very success at making his history delectable, however, has perhaps led to misjudgment of the book's quality. It was designed to be popular and entertaining. At the same time it is a fundamentally sound piece of work, which would appeal to those who could appreciate design as well as sparkle, scholarship as well as wit. Fuller should be given credit for these more solid virtues which his history exhibits. In our delighted admiration of the arras, we should not fail to appreciate the soundness of the main structure.

---

(1) Johnson: To his worthy Friend Mr Thomas Fuller on his book, The Holy Warre. Printed in the commendatory verses prefacing the History.

Appendix to Chapter III

Fuller's interest in the Middle East had resulted in his Historie of the Holy Warre, in the course of which he had made a brief survey or "Pisgah Sight" of Palestine<sup>1</sup>. This insertion, a recognition on his part of the inter-relationship of history and geography, was too short to exhaust his enthusiasm or the potentialities of the subject. Indeed the early experiment may have stimulated in him the desire to produce a more comprehensive study than was there possible. Certainly when in 1650 his Choragraphicall Coment on the history of the Bible or the description of Judea<sup>2</sup> was finally ready for publication, his thoughts returned to the title of these earlier chapters and he called his new work A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine. The handsome volume, lavishly embellished with nineteen maps and eleven plates, possibly went into a second edition in 1652<sup>3</sup> and was certainly re-printed in 1662. Fuller himself says of the work that it "hath met with generall reception, likely to live when I am

(1) See ante, Chapter III, p. 137-138.

(2) This is the title entered in the Stationers' Hall registers, April 15th, 1649.

(3) See Bailey: The Life, p. 728. He records that "Lowndes and Brewer mention an edition thus dated".



dead; so that friends of quality sollicite me, to teach it the Latine-Language."<sup>1</sup>

The success of the book, a success which went beyond specialised clerical approbation, would be largely due to the number of intelligent lay Bible readers eager for a volume providing some general background to the Scriptures. A contributory factor, however, would be the work's appeal to that widespread interest in the Eastern Mediterranean region which the earlier history had successfully exploited.

The setting of the two works is inevitably similar: in addition there are certain broad resemblances in form. Thus both volumes are divided into five books: the serious business of historical or geographical narrative and description is accomplished in the first four, and the fifth is reserved for more general and controversial topics. In the Pisgah Sight of Palestine, Book I consists of a general description of Judea, and Book II of surveys of the territories and activities of the twelve tribes. Book III is devoted to descriptions of Jerusalem and the three successive Temples. Accounts of the surrounding regions, and the clothes, ornaments and idols of the Jews constitute Book IV. When Book V is reached, Fuller gives himself the same liberty that he had enjoyed in The Historie of the Holy Warre

---

(1) The Appeal of Iniured Innocence, Pt I, p.25.

and embarks on miscellaneous topics. Thus he raises detailed 'objections' to each section of his work and supplies the appropriate and often entertaining "Answers". He treats of Ezekiel's "Visionary Land of Canaan", and speculates on the whereabouts of the lost ten tribes. Finally he discusses the possible conversion of the Jews and their return to the Holy Land, and concludes the volume with a prayer for their enlightenment

"That so our Saviour, who long since hath been a light to lighten the Gentiles, may in thy time be the glory of thy people Israel, that so there may be one shepherd and one sheepfold."<sup>1</sup>

A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine is a compilation, as was The Historie of the Holy Warre; in neither has Fuller new facts to offer. Even by 1650, when his geography of Palestine was published, he had never set foot out of England<sup>2</sup>, and indeed, far from recognising any necessity to visit the country he is describing, he warns his readers against the folly of undertaking such a journey.

"Yet I would not have any wilfully to expose themselves (as Saint Paul was against his will) to perils of waters, perils of Robbers, perils by the Heathen, &c. personally to

(1) A Pisgah Sight, Book V, p.202.

(2) Fuller's one visit abroad occurred in 1660 when he went in the retinue of Lord Berkeley to attend on the King at the Hague.

pace and trace the land of Canaan: who rather conceive that precept to Abraham, Arise, walk through the land in the breadth thereof, and in the length thereof, may be performed by us, even whilst we also follow the counsell of Joash to Amaziah, Abide now at home.

This may be done by daily and diligent perusing of the Scriptures; and comparing the same with it self; (Diamonds onely cut Diamonds) as also by consulting with such as have written the description of that Countrey."<sup>1</sup>

The previous writers consulted by Fuller ranged from the first century Flavius Josephus<sup>2</sup> and the second century Claudius Ptolemy<sup>3</sup>, to the Renaissance Dutch scholar, Christianus Adrichomius<sup>4</sup> and Fuller's French contemporary Samuel Bochart.<sup>5</sup> The works of these formal geographers and historians have been supplemented by the records of the travellers, Sandys, Blount, Morryson, whose accounts Fuller had already consulted for his history of the Crusades. The

- 
- (1) A Pisgah Sight. Epistle Dedicatory to John, Lord Rosse, p.306.
- (2) Fuller declares that "next holy writ, we have made most use in this book," of the writings of Josephus [i.e. The Jewish War c.69-79 A.D.] The Jewish Antiquities, c.93, A.D.] See A Pisgah Sight, Book II, p.147. In The Appeal of Iniured Innocence he terms Josephus "a worthy Historian, whose memory I deservedly honour", Part I, p.17.
- (3) Ptolemy: Guide to Geography.
- (4) Adrichomius: Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum, 1590.
- (5) Bochart: Geographia Sacra, 1646.

chief source for the whole work, however, is inevitably the Bible.

It is this dependence on the Scriptures which has invested A Pisgah-Sight with the archaic quality of the literary museum piece. The Holy Warre has been superseded as an account of the Crusades, but the work remains fresh and lively, and we can still admire the astringency with which Fuller subjects information to his critical intelligence. In A Pisgah-Sight, however, he has of necessity to shut off this critical faculty from his major source, the Scriptures. If there arises any conflict between an author and Holy Writ, then Holy Writ wins:

"But here we must have an abominable falshood of Joseph Ben Gorion, posted and pillored, impudently affirming, that the Herodian Temple was a more gorgeous structure, then that of Solomons; flatly against the Scripture it self, which presenteth Solomons as a None-such, or peerless structure, (admitting no equall, much less a superiour) exceeding magnificall, of fame, and of glory throughout all countreys."<sup>1</sup>

Since everything in the Scripture is written by the Holy Ghost, then it is to be accepted as historically authentic. Thus Fuller is compelled to discuss solemnly the exact location of "Enoch, built by Cain in the land of Nod."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) A Pisgah-Sight, Book III, pp.424-425.

(2) idem, Book II, p.123.



Events barbarous in themselves are considered as the direct expression of God's will. Fuller safeguards his own humanitarian standards, as did many other seventeenth century divines, by making a distinction between certain inimitable acts in the Old Testament and more general models of conduct universally applicable. Nevertheless his reverent acceptance of each section of the Bible as divine revelation leads him, in the account of the children eaten by bears, to say of Elisha

"He cursed in the name of the Lord, not out of spight, but with Gods Spirit, and the judgement followed accordingly."<sup>1</sup>

We can even witness the spectacle of Fuller arriving at the right conclusions for the wrong reasons, as when he discounts the theory that Joppa might have been founded by Japhet:

"So ancient a place, that some make it first founded, and so named from Japheth before the floud. But it is utterly improbable that Noah being himself busied about building an Arke, which threatned the worlds destruction, would suffer his son to erect a City, as promising a fixt habitation."<sup>2</sup>

A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine is nevertheless by no means uncritical. In handling secular material Fuller's

---

(1) idem, Book II, p.249.

(2) idem, Book II, p.209.

intelligence works as acutely as ever. He is quick to observe the similarity between the Perseus-Andromeda legend and S. George's supposed rescue of a nameless princess.

In Joppa

"The valour of Perseus is celebrated for freeing Andromeda daughter to King Cepheus, tyed with chaines to the rockes, from the fury of a sea monster to which she was exposed.

In Lydda

The puissance of Saint George is remembred for delivering the nameless and onely daughter of a certain King of Libya, from a fiery Dragon, to whom she was tendered by lot, to be devoured.

"It is a pity these two stories should be parted asunder, which will both in full latitude be believed together. Hard to say, whether nearer, the two places or two reports. He that considers the resemblance of their complexions, will conclude, Fancy the father, Credulity the mother of both."<sup>1</sup>

Obviously Fuller's characteristic discrimination and deflating common-sense are still functioning where possible.

The difference between A Pisgah Sight and his other works is that in the former their free play is prevented by the sacrosanct nature of the material.

This does not mean that the work has now no power to excite our admiration. The pleasure we take in the "historical properties" of the maps, Jonah's whale and Jacob's ladder, and our relish of Fuller's solemn discussion of

---

(1) idem, Book II, p.210.

the reasons which prompted Lot's wife to look back<sup>1</sup>, may spring from a sophisticated delight in charming naiveté. This somewhat patronising enjoyment, however, is soon superseded by genuine appreciation of Fuller's skill in handling his material. He has scoured the Scriptures for evidence, and from hundreds of scattered topographical and historical references has built up a coherent and ordered picture of the Holy Land and its inhabitants. It is admittedly an imperfect picture. Frequently the Bible fails to supply Fuller with information as precise as he would desire. On such occasions he turns to later commentators and geographers, and where a point is in dispute displays a breathtaking willingness to split the difference.

"Where both authors appear of equal authority in themselves, and number of followers, we have umpired the difference by pitching on a middle number betwixt both. For instance Seiglerus makes it fourteen thousand paces or fourteen miles betwixt Zidon and Tyre (eminent Marts, and therefore the distance betwixt them might be notoriously known) whilst Vadianus makes it two hundred furlongs, or twenty miles.

---

(1) idem, Book II, p.271. If this story had not the authority of divine revelation behind it, then the man who had perceived the similarity between the Perseus and S.George legends would surely have drawn an interesting comparison here with Orpheus.

Here to part the difference equally, we have insisted on 17 miles."<sup>1</sup>

Imperfect as Fuller's portrayal of Palestine may be, however, it is an imperfection largely inherent in his sources and his attitude towards them. Information from the Bible he must accept, but that information is skilfully exploited. He sorts and assembles his hundreds of snippets, rearranging and reorganizing his scriptural material into a coherent chorographical survey. As a demonstration of intimate knowledge of the Bible and of the amassing and exploitation of recalcitrant material, A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine remains impressive.

More surprisingly, the work is still enjoyable. Surveys of territories and lists of place names hardly seem to offer scope for entertainment. Yet Fuller invests even this material with liveliness and sparkle. Few writers would be able to convey a sense of drama when discussing the towns appertaining to the tribe of Ephraim, yet this Fuller achieves:

"I conceived all memorable places described in this Tribe, but on review do discover a guilty town lurking beside Ephraim as if conscious of the treachery committed therein, it endeavoured to escape our observation, namely Baal-hazor,

---

(1) idem, Book I, pp.45-46.



where Absalom sheared his sheep."<sup>1</sup>

Astringent sarcasm can enliven a survey of the Temple utensils:

"Strange that no Pope hath gotten a piece of Aarons Mitre, or breast-plate, to grace his wardrobe, or a parcell of the manuscript commandments, written by Gods finger, to adorn his Vatican."<sup>2</sup>

A discussion of the idols of the Jews gives opportunity for a typically pungent anecdote about the

"Countrey-man in Spain, who coming to an Image enshrined, the extraction and first making whereof he could well remember, and not finding from the same that respectfull usage which he expected (haply because he had not feed the Friers to their contentment, who accordingly do sell such frowns and smiles) You need not (quoth he) be so proud, for I have known you from a Plum-tree."<sup>3</sup>

Even criticism of Fuller's inadequate knowledge is disarmed by a happy image:

"So much for the places of this Tribe, of whose situation we have any certainty from Gods word, or good Authors. On the

- 
- (1) idem, Book II, p.201.  
 (2) idem, Book III, p.438.  
 (3) idem, Book IV, p.126.

rest we hang out our conjecturall Flag.<sup>1</sup> Which whilest some censure for the Ensignes of our ignorance; others I hope will approve as the colours of our modesty."<sup>2</sup>

A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine is thus a triumph of style over subject matter. Few would now read the work for its content, save those who indulge in a self-conscious delight in the archaic and out-moded. Yet the volume is still delightful, preserved by a vivacity of expression, and ebullient power of organisation unsubmerged by unpromising material.

- 
- (1) Fuller is here referring to the practice of his engravers in A Pisgah-Sight of drawing on the maps a little flag over towns of doubtful existence or locality.
- (2) ibid., Book II, p.215.



CHAPTER IV

The Historie of the Holy Warre amply testifies to Fuller's lively interest in personality. He records the most dominant characteristics of each of the Kings of Jerusalem before dealing with their reigns, and if to these preliminary descriptions the accounts of their deaths with Fuller's final estimates are added, then we are provided with a series of miniatures of remarkable vitality. Fuller has no new facts to give us, but his intelligent and sympathetic selection of details and the vivacity of his style enable each "brief life" to be convincing and even illuminating within its limited scope. Perhaps his most perfect sketch of character is his estimate of Saladin<sup>1</sup>, where the concision, wit and generosity of judgment reveal Fuller's technique as already assured. It was inevitable that the interest in personalities thus early revealed should find further literary expression.

The practice of drawing up the "characters" of historical personages developed alongside and interacted with the Jacobean habit of analysing the characteristics of the type.

---

(1) The Holy Warre, pp.132-133.



The description of the type had of course precedents as far back as the Scriptures<sup>1</sup> and was an acknowledged instrument of rhetorical persuasion. Thus Thomas Wilson in his Arte of Rhetoricke supplies us with a perfect character of a covetous man:

"There is no suche pinche peny on live, as this good felowe is, He will not lose the paryng of his nailes. His heire is never ronnded, for sparyng of money one paire of shoen serveth hym a.XII.moneth, he is shod with nailes like a horse. He hath been knowen by his cote this.xxx winter. He spent ones a grote at good ale, beyng forced thorowe companie, and taken short at his worde, whereupon he hath taken suche conceipt sins that tyme, that it hath almost cost hym his life."<sup>2</sup>

The character, however, was never established in England as an independent literary genre until a combination of circumstances - the interest in manners expressed in various forms of light literature and pamphlets, the explanation of observed behaviour by the theory of 'humours', the analytical tendencies of the Jacobean mind - had provided a suitable climate of opinion. The Latin translation of Theophrastus's

---

(1) There is an excellent 'character' of the good wife in the last chapter of Proverbs.

(2) The Arte of Rhetorique, 1553. Fol., 99-100.

characters by Isaac Casaubon<sup>1</sup>, followed by John Healey's English version<sup>2</sup> had rendered possible invigorating contact with the Greek master of the genre, and had reminded men of a clear-cut form where these developing interests could find literary expression. The result was the subsequent "boom" in the character, with collections ranging from the didactic examples of Hall<sup>3</sup> and the more subtle delineations of Earle<sup>4</sup>, to the charming characters of the seasons by Breton<sup>5</sup> and the analysis of prison types by Geffray Mynshul.<sup>6</sup> Some preachers were quick to exploit a method of persuasion which, although always open to them, had now achieved a remarkable secular popularity. Thus the sermons of Thomas Adams contain some twenty characters, of which the portrayal of the hypocrite in The White Devil, or the Hypocrite Uncased<sup>7</sup>, is an interesting example. There is nothing remarkable, therefore, in Fuller's practice in the Comment on Corinthians, where he

- 
- (1) Theophrasti Characteres Ethici, 1592.  
 (2) Epictetus Manuall. Cebes Table. Theophrastus Characters, 1616.  
 (3) Joseph Hall: Characters of Vertues and Vices, 1608.  
 (4) John Earle: Microcosmographie, or, a Peece of the World Discovered, 1628.  
 (5) Nicholas Breton: Fantasticks: Serving for a Perpetual Prognostication, 1626.  
 (6) Certaine Characters and Essayes of Prison and Prisoners, 1618. (Subscribed Yarffeg Lluhsnym.) p. 31  
 (7) The White Devil, or the Hypocrite Uncased, 1613, ~~px 31x~~

embodies two "characters", one of the "Arch-Heretike"<sup>1</sup>, the other of the "plaine Follower of an Heresy".<sup>2</sup> Thus before 1640 Fuller had experimented in the portrayal both of the historical figure and the abstract type. The Holy and Profane States<sup>3</sup>, published in 1642, represents the development and inter-relating of forms already employed by him in previous works.

The social and intellectual conditions which encouraged the writing of characters were also favourable to the development of the essay. The early seventeenth century essay in England was not on the whole distinguished by any very subjective or personal tone. Instead its affinities with moral and political philosophy were preserved, and the form in the hands of Bacon was employed for cool psychological analysis coupled with astute reflection and instruction. The somewhat analytical and impersonal tone, together with the stylistic device of the short aphoristic sentence, suggested affinities with the character, so that Nicholas Breton could

(1) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp. 120-121.

(2) ibid., pp. 121-122.

(3) The Holy State. By Thomas Fuller, Bachelour of Divinitie, & Prebendarie of Sarum. Cambridge, 1642. The Profane State. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. and Prebendarie of Sarum, Cambridge: 1642. Two title pages, but published in the one volume, and referred to throughout as The Holy and Profane States, and in the footnotes to this chapter as H. & P.S.



write his Characters upon Essaies Morall, and Divine<sup>1</sup>, in an attempt to treat Baconian subject matter in the Theophrastian fashion, and occasionally the two genres could become confused, as in Horae Subsecivae<sup>2</sup>, where essay crystallises into character, and character then merges back into the more fluid form. Usually however, the two genres were distinguished, and Geffray Mynshul's Certaine Characters and Essayes of Prison and Prisoners demonstrates the preservation of the peculiar stylistic features of each. The practice of combining essays and characters within the one volume, as in the above instance, was fairly common, and there is therefore nothing unusual in Fuller's insertion of twenty five essays in the middle of The Holy and Profane States. What is unusual in the book's structure is its comprehensiveness, for though character and essay had obvious affinities, as had character and 'life', Fuller's is the only work to bring the three together into one complete manual.

The presence within one volume of three different though affiliated forms has of necessity complicated critical discussion. One drastic method of simplification was that perpetrated by the editor of the Cambridge [Mass.] edition of 1831, who, after announcing that

---

(1) Characters upon Essaies Morall, and Divine, 1615.

(2) Horae Subsecivae. Observations and Discourses, 1620.

This was variously attributed to Grey Brydges, Lord Chandos, or Gilbert, Lord Cavendish, but William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire, is now acknowledged as the author. See Bush: English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p.508.



"Many passages and a few chapters have been excluded, as incompatible with the refined delicacy of modern manners", points out complacently that "Other portions, including the Lives, have been omitted."<sup>1</sup> The London edition of 1884 suffers from an editor with similar nice sensibilities and an equal disregard of the structure of Fuller's work.<sup>2</sup> Even where the desire to simplify did not lead to such editorial butchering, it did encourage a tacit critical blindness to the varied elements which make up The Holy and Profane States, so that in the past interest tended to be concentrated exclusively on the character sections, and the work as a whole was classified with character anthologies and discussed as such. Such classification was hardly helpful, as not only was it based on a dismissal of two out of the three sections of the work, but also it minimised the essential differences between Fuller's characters and the orthodox type. Where the true Theophrastian character was built up of taut, sometimes paradoxical, sentences, and depended for its effect on shrewd observation, brevity and wit, Fuller's were composed of numbered rules or maxims, each maxim being developed by means of comment and anecdote. The tone was at once more discursive and more directly utilitarian. Because of this

---

(1) Strickland Gibson. A Bibliography of the Works of Thomas Fuller, p.102.

(2) ibid., p.102.

discursiveness it was natural that once the apparent impurities of Fuller's characters had been observed, they should be attributed to the influence of the somewhat more fluid essay form. The fact that Fuller's essays were no whit different in style from his characters, but proceeded by exactly the same method of maxim<sup>1</sup> plus anecdote, encouraged the belief that Fuller had fused the stylistic peculiarities of both forms and had produced a hybrid. Gwendolen Murphy in her Cabinet of Characters even goes so far as to term all Fuller's characters "delightful essays", and to include them in her anthology "in spite of logic".<sup>2</sup>

It is only in Houghton's recent study The Formation of Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane States", 1938, that Fuller's volume has received critical consideration as a unity. By exhaustively exploring the various genres which provide the necessary background for our understanding of Fuller's purpose and practice in writing this book, Houghton has demonstrated that the work is not a haphazard collection of impure characters and/or essays. He has shown that

- 
- (1) Bacon's Essays of 1597 (The Works, Vol. VI, p.525-534) consisting of aphoristic statements marked off by the sign ¶ are in effect a series of maxims. In Fuller's essays, however, each maxim is sharply isolated by the device of numbering, and then developed by comment or anecdote.
- (2) A Cabinet of Characters, 1925, p.58.

instead it is in essence a comprehensive conduit book, with each section, whether so-called character, essay, or life, having an essential function, and the whole possessing a unity of purpose and tone. While acknowledging Fuller's debts to the character writers and essayists<sup>1</sup>, he has demonstrated the potent influences of works of moral philosophy, the literature of estates, casuistry, courtesy and treatises of policy on the subject matter and structure of The Holy and Profane States. Thus the Aristotelian separation of spheres of conduct into ethics, economics and politics, a classification still useful to such men as Hall<sup>2</sup> and William Vaughan<sup>3</sup>, illumines the formation of Book I (economics) Book III (ethics) and Book IV (politics), and demonstrates the influence of current treatises of moral philosophy. The contemporary conception of an organic society, with emphasis placed on the duties of men in their respective spheres - a conception which found expression in numbers of instructive manuals designed to preserve the "status quo" - helps to

- 
- (1) Houghton, op. cit., pp.29-32. Fuller's indebtedness to Bacon's essays is demonstrated pp.156-157.
- (2) Hall; Solomons Divine Arts, of 1. Ethikes 2. Politickes 3. Oeconomicks: That is; the Government of 1. Behaviour, 2. Common-wealth, 3. Familie, 1609.
- (3) Vaughan; The Golden-grove, Moralised in Three Bookes: a Worke Very Necessary for All Such, as Would Know How to Governe Themselves, Their Houses, or Their Countrey, 1600.

explain Fuller's stress throughout on social obligations, and his selection of characters ranging from the King to the Handicraftsman. The literature of casuistry, which attempted to solve for the laity the difficulties faced by men robbed of the guidance of priest in confessional, had a particularly vital influence on both subject matter and tone of Fuller's work, and accounts for the emphasis on specific directions and rules of conduct. From the courtesy books Fuller drew his inspiration for such sections as those on the Elder and Younger Brothers, the Herald, the Gentleman, the Degenerous Gentleman, the General Artist, and the essays on Hospitality, Apparel, Travelling, Company, Recreations and Marriage. The treatises on policy supplied him with material for such characters as the Good General, the Favourite, the Wise Statesman, the Ambassador, the Prince, and others in Book IV, and perhaps help to explain the note of expediency which is sounded particularly in this section. Thus Houghton's critical analysis reveals the richness and complexity of the background of The Holy and Profane States and enables us to view the work as a whole for what it is, not a collection of unorthodox characters and essays, with the arbitrary addition of certain lives, but a comprehensive manual of conduct, with links with the major literary didactic traditions of the seventeenth century.



One feature of The Holy and Profane States, however, which has never been adequately stressed is the remarkable continuity existing between the work and those of Fuller's sermons which precede it. Fundamentally such continuity is the result of Fuller's temperament. His sermons are distinguished not by any remarkable spiritual insight, but by the practical wisdom of his observations and the soundness of his advice on conduct. In the pulpit he is essentially the Christian moralist. Therefore when he turns his attention to the production of a manual of conduct, there is no fission of preacher and author. The switch to the secular is essentially a change in form and, to a limited extent, tone, and in The Holy and Profane States Fuller is dealing with very much the same field of practical morality as he had dealt with in his sermons.

Apart from this fundamental continuity, however, there are links between The Holy and Profane States and the sermons which, though more superficial, are interesting and enlightening since they reveal that Fuller carried over into the secular genre some of the features of his preaching technique. Certainly many of the stylistic peculiarities of his characters and essays can be explained on analogy with The Comment on Ruth or Josephs Party-Coloured Coat. It is a feature of Fuller's sermons that they advance by means of brief numbered observations, propositions, rules, followed

by shrewd comment, illustration, anecdote. The similarity of this mode of progression to the device adopted in both characters and essays will be obvious from a few illustrative passages.

(1) "The end of feeding, is to fall to our Calling. Let us not therefore with Israel, sit downe to eate and to drinke, and so rise up againe to play; but let us eate to live, not live to eate. 'Tis not [sic.] matter, we need not make the Clay-Cottage of our Body much larger then it is, by immoderate feasting; it is enough, if we maintaine it so with competent food, that God our Landlord may not have just cause to sue us for want of Reparations."<sup>1</sup>

(2) "Thirdly, observe; False friends will forsake [us] in time of adversity. Hee that beleeveth that all those who smile on him and promise faire in time of prosperity will performe it in time of his want, may as well beleve that all the leeves that bee on trees at Mid-summer will hang there as fresh and as faire on New-years day."<sup>2</sup>

(3) "Wise men must sometimes follow the counsell of their Inferiours, as Naaman did of his servants. The reason is, that wise men may bee deceived in those actions wherein they themselves are parties and interested. It is possible that

(1) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.90.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.193.

Passion, Prejudice, and Partiality, one or all of these, like so many Pearles, may blind the eyes of your Iudgement.

Whereas such as looke on may see more then those that play the game; and though in other respects their judgements be farre inferiour, yet herein they may be more cleare, because lesse ingaged..."<sup>1</sup>

(4) "Let us take heed, that wee take not exception at the simplicity of Goods Ordinance. A Spanish Don having heard much of the fame of Calvin, travelled to Geneva to see him; where finding him both plaine in person and poore in apparell, hee repented himselfe of his paines; and whom his eare did admire at distance, his eye did contemne, when present..."<sup>2</sup>

(5) "Her grief for her Husband though reall, is moderate.

Excessive was the sorrow of King Richard the second beseeming him neither as king, man, or Christian, who so fervently loved Anna of Bohemia his Queen, that when she dyed at Shean in Surrey, he both cursed the place, and also out of madnesse overthrew the whole house."<sup>3</sup>

(6) "It is no breach of Contentment for men to complain that their suffrings are unjust, as offered by men: provided they

(1) ibid., Vol. I, p.213.

(2) ibid., Vol. I, p.215-216.

3(4) H. & ES. p.24.

allow them for just, as proceeding from God, who useth wicked mens injustice to correct his children. But let us take heed that we bite not so high at the handle of the rod, as to fasten on his hand that holds it; our discontentments mounting so high as to quarrell with God himself."<sup>1</sup>

Of these examples, the first four are from Fuller's sermons, the fifth from his character of The Good Widow, the sixth from his essay Of Contentment. It is significant that stylistically they are indistinguishable. The similarity between Fuller's essays and characters, a similarity which has already been noticed<sup>2</sup>, may well be explicable not solely on a theory of direct fusion between two secular genres, but on the assumption that Fuller's looser sermon technique is underlying and influencing these two sections of The Holy and Profane States.

It is possible to strengthen this argument by quoting examples from the sermons and The Holy and Profane States where not only method but the very subject matter is almost identical. To some extent such similarities demonstrate Fuller's dependence on his commonplace book, and are the inevitable result of that particular literary habit. It is important to notice, however, that Fuller employs commonplace material in all three genres, sermon, essay and

---

(1) ibid., p.196.

(2) See ante, p.176



character, where the orthodox would employ it in the first and second only. Thus the passages which follow are not reproduced merely to demonstrate Fuller's habit of re-using favourite anecdotes. They are selected to clarify and reinforce the suggestion already proffered; namely, that the unorthodox characters and essays of The Holy and Profane States possess affinities with Fuller's sermons which may account for some of their stylistic peculiarities.

Excerpts from the Sermons

"O that height might be but measured by true holinesse! There was an Officer amongst the Greekes, whose place it was to measure Monuments according to the Standard of the mens merits therein interred: Such Officers, if used in England, would pare off great parcels from some Tombes, more proportioned to the parties Wealth then Vertues."<sup>1</sup>

Excerpts from 'The Holy and Profane States'

"Tombes ought in some sort to be proportioned not to the wealth but deserts of the party interred.

Yet may we see some rich man of mean worth loaden under a tombe big enough for a Prince to bear. There were Officers appointed in the Grecian Games, who alwayes by publick authority did pluck down the Statues erected to the Victours, if they exceeded the true symmetric and proportion of their bodies. We need such nowadays to order Monuments to mens merits, chiefly to reform such depopulating Tombes as have no good fellowship with them, but engrosse all the room, leaving neither seats for the living, nor graves for the dead."<sup>2</sup>

- 
- (1) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.34.  
 (2) H. & P.S. p.188. Essay: "Of Tombes",

Excerpts from the Sermons

"Notwithstanding, let poor people be warie and discreet, that through their idlenesse they be not a burthen to wealthie men of their alliance. When a Husband-man claimed kindred in Grosted Bishop of Lincoln, and would fain on the instant turn a Gentleman, and to this end requested his Lordship to bestow an office upon him: the Bishop told him, that if his Plough were broken, he would mend it; if he wanted a Plough, he would make him a new one; telling him withall, that he should by no means leave that Calling and Vocation wherein God had set him. So ought all poor people industriously to take pains for themselves, and not to give themselves over to ease, relying and depending for their maintenance on their reference and relation to a rich kinsman."<sup>1</sup>

"Observation: Where note: it is the part of a thriving Husband not to trust the care of his affairs to his servants, but to oversee them himselfe. The Masters eye maketh a fat Horse; and one asking, what

Excerpts from 'The Holy and Profane States'

"He relieveth his distressed kinred, yet so as he continues them in their calling. Otherwise they would all make his house their hospitall, his kinred their calling. When one being an Husbandman challenged kinred of Robert Grosthead Bishop of Lincoln, and thereupon requested favour of him to bestow an office on him, Cousen (quoth the Bishop) if your cart be broken, I'le mend it; if your plough old, I'le give you a new one, and seed to sow your land: but an Husbandman I found you, and an Husbandman I'le leave you. It is better to ease poore kinred in their Profession, then to ease them from their Profession."<sup>2</sup>

"He oversees the works of his servants. One said, that the dust that fell from the masters shoes was the best compost to manure ground."<sup>3</sup>

- 
- (1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.66.  
 (2) H. & P.S. p.46. Character: "The Elder Brother".  
 (3) H. & P.S. p.17. Character: "The Good Master".

Excerpts from the Sermons

was the best compost to Manure Land, it was answered, the dust of the Masters feet; meaning his presence to behold his own business."<sup>1</sup>

Excerpts from 'The Holy and Profane States'

"Let such as are allyed to rich Kindred, be heartily thankfull to God for them; yet so as they under God depend principally on their owne labour, and not on their reference to their Friends; and let them not too earnestly expect helpe from their Kindred, for feare they miscarry. A Scholler being maintained in the Universitie by his Uncle, who gave a Basilisk for his Armes, and expected that he should make him his Heire, wrote these Verses over his Chimney:

Falleris aspectu Basiliscum  
occidere, Plini,  
Nam vitae nostrae spem  
Basiliscus alit.

Soone after it happened that his Uncle dyed, and gave him nothing at all; whereupon the Scholler wrote these verses under the former:

Certè aluit, sed spe vanâ;  
spes vana venenum;  
Ignoscas, Plini, verus es  
historicus."<sup>2</sup>

"Thus uselesse is the Anchor of hope (good for nothing but to deceive those that relie on it) if the cable or small cords of means and causes whereon it depends fail and miscarry. Daily experience tenders too many examples. A Gentleman who gave a Basilisk for his Arms or Crest promised to make a young kinsman of his his heir, which kinsman to ingratiate himself painted a Basilisk in his study, and beneath it these verses,

Falleris aspectu Basiliscum  
occidere, Plini,  
Nam vitae nostrae spem  
Basiliscus alit.

The Basilisk's the onely stay,  
My life preserving still;  
Pliny, thou li'dst when thou  
didst say

The Basilisk doth kill.  
But this rich Gentleman dying frustrated his expectation, and bequeathed all his estate to another, whereupon the Epigram was thus altered,

Certe aluit, sed spe vana, spes  
vana venenum:  
Ignoscas, Plini, verus es  
Historicus."<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.70.  
(2) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.101.  
(3) H. & P.S. p.172. Essay: "Of Expecting Preferment".



We can find precedents in Fuller's sermons for further otherwise inexplicable stylistic devices employed in The Holy and Profane States. Thus in the twenty-fourth essay, Of the Antiquity of Churches, and Necessity of them, Fuller craves leave of the reader "that we may for a while dissolve our continued discourse into a dialogue,"<sup>1</sup> and the subsequent dialogue extends for three pages. Certainly this practice is based on no example to be found in the Baconian essay. The obvious precedent is supplied by The Comment on Ruth where the device of dialogue is employed to render Fuller's consideration of various problems more vital and interesting to his congregation.<sup>2</sup> The use of numbered reasons in the character of the Younger Brother<sup>3</sup> is a transference of one of the features of sermon technique<sup>4</sup> into the secular genre. Finally the employment of "Objection" and "Answer" in the character of the Good Soldier<sup>5</sup> and the essay "Of Ministers Maintenance"<sup>6</sup> is a further link with the sermons, for this was a device frequently used to clear up difficulties raised by certain texts.<sup>7</sup>

---

(1) H. & P.S., p.221.

(2) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.12-13, p.19.

(3) H. & P.S., p.49.

(4) The Collected Sermons, Vol. I, pp.117, 132, 139, 140, 141, etc.

(5) H. & P.S., pp.123-125.

(6) ibid., pp.229, 230-232, 233, 234.

(7) The Collected Sermons, pp. 8, 16, 31, 32, etc.



This emphasis on the continuity between Fuller's sermons and The Holy and Profane States in no way weakens Houghton's argument concerning the important influence of casuistry. The numbering of points, the calling in of reasons, the employing of "Question" and "Answer" are, it is true, features of Fuller's sermons, but Fuller's sermons themselves are strongly influenced by the work of the first great English casuist, William Perkins, and such features are common to the latter's productions and to those of his successors, including Ames, whose De Conscientia, et Eius Iure, vel Casibus<sup>1</sup> Fuller certainly knew. Casuistry, however, as exemplified in the works of Perkins and Ames, affords no precedent for the discursive style, the shrewd comment and lively anecdote employed by Fuller. The numbered rules are there, the questions and drily reasonable answers. But the rules, if developed at all, are developed by flat statement and argument, the moral earnestness of the writers supplying the only vivifying element. There is no trace of the developed witty comment or the secular historical anecdote. Houghton finds precedent for this feature of Fuller's style in the essay and also in the various secular instructive

---

(1) William Ames; De Conscientia, et Eius Iure, vel Casibus, 1631. For the evidence that Fuller used Ames, see Houghton, op. cit., pp.86-87, 90-91.

manuals, especially the treatises of policy.<sup>1</sup> Obviously all these would exert a certain influence. The immediate and obvious precedent, however, is to be found in Fuller's sermons, where the dry bones of casuistry have been enticingly covered by the party-coloured coat of Fuller's pulpit rhetoric. Naturally The Holy and Profane States contains more anecdote and less direct exhortation than the sermons and the peculiar features of sermon technique, the quoting of the Scriptures and on occasions the Fathers, have been abandoned. The tone is more secular, more deliberately utilitarian, more directly entertaining, and the pattern of rule plus development is adhered to more precisely than in the series of pulpit addresses. But the short paragraphs consisting of maxim and anecdote which make up Fuller's characters and essays are obviously akin in structure to the short paragraph of text plus comment, doctrine plus development, observation plus anecdote, which make up his sermons. It seems possible that Fuller, realising the suitability of the character for didactic purposes, decided to draw up a series of maxims exploiting the framework of the character, but developed within that framework on the looser lines already employed by him in his sermon technique. Whether consciously or otherwise he allows his sermons to exert a

---

(1) See Houghton, op. cit., p.150.

considerable influence on The Holy and Profane States, and his training as a divine and his pulpit method obviously modify his conception of the character and essay in a more direct fashion than is the case with the other literary divines - Hall for example. Not only as regards matter, but to a certain extent as regards manner also, Fuller can claim:

"I am resident on my Profession."<sup>1</sup>

To the present-day reader, accustomed to the attempt at objective biography, the presence of thirty lives and two historical excerpts within a book of characters and essays seems a delightful but somewhat arbitrary largesse. To appreciate not only the entertainment value, but also the logical and functional role, of the biographical sections of The Holy and Profane States it is necessary to review the Stuart attitude towards the writing of lives - an attitude which differs very considerably from the modern. The writing of lives was long thought of as but one aspect of history in general. Bacon with his analytical genius was the first Englishman to make the distinctions between the various branches of history specific.<sup>2</sup>

(1) H. & P.S., "To the Reader".

(2) Sir John Hayward, an able biographer himself, certainly distinguished in practice between the writing of lives and history in general, but he did not share Bacon's genius for expressing such distinctions clearly and cogently.



"History which may be called Just and Perfect History is of three kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent: for it either representeth a Time, or a Person, or an Action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narrations or Relations!"<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this, however, there was still considerable confusion between history in general and life-writing in particular, and works such as William Drummond's The History of Scotland,<sup>2</sup> 1665, reflect this confusion by being neither pure biography nor history. Because of this frequent lack of any clear distinctions, much of what has already been said in the previous chapter about Stuart theories of history will be relevant here. Yet though biography was slow to develop as a separate and self-conscious form, in practice the writing of lives was a very old instrument of rhetorical persuasion, and as such had acquired a body of instructive and apologetic literature. Lovers of history had found the justification of the art in its supposed instructive value, and they singled out the life as a particularly potent means of edification. Thus Bacon was of the opinion that lives

"if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent in whom actions both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation," than history

(1) The Works, Vol. III, p. 334. Of the Advancement of Learning.

(2) The History of Scotland...Containing the Lives and

Reigns of James the I, the II, the III, the IV, the V, 1665.



in general, and must therefore, as an inevitable corollary, excel it in "profit and use".<sup>1</sup>

Just as current theories of history provided no direct inducement to purely objective recording, so the current theories governing the writing of lives were scarcely favourable to disinterested investigation. Disinterested investigation was not, in fact, desired. Even as late as 1668 we find the bounds of legitimate curiosity strictly limited, as Thomas Sprat curtly reminds us that it is not our privilege to see great men "undress'd".<sup>2</sup> What the Renaissance and Stuart writer of a life was expected to provide was not a penetrating study of all aspects of his subject's personality, nor a review of his foibles and idiosyncrasies, but a moving example which would inspire the reader to emulate the virtues or shun the vices thus vividly depicted. Inevitably this led to heightening or suppression on the part of the biographer. Thus Samuel Clarke, in his Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, advises his readers:

2. "We must eye them, [the Divines] not to observe their weaknesses, to discover their shame, for this is a poysonous

(1) The Works, Vol. III, p.334. Of the Advancement of Learning.

(2) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, 1668. "An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley. Written to Mr M.Clifford, by T.Sprat." "In such Letters the Souls of Men should appear undress'd: And in that negligent habit, they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a Chamber, but not to go abroad into the Streets."

disposition; neither may we observe them thereby to take liberty to the flesh, from what is amiss in them; but we must eye them, as we look into Glasses, to dress, and adorn ourselves thereby.

3. We must eye them for imitation: We must look upon the best, and the best in the best."<sup>1</sup>

Such an approach to biography, while it did not shackle the occasional exceptional writer, nor the man exceptionally inspired by his subject, seriously restricted the practice of the majority. Eddius, Bede, Eadmer, St Thomas More, Hayward, Bacon, Walton, were all men capable of penetrating beyond the confines of a didactic theory. The writer of moderate talents, however, lacking any profound insight into human personality, was encouraged by such a theory to produce not a genuine life, but a pattern, stark black or white. Moreover the obvious appeal of the exemplary life to men of strong religious principles was such that a preacher as sensitively endowed as Richard Baxter could nevertheless on occasions make statements not inappropriate to a Medieval hagiographer:

"The example of holiness I have briefly proposed: they that would see examples of iniquity, may look abroad in the world,

---

(1) A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, 1662.  
"To the Reader", A.3.

and find enough: I need not be the accuser of the saints to furnish them."<sup>1</sup>

With the exemplary life firmly established as the most potent means of persuasion, it was natural that Fuller should include biographies in The Holy and Profane States. The work was designed as a manual of conduct, a guide to the good and successful life, and the general rules laid down in the sections of characters and essays were reinforced by the vivid concrete illustrations drawn from history. The essential unity of The Holy and Profane States would be immediately obvious to Fuller's contemporaries, who would regard each section as a contribution to the instructive value of the whole, and the lives as perhaps the most vital contribution.

Thomas Wilson, in discussing the "Oracion demonstrative", intended either for the "praise or dispraise of some one man"<sup>2</sup> had drawn up a plan for the construction of a life. Though a statement of the obvious, it is worth reproducing since it reveals the framework of Renaissance biography and demonstrates the concentration on deeds rather than motives.

---

(1) Biographical Collections: or Lives and Characters, from the Works of the Reverend Mr Baxter, and Dr Bates, 1766, p.20.

In fairness to Baxter, it must be admitted that the occasion was a funeral sermon, where the failings of the deceased could scarcely be stressed. Since Baxter exploited the sermon as a vehicle for biography, however, such statements can legitimately be cited as indicating a certain approach to the art of life-writing.

(2) Wilson; op. cit., Fol. 6.

{ The birthe, and infancie }	Whereunto are referred these	{ Whether the person be a man, or a woman }
{ The childhode }		{ The bryngyng up, y <sup>e</sup> nurturyng, and the behaviour of his life }
{ The stripelyng age, or spryng tide }		{ To what study he ta- keth hymself unto, what company he u- seth, how he liveth }
{ The mannes state }		{ Prowesses doen, either abrode, or at home }
{ The olde age }		{ His pollicies & wit- tie devises in behove of the publike wele. }
{ The tyme of his departure, or deth }		{ Thynges that have happened aboute his death. <sup>1</sup> }

The instructions contained in Blundevill's treatise, The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories, are naturally more thorough. For example, he carefully advises the writer to record only "those actes which the person of whom you write, dyd himselfe, and not the actes of his Auncetours, or that were done parhaps in his tyme, hee deserving to have no parte thereof":<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, he attempts to encourage a more profound investigation of motives and personality:

(1) ibid., Fol. 7.

(2) Blundevill; op. cit., "Whose lyves ought to be chronicled."



"And as touching the inwarde causes: I meane here, by nature, that inclynacion which a man hath from his cradle & by affections: I meane certayne livelye motions, as anger, love, hatred put in execution. For so they bring foorth actions, eyther by sodain motions without election, or else by some passion bred by custome, and growne to habite. Some agayne doe spring of bare and simple discourse, accompanied neither with passion or custome. And some doe spring of discourse accustomed, eyther to vice or vertue. And therefore the writer in tellyng the actes and deeds, ought to shew of which these causes above sayde such actes proceeded, & specially those that were done with choyse and election."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding these suggestions of a deeper insight into the requirements of biography, Blundevill in his main propositions is well in the established tradition. It is significant that not all a man's acts are to be recorded, but "those onely which are notable and may serve to some good example,"<sup>2</sup>

and the only persons whose lives are worth recounting are those who "have been such as are to bee followed for their excellencie in vertue, or else to be fledde for their excellende in vice."<sup>3</sup>

(1) ibid.

(2) ibid.

(3) ibid.

Fuller's biographies are designed to fall into one or other of these categories. Moreover they naturally tend to be constructed on the traditional framework. His life of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, will serve as illustration. The first paragraph is devoted to his family and place of birth, the second to his education ("the writer is bounde to shew the education of the person chronicled, and those exercises, and studyes, whereby hee hath formed hys maners"<sup>1</sup>), the third and fourth to a discussion of his and Sir Edward Montague's complicity in the plot to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Then details of Cecil's rise are recorded, and the Queen's favour to him is stressed. A paragraph is devoted to his patronage of the Church and the Universities, and a further one to his wit in conversation. The life ends with an account of his last sickness and an appreciation of the provision he made for his sons. The work is the traditional pattern life, consisting of a few essential facts augmented by anecdote, with little conscious attempt to investigate the subtleties of a wily and brilliant personality.<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) ibid.

(2) Although there is little conscious probing into Cecil's motives, etc., something of his personality is transmitted to the reader, mainly by means of Fuller's choice of imagery. "Indeed this cunning Wrestler would never catch hold to grapple openly with Leicester (as having somewhat the disadvantage of him both in height and strength) but as they ran to their severall goles, if they chanced to meet, Burleigh would fairly give him a trip, and be gone." H. & P.S. p.267.

The account ends on a note of pious eulogy:

"God measured his outward happinesse not by an ordinary standard: How many great Undertakers in State set in a cloud, whereas he shined to the last ? Herein much is to be ascribed to the Queens constancy, who to confute the observation of Feminine ficklenesse, where her favour did light it did lodge; more to his own temper and moderation, whereas violent & boysterous meddlers in State cripple themselves with aches in their age; most to Gods goodnesse, who honoureth them that honour him."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's lives accord with the contemporary theoretical requirements of biography. Had they done nothing more we might be tempted to approve the action of the editor of the 1884 edition who left them out, having judged them "less peculiar and interesting."<sup>2</sup> But Fuller, even when conforming to all the traditions of exemplary biography - and he does not always conform - nevertheless contrives to transmute the somewhat hackneyed formula into something vital and entertaining. We should expect the lives drawn from the Scriptures to be the most unsatisfactory, for not only could nothing new be added, but to our taste any rephrasing can only compare unfavourably with the familiar

---

(1) *ibid.*, p.270.

(2) Strickland Gibson; *op. cit.*, p.102.

translations. Fuller's contemporaries, however, had no inhibitions about recasting Biblical material, and since, as Baxter had observed, "Scripture itself is written much in history, that we may have matter of imitation before our eyes,"<sup>1</sup> it was natural that men should turn to the Bible for biographical examples. Often the writer would merely indicate one characteristic displayed by the scriptural hero which he desired the reader to emulate, but occasionally he would assemble all the given facts in order to draw up a more comprehensive life. Thus John Marbecke painstakingly compiled The Lyves of Holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches, and Others, Contayned in Holye Scripture, 1574. It is by comparing such dry compilations with Fuller's lives of Abraham, Eliezer, Haman and Jehu that we can come to appreciate the latter. Fuller's lives are deliberately restricted, for he is illustrating the characteristics of the good husband, the good servant, the favourite and the hypocrite, and is at liberty to leave out what is irrelevant. Within the limitations of his subject matter and purpose, however, he contrives to be vigorous and even fresh.

---

(1) Baxter, op. cit., p.20.



"The Hittites make him a fair offer, In the chiefest of our sepulchres bury thy dead: But he thinks the best of them too bad for his Sarah.<sup>1</sup> Her chast ashes did love to lie alone; he provides her a virgin tombe in the cave of Machpelah, where her corps sweetly sleep [sic.] till he himself came to bed to her, and was buried in the same grave."<sup>2</sup>

If Fuller could even render tolerable the practice of recasting Scriptural material, then it is not surprising that he could infuse vitality into the narrow tradition of ecclesiastical biography. The recorders of the lives of the Protestant martyrs and divines were directly in the tradition of the Medieval hagiographers, and John Foxe in his Actes and Monuments was deliberately providing an Anglican substitute for the Roman Catholic calendar of Saints. Accordingly he produces in every case not a well proportioned life, but a detailed account of theological disputation generally ending in the harrowing martyrdom of the Protestant protagonist. His tremendous work was epitomised again and again for the benefit of those who "either wantest leisure to read, or ability to buy that rich and plentiful storehouse of Storie, Doctrine, and Comfort."<sup>3</sup>

(1) It is surprising how the mere employment here of the possessive adjective renders the tone refreshingly intimate.

(2) H. & P.S., p.11.

(3) Clement Cotton; The Mirror of Martyrs, 1615. 'To the Reader'.

Its success encouraged the publication of further collections, including:

Vitae Germanorum Theologum...a Melchiore Adamo, 1620

Heroologia Anglica. Hoc Est, Clarissimorum et

Doctissimorum, Aliquot Anglorum....Vivae

Effigies, Vitae et Elogia. Authore H[enry] H[olland]

1620.

The History of the Moderne Protestant Divines, Containing  
Their Parents, Countries, Education, Studies, Lives, and  
the Yeare of Our Lord in which They Dyed...Faithfully  
Translated out of Latine by D[onald] L[upton], 1637.

The writing of exemplary lives was stimulated not only by the publication of such collections, but by the practice of including a biography of the dead<sup>1</sup> in funeral sermons, and by the new custom of producing prefatory lives for inclusion in editions of collected works.<sup>2</sup> All these brief biographies, most of them of ecclesiastics, share the same dominant characteristics. The didactic aim is stronger than in any other branch of life-writing, for the writer's

(1) Baxter is the greatest exponent. See p.193 of this chapter.

(2) Daniel Featley; The Works of the Very Learned and Reverend Father in God John Jewell...And a Briefe Discourse of His Life, 1609.

John Harris; Sermons with Some Religious and Divine Meditations. By the Right Reverend Father in God, Arthur Lake. Whereunto Is Prefixed by way of Preface, a Short View of the Life and Vertues of the Author, 1629.

purpose is to present a pattern of holy living and dying. The idealising tendency is so pronounced that frequently the biographer fits his account of the individual to some pattern culled from the Scriptures. The resultant tone is inevitably piously generalised:

"Lastly, I am so far from lifting up one above the rest of the members of Christ by these commendations, and from abasing others, whose names I mention not, that I intend the honour of all in one, and think that in the substance I describe all saints in describing one."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's ecclesiastical biographies to some extent share these characteristics. They are essentially exemplary lives to illustrate the Protestant virtues of the controversial Divine, the faithful Minister, the good Bishop. But pungent phraseology, lively imagery and skilful selection of anecdote prevent any insipidity. Moreover Fuller departs from the strictest eulogising tradition by mentioning early faults with gusto. Of course many biographers had recognised that certain youthful sins serve merely as a foil to mature virtues, and that the acknowledgment of some weaknesses gives realism to the portrayal as well as hope to the present sinner. Fuller is unique, however, amongst the

---

(1) Baxter, op. cit., p.21.

discreet Protestant writers of brief lives in the vividness with which he describes youthful faults. Thus he informs us not only that S. Monica was addicted to wine, but that this addiction caused "a young maid (formerly her partner in potting)" to call her "Tos-pot".<sup>1</sup> Mr Perkins, of the sonorous damn, is given further individuality by Fuller's admission that "he was very wild in his youth" and was popularly suspected of being "a great studier of Magick"<sup>2</sup> - an intriguing piece of information we should never have gathered from Lupton's pious eulogy.<sup>3</sup>

It is not, however, only the sudden illumination provided by vivid epithet or image, nor the refreshing departure from unrelieved eulogy, that distinguishes Fuller's biographies. More significant still is the evidence they provide of Fuller's interest in the idiosyncrasies of personality apart from any possible ethical value, and his delight in information for its own sake. Thus there was no need by current biographical standards for Fuller to mention the unedifying controversy between Scaliger and Erasmus. Far from exercising his right of suppression however, Fuller records the unseemly bickering with relish:

- 
- (1) H. & P.S., p.5.  
 (2) ibid., p.89.  
 (3) Lupton, op. cit., pp.347-350.



"Great was his spight at Erasmus, the morning-starre of learning, and one by whom Julius himself had profited, though afterwards he sought to put out that candle whereat he had lighted his own. In the bickering betwixt them, Erasmus pluckt Scaliger by the long locks of his immoderate boasting, and touched him to the quick (a proud man lies pat for a jeering mans hand to hit) yea Erasmus was a badger in his jeeres, where he did bite he would make his teeth meet."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the whole concept of exemplary biography is undermined as Fuller, instead of selecting an example which will fit the preceding "character", chooses to recount a life merely because it contains some features which interest him. Thus he follows the character of the Good Widow with the life of the Lady Paula, learned friend of S. Jerome, who, ruthlessly abandoning all but one of her children, sailed to Palestine and there established four religious foundations before she "call'd death unto her by consuming her self in fasting."<sup>2</sup> For an Anglican divine writing for a Protestant audience the choice is decidedly odd. Fuller himself realises that objections will be made:

---

(1) H. & P.S., pp.79-80.

(2) ibid., p.33.

"What ? (will some say) having a wood of widows of upright conversation, must you needs gather one crooked with superstition to be pattern to all the rest ? must Paula be their president ? whose life was a very masse-book, so that if every point of popery were lost, they might be found in her practice."<sup>1</sup>

He has, however, his reason ready, and it is a significant one:

"I have therefore principally made choice to write her life, that I may acquaint both myself and the reader with the garb of that age in Church matters, wherein were many remarkable passages, otherwise I might and would have taken a farre fitter example."<sup>2</sup>

In short, Fuller writes the life not because it provides the perfect concrete illustration of the preceding 'character', but because features in it have aroused the curiosity of the embryonic church-historian and he wishes to share with his readers the information he has gleaned. Of course the most transparent instance of objective choice divorced from any didactic purpose is provided by the life of Paracelsus. After the character of the Good Physician

---

(1) ibid., p.27.

(2) ibid., p.28.

the orthodox divine would perhaps have recounted the life of S. Luke. Instead Fuller the "biographist"<sup>1</sup> chooses to describe in a vein of delightful irony the life of "the famous Quack-salver Paracelsus". Again the reason given is very illuminating - "because it is not ordinarily to be met with".<sup>2</sup> Already, in spite of the didactic aim of The Holy and Profane States, Fuller is revealing that detached yet enthusiastic curiosity which is the characteristic of the true biographer.

It is impossible to detect with any certainty the influences which impelled Fuller to produce The Holy and Profane States. The book may have developed from his biographical interests, or have grown out of experiments with the character form, or have been generated by a desire to produce a more comprehensive conduct book than those already in circulation. Houghton ingeniously argues for a section of Book II of the Advancement of Learning as the "catalytic agent" or "the magnet which attracted back to Fuller's consciousness all those forms of literature which had dealt

- 
- (1) Fuller coins the term when in the introduction to The Worthies he writes of "the Biographists of these Saints", p.8. Though used for convenience in this chapter, the terms "biographer" and "biography" did not exist when Fuller wrote "The Holy and Profane States". For a discussion on the development of these terms see Donald A. Stauffer; English Biography before 1700, 1930, p.217-218.
- (2) H. & P.S., p.55.

with the duties of every several vacation, profession, and place."<sup>1</sup> Certainly embedded in that chapter are some suggestions which when assembled and given the necessary stress do form a basis for speculation. But the argument is somewhat strained, and as Houghton himself admits:

"To argue that Fuller could have reached this complete conception independently is possible."<sup>2</sup>

Just how possible it would have been for him to have envisaged The Holy and Profane States starting from biography alone can be demonstrated by reference to Thomas Heywood's Tunāikeion: or, Nine Books of Various History. Concerninge Women. This is a

"Collection of Histories, which touch the generalitie of Women, such as have either beene illustrated for their Vertues, and Noble Actions, or contrarily branded for their Vices, and baser Conditions; in all which, I have not exceeded the bounds and limits of good and sufficient Authoritie."<sup>3</sup>

Many of these "histories" are so incredible that Heywood's view of what constitutes a "good and sufficient Authoritie" must have been extremely liberal. The tone is often frankly

(1) Houghton, op. cit., p.168.

(2) ibid., p.168.

(3) Tunāikeion: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concerning Women; 1624, "To the Reader".



salacious, and Heywood's aim is obviously sheer entertainment. Naturally, however, he is very ready with the rhetorical justifications which will enable his readers to enjoy the volume without any twinges of conscience. Thus he is eager to point out the instructive value of the work: "Here thou mayest reade of all degrees, from the Scepter in the Court, to the Sheepe-hooke in the Cottage: of all Times, from the first Rainebow, to the last blazing Starre: of all knowne Nations, from the North to the Meridian, and from the East to the Septentrion: of all Faiths; Jewes, Pagans, or Christians: of all Callings; Virgins, Wives, or Widowes: of the Faire and Foule, Chast and Wanton, of each of these something: Briefely, of all Estates, Conditions, and Qualities whatsoever."<sup>1</sup>

Becoming more specific, he points out that "Wives may reade here of chast Virgins, to patterne their Daughters by, and how to demeane themselves in all Coniugall love towards their Husbands: Widowes may finde what may best become their solitude, and Matrons those accomplishments that most dignifie their gravitie: and so of the rest."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) ibid., "To the Reader".

(2) ibid., "To the Reader".

Fuller could have made just such a claim as preface to his volume. Finally, the introduction to Heywood's fourth book is particularly interesting:

"And as it hath pleased the divine providence to provide a heaven and a hell, the one to crowne the vertuous, the other to condemne the wicked: so there is a necessity of number to people both, nor are the torments of the one more feelingly apprehended than in contemplating the ioyes and felicities of the other. Amongst artificers, vessells are made some for honour, some for dishonour; in all estates there are the noble and the base; amongst Princes, the good king and the tyrant; amongst subjects, the true leigeman and the traytour; in schooles, the learned and the ignorant; amongst magistrates, the wise and the foolish; if one be bountifull, another is avaritious and griping; if one pious and religious, others atheisticall and prophane: neither is the vilnesse of the one any aspercion or blemish to the other, but rather as a foyle to set it off with more lustre and beautie. Those therefore that are before presented, are to imitate: the rest that in this next booke succede, to beware and shunne."<sup>1</sup>

---

(1) ibid., p.163.

How admirably Heywood's comments outline the scope of just such a book as The Holy and Profane States will be immediately obvious. Fuller's work covers "all degrees, from the Scepter in the Court, to the Sheepe-hooke in the Cottage"; he, too, treats of

"all Callings; Virgins, Wives, or Widowes: of the Faire and Foule, Chast and Wanton, of each of these something: Briefely, of all Estates, Conditions, and Qualities whatsoever."

He, too, is providing appropriate patterns for domestic conduct. He, too, is depicting "the good king and the tyrant", "the true leigeman and the traytour", "the pious and religious" and the "atheisticall and prophane". This is not to claim that Fuller had read Heywood and had been inspired to do seriously what Heywood merely professed to have done. There is no evidence at all that Fuller knew The Nine Bookes of Various History,<sup>1</sup> although certainly it is the kind of volume he would have enjoyed. But Heywood's comments serve to demonstrate how universally held were the conceptions underlying such a manual as Fuller's, and

---

(1) It is perhaps possible that there is a tenuous link between the two works forged by Milton's nephew, Edward Philips, editor of the 1657 edition of Heywood's Tunaiketon. This is entitled The Generall History of Women, Containing the Lives of the Most Holy and Profane, the Most Famous and Infamous in All Ages. This change in title may possibly represent an echo of Fuller's highly popular Holy and Profane States.

how very readily the broad outline of such a work could be suggested by a writer having approximately the same view of society and a didactic theory of biography. Fuller may have started from a mere desire to record some lives in which he was interested. Under the pressure of those very forces which we can trace behind Heywood's justification, the original conception may have developed to include not only examples implicit in lives, but rules made explicit in character and essay. Thus the complete conduct manual as we possess it could have grown naturally out of Fuller's biographical interests, without the necessity for any direct Baconian inspiration at its inception.

An appreciation of the background to The Holy and Profane States is essential if we are to realise Fuller's aim in writing the work and the role of each section in the achievement of that aim. It is gratifying to find that the book has a logical structure, and enriching to realise the links which associate it with the wide range of instructive literature poured out for the edification of the aspiring middle classes. The Holy and Profane States, however, has retained its popularity long after the social conditions it presupposes have vanished, and long after its instructive value has become obscured. The reason is that in spite of Fuller's didactic aim, an aim inevitable in a man of his



period and calling, The Holy and Profane States is a work of literature, and survives as such. The links with character and essay may prove on examination more superficial than might at first have been suspected, but they are nevertheless sufficiently strong to cause the book to be associated with certain purely literary forms, and to justify the treatment of Fuller not solely as divine, historian, cosmographer or antiquary but as a literary figure. Of all Fuller's major productions it is the least obviously informative. The Historie of the Holy Warre, The Church History of Britain, A Pisgah Sight of Palestine, all presuppose readers who desire to learn something of the Crusades, the development of the English Church, the geography of Palestine. We turn to The Holy and Profane States, however, not to glean specific facts, but to enjoy the entertaining reflections and lively descriptions of a witty observer of human nature. We relish the tang of personality transmitted to us all the more immediately because the informative material, which in the other works draws a certain veil between us and Fuller himself, is here subordinated.

It is not only Fuller's choice of certain literary forms, however, which elevates The Holy and Profane States above such a conduct book as Richard Braithwait's

The English Gentleman<sup>1</sup>. The work demands attention as literature primarily because of the style, a style which can take the flat casuistical statement:

"Be not mortally angry with any for a veniall fault"<sup>2</sup>

and can vivify it with the following play of fancy:

"He will make a strange combustion in the state of his soul, who at the landing of every cock boat sets the beacons on fire". It is perhaps a matter to be regretted by some readers that the play of fancy at times dissipates the earnestness of the preceding statement. Thus the sober advice to those about to marry, "Let there be no great disproportion in age"<sup>3</sup>, is hardly given any moral weight by the observation which follows:

"They that marry ancient people merely in expectation to bury them, hang themselves in hope that one will come and cut the halter."

It is certainly regrettable that on occasions Fuller's fancy seizes zestfully on one point of comparison, while his judgment fails to observe that the complete image thus conjured up is illogical and thus absurd. When speaking of Lady Jane Grey he declares that she "was so farre from biting at the bait of Sovereignty, that unwillingly she

- (1) The English Gentleman, 1630.  
 (2) H. & P.S., p.169.  
 (3) ibid., p.214.

opened her mouth to receive it"<sup>1</sup>. To conjure up the image of the gaping fish mouth seems to us hardly tactful, but to Fuller's contemporaries the image would so far be acceptable<sup>2</sup>; to go further, however, and compare his heroine to a fish self-consciously swallowing the bait as an act of immolation is absurd. The Holy and Profane States shows several instances of this failure to perceive the implications of a figure. Thus we can find a number of comparisons that may be arresting and amusing, but are on examination singularly inappropriate:

"Sure a Communion-table will not catch cold with wanting a rich carpet, nor stumble for lack of the candles thereon in silver candlesticks."<sup>3</sup>

Such absurdities, however, and such lapses into feebleness as the following:

"Some grounds that wept with water, or frown'd with thorns, by draining the one, and clearing the other, he makes both to laugh and sing with corn",<sup>4</sup> - a lapse reminiscent of the worst sections of the early sermons<sup>5</sup> - are occasional. The remarkable feature of The Holy and Profane States is

(1) ibid., p.309.

(2) For a further discussion of this image, see Chapter 7, pp.355-356

(3) ibid., p.287.

(4) Ibid., p.117-118.

(5) See ante Chap. 2, p.76

the surprising buoyancy of Fuller's fancy. Even where the lack of imaginative fusion disappoints, it is impossible to refrain from enjoying the gusto with which Fuller pursues a comparison, and the ingenuity with which he triumphantly conjoins idea and incongruous image. And at their best his images are both entertaining and illuminating. Those members of a congregation who complain that the preacher's rebukes are aimed specifically at them are reminded that "a guilty conscience is like a whirlpool, drawing in all to it self which otherwise would passe by."<sup>1</sup>

"If thou beest not so handsome as thou wouldest have been, thank God thou art no more unhandsome then thou art"<sup>2</sup> is any pious man's admonition. Fuller lends it a characteristic pungency by advising:

"Be glad that thy clay-cottage hath all the necessary rooms thereto belonging, though the outside be not so fairly playstered as some others."<sup>3</sup>

(1) ibid., p.94.

(2) ibid., p.190.

(3) Fuller had very possibly read Edmund Waller's poems in M.S. He seems familiar with Waller's image "The soul's dark-cottage, batter'd and decay'd Lets in new light through chinks that Time has made" (On the Divine Poems)

and may have had it in mind when he wrote the above. A passage in his life of S. Monica is very close: "...and her soul saw a glimpse of happinesse through the chinckes of her sicknesse—broken body," H. & P.S., p.7.



He seizes on the physical appearance of the Duke of Alva and immediately gives it psychological implications in an image of surprising force:

"He was one of a lean body and visage, as if his eager soul, biting for anger at the clog of his body, desired to fret a passage through it."<sup>1</sup>

This constant play of fancy converts Fuller's statements into something beyond the admonitions of a divine like Hall or the observations of an industrious hack like Braithwait. The Holy and Profane States is on examination a guide to conduct. The work has, however, a vitality independent of the relevance of its moral precepts. It survives not as a didactic manual drawn up by a divine, but as a lively collection of characters, essays and biographies produced by a self-conscious literary artist.

---

(1) ibid., p.441. Dryden must almost certainly have read the H. & P.S. for in Absalom and Achitophel he uses a very similar image.

"A fiery soul, which, working out its way,  
Fretted the Pigmy-Body to decay:  
And oer-inform'd the Tenement of Clay".  
Part I, line 156.

Appendix to Chapter IV

When John Stafford, stationer, "dwelling in Brides Churchyard, neer Fleetstreet", wished to engage an editor to bring out yet another collection of exemplary clerical lives, he approached Fuller. That he should do so is testimony to Fuller's increasing reputation as a literary divine, and also to the impact made by the brief ecclesiastical biographies of The Holy and Profane States. In 1651 the compilation was published under the title of Abel Redevivus: or, the Dead yet Speaking. It was very much a stationer's venture, designed to exploit the current market, and contributions were culled from a variety of sources, not all of them specified. Thus Fuller states that some lives were written by

"Doctor Featly, now at rest with God, viz. The lives of Jewell, Reynolds, Abbot and diverse others. Some by that reverend and learned Divine Master Gataker, viz. The Lives of Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, Parker and others. Doctor Willets life by Doctor Smith, his Son in Law. Erasmus his life by the reverend Bishop of Kilmore. The life of Bishop Andrewes, by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend Master Isaakson..... the most part

of the Poetry was done by Master Quarles, Father and Son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein. The rest the Stationer got transcribed out of Mr Holland and other Authors."<sup>1</sup> Fuller himself was responsible only for the editorial "Epistle to the Reader" and the accounts of Berengarius, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Cranmer, Foxe, Perkins and Junius. These constitute but seven lives out of a total of one hundred and seven. As the stationer must shrewdly have anticipated, however, the association with the volume of a name of such drawing-power as Fuller's would help to increase the sale of the entire collection.

Abel Redevivus is an above-average specimen of an immensely popular genre. The habit of collecting clerical lives, as exemplified in the works of Adams, Holland and Lupton, has already been noticed.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary appetite for such volumes appears to have been insatiable, and in 1650 Samuel Clarke entered the field with The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie. This competent collection, containing some one hundred and forty biographies, is based directly on previous compilations. Much the same field is covered. First come brief lives of the Fathers. Then follow accounts of certain pre-Reformation figures, Huss

---

(1) Abel Redevivus, "The Epistle to the Reader".

(2) see ante Chap. 4, p.100.

Jerome of Prague, Wicklief, who, condemned for heresy by their contemporaries, were invested with retrospective martyrdom by the Protestant Church. The bulk of the work is made up of biographies of Reformation divines, foreign and English. Clarke merely rehandles and supplements traditional material, and adds to the current biographies certain fresh ones of his contemporaries. Beyond this he makes no innovations. Even the lay-out of his volume was established by precedent, for the engraved portraits which had prefaced the lives in the collection of Adams had been duplicated in Holland and Lupton and reappear once again here. Obviously in a field so circumscribed there was bound to be considerable over-lapping, and when Abel Redeivus came out in 1651 it proved to be almost a twin volume to The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, even displaying the same portrait heads. Clarke naturally felt that this second compilation would cut his sales, and in A Generall Martyrologie, 1652, includes a warning note to the reader:

"There is lately come forth a Booke called Abel Redeivus, or, The Lives of Modern Divines, wherein there are three score and nine Lives Printed verbatim out of my first Part of The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, and divers more, with very little variation; which I thought fit to give the Reader notice of, that so he may not be



deceived in buying the same thing twice."<sup>1</sup>

Since one hundred of the one hundred and seven lives in Abel Redeivivus do appear in some form in the earlier volume<sup>2</sup>, Clarke's feeling of grievance at the duplication is understandable. Yet there is little originality in his own selection: as he himself states, the biographies are drawn largely from traditional sources:

"The Lives of the Fathers are manie of them before their Works, the rest are collected out of a book so called. The Lives of Wicklief, Huss, Hierom of Prague, Frith, Bilney, Tindal, Rogers, Saunders, Hooper, Tailor, Bradford, Ridley, Latimer, Philpot and Cramner, are collected out of the Book of Martyrs.

The Lives of the Germane, French, Switzers, &c. Divines, are collected, Som of them out of Melchior Adami vitae Theol. &c. Som out of Boisardi Biblioth.<sup>3</sup> Som out of Ver-Heiden's Praestantium Theol. Effig.<sup>4</sup> Som out of Athenae Batavae Jo. Meursii.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) A Generall Martyrologie, 1651. The note is given on a separate page near the beginning of the volume.
- (2) The seven not included in Clarke are the lives of Andrewes, Berengarius, Babington, Bale, Benedictus, Colet and Erasmus.
- (3) Jean Jacques Boissard: Bibliotheca sive Thesaurus Virtutis et Gloriar: in quo Continentur Illustrium... Virorum Effigies & Vitae; 1628-1632.
- (4) Jacobus Ver-Heiden: Praestantium aliquot Theologorum qui Rom. Antichristum Praecipue Oppugnarunt, Effigies..., 1602.
- (5) Joannes Meursius: Athenae Butavae, sive de Urbe Leidensi et Academia, Virisque Claris, 1625.

Some of the English out of Dr Hollands Horologia Anglicana."¹  
Abel Redeivus constitutes a further re-working of this much-handled material, material regarded as common Christian property. Obviously the accusation of direct plagiarism, though useful as a controversial weapon, could scarcely be supported when numerous writers, including Clarke himself, were drawing on this traditional biographical matter.

Fuller as editor of the volume, however, was bound to be hurt by the imputation. In The Worthies he defends himself against the charge of having transcribed verbatim from Clarke

"whose Books of our modern Divines I have perused, as Travellers by the Levitical Law were permitted to pass thorow other mens Vinyards. For they must eat their fill on conditions they put ~~no~~ Grapes up in their Vessels. I have been satisfied with reading his works, and informed my self in Places and Dates of some mens births and deaths. But never did nor will (whatever hath been said of me, or done by others) incorporate any considerable quantity of his Works in my own, detesting such Felony, God having given me (be it spoken with thanks to him, and humility to man) plenty of my own, without being plagiary to any Author whatsoever."²

---

(1) The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, "A Catalogue of the Autors out of which these Lives were Collected."

(2) The Worthies, Montgomeryshire, p.47.

If Fuller had chosen, he could have counter-attacked by demonstrating how Clarke had raided his own Holy and Profane States for the life of Perkins included in The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie. One short extract will serve to show how closely the latter had transcribed it. Fuller writes of Perkins:

"He would pronounce the word Damne with such an emphasis as left a dolefull echo in his auditours ears a'good while after. And when Catechist of Christ-Colledge, in expounding the Commandments, applied them so home, able almost to make his hearers hearts fall down, and hairs to stand upright."<sup>1</sup>

Clarke's version is almost identical:

"In his Sermons hee used to pronounce the word Damn with such an Emphasis, as left a dolefull Echo in his auditors ears a good while after: and when hee was Catechist in Christ's College, in expounding the Commandements, hee applied them so home to the conscience as was able to make his hearers hearts fall down, and their hairs almost to stand upright."<sup>2</sup>

Instead of commenting, however, on this blatant plagiarism, Fuller is content to make the broad point that his style

(1) H. & P.S., p.90.

(2) The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, p.415.

differs very considerably from Clarke's:

"Indeed as the flocks of Jacob were distanced three days journeys from those of Laban, so (to prevent voluntary or casuall commixtures) our styles are set more than a Months journey asunder."<sup>1</sup>

Naturally much of their material is identical for both are working in the same field. Just how very legitimate is Fuller's distinction about their styles, however, will be obvious from a brief comparison. The biographies of Jerome of Prague are based ultimately on Foxe. Clarke's version is adequate, but flat.

"But within eleven daies, hanging so by the heels, hee fell very sick; yet thus they kept him in prison a year wanting seven daies, and then sent for him, requiring him to recant, and to subscribe that John Huss was justly put to death, which hee did, partly for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape their hands: after which they sent him back to prison, and kept him guarded with souldiers, yet not so strictly chained as before."<sup>2</sup>

This is Fuller's rendering:

"From the Counsell he was carried home to the Prison, and there for many dayes kept with bread and water, so that

(1) The Worthies, Cheshire, p.181.

(2) The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, p.82.



had the proudest Anchorite, pretending to the highest abstinence beene Commoner with him, it would haved tired his swiftest Devotion to keepe pace with him; much other hard usage he felt for the space of a twelve moneth, wherein his feet were hurt in the Stocks, the Irons entered into his Soule. So that long durance, short dyet, hard lodging, love of Life, hope of Libertie, feare of Torture, wantig (sic) friends to advise him, made such impressions upon him, that at last he was not onely contented to abjure all Wickliefes opinions for false, but also to allow the murder of his deare brother Huss to be a lawfull and laudible Act of exemplary Justice.

Here let none Tyrannically trample on the prostrate credit of a penitent sinner. Consider that he did not surrender the Castle of his integrity at the first summons, but kept it a full yeer, in many a furious assault, till the Constant battery of Importunity, made at last an unhappy breach in his Soule. O there is more required to make a man valiant, then onely to call another Coward. Had we been in Jeromes Case, what we ought to have done we know, but what we should have done God knowes."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's version is very much more warm and moving than Clarke's. He terms Jerome's fellow heretic "his deare

---

(1) Abel Redevivus; pp.26-27.

brother Huss" and thereby delicately emphasises the painful nature of the betrayal. At the same time his sympathetic analysis of Jerome's motives is much more thorough, so that we are not alienated by the act. Finally his generous defence compels us to enter imaginatively into Jerome's position. It must be admitted that to a considerable extent the interest of the passage lies as much in the revelation of Fuller's personality as of Jerome's, and perhaps from the purist point of view this is a defect. Certainly, however, the extract does decisively bear out Fuller's claim to possess a distinctive style. By means of this, and his superior power of imagination, he has made the material very much more his own than has Clarke.

Abel Redevivus is a publisher's venture, the exploitation of a current taste for pious biographical compilations. Fuller's contributions, though they can be distinguished from those of his colleagues by reason of his unmistakable style, present no advance on what he had already accomplished in The Holy and Profane States. Indeed in the one case where it is possible to make a direct comparison, namely in the two versions of the life of Perkins, the later rendering is inferior. Fuller obviously wished to expand the original in order to make it conform to the length of the other biographies included in Abel Redevivus. He has not, however, acquired any new information; in fact, strangely

unaware of his own felicities, he has omitted that most vivid passage already cited where the preacher's reminder of damnation is sent echoing down the centuries. Instead the lengthening is achieved by padding out the existing material. In the original version Perkins is described as "very wild in his youth till God (the best Chymick who can fix quicksilver it self) graciously reclaim'd him."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's later variation on this image is weaker and more diffuse:

"It is certainly known and beleaved, that if Quick-silver could be fired (which all confesse difficult, and most conclude impossible) it would amount to an infinite treasure; so when the roving parts, the giddy and unstable conceits of this young Scholar began to be settled, his extravagant studyes to be confined and centered to Divinity, in a very short time he arrived at an incredible improvement."<sup>2</sup>

Though Fuller's contributions to Abel Redevivus are, as we should expect, highly competent, displaying his characteristic liveliness of style and generosity of outlook, yet they lack something of the pithy vigour of the biographies included in The Holy and Profane States. Brevity, far from constricting, intensifies Fuller's qualities.

{1} H. & P.S., p.89.  
 {2} Abel Redevivus, p.433.

Abel Redeivivus represents therefore no advance on Fuller's individual achievement in biography. Nevertheless the work is important in any consideration of the development of the art in the seventeenth century, not because it introduces innovations, but because it constitutes the most satisfactory example of a highly popular genre. Fuller's editorial work was well done. The lives included are fuller than in previous compilations, and instead of merging into general anonymity retain in many cases some flavour of individual authorship. The collection is not the product of mere hacks, aiming at satisfying the pious but uncritical. It is instead the first compilation within this limited genre to have any claim to literary merit.

Sixt Contemplations in Better Times

Toy Causes and Care of a Wounded Whore



CHAPTER V

In 1644, after being attached to Lord Hopton's Royalist forces for over six months<sup>1</sup>, Fuller established himself at Exeter and was made chaplain to the infant Princess, Henrietta Anne<sup>2</sup>. Living in a city first threatened and ultimately besieged by Parliamentary forces, he was prevented by current conditions from completing any major work. Yet Fuller must have **Certain Minor Works** to keep his name before the public and also to supplement an income considerably reduced by the Good Thoughts in Bad Times at S. Mary's, Sarey, and his valuable Good Thoughts in Worse Times (ideal type of literary) pro Mixt Contemplations in Better Times obviously the book of "The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience" invariably sold well, and, moreover, could be compiled in spite of distractions, for since they consisted of numbers of brief meditations, each a separate entity, there was no need for sustained application. Also the difficulties of gaining access to works of reference which might hinder the

- 
- (1) Fuller joined the Royalist forces in Dec. 1643 and served as army chaplain until July, 1644.
- (2) The Princess was the Queen's fifth daughter, and was born in Exeter, June 16th, 1644. Her sponsors at baptism, Sir John Berkeley, Lady Poulett and Lady Dalkeith, were all personal friends of Fuller.

CHAPTER V

In 1644, after being attached to Lord Hopton's Royalist forces for over six months<sup>1</sup>, Fuller established himself at Exeter and was made chaplain to the infant Princess, Henrietta Anne<sup>2</sup>. Living in a city first threatened and ultimately besieged by Parliamentary forces, he was prevented by current conditions from completing any major work. Yet Fuller must have been anxious both to keep his name before the public and also to supplement an income considerably reduced by the loss of his lectureship at S. Mary's, Savoy, and his valuable prebend of Sarum. The ideal type of literary production in such circumstances was obviously the book of "meditations" or "thoughts". These volumes invariably sold well, and, moreover, could be compiled in spite of distractions, for since they consisted of numbers of brief meditations, each a separate entity, there was no need for sustained application. Also the difficulties of gaining access to works of reference which might hinder the

- 
- (1) Fuller joined the Royalist forces in Dec. 1643 and served as army chaplain until July, 1644.
- (2) The Princess was the Queen's fifth daughter, and was born in Exeter, June 16th, 1644. Her sponsors at baptism, Sir John Berkeley, Lady Poulett and Lady Dalkeith, were all personal friends of Fuller.

writing of a scholarly history could not affect the production of "thoughts", for, as Bishop Hall had observed, "the mind inured to contemplation.....carries about his owne Library, neither can complaine to want books while it enjoyeth it selfe."<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly Fuller, after consulting his commonplace book for ideas and illustrations, brought out in 1645 his Good Thoughts in Bad Times, the first publication from the newly set up Exeter press. The success of the work was immediate, and in the same year a London edition appeared, to be followed by a further in 1646. Doubtless encouraged by this sustained demand, Fuller produced in 1647 his Good Thoughts in Worse Times. The two works were next bound together and ran into a gratifying number of editions, eleven between 1647 and 1680.<sup>2</sup> Just before the Restoration Fuller rushed through the press the last of the trilogy, Mixt Contemplations in Better Times, 1660. This was not 'methodised' into any order, and since it particularly reflected current conditions it failed to retain its impact once the Restoration became an accomplished fact. The three were, however, collected and published in one volume by William Pickering in 1830, and a second edition was

- 
- (1) Holy Observations, 1609. 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.  
 (2) Geoffrey Keynes: Introduction to The Bibliography of Thomas Fuller, p.76.

Select Thoughts, One Decade, Also, the Brevitie of  
 the Devout Soul, 1640.

immediately called for. In 1841 they reappeared with the addition of The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, and the four were again brought out in 1863 in a Boston edition, and in 1880 in London. A Liverpool publisher brought out the original trilogy in 1863. The immense popularity of the volumes can be gauged from the fact that in spite of numerous reprints it is very difficult to obtain copies of early editions. They have quite literally been worn away by constant reading.<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's three volumes of "Thoughts" are his contribution to a genre that achieved considerable popularity during the seventeenth century. Innumerable small volumes of 'Resolves', 'Vows', 'Observations', 'Applications' and 'Meditations' were produced either by clerics like Hall<sup>2</sup> or pious amateurs with literary aspirations like George,

- 
- (1) ibid., p.76. "The popularity of the book is to be inferred, not only from the number of editions, but also from the fact that all the editions are now very uncommon, the dumpy little volumes having been read and re-read until most of the copies fell to pieces and were destroyed."
- (2) Hall is the most prolific writer of meditations. His output includes:
- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| <u>Meditations and Vowes, Divine and Morall</u> | } 1609 |
| <u>The Art of Divine Meditation</u>             |        |
| <u>Holy Observations</u>                        |        |
- [In the above edition the three works are bound together along with other small pieces. References throughout are to this edition.]
- Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie, 1612-26.
- Occasionall Meditations, ...Set forth by R.H(Hall's son)  
1630.
- Select Thoughts, One Century. Also, the Breathings of the Devout Soul, 1648.



Lord Berkeley, one of Fuller's patrons.<sup>1</sup> The appeal of the form is obvious, for a man's commonplace book could supply him with the basis of a volume of meditations. To each preliminary example or idea he would need to add some pious thought, exhortation or personal resolve; perhaps in addition he would develop some ideas from his own observation of life and response to religion. Then, without any sustained effort of composition, and with no struggle to achieve coherent form<sup>2</sup>, he could present his book to the public. It is not surprising that the production of such volumes became the spare-time work of the scholar and the distraction of the pious amateur.

---

(1) George, Lord Berkeley, made Fuller his chaplain and in 1658 presented him to the rectory at Cranford, Hounslow Heath. In 1667 he produced his Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects. As Bailey has noted [Life, pp.615-616], Fuller's influence is obvious in the title alone, and in the course of the Applications it becomes apparent that Lord Berkeley has borrowed something of his very manner: "Oh what a sad thing it is to consider, that for filthy lucre's sake many will marry where they do not love, and then often love where they do not marry!" Edition of 1838, p.40.

(2) The meditations merely followed one after the other, or were numbered and grouped, preferably in centuries. Donne in his Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, 1624, adopts the elaborate device of using the course of an illness as the framework for his meditations. In this, and in the threefold division of each section into Meditation, Expostulation and Prayer, his work parts company with the simpler volumes of meditations and will not be considered along with them.

(2) Saint Agnes's Confession: and with some Marginal Notes Illustrating the same. Also the Marginal Notes of a former Edition Translated.

Probably the first feature which strikes the modern reader of these collections is a negative one, namely, that these English Protestant manuals scarcely satisfy the expectations aroused by the title of "meditations" so frequently applied to them by their authors. From works thus entitled we tend to hope for some degree of religious introspection, even perhaps of mystic ardour. If we except Traherne's unique Centuries of Meditations such expectations are disappointed, and instead we discover evidences of a wholesomely practical outlook<sup>1</sup> and a moral earnestness directed not towards pure contemplation but purified action. The Roman Catholic Church valued the contemplative above the active life; now with the Protestant Church dominant the situation was reversed, with a consequent swing in the purpose and nature of devotional literature. The works of the Fathers and the great medieval mystics were still read, though usually in annotated or expurgated form. Thus William Watts produced in 1631 an edition of S. Augustine's Confessions embellished with Protestant annotations.<sup>2</sup>

- 
- (1) Hall: Meditations and Vowes, 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.  
"Sir, that I have made these my homely Aphorismes publique  
 needes no other reason, but that though the world is  
 furnished with other writings even to sacketie & surfet;  
 yet of those which reduce Christianitie to practise, there  
 is (at least) scarcitie enough:"
- (2) Saint Augustines Confessions Translated: and with  
 Some Marginall Notes Illustrated. Wherein Divers Anti-  
 quities Are Explayned; and the Marginall Notes of a  
 Former Popish Translation, Answered.

S. Bernard's writings retained their popularity and a fourth edition of Saint Bernard His Meditations: or Sighes, Sobbes, and Teares, upon Our Saviours Passion appeared in 1631-2.

The De Imitatione Christi, variously attributed at this date to Thomas à Kempis and John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, found several English translators, including the uninhibited Thomas Rogers who protected his Protestant readers by drastically expurgating the work<sup>1</sup>, blandly claiming:

"I have left out nothing but what might be offensive to the godly."<sup>2</sup>

Rogers expresses the contemporary attitude to these Catholic devotional works when he suggests:

"And were other bookes, that I could name, excellent for manie good points, yet for some things superstitious, purged and corrected, sure I am, both God would greatlie like thereof, and manie men would then reade them, who now reiect them; and much profit would be reaped, whereas now there is either litle or no profit at al taken."<sup>3</sup>

The English contribution to the unbroken line of Roman Catholic mystical prose was naturally supplied by the

(1) Rogers omits the whole of Book IV.

(2) The Imitation of Christ, 1580 "A second Epistle concerning the translation and correction of this Booke."

(3) ibid.



recusants. Thus Dame Gertrude More produced in exile her The Holy Practises of a Devine Lover, or the Sainctly Ideots Devotions<sup>1</sup>, 1657, while her spiritual adviser, Father Augustine Baker, was responsible for a number of works including Sancta Sophia, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, 1657. Such books made an appeal to one aspect of the English mind (not inevitably Catholic) and authorised and unauthorised translations were circulated throughout the country, despite periodical raids by the authorities.<sup>2</sup> The temper of mind of the average Protestant, however, favoured something less exalted in mood and less baroque in style. The Englishman craved for instruction on an everyday level. He wanted practical advice on how to lead the good life, and if he had a religious obsession, it was not the desire of direct communion with God in this world, but of salvation in the next. When the Protestant clergy attempted to supply their Church with devotional literature they concentrated on handbooks of prayers<sup>3</sup>

- 
- (1) This is attributed to Augustine Baker in the B.Museum Catalogue.
  - (2) Books seized at Newcastle-on-Tyne, April, 1626, include some twenty-five "in severall Bundells sowed up in a Canvase bagge." For further details of the illicit trade in books see Helen C. White: English Devotional Literature [Prose], 1600-1640, 1931, Chap. VI, pp.131-149.
  - (3) Michael Sparke: The Crums of Comfort; with Godly Prayers, 1628.



(including manuals of advice on the construction of one's own prayers<sup>1</sup>) and practical volumes containing instructions for leading the virtuous life<sup>2</sup> and making the good end.<sup>3</sup> They wrote books of meditations, but meditations which were not mystical rhapsodies but sententious paragraphs owing as much to moral philosophy as to the long line of Christian tradition. Thus Epictetus, Seneca, Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius supplied them with a great deal of their inspiration. Affinities can be demonstrated by the following quotations, variations on a common image. The first is from Sanford's translation of the Manuell of Epictetus, the second from Joseph Henshaw's Horae Succisivae.

"Thou must remember that thou arte one of the players in an enterlude, and must plaie y<sup>e</sup> parte, which the authour thereof shall appoint, thou must play be it lōg, be it shorte. If he appointe thee to play the begger, y<sup>e</sup> Creple, y<sup>e</sup> Prince, or the private person, do it well and wittilie, for it lieth in thee to play that part, wherunto thou art appointed, and in an other to choose and appoint thee."<sup>4</sup>

- 
- (1) John Clarke: Holy Incense for the Censers of the Saints: or, a Method of Prayer, 1634.  
 (2) Robert Bolton: Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God, 1625.  
 (3) Thomas Becon: The Syckmans Salve, 1560.  
 (4) The Manuell...Translated..Ja. Sanford, 1567, Cap. 22, p.11.

"This World is a stage, the play is a tragi-comedy of the life and death of man; every man playes his part and exit: and it may be he that hath liv'd a begger, would not exchange with the KING when he comes to dye; for then he is rewarded, not according to what he hath beene, but what hee hath done; I will not greatly care what part I play, but to doe it well."<sup>1</sup>

The freed slave and the millionaire philosopher, the urbane Greek and the meditative emperor influenced the tone and form of these Protestant volumes more directly than did the practice of the Christian saints.

The reason for the practical and aphoristic bias is twofold. First, the claims of extremists to be the direct vehicles of illumination from the Deity had caused the majority of Protestants to view with acute suspicion any signs of mystical exaltation. When sects such as "The Family of Love" proclaimed their eccentric beliefs to be based on direct revelation, it is small wonder that most Anglican and Puritan divines distrusted the "inner light" and were careful not to fan it into flame. Secondly, the doctrine of predestination - a doctrine accepted not only by Puritans but by all Anglicans other than the Arminians -

---

(1) Horae Succisivae, or, Spare-Houres of Meditations:  
1601, Part I, p.77.

proved, paradoxically enough, a great stimulus, to the production of practical manuals. For divines set out to combat with all their strength the dangerous view that since election and salvation were predestined, a man might live as he pleased without affecting the issue. Such a belief is "desperately wicked".

"Desperately wicked is that of some, if I shall be sav'd, I shall be sav'd: as if Heaven would come unlook'd for, and they should be sav'd, whether they would or no."<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to see how adroitly the logical impasse is avoided. A man's salvation is an act of grace from God, but how is he to be sure of his salvation? It is not enough for him to claim to have "the saving faith". The outward sign of his election is the holy life. Gerhard hammers home this point remorselessly.

"We are chosen in Christ: in Christ wee are by faith: faith shewes it selfe forth by love: therefore where there is not love, there is no faith: where there is no faith, there is no Christ: where there is no Christ, there is no election."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) *ibid.*, Part II, p.15.  
 (2) Gerhard, Johann: The Soules Watch: or, a Day-Booke for the Devout Soule. Englished by R.B. [Richard Bruch], 1621. (3rd ed.) pp.134-135.

(1) *ibid.*, p.204.

(2) William Struther: Christian Observations and Meditations, 1620.



"Where is faith, there is Christ: where Christ is, there is an holy life, that is to say, true humilitie, true meekenesse, true love. Christ and the holy Spirit are not disioined: where the holy Spirit is, there is true holinesse. Therefore where there is not an holy life, there is no holy Spirit: where there is no Spirit, there is no Christ, where there is no Christ, there is no true faith at all."<sup>1</sup>

So although the sound Protestant must never fall into the grievous error of attributing his salvation to his own good works, yet he must aspire to the virtuous life as a sign of his possession of that saving grace which had ensured his salvation.

Though the meditations in these volumes vary according to the temperaments of the authors, yet all share a characteristic brevity. Struther's Christian Observations<sup>2</sup> and some of Hall's productions (notably his Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie) are more sustained, but the average meditation is frequently a single paragraph in length. The following, reproduced in full, are not unusually brief. The first is by Henshaw, but taken from his second collection Meditations Miscellaneous, Holy and Humane, 1637.

(1) ibid., p.204.

(2) William Struther: Christian Observations and Resolutions, 1628.



"Say nothing but what thou meanest, and promise nothing but what thou art able; not to intend what thou speakest, is to give thy heart the lye with thy tongue; not to performe what thou promisest, is to give thy tongue the lye with thy actions."<sup>1</sup>

Antony Stafford writes austerely:

"When I behold Beauty, it puts me in minde of my Glorification: but withall, I find, that it hindereth much my Mortification. I will therefore, as neere as I can, never fix mine eye upon Beauty: least by being never mortified, I never be glorified."<sup>2</sup>

Hall observes:

"I see there is no man so happie, as to have all things; and no man so miserable, as not to have some. Why should I looke for a better condition, then all others? If I have somewhat, and that of the best thinges; I will in thankfulnessse enjoy theme, and want the rest with contentment."<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) Meditations Miscellaneous, 1637, p. 14.

(2) Meditations, and Resolutions, Moral, Divine, Politicall, 1612, Century I, p. 4.

(3) Meditations and Vowes, p. 19. Some of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius are as brief and simple in form as the English ones quoted. "If any body shall reprove me, and shall make it apparent unto me, that in any either opinion or action of mine I doe erre, I will most gladly retract. For it is the truth that I seeke after, by which I am sure that never any man was hurt; and as sure, that he is hurt that continueth in any error, or ignorance whatsoever." Meric Casaubon's translation of 1634, Book 6, No. XX, p. 84.

Not all meditations, however, consist of the brief exhortation or resolve. Rather more elaborate variations could be worked. Thus some passage of the Scriptures, or some historical anecdote, could provide the jumping-off ground.

"I reade of Augustus, whenever he heard of any that dyed suddenly, he wish'd him and his friends the like happinesse he shall not choose for me: Let him and his brother-heathens pray for their fooles paradise. Our Church hath learn'd us a better Language, From suddaine Death good Lord deliver us. I ever thought it not a little blessing to die by degrees. In this case the farthest way about is the neerest way home."<sup>1</sup>

Hall's most charming series consists of meditations called forth by some observed fact or incident, and includes thoughts on the following:

- "Upon sight of a gliding Starre".
- "Upon occasion of a Red brest comming into his Chamber."
- "Upon sight of a Cocke-fight."
- "Upon the hearing of the street cries in London."
- "Upon the sight of a Lark flying up."<sup>2</sup>

Whatever variations the writers adopt, however, they restrict the length of each meditation to a comparatively brief compass.

(1) Henshaw: Horae Succisivae, Part I, p.79.  
 (2) Occasionall Meditations, 1633 (3rd Ed.)

The brevity of the form is, of course, a convention, but a convention partly explicable by the value placed upon time. It was not only Marvell who was conscious of the winged chariot's approach. Again and again the writers stress the brevity of man's life in contrast with imminent eternity, and the necessity of putting each minute to good use.

"I have observed two Solstices in the Sunnes motion, but none in times revolution; I will redeeme therefore my time while opportunitie is offered, for being past shee is not to be recalled."<sup>1</sup>

With more passion Antony Stafford declares:

"The greatest and most common care men have, is, to passe away the time. They desire most to passe away that, which is most pretious. O ! if they knew what treasure Time offers to their soules, they would looke with a iealous eye upon the heure-glasse, and sigh at the dropping of every sand. They abuse & lose Time, the mother of Experience; and so, lose Experience, the Mother of Wisedome... And while I live heere, I will studie so to use Time, as that I may come to live there, where is no time."<sup>2</sup>

- 
- (1) Braithwait, Richard: Essaies upon the Five Senses,... with Sundry Christian Resolves, 1620, p.90.
- (2) Stafford; op. cit., pp.36-38.



One way of using time profitably was to seize each spare moment for prayer or meditation. Thus a few minutes snatched from the busy day could usefully be devoted to the writing of a resolve; any small and humdrum task could be made profitable by pious thoughts; even a walk taken for exercise could lead one further up the plain man's pathway, since "Every thing that we see, reads us new lectures of Wisdome and Piety;"<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's Thoughts naturally evince this same brevity: the three volumes bound together comprise one dumpy hand book. Fuller makes no violent innovations in the form of his meditations, although it is his own touch to address the Deity with engaging directness in the first section of Good Thoughts in Bad Times<sup>2</sup>. With his usual delight in imposing a method, he divides his first two volumes into sections. Thus in Good Thoughts in Bad Times the material is arranged under four headings, "Personall Meditations", "Scripture Observations", "Historicall Applications" and

---

(1) Hall: Occasionall Meditations, The Proeme.

(2) "Lord. I Saw one, whom I knew to be notoriously Bad, in great Extremity," p.21. This device is employed by Hall in his late collection Select Thoughts...Also, the Breathings of the Devout Soul, 1648. "Lord, I confesse to my shame, thou art a great loser by me;" The Breathings of the Devout Soul, p.4. Lord Berkeley also occasionally opens in the same way: "O Lord, I confess, because I slept unquietly the last night...I was more discomposed in my mind, than when I have wilfully offended thy Divine Majesty by sinning against thee;" op. cit. p.50.



"Mixt Contemplations"; in Good Thoughts in Worse Times under five, "Personall Meditations", "Scripture Observations", "Meditations on the Times", "Meditations on all kind of Prayers" and "Occasionall Meditations". This slight elaboration of method, however, constitutes no great departure from the traditional volume. The distinctive qualities of Fuller's collection lie not in any originality of form, but in the very nature of the "Thoughts" in which he chooses to indulge.

Some aspects which distinguish Fuller's meditations are purely negative, and by isolating certain features in the works already mentioned we can discern Fuller's omissions. One characteristic of these other collections is that although the tone is frequently cool, and some of the thoughts could come as appropriately from pagan philosophers as from Christian moralists yet there are passages of greater warmth and more strenuous moral earnestness. The feeling that life is a constant struggle against the snares of Satan, a struggle conducted under the eye of an ever-watchful Judge who demands account for every thought and action, oppresses the more sensitive writers, so that Hall can cry out:

"Oh LORD, deliver thou my soule from their crafty ambushes; their poyson is greater, their webs both more strong and more insensible woven; Either teach mee to avoyd

tentation, or make me to breake thorough it by Repentance; Oh let mee not bee a prey to those fiends that lye in wait for my destruction."<sup>1</sup>

Although the Deity is presented as the Judge who in his awful righteousness does not hesitate to punish sin in this world as in the next, there is nevertheless considerable insistence that this rather unlovable figure is the God of Love. With a side glance at their own domestic practice the writers depict God as the Father who chastens the children he loves:

"'Tis a good Signe, when God chides us, that he loves us, nothing more proves us his then blowes, nothing sooner makes us his: God can love His children well, and not make wantons of them; if I suffer, its that I may raigne. How profitable is that affliction, that carries me to heaven."<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Hall at least this conception of God's unremitting love for man irradiates several of the meditations, so that he can express a yearning for the joys of heaven with a very genuine fervour:

"One inch of this lightsome Firmament hath more beauty in it, then the whole face of the Earth; And yet, this is but the floore of that goodly fabricke, the outward curtain of that glorious Tabernacle; couldst thou but (Oh that thou

(1) Occasionall Meditations, 1633, pp.36-37.

(2) Henshaw: Horae Succisivae, p.13.

couldst) look within that vayne, how shouldst thou be ravished with that blissefull sight ? There, in that incomprehensible light, thou shouldst see him whom none can see, and not be blessed;"<sup>1</sup>

We look in vain for any trace of similar enthusiasm in Fuller, or for any sign of the alternative apprehension felt by sinful man in the presence of God. Fuller carries the weight of his misdeeds lightly, and is on comfortable terms with the Deity, so that he sounds neither the note of despair nor of ecstasy.

A further feature of most of these collections is the strain of neo-stoicism which, mingling with the Christian principles of self denial and submission to God's will, produces an impression of austerity and even at times of harshness. The following meditation by Stafford provides an extreme and repellent illustration.

"It is a woonder, to see the childish whining we now-adays use at the funeralls of our friends. If we could houl them back againe, our lamentations were to some purpose: but as they are, they are vaine, and in vaine. If therefore my friend be good, I will be glad that he is rid of the world: if hee bee bad, I will not bee sorry that the world

---

(1) Occasional Meditations, p.14.

is rid of him; but, that so wofull a world is like to receive him."<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly necessary to say that Fuller's genial and warm hearted temperament is impervious to any tinge of stoicism.

The positive characteristic which distinguishes Fuller's Thoughts is their very personal tone. All this meditative literature is personal in as much as it is usually written in the first person, and purports to contain the observations and resolves of individuals. Very often, however, the 'I' is merely a concession to the convention and instead of first-hand experience the writer substitutes the well worn commonplace. One illustration must serve.

Henshaw writes:

"I know not which is worse the bearer of tales or the receiver, for the one makes the other: I will no lesse hate to tell then to heare slaunders, If I cannot stop other mouthes I will stop my owne eares The receiver is as bad as the thiefe."<sup>2</sup>

Hall expresses himself on the same theme:

"Consent harteneth sin: which a little dislike would have daunted at first. As wee say, there would be no theeves, if no receivers: so would there not be so many open mouthes

---

(1) Stafford: op. cit., p.16.

(2) Horae Succisivae, pp.6-7.

(3) Copu Theatralia See Vices, pp.236-7.



to detract and slander, if there were not as many open eares to entertain them. If I cannot stoppe mens mouths from speking ill, I wil either open my mouth to reprove it, or else I will stop mine eares from hearing it; and let him see in my face, that hee hath no roome in my heart."<sup>1</sup>

There is obviously a danger of regarding as first hand, ideas which are traditional<sup>2</sup> and which have been cast in the personal form as a rhetorical device. It would be equally dangerous to accept as first hand experiences all the incidents which Fuller employs as the starting points of his meditations, for it is quite possible that in somewhat similar fashion he is using the personal form to lend vividness to his illustrations. Thus the usual observations on the value of time are given a greater liveliness and impact when Fuller begins:

"Coming hastily into a Chamber, I had almost thrown down a Christall Hour-Glasse: Fear, lest I had, made me grieve, as if I had broken it: But, alas, how much pretious Time have I cast away, without any Regret."<sup>3</sup>

(1) Meditations and Vowes, pp.11-12.

(2) Both passages may owe something to the Manuell of Epictetus: "But if it befall, and that the matter and time require it, reprove him that shall use such ribauldrie and filthynesse. If not, at the least shewe and declare by silence and shamefastnesse, that suche communication doth displease thee," (ed. cited, p.28).

(3) Good Thoughts in Bad Times, pp.236-7.

Again even when he declares,

"A Person of great Quality was pleased to lodge a night in my House. I durst not invite him to my Family Prayer, and therefore for that time omitted it: thereby making a breach in a good custome, & giving Sathan advantage to assault it."<sup>1</sup>,

it is possible that he is putting the general problem of how to lodge one's social superiors into more concrete and vivid form. This was something he would have been encouraged to do as a preacher. Keckerman, making a strong plea for animated and graphic illustrations, had urged:

"personam ipsam saepe introducamus loquentem, utamur hypotyposibus & descriptionibus vivis eius, qui rem gessit aut passus est; & denique sic omnia comparemus, quasi res adhuc ante auditorum oculos geratur."<sup>2</sup>

It would be an easy step to advance from heightened description of an actual incident to the investing of a general problem in a personal anecdote, to lend immediacy to the message.<sup>3</sup> It would therefore be incautious to accept

(1) Thoughts in Worse Times, p.108.

(2) Keckerman, Bartholomew: Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae, 1606, p.84.

(3) The device is still preserved in didactic prose. The modern clergyman is constantly "meeting" individuals whose conversation or actions supply him with material for exhortation.

each meditation on its face-value. Even so definite a statement as 'A Person of Great Quality was pleased to lodge a night in my House' is made somewhat suspect when we remember that when it was published Fuller was without a house in which to entertain.<sup>1</sup> Several of the anecdotes, therefore, in spite of their apparent first-hand quality, may be rhetorical devices, akin to the preacher's exemplum, and designed to give to instruction the graphic and convincing effect of experience. Yet even when we have viewed the "thoughts" with the utmost caution it remains true that taken as a whole they give an impression of remarkable freshness and individuality. We are impelled to feel that Fuller is recording first-hand responses:

"I Have observed, that Children, when they first put on new Shooes, are very curious to keep them clean. Scarce will they set their foot on the Ground, for fear to dirty the Soles of their Shooes. Yea, rather they will wipe the Leather clean with their Coats; and yet perchance the next day, they will trample with the same Shooes in the Mire up to the Anckles. Alas, Childrens play is our Earnest. On that day, wherein we receive the Sacrament, we are often over-precize, scrupling to say, or do, those things which

---

(1) Exeter fell April 9th, 1646. In June Fuller was living at the 'Crown' in S. Paul's Churchyard, the home of his publisher John Williams. From there he moved to Boughton House, seat of the Montagues. Good Thoughts in Bad Times appeared 1647.



lawfully we may. But we, who are more then Curious that day, are not so much as Carefull the next. And too often, (what shall I say) go on in sinne, up to the Anckles, yea, our sins go over our Heads."<sup>1</sup> This has the effect of, and may well be, a piece of fresh observation adroitly applied.

The decision as to which anecdotes have the most convincing air of personal experience is largely a matter of individual judgment. There are in the Thoughts, however, specific autobiographical references which even the most sceptical must accept. Sometimes Fuller engagingly reveals some personal idiosyncrasy:

"My voice by Nature is harsh, and untunable, and it is vaine to lavish any Art to better it."<sup>2</sup>

"When I am to Travell, I never use to provide my self till the very Tyme; Partly out of Lazinesse, loath to be troubled till needs I must, partly out of Pride, as presuming all necessaries for my Journey will wait upon me at the instant. (Some say this is Schollers fashion, and it seemes by following it, I hope to approve my self to be one.)"<sup>3</sup>

At other times a plain autobiographical fact is conveyed:

"I Must confess my self born in Northamptonshire, and if that Worthy Countie esteem me no disgrace to it, I esteem it an honour to me."<sup>4</sup>

---

(1) Good Thoughts in Bad Times, pp.198-200.

(2) ibid., p.10.

(3) ibid., pp.40-41.

(4) Mixt Observations in Better Times, pp.43-44.



"I was borne at ALWINCLE in Northamptonshire, where my father was the painful Preacher of St. Peters."<sup>1</sup>

The effect of all this is that even when full allowance has been made for rhetorical doctoring, there remains an overwhelming impression of freshness and immediacy. The personalities of Hall and of the lesser men do come through, but not directly. They may deliberately have excluded the purely autobiographical statement as something too trivial. Fuller with naive enthusiasm projects himself directly; he has no inhibitions about the relative values of what he is recording, and for him the fact of his tuneless voice can with decorum introduce a meditation on the harmonies of heaven. The result is that though his Thoughts may lose some of the sober gravity which a more objective statement possesses, they gain in vivacity and directness of impact.

Fuller's meditations in their very titles stress the way in which the purely temporal problems raised by the civil war are dealt with in preference to the eternal verities. The deliberate practice of other authors of such volumes is to avoid controversial issues.<sup>2</sup> The result,

---

(1) ibid., p.64.

(2) Hall: Select Thoughts, "The Epistle to the Reader".  
 "The intent of this Labor is to put some good Thoughts (Reader) into thy minde,....such, as I hope may not a little further thee on thy journey to Heaven....To which purpose, I know no means more effectual, then those Meditations which conduce to the animation and vigor of Christian practice; Such I have propounded to my Self, as most behooveful and necessary; especially for this Age, into which we are faln; an Age of more brain then heart; and that hath almost lost Piety in the chase of some litigious Truths," pp.8-10.

refreshing in a period of intense controversy, is to establish many of the collections in a political and theological no-man's land. Fuller, however, having experienced the rigours of civil war, and writing in a period of revolution, does not insulate his Thoughts from contemporary events. Rather he chooses to tackle those very problems which men are called on to face in times of civil disturbance: "Since these wofull Warres began, one, formerly mine Intimate Acquaintance, is now turned a Stranger, yea, an Enemy. Teach me how to behave my self towards him."<sup>1</sup> "Nor let me flatter my self, that it is lawfull for me, with David, to curse thine Enemies, lest my deceitfull heart intitle all mine Enemies to be Thine, and so what was Religion in David, prove Malice in me, whil'st I act Revenge under the Pretence of Piety."<sup>2</sup> "Hast thou thy body unjustly imprisoned, or thy goods violently detained, or thy credit causelesly defamed? I have a designe whereby thou shalt revenge thy self, even goe and tell JESUS."<sup>3</sup>

(1) Good Thoughts in Bad Times, p.8.

(2) ibid., p.88.

(3) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, p.104.

(1) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, p.25.

(2) ibid., pp.50-51.

With a degree of moral courage he reaffirms his loyalty to the King.<sup>1</sup>

"May I dye in the Government, under which I was borne, where a Monarch doth command."<sup>2</sup>

"When before Sermon I pray for my Soveraigne & Master KING of great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith Some (who omit it themselves) may censure it in me for superfluous. But never more neede to teach men the Kings Title, & their owne Duty."<sup>3</sup>

At the same time Fuller reiterates the necessity for moderation, (and moderation in a period of violent religious zeal and political upheaval was not a negative, but a positive, policy, capable of arousing genuine enthusiasm, as it did in Fuller). He may remark ruefully:

"...this is the sad Fate which attended all moderate persons, which will mediate betwixt opposite Parties. They may complain with David, They have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my good-will," but he concludes:

(1) When Fuller wrote the statements which follow he was living at Boughton House, under the patronage of Edward Lord Montagu. Montagu's first cousin was the Parliamentary general, Lord Kimbolton, second Earl of Manchester, and Edward Montagu and his sister, the Countess of Rutland, were both interested in the Parliamentary cause. Lord Montagu had, in fact, been appointed one of the commissioners to receive the King's person from the Scotch. Lyman asks rather obtusely why Fuller did not dedicate Good Thoughts in Worse Times to Montagu (op.cit., pp.84-85). In view of Montagu's position it would hardly have been tactful: in fact it says much for the moderation shown by many on both sides that a Parliamentary house would offer refuge to a Royalist ex-army chaplain.

(2) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, p.28.

(3) ibid., pp.50-51.



"Yet let not such be disheartned, but know that ( besides the reward in Heaven) the very work of Moderation is the wages of Moderation. For it carrieth with it a marvellous Contentment in his Conscience, who hath endeavoured his utmost in order to Unity, though unhappy in his success."<sup>1</sup>

Such was Fuller's alertness to the contemporary situation that before the King's Restoration he rushed through the press an entire volume of meditations on the times. The result of all this is again to reduce the contemplative quality of his work. The three volumes of thoughts are not intended for those who mentally withdraw from the world in their devotions. The practical value of the collections, however, is considerably enhanced, for Fuller offers sage advice to those puzzled by the peculiar moral problems raised by civil war.

Perhaps one of the most engaging features of the Thoughts is Fuller's surprising frankness about minor weaknesses of the flesh. The reader exposed to seventeenth century didactic prose gains the impression of an almost terrifying moral earnestness, of a constant battle between flesh and the spirit waged with unwearied vigilance by beings impervious to the more amiable human weaknesses. The

---

(1) Mixt Contemplations in Better Times, p.28.



writers may be profoundly conscious of sin, but in their published works they reveal no trivial backslidings. Fuller is unique as a divine in his frank admission of the venial fault:

"This day I disputed with my self, whether or no I had said my Prayers this Morning; And I could not call to mind any remarkable Passage, whence I could certainly conclude that I had offered my Prayers unto thee."<sup>1</sup>

"Lord, I Confesse this Morning I remembered my Breakfast, but forgot my Prayers."<sup>2</sup>

It is with ready sympathy that we read:

"I Discover an arrant Lazinesse in my Soul. For when I am to read a Chapter in thy Bible before I begin it, I look where it endeth. And if it endeth not on the same side, I cannot keep my hands, from turning over the leaf, to measure the length thereof on the other side; If it swels to many Verses I begin to grudge."<sup>3</sup>

"Shamefull my sloath, that have deferred my Night-Prayer, till I am in bed."<sup>4</sup>

Fuller earns our gratitude by revealing a little publicised aspect of the seventeenth century character. Our sympathy and even admiration go out to a divine who gives way to the

(1) Good Thoughts in Bad Times, p.47.

(2) ibid., p.53.

(3) ibid., p.113-114.

(4) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, p.12.

less heroic weaknesses, and has the courage and humour to admit it.

In these three volumes, therefore, Fuller is obviously presenting himself not as the minister impervious to human frailties, offering advice from some impregnable position of moral eminence, but as a man, subject to the venial sins, and therefore all the better equipped to utter 'thoughts' of value to the average human. I do not suggest that there is any deliberate artifice in the presentation and that Fuller is consciously adopting a "man-to-man" pose. He is quite spontaneously revealing his temperament as it is. Since, however, he was a literary artist, he must have been aware of the impression he was conveying; he must have realised that he was projecting himself as an individual rather than as the somewhat impersonal voice of objective wisdom. Obviously, therefore, he deliberately chose to reveal himself in the light of his own less austere and strenuous impulses, and to offer his thoughts from the same moral plane as was shared by the average man. That there were many readers who welcomed this approach is apparent from the numerous editions of the Thoughts. Because extremists are the most articulate, it is easy to forget that a great mass of English people were neither ardent Laudians nor fervent 'saints', but moderate Anglicans, anxious to lead good Christian lives, but not morbidly concerned with the state

of their souls - perhaps even a little exhausted by the moral strenuousness of many of the hortatory manuals. It is to such an audience that Fuller addresses his Thoughts.

The charm of Fuller's collections lies in the witty common sense of the injunctions and in his remarkably successful projection of personality. The volumes must have proved both entertaining and edifying to those wearied by the clamour of opposing factions and anxious for sane and non-inflammatory advice on the problems of conduct which beset the Christian during civil war conditions. For those souls experiencing real spiritual distress, however, the Thoughts would have little to offer. This was inevitable as the genre even in the hands of so devout a man as Hall was employed exclusively for reducing "Christianity to practise". We shall therefore relish Fuller the man, but fail to do justice to Fuller the divine, the minister to men's spiritual needs, if we consider the Thoughts in isolation. Their complement is supplied by The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, produced in 1647, just before Good Thoughts in Worse Times. Here we see Fuller aware of the more fundamental problems which afflict the soul, and applying his wise charity of outlook to their amelioration.

The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience was designed to help those Christians suffering that ultimate agony of spiritual despair when the soul is convinced of its own

damnation. This condition is now mercifully rare, but in a period when Calvinist logic tended to be rigorously applied, the spirit could collapse under the strain to which it had been subjected. The doctrine of predestination, affirming that some men were elected to salvation, not for any worth of their own (for what worth can man claim before the God of ultimate righteousness?) but by an act of grace on the part of God, carried with it the unpleasant corollary that some men were doomed to damnation. Arthur Dent, in The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven, 1601, expresses the implications of Calvinist theory with inflexible conviction.

"Antile What reason, iustice, or equitie is there, that sentence of death should be passed upon men before they be borne, and before they have done good, or evill ?

Theol. I told you before, that we can never comprehend the reason of Gods proceeding in this behalfe: yet we must knowe, that his wil is the rule of righteousnesse, and must be unto us instead of a thousand reasons: for whatsoever god willeth, in as much as he willeth it, is to be holden iust."<sup>1</sup>

Luckily for their peace of mind, most Calvinists were convinced that they were of the elect, and this very conviction was accepted as a sign of salvation. Indeed, for this

---

(1) The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven, 1601, p.309.



conviction to be seriously shaken was often not considered as a sign of understandable humility, but as an indication that one's election was definitely in doubt. To lack the "saving faith" in the eyes of the most austere clerics was to be reprobate. It is this which accounts for the intense interest taken in death-bed affirmations of faith. Although edifying speeches from the dying doubtless owe much to the pious additions of the biographers of the period, yet it is obvious that men and women on the brink of death were stimulated to make some pronouncements on their trust in God's grace and their conviction of salvation, and that such pronouncements were seized on eagerly by relatives as proof of a heavenly destination for the departed. Thomas Becon's The Sycke Mans Salve, ~~1561~~ a fat little treatise devoted solely to the question of how to ensure a godly passage from this world, gives an exhausting picture of the benevolent yet remorseless harrying to which the dying might be subjected. What loving pressure could be brought to bear is apparent from the following:

"Philemon. Forget not y<sup>e</sup> all your sinnes are washed away in Christes precious blud, & that by y<sup>e</sup> vertue of his death & passion, you are made heire of everlasting salvation. Brother, if you can speake aunswere. If you can not speake, shew some outward signe & token that it may be a testimonye unto us of your faith & godly departur. Christopher. Lo, he

holdeth up his hand. Eusebius. God be thanked."<sup>1</sup>

When the only evidence of salvation was this "saving faith" then obviously those sensitive spirits who had momentarily lost this conviction were subject to the blackest despair. Their suffering defies adequate comprehension. For the victims of this psychological state considered themselves doomed not to annihilation, nor to any pale intellectual hell, but to an eternity of torments which had been only too graphically described by a variety of preachers. Gerhard, in The Soules Watch, advises the Christian to meditate on Monday evenings on the "grievousnesse of the torments of hell," and supplies some stimulus to the imagination by posing the disquieting questions:

"How grievous a thing is it to lye in a most soft bed unmoveable for thirty yeares ? what will it be to burne thirty thousand yeeres in that lake of fire and brimstone?"<sup>2</sup>

He goes on to advise his readers to

"Imagine that there are as many kindes of torments in the damned as there are drops of water in the great Sea: imagine that after every thousand yeere a certaine Bird should come, and draw up one small drop of water: it might be hoped, that at length the abundance of the Sea might be exhausted,

---

(1) The Sycke Mans Salve, 1561, p.536.

(2) The Soules Watch, p.58.

but it cannot be hoped that the torments of the damned should ever have end."<sup>1</sup>

It would take a person of very tough mental fibre to emerge unscathed from a series of Monday meditations of the like kind.

The majority of Anglican clergy, while opposing the Arminian doctrine, devoted much of their energy towards modifying the extreme Calvinist view-point. Fuller had from the first made his position clear, for in a sermon preached at Cambridge<sup>2</sup> and repeated on several occasions, he had shown his sympathy for those troubled by scruples, and had rebuked the "saints" who vaunted of their assurance:

"...take heed of insulting over such as want this assurance: upbraid not them with their sad condition. Say not unto them, I am certaine of my Calling and Election; Ergo, I am a Saint, a chosen vessell, eternally to bee saved: Thou lackest this certainty, therefore art a reprobate, a cast away, a fire-brand of Hell, eternally to bee damned. Is this the expression of thy gratitude to God, proudly to trample on his servants, and thy brethren? It is hard to say whether that thy inference hath more of profanenesse or falsehood in it."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) ibid., pp.61-62.

(2) Collected Sermons, Vol. I, p.484.

(3) Complete Collected Sermons, 1657-74, 475, with The Cause and Cure, p.73.

(4) The very popular Book of Holy and Inimitable Texts. The supreme struggle is undoubtedly that of The Flying Hawk Path-way.



The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience is virtually an expansion of the opinions and arguments employed in this sermon. What called the treatise forth is impossible to determine. It may be that Fuller in 1647, living in a household Puritanically inclined<sup>1</sup>, was compelled to deal with a case of "wounded conscience". It may be that a distressed individual, having some knowledge of The Sermon of Assurance, approached Fuller and asked him to expand his words of comfort. Whether a specific incident was responsible for the production of The Cause and Cure or not, it seems significant that the new work and the old sermon should be published in one and the same year<sup>2</sup>. Whatever the connection between the two, the point of view expressed in both (and often the very language) is identical.<sup>3</sup>

The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience consists of twenty one dialogues - the dialogue being a form particularly suited to the treatment of the more knotty theological problems.<sup>4</sup> The discussion is conducted by Timotheus and

- 
- (1) Bailey records that Ed. Lord Montagu married the daughter of Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State. She was so Puritan in outlook that she objected to the reading of the liturgy, to the annoyance of her father-in-law. "Daughter", said the old Lord, "if you come to visit me, I will never ask you why you come not to prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or live not with me." (Life p.387) The "old Lord" died 1644.
  - (2) It may, of course, signify nothing more than that by writing the treatise Fuller was reminded of the sermon, and arranged to have the two published.
  - (3) Compare Collected Sermons, pp.474, 475, with The Cause and Cure, p.73.
  - (4) The very popular Sycke Mans Salve was in dialogue form. The supreme example is undoubtedly Dent's The Plaine Mans Path-way.



Philologus, Timotheus posing the questions, Philologus answering as the author's 'alter ego'. First of all a "wounded conscience" is defined:

"It is a Conscience frightened at the sight of sin, and weight of Gods wrath, even unto the despaire of all pardon, during the present Agony."<sup>1</sup>

Then Philologus brings forward those arguments designed to curtail the period of "present Agony", and incidentally Fuller's position is revealed.

"Are not those Ministers too blame, who, mistaking their message, instead of bringing the Gospell of Peace, fright people with Legall terrours into despaire ?"

asks Timotheus. The answer, framed with all the discretion of one professional man speaking of others, shows us Fuller's opinion clearly.

"Phil. I cannot commend their discretion, yet will not condemn their intention herein. No doubt their desire and designe is pious, though they erre in the pursuite and prosecution thereof, casting down them whom they cannot raise, and conjuring up the Spirit of Bondage which they cannot allay againe."<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) The Cause and Cure, p.2.

(2) ibid., p.34.

(1) ibid., p.34.

(2) ibid., p.34.

Again and again Fuller meets the dangerous arguments of the extremists with an invincible common sense.

"Tim. But there are some now adayes who maintaine that a Child of God after his first conversion, needeth not any new repentance for sinne all the dayes of his life."

"Phil. They defend a grievous and dangerous errour. Consider what two petitions Christ coupleth together in his Prayer: When my Body which every day is hungry, can live without God giving it daily Bread, then and no sooner shall I believe, that my Soule, which daily sinneth, can spiritually live, without Gods forgiving it its Trespases."<sup>1</sup>

"Tim. But are not Gods Children after committing of grievous sinnes, and before their renewing their repentance remaine still heires of Heaven, married to Christ, and citizens of the new Hierusalem ?"

"Phil. Heires of Heaven, they are, but disinheritable for their misdemeanour. Married still to Christ, but deserving to be divorced for their adulterie. Citizens of Heaven, but yet outlawed, so that they can recover no right, and receive no benefit, till their out-lawry be reversed."<sup>2</sup>

On the question of "assurance of salvation" Fuller could not be more forthright.

---

(1) ibid., p.39.

(2) ibid., p.42.

"Tim. But I am sure my faith is not sound, because it is not attended with assurance of salvation. For I doubt (not to say despaire) thereof. Whereas Divines hold, that the Essence of saving faith consists in a certainty to be saved."

Phil. Such deliver both a false, and dangerous doctrine; as the carelesse mother killed her little infant, for she overlaid it. So this opinion would presse many weak faiths to death, by laying a greater weight upon them then they can bear, or God doth impose; whereas to be assured of salvation, is not a part of every true faith, but onely an effect of some strong faiths, and that also not alwayes, but at some times."<sup>1</sup>

In the above Fuller is not hesitating to part company with the more extreme Calvinists<sup>2</sup>, and to oppose their "legall terrours" with his charitable and psychologically sound arguments.

One of the problems inevitably raised by Timotheus is the question of the death-bed statement. Surely the man who dies without any expression of faith cannot be one of the chosen, for if so God would have visited him with assurance at the last, and had the man received "any such comfort, he

(1) ibid., p.73.

(2) Contrast with Dent's opinion: ".he that knoweth not in this life that he shall be saved, shall never be saved after this life," op. cit., pp.260-261.

would shew it by words, signes, or some way, were it onely to comfort his sad kindred, and content such sorrowfull friends which survive him."<sup>1</sup>

Philologus has the answer ready:

"It may be he cannot discover the comfort he hath received, and that for two reasons: First, because it comes so late, when he lyeth in the Merches of life and death, being so weak, that he can neither speak, nor make signes with Zechariah..."

"Tim. What may be the other reason ?

Phil. Because the Comfort it selfe may be incommunicable in its owne nature, which the party can take, and not tell; enjoy, and not expresse; receive, and not impart."<sup>2</sup>

Timotheus, however, brings forward a worse difficulty.

"But some who have led pious and godly lives, have departed, pronouncing the sentence of condemnation upon themselves, having one foot already in hell by their owne confession."<sup>3</sup>

If silence is sufficient to call a man's salvation in doubt, then such men are surely doomed. Philologus immediately assesses the true value of these death-bed statements:

"Such confessions are of no validity, wherein their feare bears false witness against their faith. The finenesse of

(1) ibid., p.125.

(2) ibid., p.126.

(3) ibid., p.112 (sic. 128)-129.



the whole cloath of their life, must not be thought the worse of, for a little course list at the last. And also their finall estate is not to be construed by what was dark, doubtfull, and desperate at their deaths, but must be expounded, by what was plaine, cleare, and comfortable, in their lives."

"Tim. You then are confident, that a holy life, must have a happy death.

Phil. Most confident."<sup>1</sup>

The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience perfectly demonstrates the way in which the moderate Anglican, while holding to the tenets of predestination, allowed common sense and instinctive feeling to soften the harsh legalism of the extreme Calvinist position. Fuller is no logician. We cannot admire in his treatise any profound theological scholarship acutely applied, nor any display of mental power ruthlessly directed towards the demonstration of certain "truths". Both as theology and literature Dent's The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven is the greater work, even though the point of view expressed in it now seems alien and repellent

---

(1) ibid., p.129. Again this can be contrasted with Dent: "For many thousandes are in great daunger of loosing their soules for ever, which are free from such notorious and horrible vices: nay many which in the world are counted good honest men, good true dealers, good neighbours, and good Townes men," op. cit., p.19.

to the majority. Fuller's treatise, however, while of lesser stature, is immeasurably more sympathetic. It is a work of quiet charm. The language employed is consistently plain, for in his address "To the Christian Reader" Fuller had stated:

"Wherefore in this sad subject, I have endeavoured to decline all light and ludicrous expressions. And if I be found faulty therein, I cry and crave God and the Reader pardon." He demonstrates plainly (as he does in the final section of the Church History) that his wit is under artistic control, for throughout the whole treatise he adheres firmly to the great principle of decorum. Though simple in style, however, the work is never flat, for that same sympathetic observation of humanity illumines many passages:

"Their tongues some have known (and I have heard) complaine that they cannot weepe for their sinnes, when at that instant their eyes have plentifully shed store of teares: not that they spake out of dissimulation, but distraction. So sometimes have I smiled at the simplicity of a Child, who being amazed, and demanded whether or no he could speake? hath answered, No."<sup>1</sup>

The chief attraction of the work, however, lies in the opinions there expressed. Fuller's point of view is warm

---

(1) The Cause and Cure, p.61.

hearted and charitable. He does not seem to feel any psychological conflict at accepting predestination as a theory, and evading the logical implications of the doctrine. In fact he was probably hardly aware of any evasion. He felt quite simply that God was a God of love and mercy who watched man's frequently inadequate struggles against temptation with a sympathetic eye. Therefore when asked if he were confident that a holy life must have a happy death, without troubling the brain with any dark questions of predestination, election, and 'saving faith' he could reply from the heart, "Most confident".

It is necessary while discussing Fuller's Thoughts and The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience to correct a legend, started by Bailey and continued by Lyman, and Fuller's latest biographer, Addison, to the effect that Fuller was suffering from a period of definite mental depression when he settled at Boughton House. The two works which caused Bailey to make this assumption are The Cause and Cure and Good Thoughts in Worse Times, both produced in 1647. That Fuller was sobered by the turn of events at this time is more than probable, that in a mellowed and sympathetic mood he may have decided to ease the spiritual sufferings of others is very possible. Bailey, however, with a lack of caution extremely unusual for him, makes the following extraordinary statement about The Cause and Cure:

"In his Northamptonshire retreat Fuller's industrious pen was employed in investigating the cause and cure of his mental depression. Instead of giving way to the gloomy feelings which were engendered by his "broken-spirit", he made an analysis of them with a view to their remedy. This occupation kept his faculties from passively brooding over the subjects that distressed him, and the process (as in the case of Robert Burton and his famous book) brought about an amelioration in his condition."<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could be further from the truth than this suggestion that Fuller is analysing his own state of mind. The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience is not an investigation of a fit of the dumps, nor even of a sustained period of mental depression. It is a treatise on a definite theological state, a state which, so far as we know, Fuller himself never experienced. It is for a Bunyan or a Cowper to undergo the conviction of damnation: a man of Fuller's temperament would not be subjected to that ordeal. Rather we can with some degree of safety assume that Fuller is speaking of his own theological state when in answer to Timotheus's question, "Who are those which commonly have such gentle usage in their conversion ?"

Philologus replies:

---

(1) Bailey: Life, p.393.



"Generally such, who never were notoriously profane, and have had the benefits of godly education from pious parents. In some Corporations the sons of Free-men, bred under their Fathers in their Profession, may set up and exercise their Fathers Trade, without ever being bound Apprentices thereunto. Such children whose parents have been Citizens of new Jerusalem, and have been bred in the mysterie of godlinesse, oftentimes are entred into Religion without any spirit of bondage seizing upon them, a great benefit and rare blessing, where God in his goodnesse is pleased to bestow it."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly Fuller specifically states at the end of his treatise, when addressing the reader in his own person, that he is confident that

"the making of this Treatise shall no wayes cause or hasten a wounded conscience in me, but rather on the contrary, (especially if as it is written by me, it were written in me) either prevent it, that it come not at all, or deferre it that it come not so soon, or lighten it, that it fall not so heavy, or shorten it that it last not so long."<sup>2</sup>

This surely suggests that Fuller has not yet experienced that "wounded conscience" which his work seeks to cure. One can therefore only assume that for once Bailey's scholarly

---

(1) The Cause and Cure, pp.8-9.

(2) ibid., "The conclusion of the Author to the Reader", p.160.

(1) Lyman, pp. 215, pp. 215-26.

caution deserted him, and his uncertain knowledge of the background to the treatise led him to make a false biographical speculation. Neither Lyman nor Addison, however, does anything to correct the legend; indeed the latter affirms:

"At the end he removes any doubts we might have had that he was prescribing for himself by asking for the prayers of all well-disposed readers until by God's grace and the service of 'some pious minister' his 'maimed soul' is restored to its former soundness."<sup>1</sup>

This statement is based on an amazing mis-reading of Fuller's final address to the reader. What Addison, conditioned by study of Bailey and Lyman, has failed to observe, is that the whole passage is hypothetical, depending on the first conditional clause.

"And if God shall be pleased hereafter to write bitter things against me, who have here written the sweetest comforts I could for others, let none insult on my sorrowes: But whilst my wounded conscience shall lye like the Criple, at the Porch of the temple, may such as passe by be pleased to pity me, & permit this Booke to beg in my behalfe, the charitable prayers of well disposed People; till divine Providence, shall send some Peter, some pious minister, perfectly to restore my maimed soul to her former soundnes."

---

(1) Lyman, op. cit., pp.83-84.

Certainly the passage does remove any doubts as to whether Fuller had by then experienced a "wounded conscience", but, contrary to Addison's interpretation, it does it by indicating clearly that he had not. Lyman, though not committing himself so deeply, contributes the opinion that "The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience (1647) is markedly lacking in the energy and buoyancy of mind exhibited in most of Fuller's writings."<sup>1</sup> Presumably it is the lack of wit in the work which has caused this judgment to be passed. In that case it is sad that Fuller's adherence to the great principle of 'decorum' should be interpreted as lack of energy and buoyancy. Actually the treatise exhibits plenty of both. It takes considerable energy and buoyancy of mind to face the arguments of Dent and the more extreme Calvinists, and adhere with firm conviction to one's own more liberal opinions.

The judgments passed on Good Thoughts in Worse Times show the same tendency towards dangerous generalisation. Once again it must be admitted that Fuller was sobered by contemporary conditions. Since this volume consists of thoughts written in "worse" times, obviously the deterioration in the political and social situation would affect the tone of the collection. There is little justification, however, for the following statement from Bailey:

"Like his work on the conscience it is remarkable for its sedateness; and it is also tinged with the melancholy of the writer. There is indeed nothing to show that the writer was one who loved mirth, or who could excite it in others."<sup>1</sup>

Lyman goes a step further and claims:

"His Good Thoughts in Worse Times (1647) compiled at Boughton after the composition of the Cause and Cure, likewise shows signs of having been written in a period of despondency - even morbidity. 'Often have I thought with myself what disease I would be best contented to die of'."<sup>2</sup>

It is a simple matter to modify these exaggerations. The following two quotations sufficiently demonstrate that Fuller had not entirely lost his love of a good story or his shrewd wit.

"...when worthy Master Samuel Herne, famous for his living, preaching, and writing lay on his death Bed (rich onely in goodnesse and children) his Wife made much womanish lamentation, what should hereafter become of her little ones, Peace (sweet heart said hee) that God who feedeth the Ravens will not starve the Hernes."<sup>3</sup>

"Ejaculations are short Prayers, darted up to God on emergent occasions. If no other Artillery had been used these last

- (1) Bailey: Life, p.397.  
 (2) Lyman: op. cit., p.84.  
 (3) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, pp.106-107.



seven yeares in England, I will not affirme more soules had been in heaven, but fewer corpses had been buried in Earth."<sup>1</sup>

As for the sentence which Lyman extracts as a sign of morbidity, it is regrettable that he does not finish the quotation, for later Fuller remarks with dry humour:

"If I could as easily decline diseases as I could dislike them, I should be immortall."<sup>2</sup>

Indeed the third "thought" finds Fuller lamenting his own lack of morbidity. In an age when the majority found death a congenial subject for meditation, when poets and prose writers were inspired to produce their most magniloquent and moving passages on the theme of mutability, Fuller feels a deficiency in his response. In spite of every encouragement he just cannot concentrate his thoughts on mortality.

"Living in a Country Village where a Buriall was a rarity, I never thought of Death, it was so seldome presented unto me. Comming to London where there is plenty of Funeralls, (so that Coffins crowd one-another, & corps in the grave justle for Elbow-roome) I slight and neglect death because grown an object so constant and common.

How foule is my stomach to turne all foode into bad humours ? Funeralls neither few nor frequent, worke effectually upon mee."<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) ibid., p.144.

(2) ibid., p.2.

(3) ibid., p.5-6.

It is safe, therefore, to assume that though Fuller doubtless reached Boughton House in chastened mood, for no man can view the loss of material possessions and the set-back of his cause with complete equanimity, yet he was far from exhibiting signs of a "broken spirit". The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience and Good Thoughts in Worse Times are sober works - the very subject matter renders that inevitable - but they are neither morbid nor despondent. The temptation to invest Fuller's character with a tinge of interesting melancholy has led to considerable exaggeration.

Fuller's three volumes of meditations and his treatise on the conscience are not the products of a man aware of the deeper movings of the spirit. He had no experience of mystical exaltation himself, and distrusted it in others; he lacked the ardour of a Herbert or Baxter. Yet these works must have brought considerable refreshment and comfort to his readers. The Thoughts combine a genuine, if unsubtle, piety with practical and witty advice; The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience reveals a warm charity and considerable persuasive force directed towards the comfort of those experiencing spiritual distress. Considered together, they are pleasing and enlightening productions. It is salutary to be reminded that sound practical sense could mitigate the rigours of seventeenth century politics and theology, and that

in a period of fanaticism there were many readers who found nothing incompatible in the combination of piety and humour.

letter to his disciples, list of contemporaries:

"For I have, I am glad to say, that these times have to  
witness the revival of the virtues of the times, as that the  
writing of lives should be frequent."

#### CHAPTER VI

There were those amongst his readers who would feel that in  
view of the The History of the Worthies of England some of

the world, and every place thereof, few people could be  
found of sufficient value to justify the practice. Bacon,

however, was confident List of Sources and supplied ample sub-  
ject matter:

"For although there be not many sovereign princes or abso-  
lute commanders, and that states are most collected into  
monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that de-  
serve better than dispersed report of barren eulogies."<sup>2</sup>

With this Baconian optimism Fuller was in complete accord.

The History of the Worthies of England is both a manifesto  
of his faith in the moderns<sup>3</sup> and a heroic attempt to remedy

- 
- (1) Donne: LXXX Sermons, 1640, Serm. XXXVI, p. 357.
  - (2) The Works, Vol. II, Of the Advancement of Learning, p. 337.
  - (3) It is significant that throughout The Worthies Fuller frequently refers to George Hakewill's An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, 1627. This was one of the earliest and most influential attempts to combat the theory of the old age and imminent decay of the world.



CHAPTER VI

In The Advancement of Learning Bacon had noted a deficiency in biographies of contemporaries:

"For Lives, I do find strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent."

There were those amongst his readers who would feel that in view of the 'sensible decay and age in the whole frame of the world, and every piece thereof,'<sup>1</sup> few people could be found of sufficient eminence to justify the practice. Bacon, however, was confident that the period supplied ample subject matter:

"For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that states are most collected into monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report of barren eulogies."<sup>2</sup>

With this Baconian optimism Fuller was in complete accord. The History of the Worthies of England is both a manifesto of his faith in the moderns<sup>3</sup> and a heroic attempt to remedy

(1) Donne: LXXX Sermons, 1640, Serm. XXXVI, p.357.

(2) The Works, Vol. II, Of the Advancement of Learning, p.337.

(3) It is significant that throughout The Worthies Fuller frequently refers to George Hakewill's An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, 1627. This was one of the earliest and most influential attempts to combat the theory of the old age and imminent decay of the world.

the deficiency in this branch of learning.

Fuller's volume is the first attempt at a comprehensive dictionary of national biography. Other writers had already drawn up compilations of lives, grouped according to profession or rank. As the century advanced the practice of recording salient facts about distinguished moderns was to produce the lively and acute gossip of Aubrey<sup>1</sup> and the truculent researches of à Wood.<sup>2</sup> Fuller, however, is an innovator, inasmuch as he alone endeavours to cover the whole field of English "worthies". His work is the forerunner of the more comprehensive biographical dictionaries of the eighteenth century, and though the compilers of them show scant regard for Fuller's technique or style, they pillage him for facts: as Oldys records in the Biographia Britannica, he has been "robb'd of his knowledge, by those who have no gratitude."<sup>3</sup> The Worthies is, therefore, the first of a series which culminates in The Dictionary of National Biography. It is a production, however, which, while generating future encyclopaedias, had itself been generated by more than a century of antiquarian research. The foundations for it were laid as far back as the reign of

- 
- (1) John Aubrey: Brief Lives (Collected 1669-96).  
 (2) Anthony à Wood: Athenae Oxonienses, 2 vols, 1691-92.  
 (3) Biographia Britannica, 1750, Vol. III, Under Fuller, p.2066, Note 1.

Henry VIII, when Leland began his laborious search for England's antiquities. Fuller is dependent throughout for inspiration and information on the exertions of his predecessors. The list of works known and used by Fuller, which is appended to this chapter, will help to reveal his indebtedness. Such a list alone, however, will hardly convey adequately the pressure which previous antiquarian studies exerted on the very form and structure of The Worthies. Only by surveying the movement as a whole can we discern the growth of a determining tradition which was to produce and shape the work.

One of the more constructive actions of King Henry VIII was to appoint his librarian, John Leland, as King's Antiquary and to send him forth, armed with a Royal Commission, "to peruse and dylygentlye to searche all the lybraryes of Monasteryes and collegies." The object, according to Leland's account to the King, was that "the monumentes of auneyent wryters, as wel of other nacyons as of your owne provynce, myghte be brought out of deadly darkenesse to lyvelye lyght."<sup>1</sup> The motives which galvanised Leland to his prodigious activity during the next six years were probably fourfold. First would be the bibliophile's personal feeling

---

(1) Leland: The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees, 1549.

of outrage which would prevent his watching passively the dispersal and partial destruction of the monastic libraries. Then would be the desire of the Renaissance scholar to expand the fields of knowledge, backed up by the urge of the patriotic Englishman to demonstrate the richness of his country's past. Finally Leland's Protestant zeal on his own admission led him to hope that the discovery of Old English and Medieval documents would reveal the purity of the primitive church and help expel for ever from the King's realm "all maner of supersticyon, and crafty coloured doctryne of a rowte of Romayne Byshoppes."<sup>1</sup>

Leland left behind a reputation for enormous diligence and a mass of manuscript notes of various abortive schemes. Insanity prevented his bringing any of his projected works to fruition. By his suggestions for a book "concernynge the usurped autoryte of the Byshopp of Rome and hys complayces," a work on the writers of Britain, a compilation in fifty books, De Antiquitate Britanica, and three volumes on the kings and nobles of all the races that had inhabited this island<sup>2</sup>, Leland had, however, surveyed the field and indicated the lines along which future research was to develop.

His friend John Bale, ex-carmelite monk, carried on his work. With fervid rhetoric he exhorted the lethargic English

---

(1) ibid.  
 (2) ibid.



to preserve their remaining antiquities:

"O cyties of Englande, whose glory standeth more in bellye chere, than in the serche of wysdome godlye. How cometh it, that neyther you, nor yet your ydell masmongers, have regarded thys most worthy commodyte of your contrey? I meane the conservacyon of your Antiquytees, and of the worthy labours of your lerned men: I thynke the renowme of suche a notable acte, wolde have much longer endured, than of all your belly banquettes & table tryumphes, eyther yet of your newly purchased hawles to kepe S. Georges feast in."<sup>1</sup>

He set the example by compiling a catalogue of the most illustrious British writers, based on Leland's manuscript notes but coloured by the violent prejudice of the extremist converted. "Bilious" Bale's<sup>2</sup> publication met with such success that he increased the five centuries of the 1548 edition to fourteen centuries in that of 1557-9. The work is uncritical and contains many authors of Bale's own invention. Nevertheless it met a need and became the foundation of all future compilations. Thus Fuller, though he declares that "four parts out of five" of Bale's first century are "Trash"<sup>3</sup>, yet draws largely on the catalogue for his section on writers.

---

(1) ibid., Preface by Bale, B, ii.

(2) The Worthies, Cumberland, p.220.

(3) ibid., "The Worthies General", p.26.

Leland and Bale were pioneers: the movement to investigate Britain's past did not gain real momentum until the reign of Elizabeth. Then national pride in England's achievements, developing interest in the relationship of parliament and crown, and deepening awareness of theological differences, sent men to investigate antiquities with an enthusiasm more intense and emotional than could have been generated by the zeal for pure scholarship. This warmth irradiates the learned productions of the period, transferring them from the insulated calm of the scholar's chamber to the pulsating current of contemporary life. Thus Archbishop Parker, who, active himself, was the generator of still greater activity in those around him, was far from being a disinterested investigator. It is significant that he was in touch with Matthius Flaccius, who had so triumphantly demonstrated the value of history as a controversial weapon.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Parker's interest in Anglo Saxon manuscripts was prompted partly by the hope that had activated Leland, namely, that in them he might find useful anti-papal ammunition.<sup>2</sup> Thus under his patronage an edition

- 
- (1) Flaccius was the organiser and part author of Ecclesiastica Historia, 1624. See Chap. 3, pp. 127-128. A letter from Flaccius to Parker is reproduced in John Strype's The Life and Actes of Matthew Parker, 1711, Appendix, pp. 31, 32.
- (2) The failure of the majority of Roman Catholics to respond to this form of persuasion did not deter other scholars. Thus Abraham Wheelocke, writing in 1639 to Sir Symonds D'Ewes, suggests: "I could wish that our learned /gentry

of the Gospels in Old English was brought out with a preface by John Foxe, who had come into contact with the Archbishop's circle by lodging at the house of John Day, Parker's publisher. In this preface Foxe expresses to the Queen the hope

"that the said booke imprinted thus in the Saxons letters, may remaine in the Church as a profitable example, & president of olde antiquitie, to the more confirmation of your gracious proceedinges now in the Church...so likewise have we to understand & conceave, by the edition hereof, how the religion presently taught & professed in the Church at thys present, is no new reformation of thinges lately begonne, which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the Pristine state of olde conformitie, which once it had,..."<sup>1</sup>

Parker's interest in Old English scholarship, however, found less controversial expression. He received official permission from the Privy Council to "gather up ancient Monuments throughout England, in whose Possession soever they

---

Footnote contd.

gentrie (if peace continue) would imploy some scholars to be under them (and myselfe though most unworthy of that honor would willinglie be one) to compile a body of our Divinity, I say of our doctrine out of the Saxon and Brittish writers: and to praesent the papists with these, as a rule to leade them by, if they would be constant to the best Antiquities. Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries. Ed. Sir Henry Ellis, 1843, p.157.

- (1) The Gospels...Translated...out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung of the Saxons, 1571. "To the Queenes Maiestie."



were; not indeed to keep or convert to his own Use, but to have the Sight and Reading of them."<sup>1</sup> One suspects that many of these 'ancient Monuments', in spite of this proviso, found their way into the Archbishop's magnificent library. He encouraged John Stow to bring out his editions of Medieval authors, including the Flores Historiarum in 1567 and Matthew Paris's Historia Maior in 1571. Under his stimulus William Lambarde, keeper of the Records at the Tower, published a Latin translation of Laurence Nowell's collection of Anglo Saxon laws.<sup>2</sup> Strype, the author of a life of Parker, records enthusiastically:

"And for Learning, his House was a kind of flourishing University of Learned Men: And his Domesticks, being provoked by the Archbishop's Exhortations and Precepts, often published to the World the Fruits of their Studies."<sup>3</sup>

It was doubtless under such provocation that Leonard Mascall, clerk to the Archbishop's kitchen, produced amongst such works as A profitable boke declaring dyvers approved remedies, to take out spottes and staines, in Silkes, Velvets, his work on the art of fishing mentioned by Fuller in The Worthies.<sup>4</sup>

---

(1) Strype; op. cit., p.263.

(2) Archaionomia, sive de Priscis Anglorum Legibus Libri, Sermone Anglico, Vetustate Antiquissimo, 1568.

(3) Strype: op. cit., p.502.

(4) See appendix to this chapter, p.339



Obviously a man who could prod his servants into print would be a powerful stimulant to fellow scholars, and it was largely due to Parker's enthusiasm that in 1572 the Society of Antiquaries was formed. The organisation and aims of the group have been described retrospectively by Sir Henry Spelman in the Preface to his History of Terms:

"About 42 years since, divers Gentlemen in London, studious of Antiquities, fram'd themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term, at a place agreed of, and for Learning sake to confer upon some questions in that faculty, and to supp together. The place, after a meeting or two, became certain at Darby House, where the Herald's Office is kept, and two Questions were propounded at every meeting, to be handled at the next, that follow'd; so that every man had a senight's respite to advise upon them, and then to deliver his opinion. That which seemed most material, was by one of the company (chosen for the purpose) to be enter'd in a book, that so it might remain unto posterity. The Society encreas'd daily, many persons of great worth, as well noble as other Learned, joining themselves unto it."<sup>1</sup>

---

(1) The document is reproduced in Edmund Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, 1695, "The Life of Mr Camden".

Membership cut across any distinctions of class to embrace almost every scholar of eminence. Thus William Camden, who was proud to call himself at the end of his life "filius Sampsonis pictoris Londinensis"<sup>1</sup> was a member along with Sir Walter Raleigh and Raleigh's kinsman, Richard Carew. John Stow and John Speed, the tailor topographers and chroniclers, belonged to the group along with Sir John Davies, distinguished Solicitor General for Ireland, Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff and Hereford, Sir Henry Spelman and Sir Robert Cotton.

These close contacts between scholars were enriching and survived the decline and eventual suppression of the Society in the reign of James.<sup>2</sup> Indeed such contacts were essential in an age lacking public libraries, when access to documents and records often depended on a suitable introduction. The warm friendliness of these relationships gives to the whole concourse of scholars the loyal and generous homogeneity of a group of explorers. Camden in 1590

- 
- (1) Camden left instructions in his will for this inscription to be put on two pieces of plate for the two city guilds of Painters and Cordwainers. D.N.B.
- (2) Sir Henry Spelman goes on to describe the attempt made to revive the society in 1614. "But before our next meeting, we had notice that his Majesty took a little mislike of our Society, not being enform'd that we had resolv'd to decline all matters of State. Yet hereupon we forbare to meet again,..." See Gibson, op. cit.

journeys through Wales with Godwin to push back the frontiers of knowledge by investigating Welsh antiquities, while in 1600 he penetrates with Sir Robert Cotton as far north as Carlisle. Those whose researches entailed little actual travelling nevertheless shared in the feeling of community and companionship. They exchanged ideas freely, were ready with help and advice, were anxious to introduce new scholars into the circle and eager to promote inquiries in fresh fields. Thus Lambarde and Nowell worked together, Parker encouraged Stow, Speed was assisted in his History of Great Britaine by both Sir Henry Spelman and Sir Robert Cotton, and Carew claims that it is only "master Camdens often mencioning this worke"<sup>1</sup> which has prompted him to publish his survey of Cornwall.

Undoubtedly the man to whom the majority of scholars were most indebted was Sir Robert Cotton. The difficulties of obtaining access to books had from the first been a severe handicap and the Society of Antiquaries had made a vain request to Elizabeth in 1589 for the use of a public building as a place for meeting and for housing a library. The Queen, who tended to regard all concourses of her subjects as subversive, refused the request, and it was partly

---

(1) Carew: The Survey of Cornwall, 1602, 'To the Reader'.

to his Survey to collect the history of the Church,

in order to meet this need that Sir Robert Cotton began amassing his magnificent collection at Cotton House, Westminster. Sir Thomas Bodley was collecting at the same time, and the two bibliophiles were in courteous communication. For example Sir Robert sent Sir Thomas certain manuscripts for his library in 1601. It was a splendid period for the wealthy buyer, for the dispersal of the monastic libraries had placed many books in circulation, - nor was Sir Robert above making raids on the disorganised state records. Indeed such was his collector's zeal that in 1608 he purchased a piece of land and had it dug over because he had heard that Dr Dee, late astrologer, had buried some manuscripts there. The result of all this enthusiasm was his achievement of a superb private collection, access to which was granted with generosity to the majority of scholars. Tributes to Sir Robert's helpfulness appear in practically every preface of the period. The following letter from James Ussher, his friend and Archbishop of Armagh, demonstrates the scholars' dependence on him:

"When it shall please God to restore me to my health I will endeavour to recompence what is past, not only in continueing the History of the Brittish, Scottish, and Irish beyond the yeare 600 (where I purposed to stint my selfe) untill the yeare 1000: but also (if it shall so seeme good to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>) to collect the history of the Saxon Church,



untill the comeing of the Normannes. To you only am I, and must be more beholding for furnishing me with materialls, for which I professe I am unable to render you condigne thankes, and therefore must leave that requitall to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> who setteth me on worke.

The first bookes that I shall have speciall neede of will be William of Malmesbury his booke of the antiquity of Glastonburye, which I pray procure for me as soone as you can. And if by Mr Boswell's meanes you can helpe me to another booke called Italia illustrata, which is a volume of divers late Writers that have written of the matters of Italy, it would doe me a greate pleasure."<sup>1</sup>

The mutual help and encouragement afforded by English scholars to one another occasionally broke down under the strain of rivalry. Thus we find Ralph Brooke attacking Camden's Britannia<sup>2</sup> and Augustine Vincent ultimately retaliating on behalf of the aging Camden by his animadversions on Brooke's A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings Princes...of this Realme of England.<sup>3</sup> On the whole, however, relationships remained surprisingly cordial, and common

- (1) Ellis: op. cit., p.131.  
 (2) A Discoverie of Certaine Errours...in the Much-Commended Britannia, 1596.  
 (3) A Discoverie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, Published by R.Brooke..., 1622.

interests could overleap the barrier of nationality and even of religion. Thus the great Flemish geographer, Abraham Ortelius, who had encouraged Camden in his investigations for his Britannia, writes a courteous letter of thanks in 1588 for the copy he has received, and in the postscript reveals that Richard Hakluyt and his cousin, Van Meteran, the historian, are in communication.<sup>1</sup> Camden also corresponded with the brilliant French historian, De Thou. Richard Verstegan, though an exiled Roman Catholic and an active agent for the transmission of Roman Catholic literature, was nevertheless in touch until nearly the end of his life with Sir Robert Cotton. It is true that John Pitts, who recast Bale's catalogue of English writers, substituting a mild Roman Catholic bias for the ranting Protestant prejudice of the original, does not seem to have had friendly contacts with English scholars. This, however, is hardly surprising, since he was nephew to that Nicholas Sanders whose De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani had earned for him the title of Dr Slanders.

The achievement of these Elizabethan and Jacobean scholars was immense, and a glance at the list of works appended to this chapter will indicate their range. Thus,

---

(1) This letter is mentioned in Professor Eva Taylor's Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1934, pp.10-11.

before James's death in 1625, Raphael Holinshed had produced his Chronicles, Stow, Speed and Camden their Annales and Sir Walter Raleigh his History of the World. England was being mapped and surveyed: Camden had produced his great topographical volume, the Britannia, Speed had followed suit with his Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, and John Norden, in spite of inadequate patronage<sup>1</sup>, had published descriptions of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and had left manuscript surveys of Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Guernsey, Jersey, Northamptonshire, Kent and Cornwall. Local patriotism had resulted in Stow's Survey of London and the first published county histories from Lambarde, Carew and Burton, and Sampson Erdeswicke had completed his manuscript survey of Staffordshire. Pride in England's naval achievements had inspired Camden's great friend Richard Hakluyt to compile his Principall Navigations, and Samuel Purchas had continued the work with his Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, 1625. Theological controversy had resulted in Foxe's Actes and Monuments and Sanders's

---

(1) In a letter to the Queen prefacing the presentation copy of the description of Hertfordshire, 1598, Norden complains: "I was promised sufficient allowaunce, and in hope thereof onlie I proceeded. And by attendaunce on the cause, and by travaile in the busines I have spent above a thousand markes, and five years tyme.

By which being daungerouslie indepted, much greeved, and my familie distressed, I have no other refuge but to flie unto your Maiesties never fayling bountie for releefe." On this occasion the Queen's bounty regrettably did fail.



De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani, and, by stimulating interest in the early church, had called forth Parker's De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae, Harpsfield's Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica and Mason's Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae. John Cowell had demonstrated the way in which apparently innocent investigation into the signification of words could be converted into political propaganda, and had thus paved the way for the not entirely disinterested researches of Sir Edward Coke. Guillim, Milles, Selden, Brooke and Vincent had produced five major investigations into the titles and nobility of England. Richard Verstegan had attempted to trace the origin of the English nation and had accomplished some pioneer work in etymology. Brian Twynne had laid the foundations for à Wood by his published and manuscript works on Oxford University, while Thomas Hatcher and Richard Parker, the friends of Stow and Camden, had left interesting manuscript records for Cambridge. Finally the productions of the great Medieval authors had been opened up to a wider public by the printed editions of their works brought out under the editorship of such men as Stow, Camden and Sir Henry Savile. Inevitably all this activity resulted in an immense enrichment of the intellectual soil. The discovery of and delight in the Saxon and Norman past exerted a counter balance against the enthusiasm for



classical antiquity, and gave both scholar and man of letters an unusual width of allusion and reference. Pliny and Piers Plowman, Cicero and Chaucer, Plutarch and Paris could all be drawn upon. Thus men were freed from the inhibiting effect of too servile a devotion to Greece and Rome. By investigating and exploiting their country's past they were led to look with pride on their country's present, and thus, paradoxically enough, the antiquarian movement indirectly made possible the unashamed use of contemporary situations and material.<sup>1</sup>

"The merry old man"<sup>2</sup> John Stow died in 1605, Raleigh was executed in 1618, Verstegan and Carew died in 1620, the great Camden in 1623, and Norden in 1625. Thus, though Speed and Cotton survived for a few years longer<sup>3</sup>, by James's death the first great wave had spent itself. The main tide of antiquarian interest, however, showed no sign of ebbing. Indeed it gained in momentum as the century advanced, engulfing the leisure of lawyers, doctors, architects, squires, clerics, aristocrats and artisans. Parker was dead, but another scholarly Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud,

- 
- (1) Fuller includes in The Worthies descriptions of the battles of the Civil War.
- (2) Henry Holland: Monumenta Sancti Pauli, 1614, cited in D.N.B. under Stow.
- (3) Speed died in 1629, Cotton in 1631.

continued the loving search for manuscripts and documents. Lambarde, Carew and Camden were dead, but William Bedwell took time off from his Arabic studies to write his Briefe Description of the Towne of Tottenham, William Somner, who devoted his leisure to studying "law and antiquities, and shooting with the long bow"<sup>1</sup> produced The Antiquities of Canterbury, Richard Butcher, town-clerk of Stamford, brought out his Survey, and Sir William Dugdale, inspired by Burton, produced as a climax the finest of the county histories, The Antiquities of Warwickshire. Archbishop Ussher continued the tradition of ecclesiastical antiquarianism with his Ecclesiarum Antiquitates. Under his direct encouragement Sir James Ware was led to investigate the Irish past. John Phillpot emulated the activities of his heraldic predecessors and published his Catalogues. Sir Roger Twyseden, Dr William Wats, Abraham Wheelocke and John Selden continued the editorial tradition of Stow, Savile and Camden. Sir Edward Coke conducted his passionate defence of the law against the King's prerogative. Elias Ashmole directed his bizarre intelligence to the study of alchemy. Sir Thomas Browne demonstrated that the contemplation of antiquities could stimulate the imagination to sublime expression: Inigo Jones, with inaccuracy that surpassed Sir Thomas's but literary

(1) D.N.B. under Somner.

genius which fell far short, attributed Stonehenge to the Romans.

Throughout the troubled reign of Charles and the period of Civil War and Commonwealth the tradition of antiquarian study had survived unbroken. Indeed contemporary conditions had, if anything, stimulated scholars to greater activity. As political and theological controversy intensified, so more strenuous search was made for appropriate documents to justify opposing positions. The fear of destruction to buildings and monuments from fire, bombardment and deliberate defacement induced scholars to work under pressure to preserve records of existing antiquities. Sir Henry Spelman, friend of Camden and a venerable survival from the pioneer days, encouraged, exhorted and organised activities right up to the outbreak of open hostilities. This was the man whose enthusiasm for study had caused him to transplant his entire family in 1612 to London, in order that he might be near Sir Robert Cotton's library. He had in 1626 put out the first volume of his Glossary up to 'L'; in 1639, when he was seventy-five, his monumental Councils, Decrees, Laws and Constitutions of the English Church was published. He had encouraged Weever in his compilation of Ancient Funerall Monuments. Under his stimulus Wheelocke undertook the editing of Bede. He founded the first Anglo Saxon lectureship at Cambridge. One of his last and most germinal acts was



to introduce the young William Dugdale to the great Yorkshire antiquary, Roger Dodsworth, with the result that the latter's manuscript collections were organised, supplemented, and put into print as the Monasticon Anglicanum.<sup>1</sup> Spelman's activities thus directly link Elizabethan and Restoration scholarship.

Fuller's History of the Worthies of England is an impressive product of this tradition of antiquarian scholarship which had been developing for more than a century. To its compilation Fuller devoted his energies over a long period: indeed the collecting of materials for it became almost a life-time's hobby. As early as the outbreak of the civil war he was conducting his investigations, for his journeys with Lord Hopton's forces provided him with excellent opportunities for gleaning snippets of information. "With the progress of the War he marched from place to place, and where ever there happened for the better accommodation of the Army any reasonable stay, he allotted it with great satisfaction to his beloved studies."<sup>2</sup> "Indeed his businesse and study then, was a kind of Errantry, having proposed to himself a more exact Collection of the

- 
- (1) The first volume appeared in 1655, but the second and third volumes did not come out until 1661 and 1673.  
 (2) Anon Life, p.26.



Worthies General of England, in which others had waded before, but he resolved to go through."<sup>1</sup>

At one point, if we are to believe the elogist, Fuller contemplated abandoning the whole work:

"Then indeed such an amazement struck the Loyal pious Doctor, when he first heard of that execrable Design intended against the Kings person, and saw the villany proceed so uncontrollably, that he not onely surceased but resolved to abandon that lucklesse work [as he was then pleased to call it.] For what shall I write said he of the Worthies of England, when this Horrid Act, will bring such an infamy upon the whole Nation as will ever cloud and darken all its former, and suppress its future rising glories,"<sup>2</sup>

This may have been nothing more than a rhetorical outburst appropriate to the occasion but not representing a genuine intention. When, however, it is remembered how important a part the patriotic urge played in impelling such men as Stow, Camden and Hakluyt to their researches, it is quite possible that Fuller temporarily lost the impulse to continue, feeling that his countrymen had irrevocably disgraced themselves. Nevertheless his enthusiasm did ultimately revive, and by 1659 much of his material was organised and

---

(1) ibid., p.27.

(2) ibid., p.39.

might then have been published but for the controversy with Heylin.

"Lastly, I have a Book of the Lives of all English Worthies, (God send it good success !) which had been in print, if not obstructed by the intervening of this Contest;"<sup>1</sup>

By the Restoration the work was well under way again, in spite of having been partially rewritten. The reversion to Fuller of the revenues from his prebend of Salisbury provided funds for financing the venture - and incidentally made it unnecessary for him to burden the volume with the multiplicity of dedications which, while helping to pay for the expensive Church History, had roused the derision of his contemporaries. When Fuller died in August, 1661, much of the work was in the hands of the printers. His son saw the remaining sections through the press<sup>2</sup>, and the first edition appeared in 1662. The long anticipated publication was an immediate success. Many people probably bought it from the same motive of innocent snobbery as prompted Pepys to read a copy 'till two o'clock:

"Musique practice a good while, then to Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr Fuller's "England's Worthies", the

---

(1) The Appeal of Iniured Innocence, 1659, Part I, p.42.

(2) These were the sections under Derby, Dorset, Gloucester, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Oxford, Rutland, with part of Kent and Devonshire, and the city of London with Westminster.

first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it, till it was two o'clock before I thought of the time going, and so I rose and went home to dinner, being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and arms) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk."<sup>1</sup>

Others, with no personal interest in the contents, have found the combination of information and entertainment irresistible.

By this compilation of The Worthies of England Fuller has established himself as one of the company of great seventeenth century antiquaries. Indeed in the course of his researches for it, and for his earlier Church History, he draws on the productions of all the scholars in the movement from Leland onwards, and establishes personal relationships as a fellow antiquary with those working contemporaneously. Thus, some time before his death in 1654, John Selden showed an interest in Fuller's projected Church History of Britain.

"The learned Mr Selden, (on his own desire) honoured my first four Centuries with reading, and returned them unto me some weeks after, without any considerable alterations."<sup>2</sup>

Archbishop Ussher earned Fuller's gratitude by encouraging him in his projects and unselfishly passing on information:

(1) Pepys: Diary, Feb. 10th, 1661-2.

(2) The Appeal of Iniured Innocence, Part I, p.23.

(3) Ussher's Britannia, Vol. III, p.2361, Note V.



"Long may he live for the Glory of God, and Good of his Church. For whereas many learned men, though they be deep Abysses of Knowledge, yet (like the Caspian Sea, receiving all, and having no Out-let) are loth to impart ought to others; this bright Sun is as bountiful to deal abroad his Beans, as such dark Dales as myself, are glad, and delighted to receive them."<sup>1</sup>

Elias Ashmole generously paid for the engraving of the two views of Lichfield Cathedral included in the Church History, and Fuller makes an exception to his rule of not including living people in the Worthies by honouring him with a brief mention. Daniel King, editor of The Vale-Royall of England, earns particularly warm acknowledgment for help given. To Fuller he

"really verifieth his own Anagram,

DANIEL KING,

I KIND ANGEL

And indeed he hath been a Tutelar one to me, gratifying me with whatsoever I had need to use, and he had ability to bestow."<sup>2</sup>

Izaak Walton visited Fuller while he was living at Waltham, and Oldys has preserved a delightful record of one of their conversations.<sup>3</sup> William Somner, Registrar of the

---

(1) The Church History, Book II, p.150.

(2) The Worthies, Cheshire, p.186.

(3) Biographia Britannica, Vol. III, p.2061, Note P.



Ecclesiastical Courts of Canterbury, was most generous in allowing Fuller access to documents and is referred to as "my worthy Friend"<sup>1</sup>, as is also Sir William Dugdale<sup>2</sup>, author of The Antiquities of Warwickshire. Obviously Fuller conducted his researches as an acknowledged member of the antiquarian circle, participating in that sense of community and mutual helpfulness which gives this group of scholars their cohesion. He had his full share, too, of that lively but patient curiosity which distinguished such tireless investigators as Leland and Camden. He indulged, as they had done, in the antiquarian excursion, gleaning material not solely from books, but from personal observation and human contacts. The writer of the anonymous life has left a delightful account of his methods on these expeditions.

"In what place soever therefore he came, of remark especially, he spent frequently most of his time in views and researches of their Antiquities and Church-Monuments, insinuating himself into the acquaintance (which frequently ended in a lasting friendship) of the learnedst and gravest persons residing within the place, thereby to informe himself fully of those things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correspondence the Doctor maintained and enjoyed by this means.

- 
- (1) The Worthies, Canterbury, p.100.  
 (2) ibid., Warwickshire, p.134.

Nor did the good Doctor ever refuse to light his Candle in investigating Truth from the meanest persons discovery. He would endure contentedly an hours or more impertinence from any aged Church-officer, or other superannuated people for the gleaning of two lines to his purpose. And though his spirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind ready and answerable to that activity of dispatch, yet in these inquests he would stay and attend those circular rambles till they came to a poynt; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse Antiquity. Nor did he ever dismissee any such impotent Adjutators or Helpers (as he pleased to style them) without giving them money and chearful thanks besides."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller gleaned material from personal observation, but inevitably much of his information was drawn from the works of his predecessors. Reference is made in The Worthies to almost every production of importance from these pre-Restoration scholars, as the list of works appended will testify. Several minor pieces and literary curiosities have also crept in, and bear witness to the range of Fuller's reading and the width of his sympathies.<sup>2</sup> The importance

---

(1) Anon Life, pp.27-29.

(2) It is interesting that Fuller knew an early Latin poem by Thomas Hobbes describing a visit to the Peak District. Corbet's jovial muse could plead benefit of clergy. Not every divine, however, would care to show acquaintance with Suckling's collection.

of discovering exactly which works were known to Fuller, however, does not rest in the satisfaction to be gained from interpreting his marginal references correctly, nor even from noticing where he went for details of information. What makes a survey of his sources, and therefore of the whole antiquarian movement and its offshoots, essential, is that only after The Worthies has been placed against such a background can we understand the very structure which the book assumed.

Fuller's primary aim is that of the biographer; he wishes to carry out Bacon's advice and provide some coherent report of the "worthy personages" of England. His arrangement of his material, however, is one which no modern biographical encyclopaedist would contemplate, but which would suggest itself inevitably to a writer versed in the seventeenth century antiquarian tradition. The whole volume is divided under counties, and the worthies are thus grouped not alphabetically but according to locality. Moreover, before the brief lives are given, a superficial topographical survey is made. It is true that current theories compared geography and history to "two Sisters dearly loving, not without pitie (I had almost said impiety) to be kept asunder."<sup>1</sup> Fuller, however, can scarcely have been motivated

---

(1) Heylin: Cosmography, 1652, p.20.



by any subtle considerations of the effect of environment on character when making this arrangement. Obviously he is accepting this method of division because of the automatic pressure which Camden's Britannia and the later county histories exerted. When handling a mass of material it was inevitable that he should organise it in a fashion made familiar by the work of his friends, Somner and Dugdale, and their predecessors. It was especially easy for him to take over the system of these early county historians because their interests were primarily antiquarian. They paid little attention to existing geographical conditions and concentrated rather upon the man-made features and eminent families of the district. As Professor Eva Taylor has said, to them "a region was merely of interest as the seat of its human population."<sup>1</sup> Thus by carrying a stage further this emphasis on the actual inhabitants of each county, Fuller would naturally evolve the scheme of a biographical dictionary divided according to locality.

The topographical details which preface the sections on lives are traditional and perfunctory. A brief attempt is made to indicate the extent of the county, its situation, the main rivers, and, where noteworthy, the quality of the air. Thus of Middlesex we are informed that

---

(1) Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1934, p.9.

(2) Ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.77.



"the ayr generallly is most healthful, especially about High-Gate, where the expert Inhabitants report, that divers that have been long visited with sickness, not curable by Physick, have in short time recovered, by that sweet salutary ayr."<sup>1</sup>

Natural commodities are mentioned, and then the principal manufactured goods. Descriptions of the most important buildings follow, but, though occasionally we feel that Fuller is describing something which he has actually seen, as when of Ely Minster he declares: "This presenteth it self afar off to the eye of the traveller, and on all sides at a great distance, not onely maketh a promise, but giveth earnest of the beauty thereof,"<sup>2</sup> usually the accounts are so slight as to convey no sensation of first hand knowledge. Here doubtless Fuller has done less than justice to his exertions, for describing his methods of research he claims: "I have gon, and rid, and wrote, and sought and search'd with my own and friends Eyes, to make what Discoveries I could therein."<sup>3</sup>

The inclusion of "wonders" was inevitable, for a section on the striking and peculiar features of external nature had found a place in every previous geographical work, including Higden's Polychronicon which Fuller knew. One 'wonder'

---

(1) The Worthies, p.176.

(2) ibid., Cambridgeshire, p.149.

(3) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.78.

which had acquired during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a literature of its own was the medicinal spring, and Fuller draws on the works of two physicians, Edward Jorden and John French for information on this subject. Interest in proverbs had continued unbroken from Saxon times: the Elizabethan and Jacobean delight in pithy sententious sayings caused many collections to be made as complements to the apothegms and adages from the classics. The section on proverbs in The Worthies is further testimony to Fuller's abiding enjoyment of their terse good sense, nor is this portion without precedent, for Camden had included proverbs in his Remaines.<sup>1</sup> Thus behind the non-biographical material of The Worthies lie established scholarly and literary traditions.

The actual biographies which constitute the main bulk of The Worthies are arranged in a fashion which again seems incomprehensible unless we know the background of the work. Thus there is no simple alphabetical or chronological order even within the boundaries of the counties. Instead the lives are grouped under ranks, offices and professions. Thus Princes, Saints, Martyrs and Confessors are classed as

---

(1) Remaines Concerning Britain, 1614 - 2nd edition. Camden's collection of proverbs first appeared in this edition and was supplemented 1623, 1636. The sixth edition of 1657 contains the largest group, pp.288-306.

the "First Quaternian of Persons". Then follow pre- and post-Reformation ecclesiastics, statesmen, capital judges and writers on the common law, soldiers and seamen, writers in general, benefactors to the public, and "memorable persons". By grouping the lives in this fashion Fuller is falling in with established literary precedents. Thus behind the section on Princes lies the tradition of royal biography and also the various heraldic publications surveying the Kings and Nobility of England. Fuller may be somewhat sceptical of the credentials of many saints, but the existence of the martyrologies makes it inevitable that he should devote a part of The Worthies to them, and he draws largely on the English Martyrologe of J.W., a Catholic priest. Foxe's Actes and Monuments lies behind the groups of Martyrs and Confessors. The practice of drawing up catalogues of Bishops and Cardinals, as carried out by Godwin and Harrington, and of collecting the lives of clerics, as in the works of Holland, Lupton and Clarke, dictate the sections on ecclesiastics. Philipot's Catalogue of the Chancellors of England, the Lord Keepers of the Great Seale: and the Lord Treasurers of England underlies much of the division devoted to statesmen. Though Fuller uses Bale and Pitts with some caution, yet their compilations naturally supply him with information for his writers. Hakluyt and Purchas suggest the section on sea-men. The group of

benefactors to the public is provoked partly by theological controversy. It was in answer to Popish taunts of Protestant slackness in almsgiving that Andrew Willet drew up his Catalogue of Charitable Works Done Within the Space of Sixty Years.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that Fuller divides his benefactors into pre- and post-Reformation.

Fuller's method of grouping his biographies therefore, represents no innovation on his part, but is instead dictated by the practice of his predecessors. The tradition of collecting lives according to rank or profession, a tradition Fuller had exploited in The Holy and Profane States, was so established that Fuller automatically adopts it even for his comprehensive volume where a simpler system would have been preferable. When it is realised that behind The Worthies lies the dual tradition of this method of biographical compilation on the one hand, and of the topographical survey and county history on the other, then the complexity of the structure is explained. What seems like deliberate over-complication on Fuller's part is revealed as a natural mode of procedure for a writer subject to these pressures.

This does not exhaust the influence of Fuller's predecessors. Not only do they supply much of the subject matter

---

(1) Synopsis Papismi, 1634. The Catalogue is bound up with this fifth edition.



and impose indirectly a certain form on The Worthies, but their activities largely account for the liberal citation of Medieval writers by Fuller. Had it not been for the labours of sixteenth and seventeenth century editors he could scarcely have drawn as readily as he does on a comparatively wide range of Medieval authors. Moreover, it is the enthusiasm of the antiquaries for manuscript sources which has infected Fuller with a like zeal for original documents. Earle in his character of the antiquary had written derisively: "Printed bookes he contemnes, as a novelty of this latter age; but a Manuscript he pores on everlastingly, especially if the cover be all Moth-eaten, and the dust make a Parenthesis betweene every Syllable."<sup>1</sup> Certainly this return to original sources, whether records, inscriptions, coins or monuments, was the dominant feature of the movement. Fuller is at pains to inform us in The Worthies that his sources of information may be "referred to 3. heads; First, Printed Books; Secondly, Records in Publick Offices; Thirdly, Manuscripts in the Possession of private Gentlemen."<sup>2</sup> He has consulted church registers. He has incorporated material gleaned from Statutes<sup>3</sup> and Patent Rolls.<sup>4</sup> He has

- 
- (1) Micro-cosmographie, "An Antiquarie", No. 7.  
 (2) The Worthies, 'The Worthies General', pp.64-65.  
 (3) ibid., Bucks, p.127, Essex, p.318.  
 (4) ibid., Barks, p.111.

carefully transcribed "a List of the Gentry of the Land", made in the reign of Henry VI and "sollemnly returned by select Commissioners into the Chancery, thence into the Records in the Tower."<sup>1</sup> This list, together with a catalogue of sheriffs from Henry II onwards, constitutes a considerable part of the work. By employing these original sources Fuller has demonstrated that though hanging out "no antique hat for a sign"<sup>2</sup> he is yet blood brother to Earle's scholar.

The seventeenth century antiquary laboured under severe difficulties. Even printed books could prove hard of access, and admission to some private collection - usually inadequately catalogued - was vital. Luckily Sir Thomas Cotton showed something of the same generosity towards scholars as had distinguished his father. Abraham Wheelocke, writing to his friend Sir Symonds D'Ewes, declares of him:

"he is of a very sweete demeanure; and takes it an honor to himselfe and familie, to serve our noble and learned gentry, with his rare Antiquities, and that in his owne name."<sup>3</sup>

Fuller was fortunate enough to be granted access to the Cotton collection, and expresses his gratitude in The Worthies, "And here give me leave to register my self amongst the meanest of those who through the favour of Sir Thomas Cotton

---

(1) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.42.

(2) H. & P.S., p.71.

(3) Ellis; op. cit., p.159.

(inheriting as well the courtesie as estate of his father Sir Robert) have had admittance into that worthy treasury."<sup>1</sup> In addition he was able to make use of the new and popular library of Sion College. This had been opened in 1631 primarily for the benefit of the London diocesan clergy, but certain chambers were available for scholars wishing to reside there for a time. Fuller seems to have occupied one fairly frequently during the last years of his life. The preface to the Church History, and Mixt Contemplations in Better Times, are dated from there, and Fuller was on friendly terms with John Spencer, the librarian, for whom he wrote a commendatory preface to the latter's Things New and Old, a compilation which contained extracts from his own works. In addition to these London libraries Fuller made use of the collections in the Colleges at Cambridge, and probably of Sir Thomas Bodley's library at Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Thus as regards accessibility to printed works, he was in a happy position.

Fuller must have suffered, however, along with all scholars undertaking research into original documents, from the confused state of the public records. These were scattered in various repositories throughout London. Thus the

---

(1) The Worthies, Hunts, p.52.

(2) Fuller refers to Mr Thomas Barlow, Keeper of Bodley's Library, as "my worthy friend" The Worthies, Westmoreland, p.142.



exchequer records might be tracked down to the Court of Receipt, the New Palace in Westminster, the old Chapter House or the cloisters at the Abbey, or the offices of the two Remembrancers. The Chancery Records were distributed over the House and Chapel of the Master of the Rolls, as well as the Tower of London. The Tower was indeed the chief repository for State Papers at this period, and there a certain degree of order prevailed, due to the energetic supervision of the various Keepers from Lambarde onwards. In general, however, organisation and adequate cataloguing were lacking. One or two attempts had been made to guide the diligent antiquary through the maze of manuscripts. Thus Selden had appended a list of documents and the places where they might be found to his History of Tithes, 1618. More helpful still were the two guides for the seventeenth century research student, Direction for the Search of Records, 1622, and The Repertorie of Records, 1631, drawn up by Thomas Powell, a Welsh attorney. These supplied much vital information, including a rough catalogue of the contents of the various repositories and how much to pay the keepers.<sup>1</sup> Just how difficult was the task of the scholar, however, even with

---

	£	s	d
(1) For sight of the Kalendar	0	1	0
For sight of the Record	0	0	4
For every sheet of the Copy	0	0	8
<u>A Repertorie of Records, 1631, p.4.</u>			



such works to assist him, will be obvious from a few extracts. Thus the reader is informed that Sir Robert Pye, the Remembrancer of the Receipt, has a great number of accompts from the Tellers "in Bags and Presses, in an Office close by the Court of Receipt. And in another Office which he hath belowe, neare his home."<sup>1</sup> Within the actual Treasury of the Court of Receipt the scholar might find himself compelled to rummage through various bags hanging from the walls, including one engagingly "intituled Bagamanorum. In which are Inquisitions made in divers Shires through the hundreds, touching Liberties &c."<sup>2</sup> The motley receptacles included also "a Basket wherein are contained 8 Bulles of Popes of Ratification, of the liberties of England."<sup>3</sup> In the Cloister at Westminster were "two Chests under the Window," which contained "fifteene Buckram bags, and two great Boxes, wherein are the Leagues betwixt the Kings of England, and sundry other Nations."<sup>4</sup> Scholars searching for manuscripts under these chaotic conditions not surprisingly welcomed any help in the tracking down of required documents. We can understand Fuller's gratitude to Master John Witt and Master Francis Boyton who rendered him assistance when he

- 
- (1) ibid., p.16.  
 (2) ibid., p.26.  
 (3) ibid., p.22.  
 (4) ibid., p.96.
- Observing every participle according to the  
 Verbalis. 'The Worthless General', p.45.  
 the 1st person plural. "But we have in  
 conformed our Transcript to the original  
 signatures, though afterwards taking the  
 boldness to interpose our opinion in our observations,"  
ibid., p.44. This plural form might be an acknowledgment  
 of Riley's hand in the transcription, but could also be  
 nothing more than the editorial "we".

"was forced to repair to the Originals in the Exchequer."<sup>1</sup>  
 For the Keeper of the Records in the Tower he has particularly warm praise.

"Master William Riley was then Master of those jewels, for so they deserve to be accompted, seeing a Scholar would preferre that place before the keeping of all the Prisoners in the Tower. I know not whether more to commend his care in securing, dexterity in finding, diligence in perusing them, courtesie in communicating such Copies of them, as my occasions required, thanks being all the fees expected from me."<sup>2</sup>

In view of the comprehensive nature of the help proffered by Riley it is just as well that Fuller clearly indicates his own share in the List of Gentry. Otherwise we might consider this just another product of the Record Keeper's helpfulness.<sup>3</sup>

(1) The Worthies, "The Worthies General", p.65.

(2) ibid., p.65.

(3) When describing the method of transcribing this catalogue, Fuller writes: "I have here presented as I found them, intending neither to mingle nor mangle, conceiving that, if I were found guilty either of Omissions or Alterations, it might justly shake the credit of the whole Catalogue....I here voluntarily confess myself Superstitious in observing every Punctillo according to the Original." The Worthies, 'The Worthies General', p.43.

Later he uses the 1st person plural. "But we have in all particulars conformed our Transcript to the original in all possible exactness, though afterwards taking the boldness to interpose our opinion in our observations," ibid., p.44. This plural form might be an acknowledgment of Riley's hand in the transcription, but could also be nothing more than the editorial "we".

Fuller went for information to the printed works of his predecessors and also to such records as their example inspired him to search out. The final, and perhaps from our point of view the most valuable, source of information consisted of "Instructions received from the nearest Relations, to those Persons, whose Lives we have presented."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes Fuller relies on his own memory, and recalls that "JOHN SMITH Captain, was born in this County, as Master Arthur Smith his Kinsman and my School-master, did inform me."<sup>2</sup> Sometimes he is given information by word of mouth, as when he is told of Giles Fletcher's birthplace by "Mr. Ramsey, Minister of Rougham in Norfolk, who married the Widow of Mr. Giles Fletcher Son to this Doctor."<sup>3</sup> Frequently he receives assistance by letter. Thus he incorporates the whole of Edward Waterhouse's account of his great-uncle, Sir Edward Waterhouse, courteously suggesting that the reader has doubtless noticed "the alteration and improvement of my Language in this Character."<sup>4</sup> Most people were only too ready to supply information which might preserve their own names or the memory of their ancestors and friends for posterity, so that Fuller can declare:

---

(1) The Worthies, 'The Worthies General', p.65.

(2) ibid., Cheshire, p.179.

(3) ibid., Kent, p.78 (marginal note).

(4) ibid., Herts., p.22.



"I must gratefully confess, I have met with many who could not, never with any who would not furnish me with information herein."<sup>1</sup>

Consequently his acknowledgments cover a wide range, from Henry, Earl of Monmouth<sup>2</sup> to Mr White the Druggist<sup>3</sup> and Mr Stone the Stone-cutter<sup>4</sup>.

The Worthies of England is a compilation, and consequently some review of sources is essential. It must ultimately be considered, however, as a separate entity, a work in its own right. As a dictionary of biography it has its limitations. When Fuller exclaims:

"How much more when men have many good Virtues, with some Faults, ought the latter to be buried in their Graves with forgetfulness" <sup>5</sup> and proceeds to write many of his biographies on this principle, we can appreciate that he is acting according to his lights and contemporary theory. Nevertheless we can legitimately regret the consequent lack of light and shade in some of the portraits.<sup>6</sup> Again, we can admire

(1) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.65.

(2) ibid., Herts., p.24.

(3) ibid., Hunts, p.50.

(4) ibid., Montgomeryshire, p.46.

(5) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.73.

(6) In spite of this concession to the theories of the time, Fuller went a long way in The Worthies towards the establishment of a more objective approach to biography. See pp.324-326 of this chapter.



Fuller's exertions and the enormous range of his researches and still feel that a little extra effort might have enabled him to fill in some of the blanks. He is justified in desiring that the reader shall depart "uninformed" rather than "misinformed",<sup>1</sup> but a slightly greater enthusiasm for dates might have made it possible for him to have inserted, for instance, the time of Shakespeare's death. The sheer bulk of the undertaking made it inevitable that Fuller should fail to do justice to many of the characters, and he quite openly refers the reader to other works where more complete information is given.<sup>2</sup> Brevity, however, does not justify the lack of subtlety and discrimination in some of Fuller's assessments. There is evidence of generosity, lively curiosity, especially in the superficial manifestations of character, and a sharp eye for the quirks and oddities of behaviour. Any profound sense of the deeper springs of character, however, or any genuine response to poetry, is missing, and accordingly his lives of authors are particularly inadequate. Thus it is not enough to record of Chaucer:

"He was a terse and elegant Poet, (the Homer of his Age) and so refined our English Tongue, Ut inter expolitas gentium

---

(1) ibid., Worthies General, p.60.

(2) He refers the reader to Walton's life of Donne, London, p.221.

linguas potuit rectè quidem connumerari. His skill in Mathematicks was great, (being instructed therein by Joannes Sombus and Nicholas of Linn); which he evidenceth in his book De Sphaera. He being Contemporary with Gower, was living Anno Dom. 1402."<sup>1</sup>

Fuller reveals in his handling of sources the critical acumen we should expect of him. Thus he corrects Weever's account of the sum paid by Saint Agelnoth for the arm of Saint Augustine of Hippo by consulting Godwin, and discovering that the Bishop, "though reporting the hundred Talents of silver, mentioneth not at all that of Gold."<sup>2</sup> He comments on the inadequacy of Abraham Darcy's translation of Camden's Annales.<sup>3</sup> He improves on Bale and Pitts, and is on several occasions able "to guide our guides."<sup>4</sup> He never merely copies, but subjects the information to critical examination. Yet in his handling of sources we are conscious of one major defect. Fuller does not always absorb the facts and make them his own, transmuting them by his intelligence and imagination into coherent and integral shape as he did with such signal success in The Historie of the Holy Warre. Instead he tends to juxtapose snippets of information

---

(1) ibid., Oxfordshire, p.338.

(2) ibid., Kent, p.68.

(3) ibid., Berks., p.94 (Marginal note).

(4) ibid., Cumberland, p.220, Gloucestershire, p.258, Leicestershire, p.132.

without fusing them, or alternatively to include bulky and undigested sections from the hands of others. The account of the life of Sir Edward Waterhouse already cited<sup>1</sup> is one instance: the letters of Edward VI transcribed by Bishop Ussher are another.<sup>2</sup> These latter are very interesting in themselves, but out of proportion in the general scheme. Thus it is impossible to feel any sustained literary purpose in The Worthies. The work, in spite of its elaborate "method" tends to disintegrate into isolated sections, each varying considerably in quality.

Perhaps the limitation of The Worthies which we most regret, however, is the scarcity of information about Fuller's contemporaries. Just those lives which he could have described from direct personal knowledge he omits, in accordance with his principle of not including people still alive. Occasionally he departs from his rule, but only in order to give the barest outline. He is in this practice merely following the example of previous historians and biographers. Thus Bishop Godwin had declared that he judged it "neither seemely to praise, nor safe to reprehend (how iustly soever) those men, that either by themselves, their neere friends or posterity yet living, may seeme either to have

---

(1) See ante, p.315.

(2) The Worthies, Middlesex, pp.179-181.

allured me to flatter, or feared me from disclosing that truth, which otherwise I would have uttered."<sup>1</sup>

Though Fuller has, therefore, every justification for his decision that "not the Quick but (the) Dead Worthies properly pertain to my pen,"<sup>2</sup> especially considering the nature of the times in which he was living, it is nevertheless a matter for regret that The Worthies provides us with no adequate account of the main figures of the Civil War.

The Worthies of England suffers from limitations imposed by the scope of the undertaking, the critical theories of the time, and defects in Fuller's sensibility. When every deficiency has been acknowledged, however, the achievement remains impressive. It is a very substantial storehouse of information to have been assembled by one man. It required an unusually comprehensive outlook to seize on such a scheme; it required indefatigable energy, mental buoyancy and moral integrity to carry it out to a successful conclusion throughout all the upheavals of a period of civil war. Fuller has preserved a mass of information that might otherwise have been submerged and lost. Regarded as a mere compilation of information, The Worthies is an extraordinary feat.

---

(1) A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, 1601, 'To the Reader'.

(2) The Worthies, 'The Worthies General', p.17.



It cannot with justice be so regarded, however, because it has more to offer than specific facts. Other works fulfil the function of mere books of reference: it is the distinction of The Worthies to be both informative and entertaining. This is due to Fuller's natural wit and liveliness of style reinforcing his avowed aim "to entertain the Reader with delight."<sup>1</sup>

"I confess, the subject is but dull in it self to tell the time and place of mens birth, and deaths, their names, with the names, with the names and number of their books, and therefore this bare Sceleton of Time, Place, and Person, must be fleshed with some pleasant passages. To this intent I have purposely interlaced (not as meat, but as condiment) many delightful stories, that so the Reader if he do not arise (which I hope and desire) Religiosior or Doctior, with more Piety or Learning, at least he may depart Jucundior, with more pleasure and lawful delight."<sup>2</sup>

Fuller triumphantly achieves his aim. His natural wit enlivens the most intrinsically dull life: he can even convert lack of information into a merit by turning it into subject for jest.

"Saint ALRIKE born and bred in this County, led an Eremitticall life in a forrest near to Carlile. This man

---

(1) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.1.

(2) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.2.

did not more macerate himself with constant fasting, then time since hath consumed his memory, which hath reduced it to nothing more then the scelleton of his name, without any Historicall passages to flesh and fill up the same."<sup>1</sup>

In addition his volume possesses all the charm of the unexpected. We read of a Cornish physician who was unorthodox enough to prescribe milk and apples for his patients, and, somewhat to Fuller's surprise, "recovered many out of desperate extremities," and pass straightway to a brief account of Hugarius the Levite, writer of one hundred and ten homilies.<sup>2</sup> A vivid description of the barbarous Gubbings, descendants of "two strumpets"<sup>3</sup> is followed on the next page by a character of S. Boniface. In view of such variety only a churlish reader would fail to depart 'jucundior'.

The finest sections of The Worthies, moreover, have genuine literary merit and represent the culmination of Fuller's power as a biographer. The work may be a mosaic, but sections of the mosaic are of high technical quality, of arresting vigour, even occasionally of surprising beauty. Brevity is no drawback to the following vivid character of John Sakeld; rather it intensifies the irony.

---

(1) ibid., Cumberland, p.217.

(2) ibid., Cornwall, p.202.

(3) ibid., Devonshire, p.248.

[John] SAKELD was a branch of a Right Worshipfull Family in this County, bred a Divine beyond the Seas, but whether Jesuit or Secular Priest I know not. Coming over into England to Angle for Proselites, it seems his Line broke, and he was cast into prison. Hence he was brought out, and presented to K. James; by whose Arguments (and a Benefice bestowed on him in Somersetshire) he became a Protestant.

This he used in all companies to boast of, that he was a Royall Convert,

Nobisque dedit solatia victor And was it not a Noble thing,  
Thus to be conquered by a King?

Indeed His Majesty in some of his works styleth him the Learned Salkeld, which the other much vaunted of, often telling it to such who well knew it before, for fear they might forget it. His preaching was none of the best, and he retained some Popish (though not Opinions) Fancies to the day of his death. I have heard much of his discourse more of his own praise, then to his own praise in my judgement. But his true character may be taken out of the Book he wrot of Angells. He died about the year 1638."<sup>1</sup>

In the same vein, but more developed, is Fuller's account of that "Bubble of Emptinesse and Meteor of Ostentation", Thomas Stuckley.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to this delightful irony is

(1) ibid., Cumberland, p.221.

(2) ibid., Devonshire, pp.258-259.

the note of judicious appreciation sounded in the life of Sir John Doderidg<sup>1</sup> and the warmth of Fuller's testimony to such pious and meek divines as James Cranford of Warwick<sup>2</sup> and Richard Sibs of Suffolk.<sup>3</sup>

The contribution made by The Worthies to literature, however, rests not only on the merit of individual lives, but on the impact made by the work as a whole. In spite of being still inhibited to some extent by contemporary theories, Fuller goes a long way in this volume towards freeing biography from the shackles of didacticism. He had been tentatively advancing towards a more objective view of life-writing in The Holy and Profane States, but the nature of the work had tended to confine him within the bounds of a moral purpose. Now in The Worthies he joyously proclaims that his aims are "To entertain the Reader with Delight" and "To procure some honest profit to my self."<sup>4</sup> Such frankness is revolutionary. True, Fuller makes his concession to the times by mentioning in addition three conventional motives.<sup>5</sup> True, he doubtless failed to realise the full implications of his statements. But the entertainment of the reader and

- 
- (1) ibid., Devonshire, p.257.  
 (2) ibid., Warwickshire, p. 128-129.  
 (3) ibid., Suffolk, pp.69-70.  
 (4) ibid., 'The Worthies General', p.1.  
 (5) First, To gain some Glory to God. Secondly, To preserve the Memories of the Dead. Thirdly, To present Examples to the Living," ibid., p.1.



financial benefit to the author had for the first time been offered as legitimate motives for a writer.<sup>1</sup> Two conceptions which were to undermine the whole structure of edifying biography had been publicly stated.

Fuller may not have been completely aware of the import of his remarks: certainly he must have been fully conscious of the fact that in his actual practice he was enlarging the scope of biography. He includes "memorable persons" who are remarkable not for any social eminence, nor for unblemished virtue or notorious vice, but for such amoral distinctions as having had nineteen children at five births,<sup>2</sup> or having carried on the back "six bushells of Wheaten Meal, ...and upon them all the Miller, a Lubber of four and twenty years of age."<sup>3</sup> As well as widening the scope, Fuller does much to enhance the dignity of biography as a separate art form, since the sheer bulk of The Worthies, encompassing some hundreds of lives, must have gone far towards impressing on the sceptical the importance and fascination of the study. The History of the Worthies of England is not, therefore, merely a heroic attempt to carry out a Baconian project, nor

- 
- (1) Donald Stauffer was the first to notice and comment on this in his English Biography before 1700, 1930, p.238.  
(2) The Worthies, Beds., p.119.  
(3) ibid., Cornwall, p.205.

is it a purely derivative work of a second hand nature. It is instead a germinal production which considerably contributed to the establishment of biography as an independent literary genre.

Appendix to Chapter VI

The following list is not intended as a complete record of every citation made in The Worthies. Purely commonplace references to Pliny, Plutarch etc. have been omitted as possessing no special significance. Every genuine source, apart from various state papers and private letters, has, however, been recorded, together with the majority of the works to which Fuller made even passing reference. The titles have been reproduced where possible from the British Museum Catalogue, but some have been taken from the Dictionary of National Biography, the Bodleian Catalogue in the British Museum, and various scattered works of reference. No attempt has been made to trace the precise editions used by Fuller. In the Medieval section authors have been arranged chronologically, and accessible editions which Fuller might well have consulted have been suggested in brackets. Elsewhere first editions have been given except where later editions supply much extra material.

Works Cited in the Worthies

Medieval

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Bede<br>(d.735)                                     | Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis<br>Anglorum. (ed. A.Whelock, 1643).   |
| Marianus Scotus<br>(d.c. 1082)                      | Chronica (ed. Johann Heroldt, 1559)   |
| Marbodus, Bishop of Rennes.<br>(fl. 1067-1101)      | De Lapidibus (See "De Gemmis<br>Scriptum", 1575).   |
| Florence of Worcester.<br>(d.1118)                  | Chronicon ex chronicis. (See<br>"Flores historiarum per Matthaeum<br>Westmonasteriensem collecti;...et<br>chronicon ex chronicis...auctore<br>Florentio Wigorniensi monacho",<br>1601)            |
| Simeon of Durham<br>(d.c. 1129) and continuators    | De gestis regum Anglorum. (Ab-<br>stract in Bibl. Cotton)   |
| Ordericus Vitalis<br>(d.c. 1142)                    | Historiae Ecclesiasticae. (See<br>"Historiae Normannorum Scriptores<br>Antiqui", ed. A. Du Chesne, 1619)  |
| William of Malmesbury<br>(d.c.1143)                 | De gestis regum Anglorum. Ejusdem<br>historiae novellae. Ejusdem de<br>gestis Pontificum Anglorum. (See<br>"Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post<br>Bedam praecipui," ed. Sir Henry<br>Savile, 1601). |
| Henry of Huntingdon.<br>(fl. 1090-1154)             | Historia. (See Sir Henry Savile,<br>op. cit.)   |
| Thomas of Ely<br>(d.c. 1174) and con-<br>tinuators. | Liber Eliensis (M.S. in Bibl.<br>Cotton)  |



John of Salisbury  
(d. 1180)

Policratus: sive de Nugis  
Curialium & Vestigiis Philoso-  
phorum. (1595)

William Fitzstephen  
(d.c. 1190)

Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis  
Londoniae. (See John Stow: 'A  
survey of London', 1598)

Giraldus Cambrensis  
(d.c. 1220)

The Irish historie composed and  
written by Giraldus Cambrensis,  
and translated...by J. Hooker.  
(See "Chronicles", ed. Raphael  
Holinshed, 1587)  
Topographia Hiberniae, sive de  
Mirabilibus Hiberniae. Expugnatio  
Hiberniae Itinerarium Cambriae,  
(See "Anglica, Hibernica,  
Normannica, Cambrica, à veteribus  
scripta," ed. William Camden,  
1602)

Thomas Eccleston  
(fl. 1250)

De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in  
Angliam. (Partially known through  
extracts in Leland's "Collec-  
tanea")

Matthew Paris  
(d. 1259)

Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia  
Major. (ed. W. Wats, 1640)

Thomas Wykes  
(fl. 1258-93)

Chronicon (M.S. in Bibl. Cotton)

Richard de Bury  
(d. 1345)

Philobiblion (1610)

Thomas Bradwardine  
(d. 1349)

De causa Dei, contra Pelagium  
(ed. Sir Henry Savile, 1618)

Ranulphus Higden  
(d.c. 1363)

Polychronicon ("translated in to  
englissh by [J.] Trevisa...", ed.  
William Caxton, and continued by  
him from 1357-1460, 1482)

Geoffrey Chaucer  
(d. 1400)

The Workes (ed. Thomas Speght,  
1598)

Thomas Walsingham (d.c. 1422)	Historia brevis (See William Camden, op. cit.)
John Brompton (fl. 1436) [Supposed Chronicler <sup>1</sup> ]	Chronicon Johannis Brompton. (See "Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X," ed. Sir Roger Twysden, 1652)
John Lydgate (d.c. 1450)	The Life and Death of Hector (a modernisation by Thomas Heywood, 1614)
John Capgrave (d.1464)	Nova Legenda Angliae (Collected by Joannes Tinmuthiensis and revised by J.Capgrave, 1516)
Matthew of Westminster <sup>2</sup> [Imaginary chronicler]	Flores historiarum (1570)

- 
- (1) John Brompton, Abbot of Jorvaux, is a genuine historical figure, but the chronicle attached to his name was not necessarily written by him.
- (2) Matthew of Westminster is a purely imaginary figure who was supposed to have composed the "Flores Historiarum", in reality the work of Roger Wendover and the monks of Westminster.

Renaissance to Restoration

Topographical Collections.

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| John Leland       | Itinerary (1536-42. M.S. in Bodleian, 1632)   |
| William Camden    | Britannia...Chorographica descriptio, 1586. Britain, or, a Chorographicall Description..., translated..by Philemon Holland, 1610.                     |
| John Norden       | Speculum Britanniae. The first parte. An historicall..discription of Middlesex, 1593. Speculi Britaniae Pars. The description of Hartfordshire, 1598. |
| John Speed        | The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, 1611.  |
| Sir Henry Spelman | Villare Anglicum: or a view of the townes of England. Collected by the appointment of Sir H.Spelman, 1656.  |

Surveys of one Town or County.

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| William Lambard    | A Perambulation of Kent, 1576.   |
| John Stow          | A survey of London, 1598.  |
| Richard Carew      | The Survey of Cornwall, 1602.  |
| Sampson Erdeswicke | View or Survey of Staffordshire. (Begun in 1593 and continued until his death, 1603. Left in M.S.) |
| William Burton     | The Description of Leicester Shire, 1622.  |
| William Bedwell    | A Briefe Description of the towne of Tottenham High-Crosse in Middlesex, 1631.                     |

William Somner	The Antiquities of Canterbury, 1640.
Richard Butcher	The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford, 1646.
Sir William Dugdale	The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated, 1656.
James Chaloner	A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man
William Smith	The Vale-royall of England, or, the County Palatine of Chester illustrated.
William Webb	A description of the City, and County palatine of Chester.

The three works published together in:  
The Vale-Royall of England, ed.  
Daniel King, 1656.

Chronicles and Histories (Ecclesiastical and Civil).

Polydore Virgil	De Inventoribus Rerum, 1499, 1521.
Hector Boece	Scotorum historiae, 1526.
Polydore Virgil	Anglicae Historiae, 1534.
Richard Grafton	A continuacion of the Chronicle of England, begynning where Jhō Hardyng left.., 1543.
George Buchanan	Rerum Scoticarum Historia, 1583.
David Powell	The historie of Cambria...written in the Brytish language...translated into English by H.Lhoyd...Corrected...and continued...by David Powel, 1584.
Raphael Holinshed	The first and second volumes of Chronicles, 1587.
Emanuel Van Meteren	Historia Belgica, 1600 ?







- Cardinal Baronius Martyrologium Romanum, 1613.
- Francis Godwin De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius: Omnium Episcoporum, nec non et Cardinalium ejusdem gentis, etc., 1616.
- John Pitts Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis. Running title, De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus (2nd or principal part of the work), 1619.
- Henry Holland Herwologia Anglica, 1620.
- Sir James Ware Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium et Tuamensium vitae, 1626.
- Sir James Ware De Praesulibus Lageniae, sive Provinciae Dubliniensis, 1628.
- Richard Parker εκλεκτός Cantabrigiensis, sive Collegiorum Umbratilis Delineatio, sum suis fundatoribus et benefactoribus plurimis [M.S.]
- Jerome Porter The Flowers of the lives of the most renowned saints of... England, Scotland and Ireland, 1632.
- John Philipot The Catalogue of the Chancellors of England, the Lord Keepers of the Great Seale: and the Lord Treasurers of England. With a collection of divers that have bene Masters of the Rolles, 1636.
- Sir James Ware De Scriptoribus Hiberniae, 1639.
- Sir Robert Naunton Fragmenta Regalia, 1641.
- Jacques De Thou Monumenta Litteraria, sive obitus et elogia doctorum virorum, 1641.
- Samuel Clarke The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, contened in the Lives of the Fathers, and other Learned Men and Famous Divines, 1650.

- Samuel Clarke  
A Generall Martyrologie...Whereunto are added the Lives of Sundry Modern Divines, 1651.
- Sir John Harrington  
A briefe view of the state of the Church of England...in Q. Elizabeths and King James his reigne, to the yeere 1608. Being a Character and history of the Bishops of those times..., 1653.
- Edward Leigh  
A Treatise of Religion and Learning, and of Religious and Learned Men, 1656.
- Individual Lives.
- Desiderius Erasmus  
Compendium vitae, 1524.
- Richard Hall  
The Life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 1559.
- William Rastell  
Author of a life of his uncle, S. Thomas More (since destroyed).
- Laurence Humphrey  
J. Juelli...vita et mors, 1573.
- Edward Grant  
Oratio de Vita et Obitu Rogeri Ascham, 1576.
- A. Assheton  
Praelectiones...G. Whitakeri...cum descriptione vitae et mortis, authore A. Assheton, 1599.
- Richard White  
Brevis explicatio Martyrii Sanctae Ursulae..., 1610.
- Sir Francis Nethersole  
Memoriae Sacra Illustrissimi... Henrici Walliae Principis... laudatio funebris, 1612.
- Sir George Paule  
The Life of...John Whitgift, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 1612.
- William Gouge  
Preface to posthumous Sermons..by.. N. Byfield, 1626.



- George Carleton Vita Bernadi Gilpini, 1628.
- Cresacre More The life and death of Sir T. Moore, written by M.T.M(ore, or rather by Cresacre More), 1631 ?
- Edward Bagshaw "The Life and Death of the Authour", appended to 'Mr Boltons last and learned Worke of the Four lost Things', 1632.
- Peter Smith "The Life and Death of Andrew Willet" prefixed to Willet's 'Synopsis Papismi,' 5th ed., 1634.
- William Rawley Resuscitatio, or bringing into light severall pieces of the Works...of F. Bacon,...together with his Lordships Life, 1657.
- John Gauden Memorial of the Life and Death of Dr Ralph Brownrig, 1659.
- John Barwick Life and Death of Thomas, late Lord Bishop of Duresme, 1660.
- Polemical Works.
- Nicholas Sanders De origine ac progressue Schismatis Anglicani, 1585.
- Sir John Davies A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued...untill the beginning of his Maiesties happie raigne, 1612.
- King James 1st Discourse on Powder Treason, in 'The Workes of the most high and mightie Prince, James...King of Great Britaine', 1616.
- Richard Hooker Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, 1593-7, 1618.

- George Carleton A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy, 1624.
- Francis Mason Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1625.
- George Hakewill An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, 1627.
- Joseph Hall Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted, 1640.
- Antiquarian Studies.
- William Camden Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine, 1605.
- Richard Verstegan A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, 1605.
- Brian Twyne Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia, 1608.
- John Weever Ancient funerall monuments, 1631
- Sir Thomas Browne Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Enquiries into very many received tenents and commonly presumed truths, 1646.
- Ralph Brooke
- Inigo Jones The most notable antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng, on Salisbury Plain, restored by I.J., 1655.
- Augustine Vincent
- Natural History, Husbandry, Outdoor pursuits, etc.
- Thomas Tusser Five hundreth points of good husbandry united to as many of good huswiferie, 1573.

- Leonard Mascall  
A Booke of fishing...Another of sundrie Engines and Trappes to take Polcats, Buzards, Rattes,..., 1590.
- Charles Butler  
The Feminine Monarchie. Or a Treatise concerning bees, 1609.
- Francis Bacon  
Sylva sylvarum: or a Naturall Historie, 1627.
- John Parkinson  
Theatrum Botanicum. The Theater of Plantes, 1640.
- Joannes Bauhinus and Joannes Henricus Cherlerus  
Historia plantarum universalis, 1650.
- Samuel Hartlib  
Legacie, 1651.
- Izaak Walton  
The Compleat Angler, 1653.
- Heraldry.  
The Reports of Sir G.C... Collected and written in French by A display of Heraldrie, 1610. In English by Sir H. Ormiston, 1657.
- John Guillim  
The Catalogue of Honor, or Tresury of true Nobility, 1610.
- Thomas Milles  
Titles of honor, 1614.
- John Selden  
A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England, 1619.
- Ralph Brooke  
A discoverie of errours in the first edition of the catalogue of nobility, published by R. Brooke..., 1622.
- Augustine Vincent  
Lexicon Tetraglotton...with another volume of...Proverbs in all the said tongues...With a particular some of the Brittish or old Cambrian...saves and adaged... 1653-60.
- John Davies  
James Howell

Legal Writings.

- John Cowell                      Institutiones Iuris Anglicana ad methodum et seriem Institutionem Imperialium compositae & digestae, 1605.
- John Cowell                      The Interpreter: or Booke containing the Signification of Words 1607.
- Sir Henry Spelman                In modum Glossarii ad rem antiquam posteriorem continentis Latino-Barbara, 1626.
- Sir Edward Coke                 The first part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England, or a Commentarie upon Littleton, 1628.
- Sir Henry Spelman                Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones, in re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici, 1639.
- Sir George Croke                The Reports of Sir G.C... Collected and written in French by himself; revised and published in English by Sir H.Grimston, 1657.

Proverbs.

- John Heywood                    A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectual proverbes in the Englishe tounge...With one hundred of Epigrammes, 1562.
- David Ferguson                 Scottish Proverbs gathered together by David Ferguson, 1641.
- John Davies                     Collection of Welsh Proverbs, (M.S.)
- James Howell                    Lexicon Tetraglotton,...with another volume of...Proverbs in all the said tongs...With a particular tome of the Brittish or old Cambrian...sawes and adages... 1659-60.



Travel and Navigation.

- Richard Hakluyt      The principall navigations, voiages,  
and discoveries of the English  
nation, 1589.
- Gerardus Mercator      Atlas sive cosmographicae medita-  
tiones de fabrica mundi et fabri-  
cati figura, 1595.
- Fines Moryson      An Itinerary, 1617.
- Samuel Purchas      Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his  
Pilgrimes, 1625
- Bartholomaeus Keckermannus      Problemata Nautica, 1637.

Alchemy and Chemistry.

- Thomas Norton      The Ordinall of Alchemy (c.1477).
- George Ripley      The Compound of Alchymy (Before  
1490)
- Thomas Charnock      The Breviary of Naturall  
Philosophy (Written 1557)

Published together in:

- Elias Ashmole      Theatrum chemicum Britannicum,  
1652.
- Michael Drayton      Poly-obliion (With the "Illustra-  
tiones" of John Selden), 1613.
- John Winshaw      The Guide unto Tongues, 1617.
- Henry Peacham      A Discourse of naturall Bathes,  
and minerall waters, 1631.
- Edward Jordan      The Yorkshire Spaw, 1652
- John French      De Historiis Latinis Britanni-  
carum, 1627.

Miscellaneous.

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Desiderius Erasmus  | Adagiorum Chiliades tres, 1508.  |
| Desiderius Erasmus  | Familiarium colloquiorum, 1526.  |
| Sir John Cheke      | De pronuntiatione Graecae, 1555.   |
| John Bodin          | Methodus, ad facilem historiarum cognitionem, 1566.  |
| Edmund Spenser      | *The Ruines of Rome: by Bellay", included in the 'Complaints', 1591.                                       |
| Juan Huarte         | Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of mens wits...Englished... by R[ichard] C[arew], 1594.                |
| Sir Philip Sidney   | The Defense of Poesie, 1595.   |
| William Shakespeare | King Henry the fourth, Part II.  |
| Michel de Montaigne | The Essayes,...Now done into English by...John Florio, 1603.   |
| Francis Bacon       | The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficiencie and advancement of Learning, divine and humane, 1605. |
| Francis Bacon       | The Essaies, 1612.   |
| Michael Drayton     | Poly-olbion (With the "Illustrations" of John Selden), 1613.   |
| John Minsheu        | The Guide unto Tongues, 1617.  |
| Henry Peacham       | The Compleat Gentleman, 1622.  |
| Francis Bacon       | Historia vitae & mortis, 1623.   |
| Nathanael Carpenter | Geography delineated forth in two books, 1625.   |
| Gerardus Vossius    | De Historicis Latinis Britannicarum, 1627.   |

Thomas Hobbes	De Mirabilibus Pecci, 1636 ?
Sir John Suckling	Fragmenta Aurea, 1646.
Richard Corbet	Certain Elegant Poems, 1647.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion: Fuller and Seventeenth

Century Wit

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion: Fuller and Seventeenth Century Wit

Fuller's wit enabled him to win popular success with works of history, geography and antiquarian lore which would have otherwise appealed solely to the learned. He was a populariser, but one who enlarged his public not by pandering to current prejudices nor by lowering his standards of scholarship, but by investing his researches with the sparkle

CHAPTER VII

of a brilliant style. Bayly might condemn his "Merry Tales, and scraps of Trencher-jests;" the majority of his contemporaries

Conclusion: Fuller and Seventeenth

peraries relished that "quick jocundity of style"<sup>2</sup> which made the most unpromising material palatable. Coleridge

Century Wit

declared that "Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect"<sup>3</sup>; perhaps it would be nearer the mark to describe

it as the vehicle by means of which the stuff and substance of his intellect is communicated to us. The more sober-minded in each generation would prefer a less disconcerting conveyance, but there have always been many eagerly responsive to its exhilarating effect. The number of such enthusiasts, however, has declined in the twentieth century,

---

(1) Examen Historicum, b.2.  
(2) Arden Life, p.69.  
(3) Notes Theological, Political and Miscellaneous, p.101.



## CHAPTER VII

### Conclusion: Fuller and Seventeenth Century Wit

Fuller's wit enabled him to win popular success with works of history, geography and antiquarian lore which would have otherwise appealed solely to the learned. He was a populariser, but one who enlarged his public not by pandering to current prejudices nor by lowering his standards of scholarship, but by investing his researches with the sparkle of a brilliant style. Heylin might condemn his "Merry Tales, and scraps of Trencher-jests;"<sup>1</sup> the majority of his contemporaries relished that "quick jocundity of style"<sup>2</sup> which made the most unpromising material palatable. Coleridge declared that "Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect";<sup>3</sup> perhaps it would be nearer the mark to describe it as the vehicle by means of which the stuff and substance of his intellect is communicated to us. The more sober-minded in each generation would prefer a less disconcerting conveyance, but there have always been many eagerly responsive to its exhilarating effect. The number of such enthusiasts, however, has declined in the twentieth century,

---

(1) Examen Historicum, b.2.

(2) Anon Life, p.69.

(3) Notes Theological, Political and Miscellaneous, p.101.

just as it declined, though for different reasons, in the eighteenth. Then Fuller was condemned for indecorous levity, now he is accused of displaying that "dissociation of sensibility" which the metaphysical poets are supposed triumphantly to have avoided.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, impossible to make fair comparisons between the style of poets and a prose-writing divine and historian. We cannot expect the same tension and completeness of fusion in prose as we can demand from more pregnant poetry. Nevertheless it is obvious that Fuller's wit is of a different character not only from that of a poet such as Donne, but from that of such metaphysical prose writers as Andrewes and Sir Thomas Browne. It is less penetrating and integral, more superficial and decorative. Houghton has noticed that frequently Fuller makes a flat statement and then adds the witty variation, a true sign that often his imagery is an embellishment, and not the sole means of projecting the full implications of an idea<sup>2</sup>. Leslie Stephen<sup>3</sup> and Saintsbury<sup>4</sup> have explained

---

(1) Houghton, op. cit., pp.224-225. "The connections have an intellectual dryness which contrasts with that union of thought and feeling present in the best conceits of the metaphysicals, whether in verse or prose. Which is to say, in T.S.Eliot's terms, that Fuller reveals that dissociation of sensibility which was beginning in his period,..."

(2) ibid., p.239.

(3) The Cornhill Magazine, XXV, 1872, p.34.

(4) English Prose. Selections, ed. Craik, 1894, Vol. II, p.375.

this feature of Fuller's wit by applying to him Coleridge's distinction between the fancy and the imagination. It is indeed tempting, without defining too closely the implications of these much debated terms, to ascribe the obvious differences between Fuller's images and Donne's to the predominance in Fuller of the lesser faculty. Such an ascription contains a core of truth, but indicates an unfair approach, since it implies condemnation of a supposed deficiency rather than appreciation of a gift which Fuller exercised to the admiration of his contemporaries. The quality of his imagery ultimately depends, as does that of all genuinely creative writers, on the quality of his own mind. But it is not possible to do justice to that quality by applying nineteenth and twentieth century distinctions without regard to seventeenth century mental habits. We fail to appreciate elements in Fuller's style unless we associate his choice of imagery with certain literary forms popular in his own age.

Much of Fuller's wit is purely verbal - one reason for its failure to attract certain twentieth century readers. We cannot gain the same enjoyment from puns, quibbles, antithesis, alliteration as could the seventeenth century reader, trained to notice and admire such rhetorical embellishments. The characteristic liveliness of

Fuller's style, however, depends not only on such exclusively verbal pyrotechnics, but also on the brilliant ingenuity of his comparisons. His images, remarkably visual and concrete, have a 'quaint' and stimulating vigour which caused Saintsbury to discern affinities between them and the very popular emblems which were the cult of Fuller's contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, having indicated a fruitful approach, he pursued the subject no further. Obviously, however, the possibility of tracing links between Fuller's comparisons and the emblem collections is one that must be explored. Investigation first reveals purely negative findings: it is impossible to establish direct connections between certain images and specific emblems. The compilers of the emblem collections drew upon a mass of traditional material which was available to all preachers, scholars, poets and men of letters. The collections of Alciato<sup>2</sup>, Paradin<sup>3</sup> and Sambucus<sup>4</sup>, and of their English imitators

- 
- (1) C.H.E.L., 1911, Vol. 7, p.249. "Perhaps because of the immense abundance of emblem literature in those days, Fuller's conceits were constantly emblematic."  
 (2) Andrea Alciato: Emblematum Libri Duo, 1547 (Probably 1st published 1522).  
 (3) Claude Paradin: Devises Heroiques, 1557.  
 (4) Joannes Sambucus: Emblemata cum Aliquot Nummis Antiquis, 1564.



Whitney<sup>1</sup>, Wither<sup>2</sup> and Peacham<sup>3</sup>, show these authors exploiting classical mythology, legends, fables, anecdotes from history, proverbial wisdom, passages from the Scriptures, matter which had been in continual rhetorical use for centuries. Francis Quarles, inspired by two Continental works sponsored by the Jesuits<sup>4</sup>, was responsible for the introduction of new material into English collections, for his Emblemes<sup>5</sup> depict the search of the human soul for holiness, and are more personal and introspective. If, therefore, any similarities could be traced between his productions and Fuller's images the problem would be simplified, as we could safely assume direct borrowing or recollection by Fuller.<sup>6</sup> I have not, however, observed such similarities. Indeed any apparent links I have noticed have been between Fuller's comparisons and the matter of the earlier collections. Thus in every case Fuller could have drawn his inspiration from non-emblematic sources. The

- 
- (1) Geoffrey Whitney: A Choice of Emblemes, 1586.
  - (2) George Wither: A Collection of Emblemes, 1635.
  - (3) Minerva Britanna, 1612.
  - (4) Herman Hugo's Pia Desideria, 1624, and the anon. Typus Mundi, 1627.
  - (5) Emblemes, 1635. Quarles also made a second collection, Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man, 1638.
  - (6) In the case of George Herbert it is possible to establish a strong link between his poem Love Unknown and Jesuit emblem books of the type of Van Haeftan's Schola Cordis. See Rosemary Freeman: English Emblem Books, 1948, pp.164-167.

"cut" of "washing the blackamoor", for instance, was very popular and was used by Whitney to illustrate the advice.

"Then evermore, in what thou doest assaie,  
Let reason rule, and doe the thinges thou maie."<sup>1</sup>

When, however, Fuller writes of the Good Master, "If he perceives his servant incorrigible, so that he cannot wash the black-moore, he washeth his hands of him, and fairly puts him away,"<sup>2</sup> he may not necessarily have the emblem picture in mind, but may be recalling the fable directly. Again, when Fuller declares of the Good Child, "He is a stork to his parent, and feeds him in his old age. Not onely if his father hath been a pelican, but though he hath been an estridge unto him",<sup>3</sup> his sources stretch back beyond the emblems into antiquity. It is true that the strong family affection of ostriches had lent itself to various delightful pictorial representations, and that Whitney's pious verse may have been in Fuller's mind:

"See heare the storke provides with tender care,  
And bringeth meate, unto her hatched broode:  
They like againe, for her they doe prepare,  
When shee is oulde, and can not get her foode:  
Which teacheth bothe, the parente and the childe,  
Their duties heare, which eche to other owe:"<sup>4</sup>

- 
- (1) Whitney, op. cit., p.57.  
 (2) H. & P.S., p.18.  
 (3) ibid., p.16.  
 (4) Whitney, op. cit., p.73.

The pelican, too, was one of the most popular emblematic devices, and was exploited to characterise any form of self-sacrifice from a parent's devotion to his children to Christ's sacrifice for mankind.<sup>1</sup> The ostrich was usually employed as an emblem of less amiable characteristics.<sup>2</sup> The allegorical employment of beasts and birds, however, is much older than emblem literature. It goes back to the anonymous second century Physiologus and the fourth century Physiologist, sometimes ascribed to Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia. This material was embodied in innumerable bestiaries and was exploited by preachers and writers<sup>3</sup> through succeeding centuries without break. It is obviously quite impossible, therefore, to claim that Fuller's references are dependent on the emblem literature.

- 
- (1) See Wither, op. cit., p.154. Whitney uses the bird as an emblem of the labours of preachers and scholars for the benefit of the rest of humanity, with special reference to Alexander Nowell, op. cit., p.87.
- (2) The bird was traditionally considered neglectful of its young. In addition it is used as an emblem of hypocrisy, because, possessing wings, it yet seldom flies. Whitney, op. cit., p.51. Wither, op. cit., p.36.
- (3) The writer of the Ancren Riwle for example, uses the pelican to characterise the "peevish recluse".  
 Pellican is a leane fowel, so weamod & so wredful pet hit sleað ofte vor grome his owune briddes, hwon heo teoneð him, ant peonne sone per efter hit bicumeð swuðe sori, & maked swuðe mucche mone, & smit him sulven mid his bile pet hit slouh er his briddes mide, & drauhð ut blod of his breoste, & mit tet blod acwiked eft his isleiene briddes. Vis pellican is ve weamode ancre." The Ancren Riwle, ed. James Morton, 1853.

A last parallel will illustrate the difficulties involved in dealing with such venerable material. In 1626 Thomas Jenner, believing that "men are more led by the eye, then eare,"<sup>1</sup> put out a collection entitled The Soules Solace, or Thirtie and One Spiritual Emblemes. He had compiled the work by taking various statements made by preachers in the course of their sermons, and adding to each an emblematic picture and appropriate verse. One of the illustrations shows a neatly-garbed reaper holding in one hand a scythe with the ascription "Good Duties" above its blade, and in the other a whetstone. He is preparing to cut a wheat field, across which is written "Our Calling". The reader is exhorted as follows:

"On Christian practises whet oft thy sythe;  
And take't for certaine, thou and thine shall thrive."<sup>2</sup>

This seems an obvious source of the favourite whetstone image employed by Fuller and cited in the chapter on the sermons.<sup>3</sup> It is very tempting to assume that this collection must have provided him with the figure. Behind the emblem, however, lies the proverb "A whet is no let," and since proverbial wisdom was part of the traditional raw material of the homely preacher, then many divines must have

---

(1) The Soules Solace, To the Reader.

(2) ibid., emblem 13.

(3) See ante, Chapter II, p. 72.



worked variations on the saying, lending it pious applications, long before Tenner exploited it in his Soules Solace.

Since the emblem collections are but a Renaissance method of treating traditional material, it would obviously be a profitless task to pursue further any apparent parallels between certain of Fuller's images and specific emblematic devices. None of his comparisons carries clear marks of an exclusively emblematic derivation: the common subjects can always be explained by a common reservoir of traditional analogies. It need not be doubted, however, that Fuller had read and enjoyed the various emblem books in circulation: certain references suggest that he had naturally a visualising "emblematic" power. Thus when discussing Jerusalem he declares:

"The situation thereof is very uneven, rising into hills and sinking into dales; the lively embleme of the fortunes of the place;"<sup>1</sup>

and he perceives in the ashes of Wicklief, scattered in the river and thus carried out to the broad ocean, "the Emblem of his Doctrine, which now, is dispersed all the World over."<sup>2</sup> It is more than possible that when Fuller wrote the sentences used as examples in this chapter, the appropriate

---

(1) The Holy Warre, p.275.

(2) The Church History, Book IV, Cent. XV, p.171.

emblematic illustrations came to his mind's eye, and that he expected his images to excite a similar response from his readers. Thus the bald citation of undeveloped comparisons would be enriched by the mental and visual associations conjured up in the minds of his contemporaries.

A study of the immensely popular emblem literature, though it reveals no unmistakable evidence of direct borrowing by Fuller, nevertheless provides an illuminating approach to his imagery since it enlightens us as to certain then acceptable habits of mind which have since become alien. We have heard much of the metaphysical achievement of "fusion"; less of a more widespread and more characteristic seventeenth century habit of "dissociation", a habit which made the whole cult of the emblem possible. For the emblem writer did not aim at a complete fusion between the pictorial representation and the idea of which the cut was the emblem. Instead his intention was to establish one ingenious link, a link which may seem justifiable only after he has demonstrated the logical connection. Thus Quarles, in comparing worldly wisdom to a sieve, and the soul to a hawk, has one point of comparison which he is careful to define:

"The worldly wisdom of a foolish man  
Is like a Sive, that does, alone, retaine  
The grosser substance of the worthlesse Bran;"<sup>1</sup>

---

(1) Emblemes, 1635, p.90.

The soul, aspiring to escape from the bonds of the flesh,  
is like a tethered hawk who

"Forgetting quite the pow'r of her fast bands,  
Makes a rank Bate from her forsaken Block,  
But her too faithfull Leash does soone restraine  
Her broken flight, attempted oft in vaine:"<sup>1</sup>

Such links are logically satisfying, but arbitrary. They were meant to be. The intellectual pleasure to be gained from the collections lay in the perception of the witty ingenuity with which the emblem writer conjoined apparently disparate objects and ideas. The reader was not intended to penetrate beyond the one point of comparison selected - otherwise very frequently the image would collapse. For example, the hawk, a predatory bird, is hardly a fitting symbol of the soul aspiring to God, but it serves here as an appropriate emblem, since Quarles wishes the reader to concentrate on the idea of the tether and to pursue the comparison no further. This was made possible by a habit of mind which I have referred to as a habit of "dissociation". The seventeenth century reader could grasp the one link and disregard any further implications which would weaken the image. Even concrete pictorial representation failed to embarrass him. Thus Peacham submits a grotesque drawing of a dolphin as an emblem of the "most worthy Ladie, E:L:"<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) ibid., p.278.

(2) Minerva Britanna, p.86.

To us there could scarcely be a less happy method of paying a compliment. But the point of the comparison becomes clear when we are informed that just as the dolphin remains fresh within salt water so the lady remains pure in an environment offering many temptations. Obviously Peacham's readers would make no attempt to "fuse" the cut and the person thus represented. The current acceptability of this method of establishing comparisons explains the arbitrary and to us sometimes unsatisfactory nature of some of Fuller's images. The passage in The Holy and Profane States where Fuller refers to Lady Jane Grey as being unwilling to open her mouth to receive "the bait of Sovereignty" has been mentioned in a previous chapter<sup>1</sup>; this image seems to us unhappy because we cannot prevent a ludicrous mental picture being conjured up. Fuller's contemporaries, however, though accustomed to actual pictorial representation of similes, could rid themselves of any embarrassing visual associations. Had they condemned this figure, it would have been for its faulty logic, no fish unwillingly swallowing bait. They would not have been disturbed, as we are, by an incongruous mental image springing unbidden to the mind's eye. Conditioned to perceive a dolphin as a fitting emblem of a lady's character, they would have experienced no difficulty in

---

(1) See ante, Chapter IV, pp. 212-213.



accepting the analogy of Lady Jane Grey and a hooked fish.

This habit of "dissociation" not only made it possible for emblem writers to establish single arbitrary links, but also for them to place in the one cut a number of incongruous objects. These objects do not necessarily bear any relationship to each other; the justification for their juxtaposition is that each illumines one facet of the idea to be communicated.<sup>1</sup> Readers would grasp that single link and make no attempt to forge others between the diverse objects. In the same way a sixteenth or seventeenth century writer could depend on a high degree of intellectual agility in his readers: he could expect that the point of a comparison would be grasped, and that associations irrelevant in that setting would not be carried over from surrounding images, but would be ignored. Miss Rosemary Freeman in her

---

(1) Quarles includes in one cut a burning candle with three sections remaining, the flame blown by a blast from heaven. At the base of the candlestick is a scimitar. At one side is a tree shedding fruit, and above the tree, drawn in against the sky, is a lion. The emblem represents the man of fifty. The scimitar has no apparent relationship to the guttering candle until we read that "What this Age  
Loses in strength it finds in Rage:"  
A lion, symbol of strength, seems incongruous against a tree which is shedding its fruit. Perhaps the clue is in the lines "And what appeared in former times  
Whispring as faults, now roare as crimes:"  
Hieroglyphikes, pp.50-52.

English Emblem Books cites a striking Elizabethan example of dissociation:

"Her colour fresh as damask rose  
Her breath as violet,  
Her body white as ivory,  
And smooth as polished jet,  
As soft as down:..."<sup>1</sup>

In this poem, My Mistress, William Warner is obviously enjoying the mental gymnastics involved: other poets quietly take for granted this ability on the part of their readers to insulate one image from the next. Thus Donne, in his Elegy on Lady Markham speaks at one point of

"The Diamonds, Rubies, Sapphires, Pearls and Mines,  
Of which this flesh was."<sup>2</sup>

Yet a few lines earlier he had written:

"In her this sea of death hath made no breach,  
But as the tide doth wash the slimy beach,  
And leaves embroider'd works upon the sand,  
So is her flesh refin'd by death's cold hand."<sup>3</sup>

The strong deflating analogy made between the "slimy beach" and the body of the lady in whose praise the poem is written is startling enough: it becomes even more remarkable if we attempt to make any fusion between this and the later comparison of her body to a mine of precious stones. The images not only lend nothing to each other; they are

- 
- (1) English Emblem Books 1948, p.78. The poem is from Elizabethan Lyrics, ed. Ault., 1925, p.153.  
(2) Poems, 1931 (Everyman) p.218.  
(3) ibid., p.218.

mutually conflicting. Each considered independently in its own setting, however, communicates the idea required at that point. It is our ignoring of this habit of "dissociation" which accounts for our failure to appreciate certain seventeenth century comparisons. We wish to fuse, to merge, to carry over reverberations from one image to the next. Thus Houghton condemns Fuller because after establishing the character of Whitaker by a series of images taken from warfare, boxing and dog-fighting, he ends by declaring of the controversialist, "And this thorny question would not suffer our Nightingale to sleep."<sup>1</sup> The suggestion behind the condemnation is that Fuller lacked the imagination and sensitivity to see the conflict involved between this image and those that precede it. It would be fairer to realise that for Fuller and his contemporaries there would be no conflict. Images from dog fighting and boxing are appropriately employed when Whitaker's contests with Campion and other Roman Catholic controversialists are being considered. When, however, Fuller goes on to deal with the controversy as to "whether justifying faith may be lost," and considers the sleeplessness which Whitaker endured as a result of his studies on this subject, he turns, just as appropriately, to the image of the nightingale. Houghton finds the

---

(1) H. & P.S. p.68.

metaphor unsatisfactory because he attempts to associate it with the preceding comparisons, and finds them mutually conflicting. He also wishes to penetrate beyond the one point, articulate wakefulness, which justifies the figure, and to establish some sort of relationship between the physique of the nightingale and that of the stoutly-built Whitaker. The resultant absurdity, however, is a twentieth century imposition on the image.

An awareness of the widespread habit of "dissociation" does not, of course, lead to unreserved approval of Fuller's imagery. We may still insist that his comparisons are frequently fanciful, and that on the other hand in the finest metaphors and similes the objects and ideas being compared are so integrated that the more such images are explored, the richer and more profound their implications become. It does, however, prevent our accusing Fuller of insensitivity on untenable grounds. Instead of condemning his comparisons for lack of imaginative fusion, a complaint neither he nor his readers would have understood, we can admire them as demonstrations of his brilliant success at a task akin to that of the emblem writers, the task of establishing wittily ingenious links between apparently disparate objects.



The popularity of emblem literature helps to explain another feature of Fuller's style, the concrete and visual nature of many of his figures. Of course the preacher had always needed a fund of concrete, visual comparisons, by means of which he might convey effectively the well-known spiritual and moral truths. Parables, exempla, religious symbols, the bestiaries and natural history, as well as the common fund of analogies, had been traditional sources of such illustration. But the pictorial emblems and the accompanying ingenious verbal parallels could not fail to sharpen the visual sense: they encouraged this habit of finding the tangible and material analogy for abstract ideas and moral concepts. Bacon had provided a justification for emblem literature when in the De Augmentis Scientiarum he had declared that an "Emblem reduces intellectual conceptions to sensible images; for an object of sense always strikes the memory more forcibly and is more easily impressed upon it than an object of the intellect."<sup>1</sup> The value of emblematic images to divines is obvious from this. When Fuller likens self-distrustful Christians to shaking chimneys,<sup>2</sup> celibacy to a Dutch stove<sup>3</sup>, God to a Lapidary<sup>4</sup>,

---

(1) Works, Vol. IV, p.437.

(2) See ante, Chapter II, p.72-73

(3) H. & P.S., p.39.

(4) Good Thoughts in Worse Times, p.234.

he need not be thought of as merely responding unconsciously to the pressure of the emblematic habit. He is probably exercising a degree of deliberate choice in the invention of these emblematic comparisons. He is expressing "intellectual conceptions" in "sensible images" so that his ideas may be communicated with the more vigour. It is part of his rhetorical equipment as a divine, just as it was part of Herbert's, to have this gift of conveying the abstract and intangible in terms which would make an impact on a wide audience. The comparisons employed are rarely obscure, and never demand unduly recondite or esoteric knowledge from readers and congregations: they are nevertheless sufficiently stimulating to ensure mental alertness, and vigorous and surprising enough to be memorable.

The element of self-conscious choice behind Fuller's style has possibly been underestimated. It is very probable that various moral attitudes underly certain features of his prose. Fuller desired to reach a wide audience, but such a desire would spring not only from an author's natural ambition to be a best-seller, but from the divine's conviction that his gifts were God-given and must be exploited in a fashion that would benefit the widest number of people. Hence not solely natural bent, but a laudable wish to be readily comprehensible to men of all classes, probably account for the basic simplicity of his style.

For Fuller's prose is fundamentally plain, as can readily be seen in The Cause and Cure and his account of the execution of Charles I, where, for reasons of decorum, he suppresses his wit. He prefers a short sentence, and, where he employs an occasional long one, he builds it up by tagging on extra clauses rather than evolving a complex structure. His vocabulary is wide, but never includes inkhorn terms: he employs Saxon derivations in preference to Latin. The homely nature of his illustrations and analogies must owe much to this preacher's desire to appeal to a wide public. To draw exempla from agriculture, trade, the domestic tasks, to exploit proverbial wisdom, to prefer the Biblical reference to citation from the classics are signs not only of a certain aesthetic bent but of a theological position.

Yet when every allowance has been made for the self-conscious attitude to composition which a training in rhetoric engendered, it remains true that Fuller's prose is at bottom a spontaneous reflection of the man. He is one of the most individual and consistent of stylists. His contemporaries recognised his originality: the coruscation of his wit against a plain and homely setting was a combination as remarkable to them as it is to us. A writer who, from varied motives, desired to win a large public, might attempt to enliven his works of scholarship with "pleasant

relations".<sup>1</sup> No one but a man whose wit was irrepressible, however, could sustain the brilliant exploitation of ingenious comparisons, antithesis, alliteration, word play and punning which characterises Fuller's compositions. In addition he possesses a genuine sense of humour, which is especially apparent in his choice and handling of anecdotes, and his relish of humanity. His stories bear no relationship to the second-hand observations on common life which some divines conscientiously introduce in order to give the appearance of kinship with the rest of humanity. Fuller's stories are successful because that kinship was something he genuinely felt. He liked people; he enjoyed "characters"; he had a gusto for life. He took a zestful delight in the shrewdness of labourer, artisan and tradesman, and had an amused yet sympathetic awareness of the naiveté and simplicity of the unlettered. His anecdotes, therefore, are seldom bookish and but rarely smack of the apophthegm collections and rhetoric hand-books. Instead they are based on lively observation of humanity and possess the freshness of first-hand knowledge. Certain elements in his prose may have literary and rhetorical precedents: we can discern the pressure of theological and moral concepts behind some features. With Fuller, however, more than with most writers, "le style c'est l'homme même."

---

(1) See ante Chapter III, p. 151



Coleridge, whose pronouncements on Fuller's wit were responsible to a large measure for subsequent critical concentration on Fuller's style, to the exclusion of consideration of other features of his work, supplied the correction to this attitude. He perceived that it was this very wit which had "robbed him of the praise not less due to him for an equal superiority in sound, shrewd, good sense, and freedom of intellect."<sup>1</sup> If more attention had been paid to the implications of this pronouncement, the view of Fuller as a privileged jester wandering erratically in the courts of learning would never have gained such a hold. He would have received the esteem due to him as a scholar, who, though not profound, was nevertheless thorough, accurate, up-to-date in his theories and conscientious in his practice. He would have received praise as a self-conscious artist, a writer exercising some control of his medium, one whose wit, though gushing up with sparkling force, could yet be dammed on appropriate occasions. He would have been credited more widely not only with fancy but with imagination. It was his imagination which enabled him to respond to the past and recreate it with such vitality, to work over the dead matter contained in manuscripts, records and inscriptions and quicken it into living prose, to absorb a mass of material

---

(1) Notes on English Divines, Vol. I, p.120.

and then organise it into sustained, consistent and orderly narrative. Fuller considered as the quaint coiner of pithy sayings, the entertaining dispenser of orthodox piety, the engaging "general artist" whose pretensions to scholarship need not impede our enjoyment of his bright wit, will never recapture a public. Such a view of him, however, is a grotesque distortion. Fuller as he must have appeared to most of his contemporaries, a scholar who was nevertheless humane, a divine who was pious but unpatronising, a man of convictions whose convictions never hardened into prejudices, unsubtle but shrewd, limited in sensibility but unbounded in generosity of outlook, this is a man whose appeal should be as potent now as to his own generation. Above all Fuller the literary artist, the man of letters whose brilliant incursion into biography resulted in a perceptible advance in the practice of the art, is a figure to command present esteem. Such a writer cannot remain long in obscurity. Already there are signs that he is re-emerging from his second eclipse.

### List of Works Consulted

This list does not include every volume consulted, but is intended to be supplemented by reference to the list of sources of the Worthies appended to Chapter VI. Works which are relevant to that chapter only have not been cited again here, but those which were consulted in connection with other chapters also have been listed a second time.

- The History of the Holy State, 1647.
- The Holy State. The Profane State, 1647.
- Good Thoughts in Bad Times, 1647.
- Andronicus, or, the Unfortunate Politician, 1648.
- The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, 1647.
- Good Thoughts in Worse Times, 1647.
- A Pious-Sight of Palestine, 1650.
- Abel Redivivus: or, the Dead yet Living, 1651.
- The Church-History of Britain, 1655.
- The Appeal of Injured Innocence, 1658.

Fuller's Works

The Bibliography of the Works of Thomas Fuller, edited by Strickland Gibson, 1936, supplies a complete record of all Fuller's works, and also of those volumes which he edited or to which he submitted contributions. The short list which follows is therefore restricted to first editions: two modern editions which have been used in this thesis are appended.

Hainous Sinne

Dauids Heartie Repentance 1631

Heavie Punishment

The Historie of the Holy Warre, 1639.

The Holy State. The Profane State, 1642.

Good Thoughts in Bad Times, 1645.

Andronicus, or, the Unfortunate Politician, 1646.

The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, 1647.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times, 1647.

A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine, 1650.

⌘ Abel Redevivus: or, the Dead yet Speaking, 1651.

The Church-History of Britain, 1655.

The Appeal of Injured Innocence, 1659.



An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales, 1660.  
 Mixt Contemplations in Better Times, 1660.  
 A Panegyrick to His Majesty, on His Happy Return, 1660.  
 The History of the Worthies of England, 1662.

\* Fuller acted as editor and contributor.

---

The Poems and Translations in Verse: edited  
 Alexander B. Grosart, 1868.  
 The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D., edited  
 J.E. Bailey and W.E.A. Axon, 1891.

#### Works of Reference

Biographia Britannica, 1750.  
 Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 1941.  
 Cambridge History of English Literature. (C.H.E.L.)  
 Dictionary of National Biography. (D.N.B.)  
 State Papers, Domestic Series. (C.S.P.)

Mason, Francis.

The History of the County of Middlesex, 1791.

Mason, John.

Illustrations of the History of the County of Middlesex, 1791.

Mason, Sir Richard.

A Description of the County of Middlesex, 1791.



- Baldwin, William. A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie, Contayning the Sayinges of the Wyse, 1547.
- Baronius, Cardinal. Annales Ecclesiastici, 1623.
- Baxter, Richard. Biographical Collections: or Lives and Characters, from the Works of the Reverend Mr Baxter,....1766.
- Becon, Thomas. The Syckmans Salve, 1560.
- Bede. Opera Bedae Venerabilis... Omnia, 1563.  
Complete Works, ed. Giles, 1843-44.
- Berkeley, George, Lord. Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects, 1838.
- Bernard, Richard. The Faithfull Shepheard: or the Shepherds Faithfulnesse, 1607.  
Ruths Recompence: or a Commentarie upon the Book of Ruth, 1628.
- Besoldus, Christopher. Historiae Urbis et Regni Hierosolymitani, 1636.
- Blundevill, Thomas. The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories, 1574.
- Bodin, Jean. Method for the Easy Comprehension of History - trans. Reynolds, 1945.
- Bolton, Edward. Hypercritica: or a Rule of Judgment, for Writing or Reading Our History's, 1618 ? Printed in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, 1605-1650, ed. Spingarn, 1908.
- Bolton, Robert. Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God, 1625.
- S. Bonaventura. The Miroure of the Blessed Life of Our Lord and Savioure Jesus Christe, 1620 ?

- Braithwait, Richard.      *Essaies upon the Five Senses,...*with  
Sundry Christian Resolves, 1620.
- The English Gentleman*, 1630.
- A Survey of History*, 1638.
- Brentz, Johann.              *In Librum Iudicum et Ruth Commentarii*,  
1544.
- Breton, Nicholas.          *Characters upon Essaies Morall, and*  
*Divine*, 1615.
- The Good and the Badde, or Descrip-*  
*tions of the Worthies and*  
*Unworthies of this Age*, 1616.
- Fantasticks: Serving for a Perpetual*  
*Prognostication*, 1626.
- Brinsley, John.              *Ludus Literarius: or, the Grammar*  
*Schoole*, 1612.
- Brownrig, Ralph.            *Fourty Sermons*, 1661.
- Burchard, Abbot of Ursberg. *Chronicum Abbatis Urspergensis*,  
1537.
- Camden, William            *Britannia...Chorographica Descriptio*,  
1586.
- Britannia...transl. Edmund Gibson*,  
1695.
- Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hiberni-*  
*carum, Regnante Elizabetha*, 1615.
- Remaines of a Greater Worke, Con-*  
*cerning Britaine*, 1605.
- Cavendish, William,  
Earl of Devonshire.      *Horae Subsecivae. Observations and*  
*Discourses*, 1620.
- Choniates, Nicetas  
Acominatus.                *Imperii Graeci Historia...*1593.



- Chytraeus, David. In Historiam Josuae, Judicum, Ruth;...  
Explicationes Utilissimae, 1591.
- Clarke, John. Holy Incense for the Censers of the  
Saints: or a Method of Prayer, 1634.
- Clarke, Samuel. The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie,  
1650.
- A Generall Martyrologie...Whereunto  
Are Added the Lives of Sundry  
Modern Divines, 1651.
- A Collection of the Lives of Ten  
Eminent Divines, 1662.
- Coccio Marcantonio Rapsodiae Historiarum Enneadum, 1535.
- Choryate, Thomas. The Odcombian Banquet, 1611.
- Cotton, Clement. The Mirror of Martyrs, 1615.
- Cowley, Abraham. The Works, 1668.
- Dallington, Sir Robert. Aphorismes Civill and Militarie,...  
1613.
- Daniel, Samuel. The Collection of the Historie of  
England, 1618.
- Davenant, John. One of the Sermons Preached at  
Westminster, the fifth of Aprill...  
1628
- Dent, Arthur. The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven,  
1601.
- Donne, John. Devotions upon Emergent Occasions,  
1624.
- " LXXX Sermons, 1640.
- " Fifty Sermons, 1649.
- " Poems, Everyman, 1931.

- Drummond, William. The History of Scotland..Containing the Lives and Reigns of James the I, the II, the III, the IV, the V, 1665.
- Drusius, John. Historia Ruth ex Ebraeo Latine Conversa & Commentario Explicata, 1586.
- Dyke, Daniel. The Mystery of Self-Deceiving, 1634.
- Earle, John. Microcosmographie, or a Peece of the World Discovered, 1628.
- Epictetus. The Manuell...transl. Sanford, 1567.
- Erasmus. Apophthegms....transl. N.Udall, 1542.
- Evelyn, John. Memoirs...Comprising His Diary, ed. William Bray, 1818.
- Featly, Daniel. Ancilla Pietatis; or the Hand-Maid to Private Devotion, 1639.
- Feltham, Owen. Resolves, 1634 [5th ed.]
- Flaccius, Matthias. Ecclesiastica Historia...per Aliquot Studiosos et Pios Viros in Urbe Magdeburgicae, 1624.
- Flecknoe, Richard. Enigmaticall Characters, 1658.
- Fletcher, Giles. Poems - ed. Alexander Grosart, 1868.
- Fletcher, Phineas. Poems - ed. Alexander Grosart, 1869.
- Foxe, John. Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, 1583.
- The Gospels...Translated...out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung of the Saxons, 1571.
- Frank, Mark. Sermons, 1849.

- Gainsford, Thomas. The Rich Cabinet Furnished with Varietie of Excellent Descriptions, 1616.
- Gerhard, Johann. The Soules Watch: or a Day-Booke for the Devout Soule. Englished by R.B. [Richard Bruch], 1621.
- " " The Meditations, transl. Ralph Winterton, 1627.
- Gerardus, Andreas [Hyperius] The Practis of Preaching, Otherwise Called the Pathway to the Pulpit... transl. John Ludham, 1577.
- Godwin, Frances. A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, since the First Planting of the Christian Religion in this Island, Together with a Briefe History of Their Lives and Memorable Actions, 1601.
- Francesco Guicciardini. The Historie of Guicciardin, Con- teining the Warres of Italie and Other Parties...Reduced into English by G.Fenton, 1579.
- Hacket, John. A Century of Sermon upon Several Remarkable Subjects, 1675.
- Hall, Joseph. Characters of Vertues and Vices, 1608.
- Meditations and Vowes, Divine and Morall 1609
- The Art of Divine Meditation 1609
- Holy Observations
- Solomons Divine Arts, of 1. Ethikes, 2. Politickes, 3. Ceconomicks: That is; the Government of 1, Behaviour, 2. Common-wealth, 3. Familie, 1609.
- Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie, 1612-26.
- Occasionall Meditations, 1633.
- Select Thoughts, One Century. Also, the Breathing of the Devout Soul, 1648.
- The Works , 1837-39.

- Hayward, Sir John. The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the 1111, 1599.
- Henry of Huntingdon. Historia. Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores. Post Bedam Praecipui, ed. Sir Henry Savile, 1601.
- Helvicus, Christopher. Theatrum Historicum: sive Chronologiae Systema, 1629.
- Henshaw, Joseph. Horae Succisivae, or Spare-Houres of Meditations, 1601.
- Meditations Miscellaneous, Holy and Humane, 1637.
- Herbert, George. The Works, ed. F.E.Hutchinson, 1941.
- Heylin, Peter. Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World. A Treatise Historicall, Geographicall, Politicall, Theologicall, 1621.
- Cosmographie...Contayning the Chorographie & Historie of the Whole World, 1652.
- Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in Some Modern Histories, 1659.
- Heywood, John. The Proverbs, ed. J.Sharman, 1874.
- Heywood, Thomas. Tunāikeon: or, Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women; Inscribed by the Names of the Nine Muses, 1624.
- Holland, Henry. Heroologia Anglica. Hoc Est, Clarissimorum et Doctissimorum, Aliquot Anglorum...Vivae Effigies, Vitae et Elogia, 1620.
- Hugo de S.Victoire. Omnium Opera, 1648.



- Jenner, Thomas. The Soules Solace, or Thirtie and One Spiritual Emblemes, 1626.
- Jewel, John. The Works....and a Briefe Discourse of His Life, 1609.
- Josephus. The Famous and Memorable Workes... Transl. by Thomas Lodge, 1620.
- Keckerman, Bartholomew. Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae, 1606.
- à Kempis, Thomas. The Imitation of Christ, transl. Thomas Rogers, 1580.
- Knolles, Richard. The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the First Beginning of that Nation to the Rising of the Othoman Familie, 1610.
- Laud, Archbishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech... the 10 of January 1644, 1644.
- Lavater, Ludovicus. Liber Ruth...Homiliis XXVIII Expositus, 1578.
- Leland, John. The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities, 1549.
- Ling, Nicholas. Politeuphuia. Wits Commonwealth, 1597.
- Lithgow, William. A Most Delectable, and True Discourse, of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke, 1614.
- Lupton, Donald. The History of the Modern Protestant Divines, Containing Their Parents, Countries, Education, Studies, Lives, and the Yeare of Our Lord in which they Dyed. 1637.
- Lyly, John. Euphues...Ed. Morris W.Croll and Harry Clemons, 1916.

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. The Florentine Historie...Transl. Thomas Bedingfeld, 1595.
- Marbecke, John. The Lyves of Holy Sainctes, Prophets, Patriarches, and Others, Contayned in Holye Scripture, 1574.
- Mason, John. The Turke, ed. Joseph Quincey Adams, published in Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, 1913.
- Meres, Francis. Wits Common Wealth, 1634.
- Milton, John. Poetical Works, ed. Masson, 1874.
- Moryson, Fynes. An Itinerary, 1617.
- Mynshul, Geffray. Certaine Characters and Essayes of Prison and Prisoners, 1618.
- Naunton, Sir Robert. Fragmenta Regalia, 1641.
- Paradin Claude. Devises Heroiques, 1557.
- Paris, Matthew. Monarchi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Maior, 1571.
- Peacham, Henry. Minerva Britanna, 1612.
- Pellicanus, Conradus. Opera, 1533.
- Pepys, Samuel. Diary, ed. H.Wheatley, 1904.
- Perkins, William. The Works, 1608.
- Pitts, John. Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis. Running Title, De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus, 1619.
- Playfere, Thomas. The Whole Sermons, 1623.
- Plutarch. The Philosophie, Commonly Called, the Moralls, transl. Philemon Holland, 1603.

- Powell, Thomas. Direction for the Search of Records, 1622.  
A Repertorie of Records, 1631.
- Purchas, Samuel. Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, 1625.
- Quarles, Francis. Emblemes, 1635.  
Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man, 1638.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter. The History of the World, 1614.
- Roger of Hovedon. Annals: Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam Praecipui, ed. Sir Henry Savile, 1601.
- Sambucus, Joannes. Emblemata cum Aliquot Nummis Antiquis, 1586.
- Sanderson, William. A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland and of Her Son and Successor, James the Sixth, 1656.
- Selden, John. History of Tithes, 1618.
- Serarius, Nicholas. Commentarii in Sacros Bibliorum Libros, Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, 1611.
- Smith, Henry. The Workes, 1675.
- Sparke, Michael. The Crums of Comfort; with Godly Prayers, 1628.
- Speed, John. The History of Great Britaine, 1611.
- Spencer, John. Things New and Old. Or a Store-house of Similes, 1658.
- Stafford, Antony. Meditations, and Resolutions, Moral, Divine, Politicall, 1612.

- Stow, John. The Annales of England, 1605.
- Struther, William. Christian Observations and Resolutions, 1628.
- Theophrastus. Theophrasti Characteres Ethici...  
..I. Casaubonus Recensuit in  
Latinum Sermonem Vertit et Libro  
Commentario Illustravit, 1592.  
Characters - trans. John Healey, 1616.
- Thucydides. Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian  
Warre...Interpreted...by Thomas  
Hobbes, 1629.
- Tostado, Alfonso. Opera Omnia, 1596.
- Udall, John. A Commentarie upon the Lamentations  
of Jeremy, 1595.
- Ussher, James. Eighteen Sermons Preached in  
Oxford, 1640 , 1659.
- Waller, Edmund. The Poems...The Works of the  
British Poets, Vol. XIX, XX,  
1822.
- Whitaker, William. Opera Theologica, 1610.
- Whitney, Geoffrey. A Choice of Emblemes, 1586.
- Wilkins, John. Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse Con-  
cerning the Gift of Preaching,  
1646.
- William of Malmsbury. De Gestis Regum Anglorum. Rerum  
Anglicarum Scriptores Post  
Bedam Praecipui, ed. Sir Henry  
Savile, 1601.



- William of Tyre. Belli Sacri Historia, Libris XXIII  
Comprehensa, 1549.  
A History of Deeds Done beyond the  
Sea, transl. Babcock and Krey,  
1943.
- Wilson, Thomas. The Arte of Rhetorique, 1553.
- Winstanley, William. England's Worthies. Select Lives  
of the Most Eminent Persons from  
Constantine the Great, to the  
Death of Oliver Cromwel, 1659.
- Wither, George. A Collection of Emblemes, 1635.
- à Wood, Anthony. Athenae Oxonienses, 1691-92.
- Wright, Abraham. Five Sermons, in Five Several  
Styles: or Waies of Preaching,  
1656.

Later Works: Criticism, Biography,History, Anthologies, etc.

- Adams, Eleanor N. Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800, 1917.
- Addison. The Spectator, No. LXI Thursday, May 10th, 1711.
- Addison, William. Worthy Dr. Fuller.
- Anon correspondent. Gentleman's Magazine, 1799.
- Bailey, John Eglington. The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D. With Notices of his Books, his Kinsmen, and his Friends, 1874.
- Barker, Sir Ernest. The Crusades, 1923.
- Boyce, Benjamin. The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642, 1947.
- Broadus, John A. Lectures on the History of Preaching, 1899.
- Bush, Douglas. English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660, 1946.
- Chew, Samuel. The Crescent and the Rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance, 1937.
- Clarke, G.N. The Seventeenth Century.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. Notes on English Divines, Ed. Derwent Coleridge, 1853.  
Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, , 1853.

- Craik, Henry                      English Prose: Selections...Vol. II.  
Sixteenth Century to the Res-  
toration, 1894.
- Crane, William G.                Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance,  
1937.
- Dargan, Edwin C.                A History of Preaching 1572-1900,  
1942.
- Dean, Leonard F.                Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil  
History Writing.  
[Journal of English Literary  
History, Vol. 8] 1941.  
Tudor Theories of History Writing.  
[Univ. of Michigan Contributions  
in Modern Philology, No. 1], 1947.
- Douglas, David C.                English Scholars, 1939.
- Dredge, John.                    The Writings of Richard Bernard,  
A Bibliography, 1890.
- Dunn, Waldo M.                 English Biography (The Channels of  
English Literature), 1916.
- Einstein, Lewis.                 The Italian Renaissance in England,  
1902.
- Ellis, Sir Henry.                Original Letters of Eminent  
Literary Men of the Sixteenth,  
Seventeenth, and Eighteenth  
Centuries, 1843.
- Flower, Robin.                  Laurence Nowell and the Discovery  
of England in Tudor Times,  
(Gollancz Memorial Lecture),  
1936.
- Freeman, Rosemary.             English Emblem Books, 1948.

- Fuller, Morris J.                   The Life, Times and Writings of  
  Thomas Fuller, 1884.  
Life, Letters and Writings of John  
  Davenant, D.D.,           , 1897.
- Fussel, G.                            Exploration in England, 1935.
- Galbraith, V.H.                    Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris.  
  [11th Lecture on the David  
  Murray Foundation in the Univ.  
  of Glasgow] 1944.
- Gibbon, Edmund.                    The History of the Decline and Fall  
  of the Roman Empire, 1898.
- Gibson, Strickland.                A Bibliography of the Works of  
  Thomas Fuller, D.D. (Oxford  
  Bibl. Society Proceedings and  
  Papers, Vol. IV, 1934-1935), 1936.
- Gough, Richard.                    British Topography, 1780.
- Green, Henry.                        Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers,  
  1870.
- Grierson, Sir Herbert.              Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of  
  the Seventeenth Century, 1921.
- Haller, William.                    The Rise of Puritanism; or, the Way  
  to the New Jerusalem as Set  
  Forth in Pulpit and Press from  
  Thomas Cartwright to John  
  Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-  
  1643, 1938.
- Henson, Herbert, Bishop            Studies in English Religion in the  
  of Hereford and                    Seventeenth Century, 1903.  
  Durham.
- Houghton, Walter E.                The Formation of Thomas Fuller's  
  "Holy and Profane States",  
  1938.



- Jessopp, Augustus. Wise Words and Quaint Counsels of Thomas Fuller, 1892.
- Johnston, James C. Biography: the Literature of Personality, 1927.
- Jones, Foster R. Ancients and Moderns. A Study of the Background of the 'Battle of the Books'. (Washington Univ. Studies Language and Literature, No. 6), 1936.
- Jordan, W.K. "The Development of Religious Toleration in England", 1932-1940  
(4 Vols.)
- Kellet, Ernest E. Reconsiderations, 1928.
- Kingsford, Charles Lethbridge. English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, 1913.
- Lamb, Charles. Specimens from the Writings of Fuller, the Church Historian. (The Reflector, IV), 1812.
- Lee, Sir Sidney. Principles of Biography, 1911.
- Lyman, Dean. The Great Tom Fuller, 1935.
- Maurois, André. Aspects of Biography, 1929.
- Mitchell, W.Fraser. English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson, 1932.
- Mullinger, James Bass. Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century, 1867.  
History of the University of Cambridge, 1888.
- Murphy, Gwendolen. A Cabinet of Characters, 1925.

- Nicolson, Sir Harold. The Development of English Biography, 1927.
- Nicolson, William, Bishop of Carlisle. The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries, 1736.
- Osborne, Harold. A Mirror of Charactery. A Selection of Characters as Depicted by English Writers from Chaucer to the Present Day, 1933.
- Owst, G.R. Preaching in Medieval England, 1926.
- Parkes, Joan. Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century, 1925.
- Paul, Herbert. Men and Letters, 1901.
- Powicke, F. M. Sir Henry Spelman and the 'Concilia', 1931. [Raleigh Lecture on History, 1930].
- Richardson, Caroline F. English Preachers and Preaching, 1640-1670, 1928.
- Rogers, Henry. Essay on the Life and Genius of Thomas Fuller, with Selections from His Writings, 1856.
- Russell, Arthur. Memorials of the Life and Works of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1844.
- Simpson, Evelyn M. A study of the Prose Works of John Donne, 1924.
- Smith, David Nichol. Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century, 1918.

- Southey, Robert. Commonplace Book, 1849-1851.
- Stauffer, Donald A. English Biography before 1700 ,  
1930.
- Stephen, Sir Leslie. Hours in a Library; Thomas Fuller.  
[The Cornhill Magazine, Vol. 25,  
No. IV], 1872.
- Strauss, Leo. The Political Philosophy of Hobbes,  
1936.
- Strype, John. The Life and Actes of Matthew  
Parker, 1711.
- Sybel, Heinrich von. The History and Literature of the  
Crusades, 1861.
- Taylor, Eva. Late Tudor and Early Stuart  
Geography, 1934.
- Teggart, Frederick J. Theory and Processes of History, 1941.
- Thompson, Elbert N.S. Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance,  
1924.
- Thompson, Elbert N.S. The Seventeenth Century English  
Essay. [Univ. of Iowa Humanistic  
Studies, Vol. III] 1928.
- Thompson, James W. A History of Historical Writing, 1942.
- Tuve, Rosamund. Elizabethan and Metaphysical  
Imagery, 1947.
- Warburton, William. The Works, 1811.
- White, Helen C. English Devotional Literature  
[Prose] 1600-1640, 1931.
- Willey, Basil. The Seventeenth Century Background,  
1934.
- Wilson, F.P. English Proverbs and Dictionaries  
of Proverbs [The Bibliographical  
Society], 1945.

- Withington, Robert.       Essays and Characters, 1933.
- Wordsworth, Christopher. Ecclesiastical Biography, 1853.
- Wright, Louis B.         Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan  
                              England, 1935.