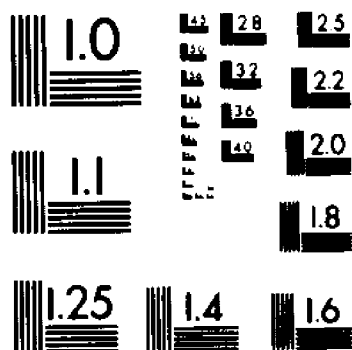


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JOHN EACHARD'S "THE GROUNDS & OCCASIONS OF THE CONTEMPT OF
THE CLERGY AND RELIGION ENQUIRED INTO IN A LETTER WRITTEN TO
R.L."

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1986

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JOHN EACHARD'S
THE GROUNDS & OCCASIONS OF THE CONTEMPT OF THE CLERGY
AND RELIGION ENQUIRED INTO IN A LETTER WRITTEN TO R.L.

edited by
ROBERTA KRAMER
with an extended monograph as an introduction

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Nov. 14, 1985
date

Samuel I. Mintz
Chairman, Examining Committee

12/12/85
date

Michael T. Miller
Executive Officer

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SR

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank the following people and institutions for their part in facilitating my work and enabling me to write this dissertation:

PROFESSOR SAMUEL I. MINTZ, adviser for my dissertation, who was unfailingly generous with his time and energy. He offered sound advice and valuable suggestions. His encouragement buoyed me; his example of intellectual curiosity and scholarly integrity inspired me.

PROFESSORS DAVID GREETHAM and SAM LEVIN, who kindly agreed to serve on my committee and read my work, and who made helpful, insightful suggestions.

NASSAU COMMUNITY COLLEGE, for supporting my work by granting me a sabbatical to travel abroad and devote myself full-time to my research.

DR. J.R. SHAKESHAFT, Librarian at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, for allowing me reading privileges.

Dr. J.H. Baker, Keeper of the Archives, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, for allowing me access to Zachard's correspondence and memorandum books.

MRS. AVRIL PEDLEY, Assistant Librarian and Assistant Archivist, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, for her kindness in making materials available to me, and for her encouragement.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY for allowing me reading privileges.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY for allowing me reading privileges.

LYNN KADISON of the CUNY Graduate Center, for years of friendship, encouragement, and support.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

At the end of summer 1670, William Godbid printed, for Nathaniel Brooke at the Angel in Cornhill, a book called The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into in a Letter written to R.L. The author, identified only by the pseudonymous initials T. B., was thirty-four year old John Eachard, then a fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. The book excited a great deal of interest and quickly required the production of multiple editions, six in the first year alone. That it was widely read is attested by innumerable occasional references to it in the theological literature of the period. There are also complete and direct responses. Admirers of the work emulated it, producing similar works of their own; opponents wrote furious refutations, affording Eachard the opportunity to wax still more eloquent on the subject; so there were several years of thrust and counter-thrust as he and his anonymous opponents wrote opposing works.

One of the reasons that Grounds and Occasions was so popular was its style. Written in the manner known as raillery or drollery, the words fairly dance on the pages; images leap out and remain in the mind. Eachard was a coiner of phrases; so fresh and original was his language, that many of his sentences are used illustratively by the Oxford

English Dictionary. His style is caustic, irreverent, funny, and energetic. He is witty and sardonic, as well as lively, but the humor is a device of satire. His purpose is to sympathize, not to deride; he calls attention to a problem to enlist the reader's concern.

What Grounds and Occasions does is bring to public notice the plight of the lower clergy of Eachard's time. Eachard inquires into the roles which class feeling, clerical behavior, and educational practices and selection played in forming a general popular contempt of the clergy and of the religion they represented. In a satiric observation of the power of circular reasoning, he observed, first, that because people thought little of the clergy, they paid them little; therefore the clergy were poor and parishioners, having a class feeling against poor people, again thought badly of the clergy. Second, too many unqualified applicants were accepted into the ranks of the clergy; they were ignorant men, and the people held an ignorant clergy in contempt. Furthermore, even the well-educated clergy were alienated from their congregations; one of Eachard's important points is that since the clergy were educated in classical languages and rhetorical styles, their elaborately constructed sermons frequently flew over the heads of their congregants. Ahead of his time as a theorist of education, Eachard called for the use of the English language and English literature, and

for the acquisition of practical knowledge.

Eachard's portrait of the clergyman in Grounds and Occasions has its roots in the tradition of the character as conceived by Theophrastus and in the character of the cleric/scholar depicted by Overbury and Earle, and by Burton in "The Misery of Scholars" section of The Anatomy of Melancholy. Theophrastus tried to capture the essence of recognizable types. The seventeenth century character writers added wit and adopted a subjective analysis in place of the external dramatic depiction (Boyce, 7-8).

Unlike these writers, Eachard presented an argument in his portraits, more than an exposition. He depicted the often absurd struggle for survival and dignity of some of God's ministers, saying that attention must be paid to their needs and that something can and must be done to ensure good ministers for the people and a good life for the ministers. His portraits are only slightly removed from Burton's and are as full of concern, but Eachard adds the twist of humor, the telling detail, to cause the reader, particularly the seventeenth century reader, to recognize a truth that comes near to him. Eachard takes an important problem of the time and treats it lightly in terms of style, but with intellectual seriousness and clarity.

Unimpressed by the humor, or misled by it, some

took Grounds and Occasions itself as a contemptuous attack on the clergy, villifying the author as a rogue, a rascal, a dog, and a thief. Largely, these opponents were anxious to present an idealized portrait of the clergy and of pastor-parishioner relations, whereas Eachard was a realist, dealing with facts and occurrences.

In an apology that was to influence similar protestations by the persona of Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal," Eachard explains that he is not motivated by "pinching necessity," that he is not a clergyman aspiring to higher office, nor is he discontent with the "present settled Church," not having lost King's or Bishop's lands. He has not "missed preferment in The University" and is not troubled by marital complaint. That is, Eachard is not writing out of some personal grievance, but as an "honest and hearty wisher" that the best of the clergy should continue rich and learned "and the rest be useful and well esteemed."

Eachard's concerns are typically of the Restoration -- The status of the clergy, problems of non-conformity, implications of Hobbesian materialism, the role of reason in religious beliefs, and the development of an English prose style under the influence of the new science and the new philosophy. Although he does not say so explicitly, Eachard, as an Anglican divine, is concerned about the insidious

impact of the non-conforming clergy and there is, in Grounds & Occasions, a hidden polemic against them; many, but certainly not all, of the examples of absurdity are taken from sermons delivered by dissenters. (At least one example is said to be from a sermon delivered by one of Eachard's own uncles.)

Eachard wrote at a period of educational ferment. His comments on education are part of a tradition of educational reform which begins with Comenius and continues through Locke. Eachard shares the same humane outlook of the other two thinkers, the same concern with the child; and like Comenius and Locke, he is eager to promote utility in education. However, in terms of method, Eachard anticipates and is closer to Locke, and he is critical of Comenius.

Comenius is broad, even universal, in his expectations of education, seeing it as a vehicle for social change as well as for the development of the individual. He presents the idea of a "pansophia" -- a plan for utilizing the entire range of human activities, for assimilating all knowledge. An enthusiastic cataloger and classifier, he developed a precise and demanding system of teaching and learning, based on an interrelationship of language (especially Latin) and the things explained in that language. His educational maxim is that words and things should never

be divorced, that knowledge of the language should go hand in hand with the knowledge of the things explained (Monroe, 128).

Ernest M. Eller, who edited Comenius' The School of Infancy, noted that in the Renaissance, "schools became little more than pedantic mills to teach Greek and Latin. They lost both the soul of education as well as practical knowledge of how to educate . . . the curriculum produced boredom rather than a classroom's priceless ingredient, interest" (Comenius, 23). Locke has similar ideas on the subject:

When I consider, what a-do is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many Years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the Parents of Children still live in fear of the School-Master's Rod, which they look on as the only Instrument of Education; as a Language or two to be its whole Business. How else is it possible that a Child should be chain'd to the Oar, Seven, Eight, or Ten of the best Years of his Life, to get a Language or two, which I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of Pains and Time, and be learn'd almost in playing? (Locke, 254)

Comenius' earlier response to the same question is his Janua Linguarum Reserta (1631), the work which made him famous. This book presented words and things to be learned simultaneously, as an alternative to the usual practice of presenting words to be memorized independently of context. Comenius arranged the Latin and the native languages in parallel columns of useful sentences.

Although Eachard also questions "whether it be unavoidably necessary to keep Lads to sixteen or seventeen years of Age, in pure slavery to a few Latin or Greek words," he criticizes Comenius' approach, possibly put off by the encyclopedic cataloging. He suggests that young students will see through the games and enticements of Comenius, to the underlying tedium: "Lads, certainly, ought to be won by all possible Arts and Devices, and though many have invented fine Pictures and Games, to cheat them into the undertaking of unreasonable burdens, yet this by no means is such a lasting temptations, as the propounding of that, which in itself is pleasant and alluring." Eachard's solution is "a right down offering of such Books which are ingenious and convenient," rather than a "heap of independent words," and he recommends students' "reading philosophical, as well as other ingenious Authors" instead of "Janua Linguarum's crabbed Poems and cross-grain'd Prose."

Eachard wished to replace a narrow accomplishment of language with a broader understanding of relationships of language to other things in the world. He thought this would produce a better scholar and, ultimately, a better clergyman, one more useful to his congregants.

Between 1670 and 1698, Grounds and Occasions appeared in eleven editions. Beginning in 1705, it was

included in collected Works which also included Eachard's Observations on an Answer to the Enquiry, his Mr. Hobbes's State of Nature Considered in a Dialogue (the first Dialogue 1672, the second 1673) and Five Letters. The letters were first published with the 1672 Dialogue and they form part of the controversy surrounding Grounds and Occasions.

Although Eachard's work itself cannot be credited with any specific major or general reform, it did advance a cause, call attention to a problem, and inspire others to continue the pressure for change. Furthermore, it is a work that is a pleasure to read, being written in a delightfully lively, colloquial, yet erudite prose style. Its popularity extended into the two following centuries, but Eachard has not yet found his way into modern anthologies of seventeenth century writing. He is, therefore, a little-known figure today. No text is readily available. Currently, in order to read Eachard, one must search him out in a rare book room, a difficulty the present edition seeks to remedy.

AN EACHARD CHRONOLOGY

1636?	born in Yoxford, Suffolk
Jan. 26, 1636	baptized in parish church of Yoxford
May 10, 1653	admitted to Catharine Hall, Cambridge
1656	B.A.
1658	elected a fellow of his college
1660	M.A.
1670	<u>Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy</u>
1671	<u>Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry</u>
1672	<u>Mr. Hobbs's State of Nature Considered</u>
1672	<u>Moonshine</u>
1673	<u>Some Opinions of Mr. Hobbs Considered in a Second Dialogue</u>
1675	chosen Master of Catharine College
1676	created D.D. by royal mandate
1679	elected vice-chancellor of the university
1695	re-elected vice-chancellor
July 7, 1697	died
July 14, 1697	buried in chapel at Catharine Hall

JOHN EACHARD'S LIFE

There are no substantial biographies of John Eachard; virtually nothing is known of his growing years and his personal life. The account of his life offered in the D.N.B. gives little more than the dates available in public records; and the Life with which T. Davies prefaces the 1772 edition is little more than a recounting of an anecdote of a dinner engagement of Eachard's. Any understanding of the man must be gleaned from what is known of the world in which he lived, from the writing which he produced, and from the college which he rebuilt. This account will take these factors, as well as the known facts, into account.

John Eachard was born in the village of Yoxford, in East Suffolk, and baptized in the Yoxford parish church on January 26, 1636. He was the first-born of the four sons and two daughters of Lawrence Eachard, Vicar of the parish of Yoxford, and Mary, daughter of Thomas Hull. The other children were Lawrence, Mary, Thomas, Anne, and Christopher (Add.Ms. 19,128 pp.1-2). The Eachards had a large extended family living in Suffolk; most of the men were clergymen and many bore the same names, especially John and Lawrence. A contemporary of Eachard's at St. Catharine's College, Samuel

Crisp, wrote in a 1694 letter, "The Eachards abound with us, and have some of them three or four parishes each, so that a stranger not long since travelling that road and enquiring the ministers' names as he proceeded in his journey and hearing nothing but Eachard, Eachard, Eachard, thought we had here a distinct tribe of that name and that all the country had been Eachard" (Jones, 307). [The repetition of names has caused an historical confusion as well. At least one sermon by John Eachard's uncle, also named John Eachard, has been misidentified in reference books as that of the nephew.]

In an abstract of a complete survey of all benefices made by a commission which met October 15, 1650 at Halesworth, Eachard's father, misidentified as Lawrence Easter, was listed in the parishes of Blything Hundred as minister of the parish of Yoxford village, which is noted as "A great towne & hath a great store of inhabitants." The patron was Philip Bedingfield, and the value of the parish was reported as £33 (History of Suffolk, 45), sum, when the average was £20 to £30 per year.

Also in Halesworth that year, when Eachard was fourteen years old, his father was charged with misdemeanors. At a hearing in Halesworth, the elder Eachard was charged with swearing and hunting, playing cards, keeping beagles, having loose and profane speech, bringing "profane & disorderly people to preach in the church" and with

"fleering" and laughing at "reverent & godly ministers" (Baker Ms., 214-22). It is not said who brought the charges, but the Reverend Eachard was well-supported by his parishioners, who signed petitions defending him and who came to the hearing to speak on his behalf. If the charges of the father's irreverent manner have any truth to them, they may account for some of the same qualities in the son, as revealed in his writing. Even if the charges were unfounded, the experience of their having been made and of their having to be defended against must have had great impact on the household, the parish, and the adolescent development of the son.

Yoxford is located on the East Anglian plain, a flat area rarely attaining a height of 400 feet. In Eachard's time, the primary industries, agriculture and fishing, had made the area prosperous. At least a dozen grammar schools had been established in Suffolk before 1548, usually conducted by secular clergy (History of Suffolk, 301). The importance of education was a given for the Eachard family. Eachard's father, a Trinity scholar, had been a schoolmaster before his preferment, and the young John Eachard was educated at the Yoxford local grammar school before going on to Cambridge, as did fourteen others in his family (Mason, 10-11).

At seventeen, Eachard entered what was then known

as Catharine Hall, where he was to remain for the rest of his life. Like others in his family, he worked as a sizar to offset the cost of his education. His progress as a student in the college was apparently routine and uneventful. He completed the usual course of study and was elected a fellow of the college. In 1675, on the death of Dr. John Lightfoot, Eachard was so highly regarded that he was chosen Master, at which time he pledged himself to continue Dr. Lightfoot's recently begun work of re-building the crumbling buildings of the college. He was honored the following year, when he was created Doctor of Divinity by royal mandate, and further honored by being twice elected vice-chancellor of the university, in 1679 and in 1695.

Notwithstanding these accomplishments, a chronicler of the history of St. Catharine's, W.H.S. Jones, paints a sorry portrait of Eachard as "a dull man and a casual manager of money affairs . . . a victim of . . . an irresistible urge to be generous at other people's expense" and as a man "somewhat greedy," who, against custom, continued tutoring while Master of the college. Jones' portrayal of Eachard's character and personality is devastating: "Energetic but dull, active but selfish, thinking of his own glory and caring little how he satisfied his ambitions so long as they were satisfied, Eachard can scarcely have been a good influence on the Society. But, with all his faults, he rebuilt the College" (Jones, 182, 101-2, 110). This last,

Eachard's crowning achievement and the major preoccupation of the last two decades of his life, is almost dismissed as an afterthought by Jones.

Before he plunged into the reconstruction of the college, Eachard had several years of intense activity as a writer. Jones, following the lead of Browne, an earlier chronicler of the history of St. Catharine's, misidentifies Eachard's first work as the Dialogue on Hobbes; in fact, the 1670 Grounds & Occasions was the first. That work and the controversy which it provoked will be discussed in detail later in this introduction; for now it is enough to say that Eachard's output as a writer was slight, but his work was intense and his influence significant. In the three years following the publication of Grounds & Occasions, Eachard busied himself with replying to his irate respondents and writing his two dialogues on Hobbes. He also wrote a pamphlet, not recorded in most Eachard bibliographies, entitled Moonshine, a work which again took aim at the non-conformist clergy. Eachard was the indirect cause of many works written in direct response to his own, and echoes of his voice ring through many others. However, there is no indication that Eachard attended to any of his writings beyond this brief period of 1670 to 1673, and every indication that he turned his enthusiasm from writing to the more absorbing task of working on the college.

Catharine Hall opened on St. Catharine's Day, November 25, 1473, but without the library or chapel completed. In Eachard's time, the buildings were falling to pieces, beyond the help of repair. On February 23, 1673, the rebuilding began under the Mastership of Dr. John Lightfoot (Jones, 100). When Dr. Lightfoot died on December 6, 1675, and Eachard was chosen Master, he carried forth the reconstruction plans with a passion: of the forty-four years that Eachard was at St. Catharine's, twenty-two were dedicated to this work. The hundreds of letters and the memorandum books containing his meticulous recording of figures, now lodged in the archives of the College, show a man possessed of a vision, with a single-minded dedication to seeing it realized.

Eachard was ingenious at inducing people to contribute to the college funds, creating diverse fund titles to appeal to specific donors' interests. In one memorandum book, he organizes schools and amounts "for augmenting scholarship." He lists the names of sixteen people, "Such as are likely to promote the settlement of two Scholarships at Merchant Taylor School," of twelve who might provide "Two Scholarships at Eaton," and of thirty "For 2 Scholarships at Bury School" (Eachard Archives, xl/12a). One of his schemes was to settle ten of St. Catharine's thirty scholarships on five of the nation's most eminent schools -- Paul's, Merchant Taylor, Eton, Ipswich, and Bury -- and for each of these to

provide matching funds for each of its scholars to be sent to St. Catharine's.

To reduce the immediate impact on individual pocketbooks and to counter pleas of cash shortages, Eachard devised installment plans for pledges. One list is headed, "These have promised to give 50^s a year for four years. As they are crossed so often have they paid." Of fifteen people listed, three showed crosses, one sent 100 for two years, and one made another arrangement. Then, as now, it was easier for a fund-raiser to obtain a pledge than to obtain payment. Another list is headed "These following all of our own colledge are likely to give 50^s for four years: & some of them perhaps for Life" and Eachard hopefully lists twenty-seven names. On another page he gathers twenty-three names, noting "These in Cambridge are likely "(Archives, L/21). It is interesting to speculate whether "of our own colledge" refers to colleagues or to undergraduates, sons of families of means, who Eachard hoped would become contributing alumni, and whether "These in Cambridge" refers to colleagues in other colleges of the university or to members of the town, perhaps tradespersons dependent on supplying the college.

Even Eachard's having continued to tutor after becoming Master, for which he has been accused of personal greed, may well have been a function of his two life-long

concerns, the education of the young and the success of the college. At one point, of the twenty-eight students whose tutors were known, twelve were being tutored by Eachard. (How "dull" could he have been, to have had so many desiring his instruction? He was implored by parents as well as by students to serve.) Possibly he was motivated by a wish for the money to be turned to the building fund; he had no wife or children and nowhere is there any evidence that he lived beyond his income. Another motivation would be the opportunity to continue to have a direct hand in teaching. In a January 15, 1676 letter to Samuel Frankland, headmaster of the Coventry School, in which Eachard proposes two scholarships and in which he offers his opinion, Frankland having asked it, Eachard writes, "Having been much used to pupils, the greatest defect that I usually find is that they cannot turn common English readily into plain and tolerable Latin. And if more time were spent in translating out of English into Latin and less in composing themes and speeches (though that need not be neglected wholly) I am confident it would be to much advantage. This is not, Sir, my opinion only, but many others; but particularly of Mr. Milton; who though he was a man of very vile principles, yet he was a great wit and scholar, and most accurate in the Latin tongue." There also remains in the archives a partial draft, written in Eachard's hand, of a pamphlet headed A Sure Way of Writing Method, another indication of his abiding belief in

the importance of clear communication.

Some of the energy and intensity of the man may be deduced from the style of record keeping in the memorandum books, as well as from the activity recorded in them. Eachard kept both fair and foul copies of lists and the rough copies of letters, and he frequently wrote back to front as well as front to back in a book, leaving the center bare. Numbering the pages ahead may be seen as a sign of his having been forward-looking -- or of being impatient -- although not all of the numbered pages were used before he went on to the next book.

Eachard's personal records also appear in the later memorandum books. He records having paid to sister Gardner, on January 10, 1696, "one whole year's Annuity" for their mother (Archives, L/56). This was probably the income on the family property in Yarmouth, a share of which had been passed to Eachard by his father. Eachard indexed the contents of this book, which contains very detailed recordings and accountings of expenditures, both cost and reason. Several pages are noted "examined by me," and signed. Although page two is "for the College" and page forty lists "Old Debts for Pupils," this book is largely concerned with matters familial. There are listings of accounts for "Brother Lawrence," "Sister Gardner"[Anne], "Brother Christopher," and "accounts relating to my Fathers executors." On pages 42-43,

the funeral accounts for Eachard's father, whose will was probated on February 20, 1695, are accompanied by commentary. In one instance, Eachard observes of some figures, "I did not make of the whole above 2s and so much am I willing to be charged with"; in another, he outlines what is due from his father's executors for Brother Christopher, for their mother's whole year annuity, for Sister Gardner and others, as well as reimbursements for himself, leaving a remainder due from the executors to Dr. Eachard of £10.12.7.

Two of the five volumes which comprise MS xl/12 detail the costs of rebuilding the college. Volume five, with twenty-four pages of lists of "Benefactors towards the rebuilding of St. Catharine's Hall which was begun February 23, 1673," indicates amounts paid through 1695. Volume four contains twenty-five pages of lists detailing the expenditures for stone, timber, sand, and bricks; for mason, bricklayer, lime-man, painter, and surveyor; for a carpet for the chapel; and for reimbursement of expenses: letters, messenger, horses. At Eachard's death, £10,620.11.11 had been spent, but only £8972.17.2 received, leaving a debit of £1647.17.9 and the chapel still to be built (xl/12 v.4). Also, the college owed £1240 on bonds. Dr. Eachard's personal liabilities were £603 owed to relatives and friends, and £950.17.5 to the university, plus about £300 due to workmen. Aware of the discrepancy between income and outflow, Eachard bequeathed his estate to the university.

John Eachard was a financial entrepreneur. In addition to actively seeking donations, he borrowed whenever he could. Interest on loans, sometimes as high as ten per cent was a "very large item throughout Dr. Eachard's time" (Browne, 141). He also sold almost 800 ounces of plate and curtailed the Bachelors' and Fellows' feasts to save expense and use the money for the building fund (Jones, 141). He juggled a dream and its finances in the air while he supervised the solid construction on the ground, surely expecting the project to come out financially sound at the end, but nevertheless pledging his own estate against the possibility of his not seeing it through. And, indeed, he did die before his work was completed, a circumstance which brought hardship to his family and occasioned a two-decade correspondence between his relatives, principally sister Gardner, and the College.

Some of the family letters are heart-rending in their pleas. Less than three months after Eachard's death, Mrs. Gardner wrote, asking £20 due from the College Tenant living "in Mr. Scrivener's Farm," out of which £6 was past due to Eachard's sick mother. Presumably, this was the Yarmouth property from which the mother had gotten her annuity; Eachard's share of the land went to the College, but the income continued to be payable to the family. The following spring, Mrs. Gardner wrote again, saying that her daughter had died, that there was small pox in the family,

and that her mother needed money; six weeks later, having had no reply from the college, she wrote yet again, asking for her mother's annuity at Yarmouth and for £10 for herself from the College Tenant. The letters tell a story of family woe as they make continual pleas for the income from the bequeathed land. On November 25, 1699, Mrs. Gardner tells of having had to send her younger son out to work for lack of money to send him to college. The following spring, apparently remarried and now Mrs. Peels, she writes again asking urgently for money for the younger son and again mentioning the College Tenant's rent.

The disposition of this estate was a complicated matter, as it was land held jointly with other Eachards. In June 1703, it was agreed that it be sold on behalf of the university, if possible, in common with the other heirs, but three months later the University was to dispose of its share as it saw fit (University Register 15-94). In November 1705, the university sold the lease to Dr. James, Master of Queens College, Cambridge for £472.3.11, ending seven years of negotiations. Dr. James estimated the property at "no less than £400" and pledged that if he were to re-sell it at a profit, he would "account to the common chest for the surplusage," as he did not wish to profit at the expense of the university" (University Register 15-94).

It was Dr. James who had noted in his own book of

accounts that "Dr. Eachard died on Wednesday, July 7, 1697, about 6 in the Evening." (Add.Ms. 5813,p.255) Eachard was buried in the chapel a week later. Two pages tucked into a memorandum book noted the expenses of his funeral: £ 7.15.04 total, including a burial suit at £0.16.0 and "A Bill, for Dr. Eachard's Coffon," dated July 15, 1697, totaling work and materials at £5.19.4 (Archives, xl/12a).

The arms for the Eachard family feature Ermine on a bend, 3 millrinds; the crest is an ostrich, with wings extended, in his beak a key. They seem fitting representations for this one member of the family: a hard worker, one accused, like the ostrich, of not facing problems directly, but one who reached out, unlocking doors which would have remained closed to a more timid or more prudent man.

True, in addition to Jones, others found Eachard "dull," possibly because they expected, in person and in speech, the same high level of raillery as they found in his writing. Thomas Baker of St. John's College, Cambridge noted in a guard leaf of his copy of Grounds & Occasions that he had gone to St. Mary's to hear Eachard preach and was greatly disappointed. Also, Jonathan Swift, who held Eachard in very high regard, found him lacking when expressing himself without the use of ridicule. Nevertheless, Eachard was a man well-respected in his time, taken most seriously

even by those who were repelled by his writing. At thirty-nine, he was chosen Master of his college; a year later he was made Doctor of Divinity by royal mandate; at forty-three he was made vice-chancellor of his university, and sixteen years later he was again so honored. What a visitor today sees, looking at the lovely buildings of St. Catharine's, is the work of this man, a strong, attractive institution, standing nearly three centuries after his death, a place where the young are still learning to be expressive, useful members of society. In the chapel, there is an Eachard Memorial Plaque, a large, ornate marble tablet affixed to wood-panelled walls, mounted on the left wall as one enters. Inscribed in Latin, with an English translation mounted below, it says:

Take to yourself, CATHARINE, this relic of mortality, and allow to rest in your inmost shrines these slight remains of a truly great man. If you enquire whose they are, scarcely will the stones be able to refrain from speaking of their founder. JOHN EACHARD, Professor of Theology, twice Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and an ever watchful Master of this Hall, both of which he served exceedingly well.

Reader, do you see the new appearance of this College? How lovely it is, risen from the rubble! The second Romulus of this Rome could, if he would, call this whole seemly abode of the Muses his own.

Devoting himself to this task, partly by his personal liberality -- and that was most generous, since like the poor widow he threw his all into this treasury -- partly by the liberality of other men, which he gathered in from every source, whether by means of

friendship among scholars or among the rich by his gift of persuasiveness -- which he had in the highest degree -- he restored the College to the point which you see.

And had the fates spared him longer, by pulling down the ancient buildings and by building new ones, by leaving no stone unmoved (such was the unwearying energy of this excellent man), he would have left what he found squalid, tumbledown and scarcely to be described as a college, beautiful, magnificent and finished in every part.

He died on July 7th 1697, aged 61.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE TIMES

It was a tumultuous century. There were a republic and a protectorate; then the monarchy was restored. The universe was "understood," and then it was not the same. Everything was different than it had been. As Christopher Hill, the noted historian of the seventeenth century, put it, it was a world turned upside down.

There had been a great revolution, but it was incomplete, and its effects were varied. After 1660, there would never again be an absolute monarchy; ecclesiastical courts had lost their power; parliamentary control of taxation had been established; the Clarendon Code could check but not destroy the nonconformist sects. However, there was no substantial legal reform, no lasting extension or redistribution of the franchise; tithes and a state Church survived; and dissenters were driven out of political life. The revolution in thought had made questions of utility and expediency more important than theology or history, and had brought the idea that solutions to political problems might be reached by discussion and argument (Hill, Century, 161-3).

When Grounds and Occasions was published in 1670, Charles II had been on the throne for ten years and there was some sense of stability in the midst of continued division of opinion and belief. The restrictive 1662 Licensing Act

sought to maintain order by placing tighter restrictions on the free expression of political theory which had been so explosive in the preceding twenty years; those flouting this act placed themselves in danger of charges of treason. The Uniformity Act of the same year reflected the inability to reach a compromise which would unite the moderate Puritans and the restored Church of England, and it assured an ultimately permanent division in English Protestantism between the established Church and the nonconforming clergy.

The Puritan revolution had been defeated, but a "fear of the vulgar, of the emotional, of anything extreme, was deeply rooted in the social anxiety of Restoration England. Enthusiasm was associated with lower class revolution: the propertied classes had learned the dangers of carrying things to extreme" (Hill, Century, 217). There was a national sigh of relief for a return to things somewhat familiar -- to a restoration of a semblance of an earlier status quo -- but there was also a continuous tension between the old and the new. The nation which had killed its king could never again feel quite the same about itself, nor could it, with its new vision of its place in the universe, assume any complacency about the future.

Everyday life was as strained as the political and the intellectual. The population had been doubling during

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in Eachard's time it was approaching five million, straining the nation's ability to meet its needs, and making the social distinctions more evident than ever. People were categorized by degrees: gentlemen (known by their bloodlines and background); citizens and burgesses of the cities (defined by their occupations); yeomen of the countryside (either freeholders of land to the value of 40s a year or farmers to gentlemen); and the people without voice or power -- laborers and servants (Wrightson, 19). In mid-seventeenth century, 50% of the land was held by the gentry, and another 15% by the peerage (24), so the wealth of the nation was lodged in the control of the few. In the early part of the century, internal trade expanded and there were unprecedented opportunities for profit to those who supplied the markets. At the same time, demographic pressure swelled the ranks of the laboring poor, creating a gradual impoverishment of those who depended for their living upon wages or fixed incomes (126, 140). Increased food prices, slow wage increases, and an overstocked labor market resulted in inflation and in a re-distribution of population as people moved from region to region, seeking homes and livings. There were as many as 30,000 vagrants at the latter part of the century.

Incomes varied widely. One survey for Yorkshire at mid-century showed that 53% of the gentry had incomes of £250

per annum, 36% of the gentry had incomes of £250 to £999, and more than 10% had incomes of £1000, the bulk of these incomes profits from landownership, in the form of rents and farm receipts. A similar survey in Kent indicated a range of gentry income from £200 to £10,000. By contrast, a laboring family might have an income of £10 to £15, with many children to feed and clothe at an average cost for this of £2 per child (25, 109).

The clergy did not fare much better. After 1660, nearly one in five of the beneficed ministers lost their livings without even the meagre compensation which the ejected of the 1640s and 1650s had received (Hill, Defeat, 17). Edward Chamberlayne, a contemporary of Eachard's, wrote of the English Established Clergy in 1669, "At present, the revenues of the English Clergy are generally very small and insufficient... so that... a mean gentleman of £200 from land yearly, will not change his worldly estate and condition with divers Bishops: and an Attorney, a shopkeeper, a common artisan will hardly change theirs, with the ordinary Pastors of The Church" (239).

"The mass of lower clergy were probably worse off immediately after the Restoration than at any time during the century." The Bishops had returned, recovered their lands, been restored to their seats in the House of Lords, but due

to the greed of many, "lesser clergy lost the additional revenues which had been voted at the expense of delinquent Royalists" (Hill, Century, 208, 210). During the Interregnum, many displaced ministers lived on the voluntary donations of their former parishioners; at the Restoration, the nonconforming preachers were the ones paid by their parishioners. The conforming clergy obtained its income from the Church. This often presented problems. For example, a wealthy landowner might have a parish church on his land, probably for the sake of his agricultural workers, served by a cleric who was responsible to several parish churches of equally small size. Or a vicar or rector might receive a living, out of tithes, of £400, from which he paid a curate £50 to serve in his stead. Such subdivisions of church livings were common and encouraged pluralism, which led to non-residence, a practice for which the country clergy was often criticized. However, a preacher with a family to maintain had little choice but to follow this practice if he had no other source of income.

A. Tindal Hart points out that another reason for the poverty of the clergy was to be found in the fact that there were too many of them. The shortage in Elizabethan times had given place, from the seventeenth century onwards, to a remarkable surplus; and the Universities were now turning out clerics at an alarming rate" (Country Priest,

119). Eachard addresses this problem in Grounds and Occasions, pointing out that a common solution was for a young cleric to accept a position as a family chaplain to the gentry, a position which often robbed him of his dignity and his autonomy, virtually reducing him to the status of a servant. One of Eachard's detractors, the author of A Vindication of the Clergy, accuses Eachard of imagining such a situation and declares such charges as unfounded slurs on the gentry. However, popular writing of the period reflects Eachard's charges.

Richard Steele in a Guardian article, 23 November 1710, reproduces a letter from a family chaplain who lost his position because he presumed to eat as fully as the family did, remaining at table for dessert in defiance of the tradition that the clergyman must leave the table directly after the main course and return after dessert to say the final blessing: "At length, when I happened to help myself to a jelly, the Lady of the house, otherwise a devout woman, told me, 'It did not become a man of my Cloth, to delight in such frivolous food!' But as I still continued to sit out the last course, I was yesterday informed by the butler, that 'His Lordship had no further need for my service'" (Arber 314).

Steele traces this peculiar practice of "discarding

the holiest man from the table, as soon as the most delicious parts of the entertainment are served up" to an earlier, voluntary withdrawing, "out of pure complaisance, to make room for the removal of the dishes, or possibly for the ranging of the dessert. This, by degrees, grew into a duty" (315). It is to this practice that Eachard refers when he argues against a young cleric's being sent to "good Gentlemen's Houses... that he may not be sent from Table, picking his Teeth, and fighting with his Hat under his Arm, whilst The Knight and my Lady eat up the Tarts and Chickens." Oldham reflects on the same issue in part of a short, satiric poem: "Soon as the tarts appear, "Sir Crape, withdraw! / These dainties are not for a spiritual maw" (317).

It is likely that Steele and Oldham both had read Grounds and Occasions and had Eachard's complaint in mind when they fashioned their own, but it is unlikely that they would have done so were this not a common problem. Macaulay, too, draws on Eachard's portrait of the cleric held in low esteem, quoting the entire passage from Grounds and Occasions in which the plight of the domestic chaplain is described, and adding to it a fuller picture of the chaplain's subservient position:

The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young levite -- such was the phrase then in use -- might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a-year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but, ass soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded (246).

In another Guardian article, 17 September 1713, an anonymous clergyman's letter to Steele is reproduced, with the appeal that the newspaper intercede between cleric and layman, to make the latter mindful of the disrespect he tenders out of habit, if for no other reason. Steele, in a 23 November article, comments that he doesn't know "which to censure, the Patron or the Chaplain! The insolence of power, or the abjectness of dependence!" noting that to be "treated in such an ignominious manner; and sunk beneath those of his own rank, by reason of that character which ought to bring him honour... defers men of generous minds from placing themselves in such a station of life" (Arber, 316).

In The Anatomy of Melancholy, Robert Burton

explains that the ignorance of the layman is at the root of his contempt for the cleric: "as they are themselves barbarous, idiots, dull, illiterate, and proud, so they esteem of others... And so they bring up their children, rude as they are themselves, unqualified, untaught, uncivil most part... Because they are rich, and have other means to live, they think it concerns them not to know, or to trouble themselves with it; a fitter task for younger brothers, or poor men's sons, to be Pen and Inkhornmen, pedantical slaves, and no whit beseeming the calling of a Gentleman" (272-3). It is this attitude to which Eachard refers when he laments that "many of [the aspiring divinity scholars'] Relations are oft-time persons of an inferior Condition; and who either by imprudent Counsellors, or else out of a tickling conceit of their Son's being, forsooth, an University Scholar, have purposely omitted all other opportunities of a livelihood."

The son thus "abandoned" to the ministry, having been otherwise unprovided for, becomes, in the literature of the time, the butt of jokes and of satirical portraits. John Earle, in his character of "A Downright Scholar," is sympathetic to the integrity of the scholar ("He is good metal in the inside, though rough and unscoured without") but is nonetheless aware of the way the world views him: "Men laugh at him by tradition ... the hermitage of his study has made him somewhat uncouth in the world, and men make him

worse by staring on him.... He is exceedingly censured by the inns-a-court men for that heinous vice, being out of fashion" (Earle, 49-50).

Burton's observation and lament in "The Misery of Scholars" prefigures Eachard's own on the physical toll of study. Eachard says there is

still one thing... that ought also not to be overlooked; and that is, a good Constitution, and Health of Body... he that has strength enough to buy and bargain, may be of a very unfit habit of body to sit still much, as in general is requisite, to a competent degree of Learning: For although reading and thinking, breaks neither Legs nor Arms, yet certainly there is nothing that flags the Spirits, disorders the Blood, and enfeebles the whole Body of man, as intense Studies...; [nevertheless] if amongst many, there be but one of all the Family that is weak and sickly, that is languishing and consumptive, this of all the rest, as counted not fit for any coarse Employment, shall be pick'd out as a choice Vessel for the Church: whereas most evidently, he is much more able to dig daily in the Mines, than to sit cross-legg'd musing upon his Book.

Burton tells what happens to even the hardy ones:

It may be, their temperature will not endure it, but, striving to be excellent, to know all, they lose health, wealth, wit, life and all. Let him yet happily escape all these hazards, with a body of brass, and is now consummate and ripe, he hath profited in his studies, and proceeded with all applause: after many expences, he is fit for preferment: where shall he have it? he is as far to seek it (after twenty years' standing) as he was at the first day of his coming to the University. For what course shall he take, being now capable and ready? The most parable and easy, and about which many are employed, is to teach a School, turn Lecturer or Curate, and for that he shall have a Falconer's wages, ten pounds a year, and his diet, or some small stipend, so long as he can please his Patron

or the Parish; if they approve him not (for usually they do but a year or two) as inconstant as they that cried Hosanna! one day, and Crucify him! the other; serving-man-like, he must go and look a new master: if they do, what is his reward?.... Like an ass, he wears out his time for provender... and can shew... an old torn gown... he hath his labour for his pain, a modicum to keep him till he be decrepit, and that is all (264).

In many parts of Grounds and Occasion, as Eachard describes the plight of the family chaplain or of the parish priest, the reader who knows Burton will hear the echoes of his "'tis the common fortune of most scholars to be servile and poor, to complain pitifully, and lay open their wants to their respectless Patrons" (265).

For a long time, the traditional poverty of the ministry precluded all but the desperate and the incompetent from doing God's work. In 1585, Archbishop Whitgift reckoned that 8400 of 9000 livings were inadequate to support an educated minister. Many vicars lived on pittances or took additional work as husbandmen, fishermen, tailors, weavers, anything possible (Wrightson, 207). In the late sixteenth century, Church officials "sought to improve the quality of the clergy and to lay greater stress upon their pastoral duties.... The years between 1580 and 1680 saw marked, though gradual improvements in the numbers of clergy, their educational qualifications and their willingness and ability to preach" until, by the 1630's there emerged a resident, graduate clergy (208-9).

Eachard himself was a good representative of this new clergy. As Wrightson describes them:

The new clergy were commonly drawn from the upper and middling ranks of society: sons of the upper yeomandry, urban tradesmen, the gentry, and increasingly, members of clerical dynasties. They were less likely to be drawn from the ranks of the local peasantry and more likely to be outsiders. Even if they did return to serve in their counties of birth, they had generally undergone higher education in the universities. For all these reasons, they were less attuned to the local customary standards of devotion and behaviour which they were charged with transforming (209).

This was probably the incompatibility of backgrounds between the parson and his parishioners which Eachard had in mind when he warned of the folly of any egregious, gratuitous display of a clergyman's learning. He wanted a well-educated clergy, mindful of its need to instruct, confident in self-worth, yet respectful of the parishioners' limitations.

Some of Eachard's complaints are based on the failure of the clergy to follow George Herbert's sober suggestions. In A Priest to the Temple, Herbert draws an ideal portrait of the country parson as a man "full of all knowledge," drawing this knowledge from Scripture, prayer, study and thought, and adjusting what he knows to make it "fitter for countrey people." His sermons should not be "witty, or learned, or eloquent, but Holy" and earnest-- this earnestness to convince the hearers that there is "somewhat

worth hearing" (8, 12, 18).

Herbert, like Eachard, opposed text dividing: "Whereas the other way of crumbling a text into small parts, as, the Person speaking, or spoken to, the subject, and object, and the like hath neither sweetness, nor gravity, nor variety," also, he recommended brevity -- the preaching not to exceed an hour's time -- lest the auditors be moved "from not relishing, to loathing" (22-3).

Part of the problem of creating successful sermons was, of course, the behavior of the common people themselves, as some of Eachard's detractors were quick to point out; this was as lively a subject of debate as were the inadequacies of the clergy. The Bishop of Chester once noted that "People heare much, learn little and practise lesse, which cannot be imputed to the want of good preaching, but rather to the want of good hearing" (Wrightson, 216). Wrightson refers to "a long tradition of anti-clericalism" directed originally at the Anglican clergy, later extended to the radical clergy:

Such attitudes were not submerged in the religious enthusiasm of the Interregnum. If anything they were reinforced. Little wonder then that what had begun with such high hopes of godly reformation ended in the spontaneous wave of conspicuous ungodliness which greeted the Restoration of the King in 1660 [he refers here to various instances of maypoles having been

erected] "It is a sad sign the hearts of the people are poorly employed [reflected a contemporary] when they can make a business of playing the fool as they do. This I found, that in most places they either have had bad ministers to rejoice in, or else good ones whom they hate" (219)

For all of Eachard's lively writing and brisk criticism of the preaching done by others, one might expect that he himself was a success in the pulpit. Not so. Thomas Baker of St. John's College, Cambridge, went to hear Eachard preach at St. Mary's and was disappointed: he noted down his reaction in a guard leaf of his own copy of Grounds and Occasions. Jonathan Swift was also negatively impressed by Eachard's attempts to express himself in a serious vein, declaring him good only at expressing himself via ridicule. Swift's praise was the general opinion: Eachard was an indifferent preacher, but a brilliant controversialist with a gift for ridicule. In the apology prefixed to the fourth edition of Tale of a Tub, Swift notes that Eachard's respondents would be unknown except for their connection to Eachard and his replies to them.

In addition to the direct replies to Grounds and Occasions, some works were written in imitation of Eachard's first book. The most amusing, because of its slavish similarity, is a book called Speculum Grape-Gownorum: or, a Looking Glass for the Young Academicks, a work questioningly attributed by the British Museum to John Phillips, published

in 1682 and re-issued in 1732. [In the flyleaf of the later edition, someone has hand-written "Wilson in his life of Defoe ascribes this to his pen.] Speculum is a virtual plagiarism of Grounds and Occasions, using the same examples and frequently the same phrasings as the original. It is a small book, twenty four pages plus a sample sermon of nine pages, which summarizes Eachard's book. It apes some of his diction, as well as his examples, but it lacks the sparkle of his wit and energy. Unlike its model, this book is intended to be read specifically by the young Crape Gown-men [ministers] themselves: "that they may see how ridiculous they are, when they stand fretting, and fuming, and heating themselves about State Affairs in their Pulpits, they are desired to read the short Sermon that follows, which if it be not altogether their own words, I am sure it is altogether their own sense" (Speculum, 24).

Swift was particularly influenced by Eachard. His Project for the Advancement of Religion attacks the low character of the clergy, attributing this to their ignorance and poverty, and the inadequacy of their religious instruction. His Letter to a Young Clergyman, and his Essay on the Fates of Clergymen also reflect an awareness of Eachard's writing, as does the uncompleted Concerning that Universal Hatred which Prevails against the Clergy. Another of his works reflect's Eachard's style rather than his

subject matter: "A Modest Proposal" similar in tone and in the rhetorical disclaimer of any personal interest in the matter under consideration.

Other works emulating Grounds and Occasions were written by James Aderne and by Roger L'Estrange. Aderne's Directions Concerning The Matter and Style of Preaching. A Letter to a Young Deacon appeared the year following Eachard's first publication, just as the controversy was beginning. In it, Aderne cites Eachard, complimenting him for his ideas concerning clarity, simplicity, moderation, and the use of wholly English words. L'Estrange's Sayings of the Dissenter was published a decade later, a clear indication that the topic had not yet been exhausted.

The status and esteem of the clergy stimulated discussion in print before Eachard wrote, but few made it as interesting to ponder as he did. His work demonstrated what Dryden meant when he wrote in the "Essay of Dramatic Poesy": "A continued gravity keeps the spirit too much bent; we must refresh it sometime, as we bait in a journey that we may go on with greater ease." Those who continued the discourse after Eachard wrote in his shadow, supported by his example.

GROUND'S & OCCASIONS: ITS ARGUMENTS and ITS STYLE

The exposition of the status and disesteem of the lower clergy as Eachard presented it in Grounds & Occasions provided no novel revelation. This was a subject already presented in period character sketches, and in Burton's treatment of the "Misery of Scholars," in the Anatomy of Melancholy. Neighbors reflected the same ideas and attitudes as they discussed the behavior and sayings of their clerics, often mockingly. Why, then, did Eachard's book excite so much attention? At least five authors quickly wrote rejoining works, to which Eachard responded individually. Some respondents were dismayed to see what was privately discussed put into print; others were convinced that there was no truth to the matter and concerned lest contempt be artificially stimulated.

A principal response to Grounds & Occasions was outrage. How could Eachard dignify the idle talk of local coffeehouses by putting it in print for all the world to see? Why did he wish to air dirty linen in public? Was he attempting to make the opinions of a few those of the majority, creating a self-fulfilling rumor? Wasn't Eachard's prose style itself proof that his writing was untrustworthy, his mocking raillery itself an irreverent insult?

Denial was another factor. There were those, painfully close to the portrait Eachard drew, who wished to

mitigate the depiction of the clerical state, to provide another view. And there were those whose eyes were fastened on an ideal of the clergy and who wished to present this vision, along with their condemnation of those who did not share it, or with those who seemed to block its realization. These last were particularly angry with Eachard, claiming that he promoted a minority point of view at the expense of the ideal which they presented as the true reality.

Eachard's principal argument in Grounds & Occasions was that the country clergy and the religion which they represented were held in general disesteem because of the poverty and ignorance of the clergymen. He did not charge all the clergy with this, but said that it was common enough to constitute a major problem.

A further argument of Eachard's was that the ignorance of the country clergy was rooted in three factors: inadequate selective practices which failed to root out those intellectually and physically unsuited to the ministry; inadequacies of the education of the clergy, particularly a too-great emphasis on the study of Greek and Latin at the expense of the English language; and a common belief by parents that the Church was a haven for the son least provided for financially, and otherwise unsuited to earning a living.

The poverty of the clergy was, according to Eachard, derived from the factors above. Too many were allowed to become priests, and there weren't enough positions for them. Moreover, those clerics who approached their congregants as they had their tutors, shredding texts to confusing bits, addressing farmers in Greek and Latin, explicating chapter and verse with elaborate simile and metaphor derived from areas of life alien to the congregation, were counted foolish and ignorant. They became objects of ridicule and were poorly supported by their congregations. In a class-conscious society, this very poverty itself provided still another ground for contempt, an example of circular reasoning. Even if the minister didn't "merit" his poverty, there was a consensus that God would provide for him and his family, and that out of some mysteriously supplied abundance, the clergyman should be a source of supply to others, a representative of the bounty of the Church.

What then was to be done about these realities and these ironies? Eachard was not interested simply in complaining; he did have remedies at hand to recommend, as well as abundant examples to persuade the reader of the need for change.

Addressing old-fashioned methods and discipline of

schooling itself, which kept sixteen and seventeen year olds "in pure slavery to a few Latin and Greek words," Eachard recommended "the reading of some innocent English Authors" to ease trips to the dictionary, to teach common sense, and to develop judgment, lest the boys become only like "a well-educated Dog or Horse." Although Eachard respected Greek and Latin because "the best of human Learning has been delivered unto us in those Languages," he warned that "he that worships them . . . having little or no respect for the usefulness or excellency of the Books themselves" errs seriously. It was important, he said, to study languages, but equally important to read useful works such as philosophical books, rather than "crabbed Poems and cros-grain'd Prose." Furthermore, the content of their reading should be fit to the boys' state of development. A premature introduction to "the best and choicest Poets," he warned, "is for the most part utterly lost," as the boys will ignore these works later in life as having been "read over at School." Eachard felt it important "that the Clergy be not so much obstructed in their first attempts and preparations to Learning," since "Ill methods of Schooling . . . occasion a great loss of time . . . [and] beget in Lads a very odd opinion and apprehension of Learning."

Eachard did not claim that his ideas about education were original; he granted that they had been

expressed elsewhere in discussions of general education in the learned professions. His concern was the education of the future ministers, who comprised ten per cent of all who attended the University.

Eachard's next protest was against "the inconsiderate sending of all kind of lads to the Universities." This he attributed to the ego-involvement of well-meaning but themselves poorly educated parish priests, to the generosity of friends offering a good benefice without thought of the potential cleric's merit, or to the lack of forethought by parents and friends who failed to provide alternate "opportunities of a livelihood" or family funds for the future. He also decried the lack of self-insight by the candidates themselves ("anybody counts himself fit for the Employment [as cleric]"), the exploitation of poor students, who were employed as servants [sizars] at the university, and the lack of physical fitness which left some unable to tolerate the long hours of sitting and study. The university system did allow for some self-remedying through attrition: of 200 who began studies annually, scarcely forty remained past the first degree. But what a waste for the other 160 and all connected to them.

And what of those forced, too soon, to terminate their studies, led prematurely into preaching, or starving?

Some may, Eachard says, receive dispensations allowing them to begin preaching before they reach the usual age (i.e. age twenty-three, after seven years at University) to be ordained. However, a man requires maturity -- emotional, spiritual, psychological and physical -- if he is to do his duty and be able to protect his dignity. Operating from a weak position, a poor cleric may find himself demeaned by having to perform menial tasks in addition to performing his duties as a family chaplain.

For those who were able to complete the course of study, Eachard argued for the use of the English language and English exercises. First, this was a practical suggestion: everyone outside the university used English. Second, as a matter of instruction, students' judgment might be more easily assessed and corrected, their writing style developed more naturally. If students first determined in English what they wanted to say, they would "soon discern the triflingness of such Apologies, the pittifulness of their Matter" and would "offer that which would be much more manly, and towards tolerable sense."

Another deterrent to good writing and preaching, according to Eachard, was "punning, quibbling . . . and joquing," practices which thinned the judgment, prejudiced against sober sense, and were as inappropriate in religion as

they were in law and medicine, where they were not employed. Eachard warned that a habit of this "infects the whole life and influences upon most actions," as the speaker is so seduced by the applause and laughter it incurred at the university that he misdirects his activities in search of the same response from his congregants, losing sight of the impoverishment of his content.

Typically, the country parson had a congregation of farmers and shepherds. Perhaps he had a learned patron present in the church, as well. However, to direct his sermon to the learning of the patron, as he had directed his school lessons to the learning of his tutors, was, said Eachard, a grave error. English plain words were best for all, the farmer and the patron, and the use of Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, along with the crowding of twenty poets and philosophers into an hour's talk, is pure pretension. "High tossing and swaggering Preaching" to confound the parishioners into thinking the cleric a profound scholar was wasteful and ridiculous; even the most ordinary people have a sense of propriety about language and are offended by "harsh Metaphors, childish Similitudes, and ill-applied Tales." These can lead only to gossip about the clergy, born of contempt, so that "the very Children in the Streets, and the little Boyes close about the Fire, refresh themselves strangely" by mocking the parson with repetitions of his odd

sayings.

To demonstrate his meaning, Eachard included an abundance of illustrations of pulpit stupidities, declaring himself ready to document all his charges on demand, either by citing book and page for printed sermons or by naming the place, time, and person for sermons heard. Among his examples are the employment of the Zodiac or of dated knowledge, straining for ingenuity in dividing texts [i.e. in the close reading of separate parts], absurdities of thought, simplistic reasoning, misuse of Concordances in place of original thought, and the deliberate use of obscurities rather than of accessible and appropriate scriptures for sermons. Also among Eachard's charges is an oblique suggestion that too many ministers devoted too little time to sermon-making, applying themselves to the task almost at the last minute, and that some of the sermons, or at least portions of them, were plagiarized.

Next Eachard asserted that the majority of the country clergy were desperately poor men. Hundreds of the clergy subsisted on £20 or £30 per annum, with perhaps eight or ten persons in the family. (Eachard's father had a living of £33 in 1650, with eight to support. (History of Suffolk, 45)) The minister was in a bind: to ask for what he needed was to be "hated and reviled"; not to ask left him "pitifully

poor and disesteemed." The ideal was for the parson to emulate the voluntary poverty of Christ. However, as Eachard pointed out, the clergy succeeding Christ could not follow His example of poverty because it lacked His miraculous power.

Another imbalance which troubled Eachard was what he saw as the unfair advantage enjoyed by the Church of Rome. Its priests, he said, were held in awe, as they were thought to be infallible, and their worldliness was overlooked. Had they to labor under the same disadvantages as the country clergy, he argued, they too would be disesteemed. The Church of England's concept, "those of the Clergy to be but mortal Men," necessarily influenced the laity's value and esteem of them -- the poor being held in contempt, ineffectualness in personal provision being equated with weakness in religious power and influence with God. Eachard was pragmatic about this, insisting that people take note. This is the way it is; never mind what ought to be: "I say again, that seeing that we are of the Church of England; and not that of Rome, these things ought to be weighed and considered; and for want of being so, our Church of England has suffered much."

In an elaboration of points made earlier, Eachard devotes the latter part of Grounds & Occasions to a closer examination of "the particular occasions that do concur to

the making up of many of our Clergy so pittanceably poor and contemptible": the scarcity of livings to be earned, the attitude of the gentry, and the need for assured incomes sufficiently substantial to attract quality clergy. Eachard belongs to a time dominated by a bourgeois outlook. He sees part of the function of the ministry as the earning of money, a change from the medieval outlook, in which poverty was admired. Eachard comes from a class with an outlook of middle-class rather than conservative value, one which believes that the minister deserves to be compensated for his labor.

What was needed, said Eachard, were fewer clergymen and better, fewer sermons and better, more income for the fewer parsons, and better judgment on the part of the gentry in determining which sons to send to the ministry. Although there were plenty of chapels and churches, Eachard noted, there was a "scarcity of Livings," so that hundreds became spiritual peddlers, riding the countryside, looking for a livelihood of £25 - £30. "We are perfectly overstock'd," he said, "with Professors of Divinity; there being scarce Employment for half of those who undertake that Office," partly because of the attitude of the gentry in "designing not onely the weak, the lame, and usually the most ill-favor'd of their Children for the Office of the Ministry, but also such as they intend to settle nothing upon for their

subsistence."

Who, Eachard demands, would be satisfied with £20 or £30 per year, less than a brick-layer or carpenter might command? Such "small and contemptible Livings" assured that God's work would be done by "those who cannot devise how otherwise to live." Only "one living in forty is worth a Hundred Pounds a Year," he declared, and he urged that "in all Parishes, if possible, there ought to be such a fixt and settled Provision, as might reasonably invite some careful and prudent Person, for the People's Guide and Instruction in Holy Matters." Although he acknowledged that there were "learned and judicious" preachers in the "Cities, Corporations, and Trading Towns . . . our Saviours Design was not that Mayors, Aldermen, & Merchants, should be only saved; but also that all plain Countrey People should partake of the same means." One suggestion for accomplishing this was the combining of churches so that one parson could get a decent income, even if the parishioners had to walk a bit to get to church. (After all, they walked to market to sell a few eggs, didn't they?) Also, the number of sermons might be reduced from two to one in a day, that one to be of better quality and more originality, made possible by having a better-educated, better-paid minister, whose free time then should be spent visiting and talking with the people, being directly involved in their lives.

In answering those who argue that no great store of learning is needed in a minister, Eachard noted the difference between "giving Orders and License to Preach; the last being granted onely to such as the Bishop shall judge able to make Sermons." Even if a minister never made an original sermon, Eachard noted, his wisdom and reputation must not be wanting; he must be in regular contact with his parishioners, able to "advise, direct, inform, and satisfie the People in holy matters," for "unless there be provided for most Towns and Parishes, some tollerable and sufficient Guides; the strength of Religion, and the Credit of the Clergy will daily languish more and more."

This overview of Eachard's book reveals the substance of the work and the serious concern of the author for his subject. What it does not reveal is the writer's style -- his wit, his liveliness, his originality of language, his droll examples, all of which set Eachard's book apart from others that expressed similar concerns. This, too, is what defined Eachard's intended audience: his work was intended to bring the problem to the attention not only of the religious community, but to the general reader as well. This, too, is what made the book popular with the general reader and insufferable to the clerical readers who felt the manner of the presentation to be insulting.

By the middle of the century, not only could virtually the entire gentry read, but people of middle rank also constituted a considerable readership. These overlapping reading publics provided a growing mass market for the large quantities of printed matter or Eachard's time, bringing the lesser schooled into closer contact with the changing social, political, and religious ideas (Wrightson, 199). Early in the century, almanacs grew in popularity, bridging the popular and high cultures and bringing matters of local and national interest into closer focus; two out of every five households bought them (197). Since Eachard's concern was the rural clergy, and his manner was light (although his matter surely was not) it is easy to see how his book would also bridge the gap between the classes, attracting the attention and interest of the parishioners of the country cleric, the clergy itself, and the university educated gentry and professionals.

James Sutherland explains something of the reason for some of the angry outpouring when he says that Eachard was not "indifferent to the sufferings and shortcomings of the poorer clergy, but he wrote about them with a certain detachment" which was taken badly; Sutherland also explains Eachard's great popularity, saying Eachard was a much livelier writer than most Restoration divines, and that he addressed himself "not merely to the religious, but to the

polite reader of the day," bringing something of the flavor of Restoration comedy to his polemic. That is, Eachard had a good deal of the "unconcern of comedy" but, "there are no grounds, and few occasions, for doubting his honesty of purpose" (342).

According to R.F. Jones:

The attack on the use of rhetoric in the pulpit received great impetus from the publication of a book which, because of its wit, humor, and sensational nature, achieved remarkable popularity and ran through many editions. . . No single work in the whole movement did so much toward bring the problem of style before the public or provoked so many replies... No one before him had ever argued so earnestly for the study of the mother tongue, or attributed such dire results to its neglect (Seventeenth Century, 120).

In making his demand for plain speech, Eachard employs a method of banter and ridicule known as raillery, a great source of delight for some, but a vexatious offense to others. Some of his critics took the technique as evidence of his contempt for his subject, although Eachard, in his denials thereof, said he used it only to keep his readers awake long enough to continue to read. It was a technique mistrusted: "Away then with this ill-natur'd disingenuous, fault-finding humor, and be favorable to the failings of others, as ever you expect Men may in kindness connive at your failings or imperfections" wrote one opponent of raillery (Raillerie a la Mode, 21). He called raillery a "Publick Piece of Folly"(2) by which are "unsavory breaths

perfumed"(8), and asserted that "if we consider the mischief as well as degenerosity of this Destructive Humour among Men, either in Words or Writing, we would certainly shun it with the greatest detestation" (36).

In fact, Grounds and Occasions is a fine example of the Restoration emphasis on the vernacular and of the influence on language of the new ideas in science and philosophy. Eachard agreed with Thomas Sprat, who exclaimed against the "vicious abundance of Phrase, this trick of Metaphors, this volubility of Tongue, which makes so great a noise in the world" (from Jones, Seventeenth Century, 86). Language was not to call attention to itself as it did in the sermons Eachard had collected as negative examples. Language was to be a plain and clear medium of expression. Although, for dramatic purposes, Eachard employs some linguistic flamboyance, the attitude beneath the verbal pyrotechnics---his own as well as those he quotes--- is one of scientific rationalism.

Rhetoric obscures the truth, makes no appeal to the reason, and weakens the judgment. He [Eachard] echoes the strictures of the scientists in protesting against webs of empty speculations and useless, unprofitable, frothy expressions, and he draws upon the terms familiar to the new science in demanding that which is practical, solid and useful expressed in plain, direct, intelligible, and common language (121).

In prose style, as in all else, the seventeenth century was full of contradiction and the energy of change. Writers in the first two-thirds of the century were still heavily influenced by the Ciceronian style which had been the model for sixteenth century prose. However, by the time the century moved into its last third, the period in which Eachard wrote, the prose ideal had changed. A more utilitarian, anti-Ciceronian style was favored, a style called variously, Attic, Senecan, or Baroque.

The Ciceronian style had been based on a belief that an appeal to authorities should be the basis of argument. Writers looked to the Bible, the Church Fathers, the Classics, and medieval physicians, citing them in copious detail, and with a fullness of rhetorical expression which satisfied both the expected doctrine of imitation and the need for total statement, presenting idea as well as self.

The anti-Ciceronian style, however, derived from the concerns of the age: the scientific revolution, rationalism, the decline in traditional authorities, the heightened religious awareness. It called for an emphasis on the subject matter rather than on its manner of presentation, in the spirit of Bacon's call for men to eschew that "delicate learning" in which men "hunt more after words than matter."

There was an intense suspicion of zealots and of "enthusiasm" in language, as in behavior. The Puritans, especially, became targets of satire. Thomas Browne, in Pseudodoxia Epidemica (1646), reflected the common seventeenth century satirists' view that ignorance and the brutal part of their nature were the source of Puritan irrationality, and Henry More, in his 1656 study of religious enthusiasm, Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, said "enthusiasm" was physiological in its basis, the soul at the mercy of sense (Webster, Earlier Satirists, 1151). Following Burton's lead in the 1621 Anatomy of Melancholy, seventeenth century satirists analyzed cause and effect in problems of religious enthusiasm, and many ascribed these problems to sexual irregularities. Eachard was a notable exception to this (Webster, Tale of a Tub, 175 n.); he was more inclined to see Enthusiasts as hypocrites affecting singularity in order to attract attention, especially the attention of better, richer flocks they might exploit (Earlier Satirists, 1147).

Eachard represented the established church in his insistence on a plain, accessible style, unadorned by verbal ornamentation; his hilarious, mocking presentation of some sermons, outrageous in their flamboyance, is part of a hidden polemic against the non-conforming clergy, especially the enthusiasts. Ironically, many who charged Eachard with contempt of the clergy seem to have missed this point. The

non-conformists appealed to the emotions, not via the reason, but by way of the imagination and senses, with "pretty fancies, fine phrases, verbal cadences, rhetorical figures, empty words, pretty similitudes, and shreds of authors," all of which Grounds & Occasions attacks, and "thus they teach many things about spiritual truths that are nothing but the creations of a heated imagination" (Jones, Seventeenth Century, 117-18).

Eachard commented on the number of clergymen who were members of the Royal Society, and whom he considered to be as capable scientists as any of the others. These clerical members were responsible for the formulation of a new standard for sermons (125-6). Simon Patrick, author of A Friendly Debate Between a Conformist and a Non-Conformist (a popular book which reached five editions in its first year, the year before Grounds & Occasions itself became a popular book), and a member of the Society, set the pace for the attacks on pulpit eloquence. Eachard was influenced by Friendly Debate and cites it in his own book. Both works promoted the Baconian ideal of rational religious discourse which brings the imagination under the dominance of the reason, the better to move the will, rather than the emotion-inflaming rhetoric of the Cromwellian Puritans and the Restoration non-conformists.

Some difficulty may have derived from the juxtaposition of Eachard's major and minor arguments. The bulk of his concern is addressed to the problems caused by the poverty and ignorance of the country clergy, and his tone is thoughtful in this matter, even when he is playful in his examples. In the matter of the non-conforming clergy, however, his satire bites; he is concerned about the danger they pose to the salvation of their followers and to the reputation of the church, and as he depicts and mocks them, his language violates the very tenets he advocates. For Eachard, this is purposeful; to his detractors, it is something to be used against him.

THE FIRST REACTION: THE ANSWER OF W.S.

One of the first to answer Eachard was W.S., a self-described country vicar and the author of An Answer to a Letter of Inquiry into the Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy. (Like Eachard's use of the initials T.B., the initials W.S. are pseudonymous.) This answer, written five months after Grounds & Occasions and published early in 1671, does not so much argue that Eachard is entirely wrong as it charges that he is destructive and tasteless in offering up the failings of the clergy as "Table Talk" for the laity, thus lessening the clergy's effectiveness. Furthermore, W.S. asserts that the clergy is better than it has ever been, while the times are more demanding, and that congregants are as much at fault as their pastors, "the Wickedness of Hearer" being as serious a problem as any "Ignorance and Poverty of Preacher," due in part to papists moving subversively among the people. Eachard, charges W.S., has found effects rather than causes, and has made generalizations from limited particulars.

"Could you not have jearkt the Laity a little, and told them of their faults," asks W.S., pointing out "the untowardness, and Peevishness, and Prejudice of Vulgar people." They -- the common people -- love to gossip and find their own reasons to do so. "Country people have such strong

conceptions of Learning, that it is not much below a Proverb with many of them, that the greatest Scholars are commonly the worst Preachers" he says, to explain that great learning is held in as much popular contempt as is great ignorance.

W.S. urges Eachard to recognize this attitude on the part of the laity, and to imagine a parishioner, citing Eachard's book, interpreting it and using it to heap scorn on his pastor. "We would have thank'd you, if you would have chastis'd the people a little, especially for their insolency in contemning those who are neither Ignorant nor Poor"(23-24). Eachard, like the laity, is inclined to find fault, W.S. charges; "If such a thing as [a simile] make us despised, it is because men have a mind to despise us. Methinks, Sir, your Letter like a disingenious Squint, looks with an evil eye upon every thing we do, and you seek occasions to undervalue us"(56-57).

In fact, W.S. points out, the clergy is stronger and better than ever, in times which are more demanding than ever. To demonstrate that the contemporary clergy are more learned than those in Queen Elizabeth's day, W.S. offers an example of a sermon which Eachard would have mocked, but which was, in the Queen's time, an example of good preaching by a learned man. "The meanest of our clergy can out-do some that were of greatest repute in those blinder times," W.S.

asserts (26), and he invites Eachard to peruse sermons of the famous Bishop Latimer, to examine the performance of the clergy during the reigns of Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, in order to see that what was acceptable in a prince's court then would be unacceptable in a seventeenth century country village.

Furthermore, W.S. points out that the practice of having "Unpreaching Ministers" -- common in Elizabeth's day -- who were only permitted to read compiled homilies because they were thought unfit to offer the Scriptures, had been abandoned; now, in fact, foreign divines, especially German and Transylvanians come to England expressly to study English sermons and return home to preach the same, the English books and sermons having been translated into other languages. The times have become more sophisticated. There is more to be learned, "the World is grown to an infinite desire of knowledge" W.S. asserts(30), and it isn't fair to assume that ministers are less up to this challenge than are others.

Another of W.S.'s explanations for the contempt of the clergy is a plot theory: emissaries from the Church of Rome "craftily and in a disguise bespatter us, and then perswade the people to hiss at us." For example, "a crafty Jesuite" can bring disrespect on the clergy by initiating a debate with "a zealous Minister, who hath no more Learning

than will do him good, to undertake a dispute with a subtle Priest, who perchance by some quirk or other baffles and non-plusses him, and then presently this reflects to the dishonor of the whole Clergy; as if we had no more able Disputants than they pick out from among us." In this, as in Eachard's depiction, says W.S., "it is not what we are, but what we are represented, and believed to be, that either greatens or lessens [our Credit]," or -- just as damaging -- a brief slip in the pulpit may be extended in time by gossip, the greater good of the sermon being forgotten (17-18).

Eachard's inquiry seemed to W.S. to be a similar sort of gossip. "You suppose we are contemn'd," he says, "it is too true; You concern yourself to enquire into the occasions of it, as if you were willing to remedy it, but I doubt so preposterously, that if somebody do not seek to lessen the value of your Letter, that will so far as it is believ'd, still more lessen our value"(22). W.S. makes a critical attack on Eachard's generalizing from limited particulars, both in cases of the clergy in general and with respect to particular clergymen. After all, no one makes great speeches all the time. "You acknowledge there are some Learned men among us, but do not think it reasonable that the Learning of a few, should expiate for the Follies of the rest, or make such full satisfaction, as that the whole number should be reputed Learned"(24); why then, he demands,

has Eachard allowed the few "dull and heavy" to reflect badly on the whole any more than if "two or three Plumbsellers in London . . . should sell rotten Plumbs, all the Grocers in the City should thereby lose their Trade and their Credit"(67).

W.S. addresses himself variously to Eachard's suggestions regarding the use of English exercises, the teaching of Greek and Latin, and the use of these languages in the pulpit. He dismisses the first as an unlikely curative for the practice of joking and quibbling, which he sees as facets of human nature rather than as functions of university learning(41-43). He, too, finds them annoying, but accepts their inevitability. However, he stoutly defends the teaching of classical languages (39) and urges a longer time at it with the schoolmaster, with a later start at the university, when, at sixteen or seventeen a boy may "conquer the difficulties of Logick" better (41). Then, having learned Latin and Greek well, the clergyman might impress the "Eachards" in his parish and persuade them of his erudition. Even if no one in the congregation were to understand those judiciously used words and phrases, the minister would do himself a kindness in retaining the original language for some ideas not readily translatable(p.62). Or, he might give the common people some pleasure, to hear quotes in the original language, later "Englished" for them by the minister(64). They might then speak to one another of these

things they had learned from the pulpit.

W.S.'s attempt to prove that Eachard has found the effects, rather than the causes, of ignorance is counter-productive. He charges that some who are counted ignorant in the country but who had been considered good scholars at the university had been unable to grow in knowledge because of their poverty in the countryside. They had been unable to buy books, had no time to read those they owned, and lacked conversation or correspondence with learned men ["living libraries"](p.45). Thus he essentially and unwittingly extends Eachard's observations and complaints, spelling these problems out in detail, whereas Eachard had contented himself with presenting an overview of the problems.

Most of all, though, W.S. finds Eachard to have been without taste or discretion (Preface, a6v). "The manner of [Grounds & Occasions] is somewhat unkindly and unhopeful" he charges delicately. His tone, at first, is defensive, even a bit sad. He writes as one personally attacked, trying with dignity to refute the evidence presented and almost apologizing for doing so, excusing Eachard even as he attacks him. He reveals himself as an understanding man, insightful into the nature of boys and the world, gentle for the most part, but, increasingly, an arguer with a bit of sarcastic

bite, as when he charges "True it is the Sportiveness and Drollery is so much the humour of the times, that if you had written after another fashion, some hundreds of Copies might have lain upon the Booksellers hands"(79), or when he implies that Eachard is cowardly in taking on Country-Schools rather than powerful ones which might retaliate, such as Westminster and St. Paul's.

W.S. accuses Eachard of writing "a merry making at our misfortunes. You pretend to pity us, but you do all the while laugh at us. Your Style is pungent, and enters a little too deep; It is a grave Subject you enquire into, and such as in sober sadness deserves to be enquired into; but the manner of your Enquiry is too facetious and jocular"(78-79). In sum, W.S. concludes that Eachard should put himself in the place of those he mocks, that the "faults" he finds are facts, to which no guilt may be attached, and that Grounds & Occasions is unlikely to deliver the clergy from contempt, but rather will do the opposite.

EACHARD'S REJOINDER TO W.S.: THE SECOND LETTER TO R.L.

By the time Eachard responded to W.S.'s Answer, there had already been an outcry against Grounds & Occasions, upon which Eachard comments in his preface to the reader of Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy (1671): various readers had called him a "Malicious Rogue, ill-natur'd Raskal, Lay-Dog, and spiteful Thief" as well as "Barbarian, Indian, Turk and Jew . . . Rebel, Traytor, Scot, Sadducee, and Socinian" (A2v-A3). Now he was ready to re-enter the lists, and tongue-in-cheek warned all who would read this new work that "There is danger and jeopardy in it besides"(A3v).

Eachard does not respond to W.S. directly in this new work, but couches his rejoinder as a second letter to R.L. This has the benefit of allowing him to make a response which extends beyond W.S.'s Answer, and it has the effect of creating a distance from W.S. which permits social insult, with which Eachard promptly begins. He writes of the man he calls the "Answerer":

"He says in his first page, that one design of his Writing was to make an acknowledgment, that a great part of what I writ is true: I wish that either he would have let my Truth have shifted for itself, without the help of his acknowledgment . . . or else that he would

have divided his Letter into two parts: and have plac'd the Answer by itself, and the Acknowledgment by itself: Which if he had done, and pick'd them duely and carefully; he might have written all that, which he calls Answer, upon very little more than his thumbnayle" (A4-4v).

Eachard is particularly aggrieved that the Answerer has not invited Eachard's rejoinder but has exposed Eachard to multiple animadversions on the Grounds & Occasions by suggesting, in his answer, responses from such as Westminster Scholars and the gentry. "This Gentleman letting off the Gun very easily, fights but very little himself, but only sets out the ground for the Battel, and claps his hands, and cries Haloo, to the Armies that are drawing up," Eachard complains (4); "He assigns me over to, God knows, how many further Answerers"(2). Eachard's additional charges against W.S. include misreading and misunderstanding Grounds & Occasions and carelessness in his use of language. In addressing the first, Eachard writes, resentfully, "I am sure, I have very little reason to thank him, for trying to make people believe, that I should say, that whatever Disgrace or Contempt did lie upon any of the Clergy, it was altogether their own Faults; to which purpose, I am confident he speaks nigh twenty times in his Book" (28) and, "when his [the Answerer's] part grows low, and his Invention flags, then he is for seeking out for one of my own supposed Objections (and presently shutting the Book, lest he should read any of the Answer) he spends his time in paraphrasing upon that" (35-36). Furthermore, the

Answerer seems to Eachard to nit-pick over Eachard's words, as well as to be careless with his own: "I pray, Sir, when you meet the Answerer next, desire him to look a little better to his words" (50).

In his own defense, Eachard asserts that Grounds & Occasions did not propound his personal views: "What I hinted at in my former [letter, i.e.], were not things of my own disliking; but as I told you, were generally displeasing . . . I did rather make it my business to give a short History of what was derided or blamed, than studied to invent or complain of what might be represented unprofitable or ridiculous (91) . . . only for endeavoring to procure that meaner sort of the Clergy a little more Money, and a few more Books"(4). Clearly, he says, this purpose escaped the notice of the Answerer, against whom Eachard now directs an ad hominem attack: "I hate all small ambiguous conjecturers: give me the lusty, and bold Thinker; who, when he undertakes to prophecy, does it punctually . . . who can tell, Sir, what my design was, but my self, any further than it may be judged by my words? (54) . . . he has managed his business so slenderly, as if I had hired him to set forth a mean Answer; and thereby to build my self a Reputation upon the weakness and mistakes thereof" (55).

Eachard also accuses W.S. of contradictory thought:

"He either most plainly, and grossely mistakes me; or else he tries to do it, but says the same that I do (only he does not know of it) when he thinks he contradicts me"(9). He offers an example of this to R.L., saying,

"Now, Sir, if you remember the Answerer says that he gave a shilling for my Letter, and read it. But, for my part, I profess I can scarce tell how to believe him; for he writes and answers, as if he had lived altogether at the Molucco Islands, or, as he says of himself in his Preface, 'like one that is out of the World of Books, unless Learning were infused and inspired into us by a Miracle': and again, 'What can we do with Books, unless we had time to read them': Very right; and so said I: And I know no difference, but only I said it in Michaelmas Term, and he says it in Hillary" (53).

Dismissing quickly the Answerer's charges of Eachard's having used dated examples, and his suggestion of a papist plot, Eachard pays particular attention to the charge that his manner is itself an affront to the clergy and an encouragement to any existing contempt felt by the laity. To W.S.'s charge that the subject is one too "weighty and serious" for Eachard's raillery, his mocking drollery, Eachard responds, "I did not put in one idle or extravagant word, on purpose to render any of the Clergie contemptible: but did only just endeavor to keep people awake until they read it (82) . . . I have but one Rule, the end of which is only to be understood"; acknowledging "when I had occasion to mention such toys and trifles, by the use of which Ministers

do sometimes bring upon themselves contempt . . . I did not [do so] with set rebuking countenance, and words as stiff as steel" (84). Indeed, Eachard continues, he wishes there were "no such mean ones to be insulted over" (85). He then draws a ridiculous potrait of the approach he assumes W.S. would have preferred, one in which he would have "pitied, lamented, and howled." In the imagined scenario, Eachard pays a doleful visit to an impecunious clergyman, carrying with him a string of onions to augment both their tears, and points out to the unfortunate pastor all the difficulties he knows all too well. "This," concludes Eachard, "is the way indeed to kill the poor Minister before the following Sunday, and to make Widow's apace; but what good else it should do, I know not" (87).

As to the question of taste in writing down for all to see what otherwise is spoken in small groups, Eachard comments, "If indeed what I said, had been some mighty secret of State, and only known to the Privy Council, the Answerer and myself, we possibly out of our reaching prudence, and well-weighted determinations, had resolved not to declare as yet, but to lock up things, that ordinary Tradesmen perceive and complain of, and that even Children of ten years of age observe and make sport with" (93).

The two areas in which Eachard most seriously

engages W.S. are the question of school and universities' use of the classics and classical language versus the use of English language, exercises, and authors, and the question of proper methods of preaching. Even so, he must twit his adversary before moving on to offer his serious retort. Quoting W.S., Eachard notes: "Either, says he, it is necessary that Greek and Latin should be learned or not . . . then if necessary, those Languages are to be learned in School, or not"(39), and, further, that "It is Memory alone that is to be cherished and employed in Lads; that being the great Storehouse and Foundation of all Learning"(41). Eachard attacks not only the Answerer's foolish ambivalence in his phrasing, but also his failure to recognize the issue of natural aptitude and the penalties to those lacking it. "I do not much approve," says Eachard, "that a whole file of lads should be hang'd up indifferently together, for not being able, in the same time to get, and repeat so many Inches, or Feet of words; whereas perhaps some of them, having naturally but a small Faculty that way, have as much reason to be whipp'd, because their Hair is not curl'd and flaxen, or their eyes are not gray"(41-42).

Eachard also challenges the Answerer's assumption that Eachard finds the ages of thirteen or fourteen old enough for entrance into the university. On the contrary, says Eachard, "It never entered into my thoughts to consider

to what years it was best to continue at School: but only let the time be what it will, I thought that some of it might be better spent"(49). Here, he takes the opportunity to reiterate what he had argued in Grounds & Occasions, that the dignity of the language deludes boys into thinking that puns and quibbles made in Latin have substance, whereas the same content, delivered in English, would quickly reveal its poor quality of thought(51). Similarly, although Eachard agrees that quotations out of learned languages have "a native and unexpressible richness . . . that cannot possibly be rendered and communicated" in English(76), he warns that for the parishioners who cannot understand the words, it is a matter of mere sound, without significance. By way of demonstration, Eachard offers this example: "might he [the pastor] not communicate all such to a Parish, and make them smack their lips again, telling them it is a delicious and comfortable place out of the Father? or give them to swallow down eight of the biggest Curses in the Bible, instead of the Beatitudes? I do not question, but all this might be done"(77).

One thing more remained for Eachard to address in his reply to the Answerer, the question of preaching and whether Eachard had called it into contempt as a practice. Again, Eachard charges misreading and misunderstanding on the part of his critic and sets out to make the correction: "He

finds that I am against all Prefaces(55). . .They much mistake me as the Answerer did that think I was ever any further against Text-dividing, than either where it was not understood, or was not necessary"(62). . . and, because W.S. found so few examples of hyperbolic simile, Eachard obliges him (72). Eachard renews his efforts and presents further examples of the misuse of these otherwise acceptable practices, emphasizing that his complaint was not against the practices themselves, but against ridiculous misuse of them by uninsightful ministers.

This subject so powerfully concerned Eachard that he was not content simply to refute his attacker's claim; in effect, he wrote another treatise. On page 100, Eachard takes contemptuous leave of his opponent "for this year, and all that shall follow," commenting that if any find the second letter "small entertainment," they should attribute this to the "slenderness of that stuff" with which the Answerer had provided him. The bulk of the next eighty pages of the work, then, are devoted to an extension of Grounds & Occasions, with particular emphasis on poor preaching practice, especially by the non-conformists. However, there is also, as W.S. wished, a chiding of the laity.

In a section earlier in this work (64-66), Eachard offered a more sober explication of the function of

Scriptures and of sermons, and of the proper use of each than he had in Grounds & Occasions. However, in the latter part of the work, he returns to the tone and style of Grounds & Occasions, especially in his attack on the preaching of the non-conformists, whose histrionics and emphasis on protestations of spirituality particularly offend him. What they see as "powerful preaching," Eachard finds to be "prattle"; he attacks their style as he did the conformists' mindless use of classical language: "to make people sigh and cry by meer repetition of Scripture words, when perhaps there is little further sign of sense than shaking of the head, and wringing of hands, have much more in it of popular deceit, than popular Rhetorick"(113). He accuses them of solipsism and urges them and their followers to broader reading and exposure to others' preaching(121) and to better emulation of the preaching and teaching manner of Christ(123), rather than continue to try to out do the Saviour and his disciples(124).

As an example of the histrionic style he deplored, Eachard presents the portrait of a cleric who claimed to have a special, personal, and immediate relationship with Christ. To impress this upon his congregants, "he would sink himself in the Pulpit, and tell the people he would be with them again presently, he would only speak one word with Christ, and so pretending to have talk'd with Christ, he would come again soon after, as full of Christ, and his advice, as might

be"(126). Equally annoying to Eachard, was what seemed to him the non-conformists' view of their own preaching as being exceptional. "I must acknowledge," he says, "that I know several of them to be modest, serious, and learned"(132), but of the majority, he wishes "that they would not only cease to call their preaching alone spiritual, illuminating, and I know not what, but also that they would not think that they can, or ever did pray by the Spirit"(135). This, and their "loading their Sermons with abundance of Scriptures, where it is perfectly needless, and altogether impertinent"(130) especially affronted him. (The papist fared no better in these regards, and also received Eachard's censure, if more briefly.)

The Laity came in for its share of rebuke in this work, as Eachard categorized at least two ways in which it demonstrated contempt, and at least four types of "contemners." One method of mocking and undermining the clergy was through the use of demeaning names: "blackcoat," or a sly, slurring of the word "parson," or a reference to the minister's wife as "Mrs. Parson," or an attempt at Old Testament humor in calling the cleric "Levite." The most devastating blow to the parson's esteem, however, was the refusal to go to church altogether.

What types of lay persons were likely to assume

this casual attitude toward the clergy and religion? Eachard identifies the first as a young man, newly returned from the University and exceedingly self-important, despite his ignorance. Another might be the "small Ingenioso or Experimenteer" -- a sort of narcissist, intent on a showy display of his small smattering of knowledge. Two others are members of the gentry: the young gentleman, idle and vain; and "the modish grate, and well-considering gentleman" who finds the clergy to be "light and contemptible" for not being aware of the modish world of gossip and manners.

Eachard allows himself a few more light moments. He jokes about the fun of hearing his work discussed and his identity surmised by people unaware that they are in the presence of the author (89,99), and he has some fun with human nature and people's propensity to curse under stress, joking about how spiritual quotes might be used to replace curses, but he also has at least one more very serious matter on his mind, one which provokes him to anger, a category of "shrewd and judicious Despisers . . . the disciples of Mr. Hobbes" (175-176). These he depicts as crowd followers, as reliers on public reports of Hobbes' theories rather than independent readers and thinkers, carriers of Hobbes' book rather than students of it, and either atheists or people capable of believing in a "wooden" God. Whichever the case, he dismisses them alike, observing with sour sarcasm: "It

was very well for the nation, that Mr. Hobbes was born at last: and half a dozen of us of willingness, and parts, to understand him; otherwise the world had continued in a brave blind condition"(179).

Eachard concludes hastily, lumping together several other possible objectors to his writings and dismissing them, declaring that he has been "suddenly sent for into Devonshire: where I expect to find such employment, as will certainly secure the world, from me being ever troublesome in this kind again" (180).

BARNABAS OLEY'S PREFACE AND EACHARD'S LETTER TO B.O.

In his preface to the second impression, 1671, of George Herbert's A Priest to the Temple, the publisher, Barnabas Oley, makes a direct address to "the author of a scandalous Book," protesting, as had W.S., that although Eachard had "reproved divers things worthy of Reproof," he had done so in an unseemly and destructive manner (A8v,a1). Again, Eachard is accused of having publicized little-known information: "For I hear (by those that are sorry for it) that as some things in your book were matter of Chatt in Coffee-houses at C.[Cambridge] before it was printed; so now since it was printed, they be matter of pastime in Taverns at L.[London] where wit, wine, and profaneness, sport themselves in their own declinings: and make the Falts of Gods Ministers (for which, all that fear God, do greive [sic]) the matter of unhallowed mirth"(a1,v).

As Oley sees it, Eachard misses two important occasions of contempt, both of them lodged with the laity. Many people, he charges, think that the clergy lead sedentary lives, even idle ones, and such people envy God's mercy and providence for the minister; this propensity to envy is exacerbated by the affectation of gallantry, which nourishes envy (a2-2v).

The initial address of this preface, of which the

rebuke of Eachard is only a part, is to young, conforming clerics born and inducted into the clergy after "the troubles broke forth which was about the year, 1638" (A6); Oley's purpose is to present Herbert's book "as a Looking-Glass, to inform them what is decent," and to set a standard which would render despicable those who fell short of it (A7). This is a book which draws an ideal character of a cleric as a man who exemplifies holiness and asceticism and encourages it in others, one who is clean in mind, body, and domicile and who dedicates himself to good deeds, charity, and courtesy. Such a man is directed to eschew luxury as a visible sin and is encouraged to be very plain and simple in his appearance and in the conduct of his life. To prepare the readers to receive this information, and particularly here to chide Eachard, Oley states that poverty is a "Cause of Commiseration and Honour" and that a minister who lives well on a poor living "shall have praise both of God and man"(1av,a2), rather than contempt.

Oley has one more criticism of Eachard, whom he accuses of having reached as much as sixty years into the past in search of examples to offer to such as "make mock of Sin" and of including the "wild Notions which were delivered by Fanaticks, qualified neither with Orders nor Arts". In support of this charge, he traces the metaphoric use of the threshing worm to a sermon delivered in "Black Fryers Church,

London, in the year 1654, by a Fanatick Mechanick who at the time was one of Col. Harrison's Regiment, one of the late King's Murtherers"(a2v).

Eachard trivializes Oley's charge against him as the author of "a scandalous Book"; Oley, he asserts, made this charge without proof and without adequate understanding of the meaning of the word "scandalous." To other charges of Oley, Eachard replies with his own sense of purpose and personal satisfaction: "my Conscience tells me, what was my Design: And I bless God Almighty that he put it into my mind, and that I was enabled to finish it"(15). Moreover, Eachard points out, Grounds and Occasions has defenders as well as detractors, readers who "at the first reading thought the Design to be honest, and the Book still to be useful" (16).

Eachard even goes so far as to score a hit at Oley himself: "though you are pleased to say, that an Holy Man in a poor living is in a Kingdom; yet I hope, Sir, that your intentions of augmenting your own living, for the advantage of your Successors, will not remove you ever a whit the further, from that Kingdom you there man" (17).

Concluding his rebuttal, Eachard refers Oley, if he needs "any further satisfaction," to the rejoinder to W.S., noting that although it clarifies any point left untreated in

Grounds and Occasions, there are yet "two Objectors that now follow"(17). These two are "T.D." [D.T.], the author of Hieragoniston, and the unnamed author of The Vindication of The Clergy.

HIERAGONISTICON: OR CORAH'S DOOM: D.T.'S ATTACK AND EACHARD'S
RESPONSES

Whereas W.S. is defensive and a bit sad, and writing as one attacked and trying with dignity to refute the evidence presented, the author of Hieragonisticon is aggressive and contemptuous. D.T. presents himself not as one of the impoverished clergy, but as one in Eachard's position: a concerned observer. His stated objective is to "explain" Eachard's Enquiry to the laity and to answer it; in fact, he addresses both Grounds and Occasions and its sequel, Eachard's rejoinder to W.S.

D.T. sees Eachard's two Letters of Enquiry as "a Pagan- Papal project and designe . . . of propagating and promoting in England, atheisme, Libertinisme, Prophaneness, and loose licentious principles and practice" (11). Eachard, says D.T., is friend neither to clergy nor to laity, exposing the one to popular contempt and the other to atheism and popery, and although D.T. sees this as a deliberate effort, he asserts that even if it were an inadvertant effect, the Church of England would be justified in demanding a public recantation (17). This lacking, D.T. makes the task his own.

In addition to rebutting Eachard's work, D.T. uses the occasion to praise the church and the clergy, to call attention to the need to acknowledge the authority of Holy

Scriptures as approved and received by the Church of England, and to write a polemic on the need for political intervention in the distribution of clerical benefices. In his rebuttal, D.T. uses copious detail, making specific reference to quotes from Eachard with which he finds fault. However, at times D.T. veers abruptly from Eachard's issues, introducing his own subjects on which he expiates at length. For example, Eachard never questions the existence of God or of Heaven and Hell, all of which D.T. labors to defend.

D.T. calls his work Hieragonisticon [the struggle of the priests]: or Corah's Doom, and Eachard is D.T.'s Corah. This name is the satirical soubriquet Dryden used in Absalom and Achitophel to represent Titus Oates. Oates, the son of the Anabaptist preacher Samuel Oates, took Anglican orders, later pretended to be a Roman Catholic to unearth a Jesuit plot, and ultimately concocted an elaborate, false plot against Charles II. Ever bringing trouble upon himself, Oates was imprisoned and flogged repeatedly, but even so was not deterred from further plotting. D.T. predicts that "The contemner [Eachard], poor wretch! will prove felo de fe, a self-aggressor, like Corah"(7), that he has "in a manner prophesied [his] own doom as Caiaphas did our Saviour's, unawares"(3). Furthermore, D.T. announces his intention to make this doom "my business, in part"(19).

Having conjured up an image of one who kills as he embraces, D.T. now re-titles Eachard's first book to show his view of its true and similar purpose: "The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt and Contemptibility both of the Clergy (Person and Function) and Religion, under Colour of Friendly Enquiry into the same, and pretence of Redress of the present Contempt, but with a real intent of fomenting and propagating a further and firmer Prejudice, and (what hath a near relation thereunto) Atheisme, &c. alleged or administered, and in perpetuum rei memoriam published to the world, by Oath, ex officio &c."(21). He accuses Eachard of plotting to undermine the church and the laity's faith in it, of being "antiscriptural, anti-Christian, atheistical"(22).

D.T. is particularly offended by Eachard's style which he sees as an integral part of an overall contempt; he accuses Eachard of using "all imaginable artifice and advantage of an extemporary and occasional witt... that cursed Volupia to whose unhallowed Shrines you have presumed to devote and sacrifice God's own Word and Oracles"(63-4), and he identifies a "Scheam of facetious Atheism" (65) which he attributes to Eachard's being devoted to peculiar ways rather than to Holy Scriptures (69).

D.T.'s own style improves when he anchors his prose in direct responses to Eachard, but his fury remains

unabated. Put off by Eachard's having said that the nation is "overstock'd with Professors of Divinity," D.T. complains that "thus Aaron's fruitful Rod, is Corah's grudge" (70) and when D.T. responds to the charge that "such Preaching as is usual is a hindrance of Salvation, rather than the means to it," he fails to point out that Eachard is here quoting another. Instead, he charges Eachard with insulting a century of preaching and with denying that the Church of England is the true church (78).

The second half of Hieragonisticon is better written, with tighter arguments and clearer statements, in part because its arguments are less personal and more reasoned. For one thing, D.T. accuses Eachard of an "Illogical lissentious rate of Reasoning" (101), as his assertions that some of the clergy are poor, some ignorant, and others contemptible could also be used to indict the nobility and gentry and other groups. Why, then, attack the clergy rather than lawyers and physicians? D.T. joins W.S. when he argues that there is "greater reason for publishing the Credit than the Contempt of the English Clergy" (123), declaring the English Clergy to be the most eminent, especially in theological accomplishments.

In response to Eachard's ideas on educational reform, D.T. charges a lack of logic and circular reasoning,

and vagueness in the detailing of Eachard's proposals. How, D.T. demands, can there be too much taught in the schools and still be ignorance in the clergy? How can one tell in advance who will or will not flourish in the University? Which innocent English authors does Eachard have in mind? Will not Eachard's depiction of University life deter parents from sending and youth from attending? Does pulpit oratory evidencing learning offer an evidence of the minister's ability to interrelate with his parishioners? The overall thrust of this reaction is to assume the competency and appropriateness of clerical education and to deny any real ignorance of the clergy. Consequently, he makes no real attempt to address the issue; he simply dismisses it and charges Eachard with inconsistency, saying that although Eachard cites some "mounting eloquent" or "profoundly learned" sermons, yet he criticizes the "ignorance" of the clergy" (143). Even if Eachard's allegations were true, says D.T., they would not bear out the suggestion of his title, "that the Plurality of the English Clergy is ignorant or insufficient and therefore contemptible"(154). And even if one third be guilty, their guilt includes more virtues than fault, and how can Eachard use this one third to indict all (157)?

Since the defense of contemporary preaching and the primacy of Holy Scriptures is of great concern to D.T., he

turns his attention to those places in both books where Eachard pokes fun at sermons. Accusing Eachard of watching the clergy "for their halting," D.T. defends them, saying all the quotes from the sermons which Eachard holds up as negative examples are justifiable by the rules of oratory, that all are warranted by Canonical Parable and are enjoyable in the pulpit if they are not exhausted at University or rendered contemptible to the Laity (163). He counters Eachard's criticism of simile by referring him to St. Matthew, ch. 13 for examples of The Saviour's use of similes in sermons (169) and demands to know why, if Eachard needed "sacred fuel to burn, he didn't choose the Romish Clergy rather than the English, the Romish being "known to abound with all manner of blasphemy, folly, and impertinencies" (171).

D.T. is fairly accurate in his long summation (173-174) of Eachard's arguments; the difficulty lies in his interpretation both of the writing and of the intent behind it. Like W.S., D.T. is convinced that Eachard brings contempt on the clergy both by his specific criticisms and by his manner of criticism. He denies Eachard's charges of clerical ignorance and so makes no real attempt to address that issue, but he does address the issue of clerical poverty. First, he disallows it as a just ground of contempt because to accept this would mean that Christ and his

disciples were contemptible, since they were poor (175). Next, for virtually the same reason, (but now presented in several pages of convoluted reasoning,) D.T. denies that poverty is an actual occasion of contempt (as opposed to a just ground). He does, however, acknowledge the fact and seriousness of clerical poverty, the imbalance in clerical income, the "rich-poor Church of England."

Whereas Eachard sees educational reform and more careful selection of candidates for the clergy as solutions, D.T. calls for political and economic solutions. He cites, as causes of poverty, an inequity of parochial distributions, a disproportion of pastoral provisions within parishes, and an incommodious way of collecting those provisions (190). Some livings were double or triple the value of others, costs of living differed according to distance from London; the actual collection of funds posed problems (191). What D.T. wishes is for Parliament "to contrive some more equal and proportionable distributions of these Livings and Benefices . . . with regard . . . to their respective nearness to or distance from the City of London" or "the incorporating of the whole in the State, and the Clergy made State-Pensioners" (192).

D.T. makes a rather remarkable charge. As he concludes his suggestions that "our prudent State-Physican

may in due time" remedy the poverty of the clergy, he links Eachard with the devil, saying "partly through Satan's and your (Eachard's) co-instigation," this poverty has become an occasion of contempt in the laity (193). He accuses Eachard of being "an enemy to Schools! Universities! Clergy! Religion! Church and State!" and promises him Divine vengeance even should he escape human vengeance (196), unless he recants.

In a brief letter (Letter I) to R.L., unlike the earlier, book length, several hundred page "Letters," Eachard sums up his impression of D.T. ("the Doomster, or Fire and Brimstone itself") and his book: "pulling out of his Magazine, four or five Sermons concerning the existence of a God, the Authority of the Scripture, Providence, &c. and raking together an hundred or two of names for me, and all the curses in the Bible, he bundleth up all this together, and in as dreadful black, as ever was branded upon woolpack, he writes Hieragonisticon [printed in Gothic letters], or an answer to my two Letters" (7). Eachard's principal response is to pronounce D.T. mad and to aver that the rest of the world thinks so as well. He cites a passage, sympathetic to the clergy in his own work ("people should not be suffered to take away from God's Priests, what he had designed them ") and juxtaposes one of D.T.'s irrelevant rejoinders in which he accuses Eachard of being "a right down Atheist, or

Antiprovidentialist"(8). In the same mocking, lively accents of his longer works, Eachard uses this short letter to decimate his opponent, seizing on his frailties and using them to discredit him. Similarly, he calls on a learned and respected authority, Bishop Saunderson, who, in his Sermon ad Aulam sums up something of Eachard's sentiment: "Those Preachers therefore by a little vanity in this kind, take the readiest way to bring forth their own discretions into question, and the Sacred word they handle into contempt, that play with words, as Children do with a Feather"(10).

Eachard also addresses a brief, four-page letter (Letter IV) directly to D.T., whom he mis-identifies in the printed heading as T.D. The tone is heavily sardonic---"I am in very good bodily health at the present writing hereof, wishing that you had been as well in your wits when you writ your Book" (63)---following the conventions of a gossipy, gracious personal letter, but substituting biting insult for pleasantries.

Here, Eachard makes no attempt to respond to DT's charges. In fact, he pretends not to have read the work.

You may possibly hereupon think, Sir, that I have read your Book: But if you do, you are much mistaken... I do not intend to meddle with it. Alas! Sir, I am so unlikely to read your Book, that I can't get down the title, no more than Duck can swallow a yok'd Heifer. How is it? Hieragonisticon, or---but hold---let me see---tush---have a care---~~late~~ anguis---not a

word----~~vulpes~~----tread softly----there's a Bear----once more----on..." (64).

Warming to the fun, Eachard demands, "was not Hieragonisticon enough for your Heliogabuliship? was not that sufficiently confoundative, debellative, and depopulative? but you must put in--or Corah's Doom" (65)and he runs on with satiric emulations of D.T.'s titling and sub-titling technique.

In a more serious vein, pretending to have learned the content of Hieragonisticon from others, Eachard mocks D.T.'s prolixity, but addresses his concern: "you hold a God, the Trinity, Providence, the Divine Authority of the Scriptures, the Protestant Religion to be the best, &c. and hold many of these things so violently, that you prove them twenty or thirty pages together; I have nothing therfore to say to you, but only to let you know that I firmly believe all those things; and I believe besides (which is no more than the rest of the World do) that you are quite out of your wits, and are run away from your keepers"(65).

Eachard completes his letter to D.T. with an energetic barrage of insult, presented in the guise of advice, and ends with the suggestion that when his "brain be a lettles cool'd" that he "look over your own Book again: And then I do not question, but that you'll freely forgive not only me, but all the rest of the World that can't read it"(66). So much for that critic!

THE VINDICATOR

The next critic to voice objection is the one Eachard called "the Vindicator": the anonymous author of A Vindication of the Clergy, from the Contempt imposed upon them by the Author of the Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion. This work is, in some reference works, attributed to Eachard, but nothing in the style or in the dialogue created by Eachard's two letters of reponse to the work supports this suggestion. Probably the error derived from a misreading of "by the Author of the Grounds and Occasions," an error which imagines a comma preceding the word "by."

The Vindicator is another who finds Grounds and Occasions itself a ground and occasion of contempt of the clergy. Says he: "It is the Generality of the English Clergy, that he [Eachard] is pleased to divide into Fools and Beggars; . . . which he delivers over to the World for the character of the Clergy" (Preface, 3-3v). Questioning Eachard's motives for this villainy (to unhinge the government, perhaps?), he concludes that Eachard is "but an ungracious child yet, that lay open the nakedness of his Mother" (Preface, A5). Where Eachard sees ignorance and poverty as occasions of contempt, the Vindicator sees lack of official authority -- especially the loss of private, or

secret, confession--as the key. He faults Eachard for his style, his logic, his use of dated examples, his educational ideas, his "false" slurs on the gentry as well as the clergy, and his indiscretion and insincerity. His energies are directed chiefly against Eachard's first book, but in his postscript, he attacks the second work as well.

First the matter of attitude: the Vindicator complains that "the vein of Popular Humour, and Drollery" is indecent and inappropriate to "the solemnity of the Pretence"(Preface A5v-6), and that this is worsened by the material disclosed in this manner. Says the Vindicator, friends tell us of our faults in private, enemies "publish and divulge our private failings to reproach and upbraid us"(79). Not only does he charge Eachard with a scurrilous and libelous style and indiscretion, but also with insincerity: "When he would deplore his Clergies ruinous circumstances, he only laughs till the tears stand in his eyes"(80). Citing Eachard's depiction of the poor cleric whose most hopeful chick is swooped down on by a kite, he says that Eachard has coined "an Eutopian Vicar meerly to laugh at" (83). To balance this and other of Eachard's anecdotes, the Vindicator concocts a long tale of an "experience" he supposedly has had in the Convent of the Eleutheri, "formerly a Religious Order" where the residents eat marvelous foods and reject the weighty learning of the

past in favor of the current fashion of thought [the new philosophy] (84-91).

In his refutation of Eachard's thesis that clerical ignorance is a source of parishioner's contempt, the Vindicator reaches back to Roman times, using examples to prove that position -- power and authority -- itself engenders respect and that ignorance, clad in a bit of mystery such as is provided by rites and rituals, engenders still more respect(8). He attempts to dispatch poverty as a source of contempt by saying "Surely the intelligent part of mankind don't use to judge of things by their gaudy outside"(11). Like D.T., the Vindicator is proscriptive, concerned with "shoulds" and "justice," whereas Eachard is descriptive and pragmatic, showing the "is" rather than the "should," presenting the reality which falls short of the ideal. The Vindicator cites the tradition of mendicant orders and asserts that accidental poverty is no more contemptible than wilful poverty(16); in fact, he argues, displays of wealth tempt "the avarice of Men sacrilegiously disposed"(18).

We may deduce that the Vindicator is himself a clergyman, and one well aware of the controversy provoked by Eachard's work, already responded to by W.S.: "But the whole strain of his Book tells us, he aims at a cowardly triumph

over the little Vicars and Curates, though he is not likely to have his end of them neither. One of them has answered him already, (but that he was so civil to his old Acquaintance, as to be too free and prodigal in his Concessions and, for ought he shall ever know the contrary, I may be another"(26). Another basis for this conclusion is his choice of the pronoun "us," as in "no, the Ignorance he upbraids us with must be amongst us in the Country, or no where"(24); the "us" aligns the Vindicator with the clergy accused. Simultaneously, he places Eachard outside the group: ". . . he writes at random of Men he hath never studied"(27) and suggests "let him hereafter keep his Ignorance to himself, for it belongs to very few of our Profession"(29).

The Vindicator's tone is steady and even. Logic prevails; his language is temperate; examples abound and are historical as well as contemporary. Like W.S., he maintains a dignified posture, but like D.T., he mounts an aggressive attack. He seeks first to set terms for his opposition, but he makes an important error. Seeking the point of agreement, he says "We are agreed in the first place. . . that the present English Clergy is the subject of discussion, that is those currently preferred in the Church of England." He charges Eachard with using dated examples and insists that both he and Eachard are excluding the

non-conformists -- "We intend not to answer for their ridiculous extravagancies in the Pulpit, more than their other faults"(20) -- but here he misses an important point: Eachard does include non-conformists among his most potent examples.

The Vindicator declares that if the English clergy is not truly valued, it is for reasons other than ignorance and poverty. The fault lies either with openly debauched, profane, dissolute atheists, with "Popish Recusants," or with "Fanatick Recusants" -- "zealots. . . who are for reforming Church and State, and all things but themselves and their own pernicious Opinions" (102-3). He groups the enemies of the Church into three categories: (a) those who project their own "irreligion" in speaking ill of the clergy; (b) those who oppose the English Clergy's opposing the corrupted Doctrine and Discipline of Rome"; and (c) those who resent the English Clergy's loyalty and obedience to "God and his Church" (106-7). The rest of the nation, he declares, is a friend to the Church and if these fall short of the proper valuation, it is because the church is denied its proper authority. Most specifically, the Vindicator laments "the want of that godly Discipline of Confession and Penance in the Primitive Church which our Church of England hath long since wished for, and Sir Edward Sandys saith might have been better restored in all the reformed Churches to its Primitive

sincerity than utterly abolished and neglected as in most places it is" (108).

The Vindicator makes a strong argument for the re-institution of confession as a key to restore authority to the clergy and gain the respect of the people. He says Rome abuses confession, making it facile, but that it is a useful tool which should be used systematically by the Church of England. He predicts that by its use "The life of Religion will quickly grow more into fashion: Men will be more careful of discharging their Baptismal Vow, more afraid of sin, more sincere in their Repentence, Fastings, Prayers, and Works of Charity, and consequently the People must needs believe that their Pastours belong to God more than ordinary Folks; they cannot but have a hearty respect, and honorable esteem for their Spiritual Guides and Physitians, who watch daily over their Souls, by whose prudent Conduct, faithful Advices, and ghostly Comfort, live quietly and peacefully here in all Godliness and Honesty, and in the end attain to Everlasting Life"(115).

Unlike W.S., who chides Eachard for not having faulted the laity for any lapses in respecting and honoring the clergy, the Vindicator includes in his polemic a section addressed to those who do not properly, respect the clergy and religion, itemizing reasons why it is they, rather than

the clergy, who really suffer thereby.

The Vindicator also addresses Eachard's attack on schooling (which attack Eachard returns in pages 5-7 of his subsequent letter to R.L.), warning that "changing foundations is oftentimes of dangerous consequence" (33-4), that new methods may be more monstrous than the old. He responds to Eachard's proposal that philosophical discourses in English be used rather than trivia in Greek and Latin, by saying that it would be a mistake "to put Boys upon puzzling their tender Brains about crabbed Theories, and knotty Problems, such as grown men of the profoudest judgements can scarcely fathom or understand"(36). Instead, he instructs Eachard in how learning is achieved, to show why the current methods of instruction are appropriate, and he argues that the education of the clergy is no worse, no different from that of lawyers and physicians.

Although this respondent supports, rather than refutes, Eachard's argument that "Grammaticasters" [i.e. early teachers] and the University are to be blamed for allowing unfit students to study for the ministry, he denies that it is at all common for a boy to be sent to University by parents or friends without adequate financial provision, or that the boy's time then is consumed in serving those more fortunate. Even when it is true that

many are forced for want of that same [financial support] to live in honest servitude, and the narrow compass of Sizars; what then? Must it therefore follow they are condemn'd to such drugerries as Chamber-sweeping, Water-fetching, and buying of Butter and Eggs? That's as very a Flam as all the rest: No, the main duty required at their hands, is only to hold a Trencher, and College-Commons will not keep them at that from morning till night, but afford them sufficient intervals as well for their Studies as Recreations (45).

In fact, the Vindicator goes so far as to find virtue in this, asking "What Man is ignorant that too large Allowances often make Lads prove idle and debauched? Whereas on the contrary, they whose maintenance is short, as knowing what they must trust to, and being to lay the foundation of their own fortunes, and live by their wits, are usually the closest Students, and make the most eminent Scholars"(45). Eachard, having himself been a Sizar at Cambridge, may have had a more realistic -- certainly a different -- view.

The Vindicator also takes issue with Eachard's proposal for physical selectivity, arguing that "sickly, puling Children often prove the more healthy and robust Men" and "lusty promising Boys" may have inner defects which cause them to grow "Consumptive and infirm at riper years"(52). And he objects to Eachard's proposal for the use of the English language. First, he says Eachard must not claim credit for the idea, as "the famous Culpepper brought the design to admirable effect in Physics" and English declamations and disputations were introduced into public schools in St. Pauls by the Independents, Anabaptists, Antinomists, and

others(53-4). Moreover, the reading of English authors would make scholars "perfect strangers to the most learned Writers in the World"(56). Citing Eachard's example of the Academic Youngster who complains of having had "no acquaintance with above a muse and a half," the Vindicator says that the youngster's problem was not one of language but a "want of fancy and yes, Parts, Judgment and Years," the remedy for which is to "lay in a stock of substantial Learning both Ancient and Modern, and then when he becomes of age. . . give him to read the choicest English Books to advance his stile, and give him a perfect command of his Mother Tongue"(58).

One more bone of contention remains in the main part of the Vindication, the issue of slurs on the gentry. The Vindicator accuses Eachard of outright lies in saying that the gentry retain scholars to save a servant's wages, having the family chaplain look after the geldings, for example. Such a charge, he says, insults both the clergy and the gentry, and is a situation which exists solely in Eachard's imagination.

The final fourteen pages of the Vindication is in the form of a postscript. The Vindicator learned that Eachard was about to publish a second book [Some Observations Upon the Answer], so he withheld his own work in order to see

whether Eachard would retract any of the charges in the first book. He finds one statement on which he pounces: When Eachard says that the clergy improves daily, the Vindicator sneers "Now our Clergy is either strangely improved in a very short space, or else T.B. hath changed his mind: for it is not a year ago since he laid the imputation of Ignorance and Folly upon the very same Clergy to which he now attributes so much Learning and Wisdom"(123).

The Vindicator is as offended by Eachard's style in the second book as in the first. Referring to the writing in Grounds and Occasions, he calls Eachard "some young beginner, some novice in Raillery, who hath just parts and skill enough to make a Cobweb-Net that will take the lesser Flies"(101); of Some Observations, he asks, "if it be folly and impudence to maintain the style and manner of expression in the first Letter, as not suitable to the subject, why does he carry on the Metaphor, and continue the same strain in the second?"(129).

The Vindicator concludes by assuring the reader that Eachard is mistaken in his idea that only some non-conformists or "some of the idle inconsiderable Laity" might mistake his purpose and think Eachard was trying to bring the clergy into contempt; "I must assure him that a very great part of the Orthodox Clergy and most considerable

Laity too are very much of the same opinion, it being past their skill to find out any more rational and plausible end that should prompt him to make such an Adventure in English, since, had he clothed his Discourse in (that so much despised thing called) Latine, it could not have been half so obnoxious"(133).

Eachard made two replies to the above work; the first is in the same short letter to R.L. which contains the response to D.T. [Letter I], and the second is a long, forty-six page letter addressed directly "to the Author of the Vindication of the Clergy"[Letter III].

In the brief reply, Eachard criticizes the Vindicator not only for his insistence on using Greek, being fully aware of Eachard's antipathy to it, but Eachard chides him for his mis-use of it, giving the reader the amusement of seeing the advocate of plain English speech having the advantage of greater mastery of the classical language as well. In mock grievance, Eachard complains, "He knows, as well as I do my right Hand from my Left; that I do not much care for a bit of Greek, and to vex and spight me, and to make me tired of the World, he'll bring in at a venture, I know not how much, though it be nothing at all to the purpose"(Letter I,4), and, "it is all one to me what the true meaning of the word is: And I had not taken any notice of

it, but only I know, as I said before, he quoted it out of malice, on purpose to make me fret, and hang myself"(5).

This mockery extends also to the Vindicator's erudition, as displayed in his historical defenses, and to his defense of the dignity of clerical poverty. Eachard drily observes: "this Author's Master-piece is concerning Riches and Wisdom: Both which he has so horribly discouraged, by pressing the great duties and conveniencies of being ignorant and poor, from the History of the Jews, the Grecians, the Romans, both Pagan and Christian, and from Our Saviour himself and his Disciple; that I am afraid that money itself, as well as Learning, will go a begging; and that it will be a very hard matter ever to persuade either Clergy-men or others to undergo again the trouble and scandal of being wise or rich"(3).

Eachard also faults the Vindicator for an error of attribution, another sign of his carelessness and reason to dismiss his arguments against Grounds and Occasions: Eachard depicts himself as "deadly mad to hear a Sentence out of Aristotle, so magnificently translated against me," and challenges the Vindicator's assertion that it's a sentence from "plodding Aristototle." Tracking it down, Eachard announces, "I was made happy, had my Design; for (as I believe) that Sentence is no where to be found in plodding

Aristotle; but in plodding Themistius, a plodding Commentator upon plodding Aristotle"(6), and he goes on to correct the error of content and translation, as well as the error of attribution.

In the longer letter, the one addressed directly to the Vindicator, Eachard plays the Vindicator off against his Brother Answerer, W.S. and, with heavy sarcasm, professes himself fully available, ready to do any of the silly things the Vindicator has mockingly suggested (chasing butterflies, resting in the Pillory), anything, that is, except "to answer your book"(Letter III, 20). Eachard dismisses The Vindicator's effort as being too long after the facts, as being "fully answered, long before it was printed," since W.S. raised the same arguments and objections a year earlier and was answered, in Eachard's second book, a half-year earlier(20).

Eachard sees the Vindicator as simply "sprucing up" the objections of W.S. and he has fun juxtaposing "modest W.S." against the Vindicator, showing favoritism for W.S. However, he does credit the Vindicator with having found two or three "things against my Letter" which W.S. "over-look'd . . . out of Friendship or Tenderness of Nature, or weakness of Eyes or Understanding" Eachard decides that his "Reputation is much concern'd," so he will answer these objections(24).

[They are matters of word play and mis-quotation. Eachard bristles at the latter, expands on the former.]

In a display of wit, Eachard urges the Vindicator to eschew quibbles in future, quoting the opponent, then showing his own skill in addressing the issues. Purporting to instruct the Vindicator in verbal effectiveness, Eachard shows his opponent to be speaking "timorously and modestly" and he reduces the strength of the Vindicator's objections by his own elaboration of them (28-32).

Eachard patronizes the Vindicator, like a teacher responding to a child's essay, by granting only "four or five points of worth" in the entire book. He offers to point them out "that you may know what is approved of, how to value your self, and to do well again when occasion requires"(33). The points he chooses are trivial enough; he makes them more so with his commentary. At one point, he quotes a thirty-eight year old collection of sermons to show where the Vindicator got one idea, and suggests courses of action by which he may get others.

To the Vindicator's defense of the virtues of poverty and of ignorance, and his assertions and examples that they are often not occasions of contempt, Eachard replies, "Now from such Premises as these would not every novice (say you) in Logick conclude that it were better for a

Clergy man to have but twenty pounds a year, and half a dozen books, than an hundred and a good Library?"(42). He patiently re-states his own concern: "The case is this (or as you are pleased to read it 'the ball of contention') whether there may not be here and there a Clergy-man so ignorant, as that it might be wished, that he were wiser. For my part I went and guess'd at random, and thought there might be one or so: But my adversary holds and maintains, not only that there is not so much as one now in the whole Nation; but shews it to be impossible that there ever was one, or ever shall be one"(42-3).

Other points of disagreement remain. Eachard resents the Vindicator's quibbling over figures in the matter of Eachard's estimate of the number who drop out of clerical studies (46), and he replies to the Vindicator's charge that "T.B. and R.L. are all one," that R.L. is a fiction(47). He says that it isn't even an original charge -- W.S. made it first; he demands to know whether the Vindicator thinks himself in command of all the R.L.'s in the nation, and extends this to address the Vindicator's equally unsuccessful analytic guessing at other identities, including Eachard's own.

Next Eachard attacks the Vindicator's fictional account of the trip to the Convent of the Eleutheri,

parodying the Vindicator's trivializing digressions, and extending the Vindicator's eating metaphor to recommend a more useful diet(51-5). He creates his own utopia and follows this with another tale of his own invention. Both are presented to the Vindicator with this suggestion: "I cannot conveniently stand to explain it, because I have one thing more to request of you, viz that you do not absolutely pronounce such things to be flams, forgeries and whiskers, which for ought you know, may be all solid, and massy truths"(57).

Next, Eachard warms to the pleasure of the insult, "All the beginning of it [your book] smells so very rank of your own kind of reasoning, that it can scarce possibly be any bodies else but your own"(57). He follows this up with the advice that The Vindicator be more judicious in setting down his opinion, that he be aware of his narrowness of vision and experience. To demonstrate this, Eachard revives a few of his own examples, which the Vindicator has refuted as false or dated, re-asserting them as true and relatively current.

Having vigorously answered The Vindicator, Eachard returns to his protestation that he will not do so. Thus he has written more than forty pages of rejoinder, which he concludes by saying "Sir, I have given you my Reasons why I

do not at present answer your Book: and I desire that the same may serve, why I never intend to answer it"(61). Then, as a final irony in this battle of anonymous writers, and with reference to the question of the existence of an R.L., Eachard adds a postscript: "R.L. is well and presents his Service to you."

DR. WILD'S LETTER and EACHARD'S MOON-SHINE

A last respondent to Eachard is Dr. Robert Wild, the author of A Letter from Dr. Wild to his Friend Mr. J.J. Wild's work is too peripheral to Eachard's to warrant an extensive summary or discussion here. It does not make a direct attack on Grounds and Occasions, as do the others; rather, Wild's occasion for writing is the Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Its value here is that it suggests Eachard as the author of a work attributed to him in several sources, but never firmly attached to his name.

Wild makes clear and disparaging reference to Eachard and his writing: "I had been just reading the sport which the merry Monkey [Eachard] makes in looking lice in old Hobbs his head, and cracking them upon his crown. And I think it would make a philosopher or Quaker laugh, and put off his hat too; if they should see that old Bear led through Cheapside, and what do you call him that writes against him, riding on his back. I wish he had made up his mouth with the Dialogue, and then have wip'd it, and let his Letters (especially to B.O. and I.O.) have been the napkin to save them from a worse office"(14).

Eachard for his part, calls Wild's work "most vile and dirty" (Moonshine, p. 1) and accuses Wild of "comparing the grave and solemn Musick of our Church, to a whistle,

bagpipe and jews-trump"(4).

The word moonshine denotes foolish or visionary talk and ideas; Eachard uses his Moon-Shine to extend the attack on the foolish, long-winded, sound-without-sense preaching of the non-conformists, which he began in Grounds and Occasions. In this work he displays the same satirically analytic style of the earlier work, poking fun at preaching excesses, punning on names and words, even at times, becoming scatological in his raillery. He mocks Wild's metaphors and conceits as he had mocked the sermons of the non-conforming clergy, ticking off details verbatim, dispatching Wild's imagery, sentiment, sincerity, and puns, and making a parody of the text. Finally, Eachard calls on Wild's friends "to banish from their homes and company, such a bawdy, profane, nasty, and witless scribbler, but not suffer [Wild] ever to say so much again, as 'We Nonconformists'"(40).

THE PRINTING AND TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE PRESENT EDITION

I turn now to the printing and textual history of Eachard's Grounds Occasions.

In describing the process by which I arrived at the text of the present edition, I use the word edition in Gaskell's sense, to identify all the copies of a book printed at any time from substantially the same setting of type. If more than half the type has been re-set, the resultant book is a new edition; if less than half has been re-set, the result is another impression, issue, or state. (Gaskell, 313) Following this definition, I can affirm that the six first-year editions collated for this text are true editions, each representing a new setting of the type. I have examined each of these texts, as well as copies of the editions of 1671, 1672, and 1685, to arrive at an eclectic text which I believe best represents Eachard's intent.

The term copy text is used here to indicate the control text, the basic 1670 printed text on which the current edition is based and to which all others have been compared. Gaskell suggests that for works intended for publication, an early printed edition makes the best copy

text, to be followed in both substantives and accidentals. A manuscript, even if available, may be inadequate because the author may intend the printer to adjust spelling and punctuation, and the second and third editions are likely to have altered accidentals. According to Gaskell, "the copy text is that printed edition which is closest in line of descent to the author's manuscript, and that it is followed in substantives unless there is evidence that the author's intentions would be more closely represented by other readings" (340).

For my copy text, I have selected Eachard's own, signed copy of one of the first-year editions, and I have made only those emendations which, on bibliographical or literary grounds, I judge to have the greater authority, to be closest to what Eachard intended.

This new edition is an eclectic text which is the result of work in textual bibliography. I have employed both descriptive bibliography, and textual criticism, in an effort to satisfy the need for an accurate, modern, annotated text which will interest and entertain the reader as Eachard intended, and to reflect the history of the work itself from 1670 to 1685. In examining copies of each of the first-year editions and each of the subsequent editions published during Eachard's lifetime, nine editions in all, I observed and noted all variants and questioned the reason for each. For

greater ease in reading, the text is unencumbered by notations; collation and notes are presented after the text. I have recorded the significant substantive variants in the historical collation, and from these, have made editorial decisions, selecting those which had the greatest authority. Having the author's text and being able to collate this large number of available seventeenth-century editions provided a good deal of bibliographic information for the establishment of an eclectic text.

My initial research led me to believe that there were three extant 1670 editions of Grounds & Occasions, and I began my search for them at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, where I located Eachard's personal copy, the one I ultimately adopted as my copy text. The Librarian at St. Catharine's was generous enough to allow me to make a copy of this text, the better to be able to use it for close comparison with other texts.

My search took me next to the Cambridge University Library, where I located four other 1670 editions of Grounds & Occasions. The University Library has, in fact, six copies of Grounds & Occasions, representing five editions: one copy is from the same edition as Eachard's own; two are copies from a single, separate edition; the three remaining copies are each from other editions published in 1670. To distinguish between these, I use abbreviations of the

University Library press mark designations: Bass, Adams, Dd, Syn, and Ely.

Using the Hinman Collator (similar to the Lindstrand Comparator), I began with a complete, page-by-page comparison of three of the University Library texts and Eachard's copy, establishing that Eachard's copy was from the same edition as Dd (from this point forward, this copy will be referred to as the copy text), and that the copy text was a separate edition from Bass and from Syn. Thus, I had in hand three separate editions. As I examined each pair of books, I noted all variants, both substantives and accidentals.

Next, I used the Hinman to do a partial collation of the remaining texts: I examined recto and verso of the first leaf of each gathering and found that the copy text was a different edition from Ely and Adams, that Syn was different from Ely, Adams, and Bass, and that Ely was different from Adams, indicating that, in all, I was working with five separate editions. I then made a complete page-by-page comparison of these texts with my complete historical collation, noting the additional variants, adding each text's identification to the list, and thus getting a first idea of which editions seemed related to which others.

For the convenience of the reader, I have simplified the historical collation to reflect all the

substantive variants, but only those accidentals which affect meaning. In the appendix, the reader will find a full bibliographic description of each edition so examined.

In London, I established, by the same methods I used in Cambridge, that the British Library's 1670 copy of Grounds & Occasions is a true, separate edition, and I added its variants to the collation. Again using an abbreviated form of the library press mark, I identify this edition as number 698. [See Appendix I below.] I am satisfied that there are no further 1670 editions, as the 1671 edition would be the seventh, and the 1672 edition is identified on the title page as the eighth edition.

I was also able to examine the editions of 1671, 1672, and 1685 -- the remaining editions published during Eachard's lifetime, and over which he might presumably have exercised control -- and I noted the substantive variants of these editions, identifying them by their year of publication. Although I examined the 1696-98 edition in London, and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions in New York, I excluded these from consideration in editing the copy text as they were all posthumous editions.

In trying to establish a stemma, a line of descent for the editions, one of my techniques was to use a magnifying glass to examine the type and the ornamental woodcuts, looking for the deterioration which can occur after

repeated pressings of the formes. However, this effort proved disappointing. There was so little difference in appearance that I had to conclude that these must have been small editions, perhaps as few as 500 copies each, and certainly not the larger 1200 to 1500 copy editions in which octavo volumes were often issued.

Another technique which proved unfruitful was the examination of watermarks. If two editions have the same mark, they may be close in time; however, in octavos, the watermarks are located at the top, inner margins of four leaves of each gathering, and these books were all so tightly bound that the marks were barely visible, and not useful for my purpose.

It became necessary, therefore, to depend on variations in the texts for clues to the history of the editions, each of which was printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke and set page for page, one from another. I culled twenty-one significant substantive variants from the forty-four which comprise the historical collation; my analysis of the pattern of variants leads me to conclude that there are two clear lines of development, suggesting that the first edition of each line was set from manuscript. The copy text and Bass are related texts, fully agreeing in twenty of the twenty-one variants; and Adams, Ely, Syn, and 698 are related, fully agreeing in seventeen of the twenty-one

variants while disagreeing with the copy text and Bass in fifteen of these. Within this last group, Adams and Ely agree in all twenty-one variants, twenty of which differ from the copy text and Bass.

I believe that the copy text is the first of the 1670 editions, the one most carefully transcribed from Eachard's manuscript, but, nonetheless marred by some spelling and foul-case errors. Bass is a corrected version of the copy text, and the editions of 1671 and 1672 derive from this line. The 1685 edition is certainly set from that of 1672 and is the last descendent of that line in Eachard's lifetime: both editions omit a sentence present in the original text and there is one instance of idiosyncratic spelling which also supports this conclusion.

The second line of descent begins with Adams. An error in the transition from last word and catchword on page 49 to initial word on page 50 which makes sense in Adams is partly repeated, without reason, in Ely, leading me to say that Ely was set from Adams. This compositor's error is corrected in 698, which was probably set from Ely. Syn is undoubtedly the last of this line; Syn has more accidental errors than any other text in its group, attributable to less careful work in setting the type, and no other edition was set from Syn, which has the only instance of a page ending differently from all the others. The lowest place in a

stematic affiliation has more unique variants than its exemplar.

Aside from the exception just noted, all the 1670 texts are identically paged and were set by William Godbid, who also set the 1671 edition. The 1671 is the only 12mo edition; all the others are 8mo. The 1672 and 1685 editions are themselves identically paged; the printer Holt was involved in both, and he may also have set the 1696 , a corrected edition, in which the rules, type, and capitals seem to be from the same font.

One might wonder why so many editions were issued in the first year. In part, this may be explained by reference to political circumstance, and in part by the printing practices in the hand-press period.

Speed and profit were important to a printer because competition was intense. Although the Star Chamber had limited the number of master printers to twenty in 1637, by 1649 the number had tripled (Plomer, Short History, 1900, p.193) Literature was given short shrift as the public, anxious with political concerns, was more receptive to diurnals and political pamphlets. These comprised half of the printed matter of the time, and the balance was largely religious writing (Plomer, 189), all turned out at a fast pace.

In a listing of printing houses made July 24, 1668, Godbid was presented as a Master printer with 3 presses, 2 apprentices, and 5 workmen, making his one of the larger printing houses in London. Only three houses and the King's own printing house had more presses than that. Evan Tyler, who printed the 1672 edition of Grounds & Occasions is also listed as a Master printer in 1668, with 3 presses and a prooffe press, 1 apprentice, and 6 workmen, another substantial house (Plomer, 224-6).

A 1587 ordinance of the Registry of Stationers was part of a policy of overseeing the nature of all published material, and of distributing work among the compositors of various printing houses; this ruling limited the number of copies which could be produced in any one issue to 1250 or 1500. The mean was closer to 500 copies in most printing houses; then the type would have to be redistributed into the case boxes to be available for other work, since seventeenth-century printing houses habitually printed many works at once. In fact, it was common to redistribute and re-use the type from each sheet as it was printed off, so that edition and impression were often synonymous, and if a reprint were needed, the whole had to be re-set, from manuscript or from a copy of the earlier edition. Such was the case with Grounds & Occasion; Godbid re-set the work and ran off another edition as public demand for the work grew.

This edition closely follows the copy text. The only consistent silent emendation is the substitution of the short s for the long s. In order to maintain the texture of the original, I have retained Eachard's rhetorical punctuation, his spelling and capitalization, his use of italics, and his paragraph divisions. Only in the rare instance of a printer's spelling error or where punctuation hindered ease of reading did I intervene with silent emendation.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER

I can very easily phansie, that many upon the very first sight of the Title, will presently imagine, that the Author does either want the great Tithes, lying under the pressure of some pitiful Vicaridge; or that he is much out of humour, and dissatisfied with the present condition of Affairs; or lastly, that he writes to no purpose at all, there having been an abundance of unprofitable Advisers in this kind.

As to my being under some low Church Dispensation, you may know, I write not out of a pinching necessity, or out of any rising Design: you may please to believe, that although I have a most solemn reverence for the clergy in general, and especially for that of England; yet, for my own part, I must confess to you, I am not of that Holy Employment: and have as little thoughts of being Dean or Bishop, as they that think so, have hopes of being all Lord Keepers.

Nor less mistaken will they be, that shall judge me in the least discontented, or any ways disposed to disturb

the peace of the present settled Church: For in good truth, I have neither lost Kings nor Bishops Lands: that should incline me to a surly and quarrelsome complaining: As many be, who would have been glad enough to see His Majesty restored, and would have endured Bishops daintily well, had they lost no Money by their coming in. I am not lile assure you, any of those occasional Writers, that missing preferment in the University, can presently write you their new ways of Education: or being a little tormented with an ill chosen Wife, set forth the Doctrine of Divorce to be truly Evangelical [11]: The cause of these few sheets was honest and innocent, and as free from all passion, as any design.

As for the last thing which I supposed objected, viz. That this Book is altogether needless, there having been an infinite number of Church and Clergy-Menders, that have made many tedious and unsuccessful offers: I must needs confess, that it were very unreasonable for me to expect a better reward: Only thus much I think with Modesty may be said: that I cannot, at present, call to mind any thing that is propounded, but what is very hopeful, and easily accomplished. For indeed, should I go about to tell you, that a Child can never prove a profitable Instructor of the people, unless born when the Sun is in Aries: or brought up in a School that stands full South: that he can never be able to govern a Parish, unless he can ride the great Horse: or that he can never go through the great Work of the

Ministry, unless, for three hundred years backward, it can be proved that none of his Family ever had Cough, Ague, or gray Hair: then I should very patiently endure, to be reckoned amongst the vainest, that ever made attempt. But believe me, Reader, I am not, as you will easily see, any contriver of an incorruptible and pure Crystalline Church: or any expecter of a Reign of nothing but Saints and Worthies: But only an honest and hearty wisher, that the best of our Clergy might forever continue as they are, rich, and learned: and that the rest might be very useful, and well-esteemed of in their Profession. [2]

THE GROUNDS & OCCASIONS OF THE CONTEMPT
OF THE CLERGY & RELIGION ENQUIRED INTO.

SIR,

That short Discourse, which we lately had concerning the Clergy, continues so fresh in your mind, that I perceive by your last, you are more than a little troubled to observe that disesteem that lies upon several of those holy Men. Your good wishes for the Church, I know, are very strong and unfeigned, and your hopes of the World receiving much more advantage, and better advice, from some of the Clergy, than usually it is found by Experience to do, are neither needless nor impossible. And as I have always been a devout admirer, as well as strict observer of your actions; so I have constantly taken a great delight to concur with you in your very thoughts. Whereupon it is, Sir, that I have spent some few hours upon that which was the occasion of your last Letter, and the Subject of our late discourse. And before, Sir, I enter upon telling you what are my apprehensions; I must most heartily profess, that for my own part, I did never think, since at all I understood the excellency and perfection of a Church, but that Ours now lately Restored, as formerly Established, does far outgo, as to all Christian ends and purposes, either the pomp and

bravery of Rome herself, or the best of Free Spiritual States. But if so be it allowable, where we have so undoubtedly learned and honourable a Clergy, to suppose that some of that sacred Profession, might possibly have attain'd to a greater degree of esteem and usefulness to the World; then I hope what has thus long hindred so great and desirable a Blessing to this Nation, may be modestly gness'd at; either without giving any wilful offence to the present Church; or any great trouble, dear Sir, to your self: And if I be not very much mistaken, whatever has heretofore, or does at present lessen the value of our Clergy, or render it in any degree less serviceable to the World than might be reasonably hoped, may be easily referred to two very plain things ; the Ignorance of some, and the Poverty of others of the Clergy.

And first, as to the Ignorance of some of our Clergy; if we would make a search to purpose, we must go as deep as the very beginnings of Education; and, doubtless, may lay a great part of our misfortunes to the old fashion'd Methods and Discipline of Schooling it self: Upon the well ordering of which, although much of the improvement of our Clergy cannot be denyed mainly to depend; yet by reason this is so well known to your self, as also, that there has been many of undoubted Learning and Experience, that have set out their several Models for this purpose; I shall therefore only mention such lots of time and abuse of youth, as is most

remarkable and mischievous, and as could not be conveniently omitted in a discourse of this nature, though never so short.

And first of all, it were certainly worth the considering, whether it be unavoidably necessary to keep Lads to sixteen or seventeen years of Age, in pure slavery to a few Latin and Greek words? Or whether it may not be more convenient, especially if we call to mind their natural inclinations to ease and idleness, and how hardly they are perswaded of the excellency of the liberal Arts and Sciences, any further than the smart of the last piece of Discipline is fresh in their memories; whether I say it be not more proper and beneficial, to mix with those unpleasant tasks and drudgeries, something that in probability might not only take much better with them, but might also be much easier obtained?

As suppose, some part of time was allotted them for the reading of some innocent English Authors; where they need not go every line so unwillingly to a tormenting Dictionary; and whereby they might come in a short time to apprehend common sense; and to begin to judge what is true: For you shall have Lads that are arch knaves at the Nominative Case, and that have a notable quick Eye at spying out the Verb, who for want of reading such common and familiar books, shall understand no more of what is very plain and easie, than a well educated Dog or Horse. Or

suppose, they were taught (as they might much easier be, than what is commonly offered to them) the principles of Arithmetick, Geometry, and such alluring parts of Learning: As these things undoubtedly would be much more useful, so much more delightful to them, than to be tormented with a tedious story how Phaeton broke his Neck; or how many Nuts and Apples Tityrius had for his Supper: For most certainly Youths, if handsomly dealt with, are much inclinable to Emulation, and to a very useful esteem of Glory; and more especially, if it be the reward of Knowledge; and therefore if such things were carefully and discreetly propounded to them, wherein they might not only earnestly contend amongst themselves, but might also see how far they outskill the rest of the World: A Lad hereby would think himself high and mighty, and would certainly take great delight in contemning the next unlearned Mortal he meets withal. But if instead hereof, you diet him with nothing but with Rules and Exceptions; with tiresome Repetitions of Amo's and Tupw's; setting a day also apart to recite verbatim all the burdensom task of the foregoing week (which I am confident is usually as dreadful as an old Parliament Fast) we must needs believe, that such a one, thus managed will scarce think to prove immortal by such accomplishments as these. You know very well, Sir, that Lads in the general, have but a kind of ugly and odd conception of Learning; and look upon it as such a starving thing, and unnecessary

perfection,(especially as it is usually dispensed out unto them) that Nine-pins or Span-counter are judged much more heavenly employments: And therefore what pleasure, do we think, can such a one take, in being bound to get against breakfast two or three hundred Rumbler's out of Homer, in commendation of Achilles's Toes, or the Grecians Boots? Or to have measured out unto him, very early in the morning, fifteen or twenty well laid on Lashes, for letting a syllable slip too soon, or hanging too long upon it? Doubtless, instant execution upon such grand miscarriages as these, will eternally engage him to a most admirable opinion of the Muses.

Lads, certainly, ought to be won by all possible Arts and Devices, and though many have invented fine Pictures and Games, to cheat them into the undertaking of unreasonable burdens, yet this by no means is such a lasting temptation, as the propounding of that, which in it self is pleasant and alluring: For we shall find very many, though of no excelling quickness, will soon perceive the design of the Landskip, and so looking through the vail, will then begin to take as little delight in those pretty contrivances, as in getting by heart three or four leaves of ungay'd non-sense.

Neither seems the stratagem of Money to be so prevailing and catching, as a right down offering of such Books which are ingenious and convenient; there being but

very few so intolerably careful of their Bellies, as to look upon the hopes of a Cake, or a few Apples, to be a sufficient recompense for cracking their Pates with a heap of independent words.

I am not sensible, that I have said any thing in disparagement of those two famous Tongues, the Greek and Latin, there being much reason to value them beyond others; because the best of humane Learning has been delivered unto us in those Languages. But he that worships them, purely out of honour to Rome and Athens, having little or no respect to the usefulness and excellency of the Books themselves (as many do) it is a sign he has a great esteem and reverence of Antiquity, but I think him by no means comparable for happiness to him who catches Frogs, or hunts Butterflies.

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That some Languages therefore ought to be studied, is in a manner absolutely necessary, unless all were brought to one (which would be the happiest thing that the World could wish for;) but whether the beginning of them, might not be more sensibly instilled, and more advantageously obtained, by reading philosophical, as well as other ingenious Authors, than Janua Linguarum's,⁽⁴⁷⁾ crabbed Poems and cros-grain'd Prose, as it has been heretofore by others, so it ought to be a fresh considered by all well-wishers either to the Clergy or Learning.

I know where it is the fashion of some Schools, to prescribe to a Lad for his Evening refreshment, out of Comenius, all the terms of Art belonging to Anatomy, Mathematicks, or some such piece of Learning. Now, is it not a very likely thing that a Lad should take most absolute delight in conquering such a pleasant Task, where, perhaps, he has two or three hundred words to keep in mind, with a very small proportion of sense thereunto belonging; whereas the use and full meaning of all those difficult terms, would have been most insensibly obtained, by leisurely reading in particular this, or the other Science? Is it not also likely to be very savoury, and of comfortable use, to one, that can scarce distinguish between Virtue and Vice, to be tasked with high and moral Poems? For example: it is usually said, by those that are intimately acquainted with him, that Homer's Illiads and Odysseys contain mystically all the Moral Law for certain, if not a great part of the Gospel (I suppose much after that rate that Rablais said his Gargantua contained all the Ten Commandments) but perceivable only to those that have a Poetical discerning Spirit; with which gift, I suppose, few at School are so early qualified. Those admirable Verses, Sir, of yours, both English and others, which you have sometimes favoured me with a sight of, will not suffer me to be so sottish, as to slight or undervalue so great and noble an Accomplishment. But the committing of such high, and brave sens'd Poems to a School-boy, whose main business

is to search out cunningly the Antecedent and the Relative, to lie at catch for a spruce Phrase, a Proverb, or a quaint and pithy sentence, is not one onely to very litle purpose, but that having gargl'd only those elegant Books at School, this serves them instead of reading them afterward, and does in a manner prevent their being further lookt into: So that all the improvement, whatsoever it be, that may be reap'd out of the best and choicest Poets, it is for the most part utterly lost; in that a time is usually chosen of reading them, when discretion is most wanting to gain thence any true advantage. Thus that admirable and highly useful Morality, Tully's Offices, because it is a Book commonly construed at School, is generally afterwards, so contemn'd by Academicks, that it is a long hours work to convince them, that it is worthy of being look'd into again, because they reckon it as a Book read over at School, and no question notably digested.

If therefore the ill methods of Schooling does not onely occasion a great loss of time there, but also does beget in Lads a very odd opinion and apprehension of Learning, and much disposes them to be idle, when got a little free from the usual severities; and that the hopes of more or less improvement in the Universities, very much depend hereupon, it is without all doubt, the great concernment of all that wish well to the Church, that such care and regard be had to the management of Schools, that the Clergy be not so much obstructed in their first attempts and

preparations to Learning.

I cannot, Sir, possibly be so ignorant, as not to consider, that what has been now offer'd upon this argument, has not onely been largely insisted on by others, but also refers not particularly to the Clergy (whose welfare and esteem I seem at present in a special manner solicitous about) but in general to all learned Professions, and therefore might reasonably have been omitted; which certainly I had done, had I not call'd to mind, that of those many, that propound to themselves Learning for a Profession, there is scarce one of ten, but that his lot, choice, or necessity, determines him to the study of Divinity.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my thoughts concerning the orders and customs of common Schools: A consideration in my apprehension not lightly to be weighed; being that to me seems hereupon very much to depend the Learning and Wisdom of the Clergy, and the Prosperity of the Church.

The next unhappiness; that seems to have hindred some of our Clergy from arriving to that degree of understanding: that becomes such an holy Office, whereby their company and discourses might be much more than they commonly are valued and desired, is, the inconsiderate sending of all kind of Lads to the Universities, let their parts be never so low and pitiful, the instructions they have lain under never so mean and contemptible, and the Purses of

their Friends never so short to maintain them there. If they have but the commendation of some lamentable and pitiful Construing- Master, it passes for sufficient evidence, that they will prove persons very eminent in the Church. That is to say, if a Lad has but a lusty and well-bearing Memory (this being the usual and almost only thing whereby they judge of their abilities) if he can sing over very tunably three or four stanza's of Lilly's Poetry, be very quick and ready to tell what's Latin for all the Instruments belonging to his Fathers Shop; if presently, upon the first scanning, he knows a sponde from a dactyl; and can fit a few of those same without any sense to his fingers ends; if lastly, he can say perfectly by heart his Academick Catechism, in pure and passing Latin, i.e. What is his name? Where went he to School? and What Author is he best and chiefly skill'd in? A forward Boy, cries the School-Master, a very pregnant Child! ten thousand pities, but he should be a Scholar: He proves a brave Clergy-man, I'll warrant you. Away to the University he must needs go; then for a little Logick, a little Ethicks, and God knows a very little of everything else, and the next time you meet him it is in the Pulpit.

Neither ought the mischief which arises from small Country-Schools to pass unconsidered; the little mighty governours whereof, having, for the most part, not suck'd in above six or seven mouths full of University Air, must yet by all means suppose themselves so notably furnished with all

sorts of Instructions, and are so ambitious of the glory of being counted able to send forth now and then to Oxford or Cambridge, from the little House by the Church-yard's side, one of their ill-educated Disciples, that to such as these oft-times is committed the guidance and instruction of a whole Parish: whose parts and improvements duely considered, will scarce render them fit Governours of a small Grammar-castle. Not that it is necessary to believe, that there never was a learned or useful Person in the Church, but such whose education had been at Westminster or St. Paul's: But, whereas most of the small Schools, being by their first Founders design'd only for the advantage of poor Parish-Children; and also that the stipend is usually so small and discouraging, that very few, who can do much more than teach to write and read, will accept of such Preferment; for these to pretend to rig out their small ones for an University Life, proves oft-times a very great inconvenience and dammage to the Church.

And as many such dismal things are sent forth thus with very small tackling, so not a few are predestinated thither by their Friends, from the foresight of a good Benefice. If there be rich Pasture, profitable Customs, and that Henry the Eighth has taken out no Toll, the Holy Land is a very good Land, and affords abundance of Milk and Honey: Far be it from their Consciences the considering whether the Lad is likely to be serviceable to the Church, or to make

wiser and better any of his Parishioners.

All this may seem at first sight to be easily avoided by a strict examination at the Universities, and so returning by the next Carrier all that was sent up not fit for their purpose. But because many of their Relations are oft-times persons of an inferiour Condition; and who either by imprudent Counsellours, or else out of a tickling conceit of their Son's being, forsooth, an University Scholar, have purposely omitted all other opportunities of a livelihood, to return such, would seem a very sharp and severe disappointment. Possibly it might be much better, if Parents themselves, or their Friends, would be much more wary of determining their Children to the Trade of Learning. And if some of undoubted knowledge and judgment, would offer their advice: and speak their hopes of a Lad about thirteen or fourteen years of Age: (which I'll assure you, Sir, may be done without conjuring:) and never omit to enquire, whether his Relations are able and willing to maintain him seven years at the University, or see some certain way of being continued there so long, by the help of Friends or others; as also upon no such conditions, as shall in likelihood deprive him of the greatest part of his Studies.

For it is a common fashion of a great many, to compliment, and invite inferiour Peoples Children to the University, and there pretend to make such an all-bountiful

provision for them, as they shall not fail of coming to a very eminent degree of Learning: But when they come there, they shall save a Servants Wages. They took therefore heretofore a very good method to prevent Sizars [5] over-heating their Brains: Bed-making, Chamber-sweeping, and Water-fetching, were doubtless great preservatives against too much vain Philosophy. Now certainly such pretended favours and kindnesses as these, are the most downright discourtesies in the World. For it is ten times more happy, both for a Lad and the Church, to be a Corn-cutter, or a Tooth-drawer, to make or mend Shooes, or to be of any inferiour Profession, than to be invited to, and promised the Conveniencies of a learned Education, and to have his Name only stand airing upon the College Tables [6], and his chief business shall be to buy Eggs and Butter.

Neither ought Lads parts, before they be determined to the University be only considered, and likelihood of not being disappointed in their Studies, but also Abilities or hopes of being maintain'd until they be Masters of Arts. For whereas two hundred, for the most part, yearly Commence, scarce the fifth part of these continue after their taking the first degree. As for the rest, having exactly learned, Quid est Logica? and Quot sunt Virtutes Morales? down they go by the first Carrier, upon the top of the Pack, into the West or North, or elsewhere, according as their Estates lye, with Eurgesdicius, Eustachius, and such great helps of Divinity;

and then for Propagation of the Gospel. By that time they can say the Predicaments and Creed, they have their choice of Preaching, or Starving. Now, what a Champion for Truth is such a thing likely to be? What an huge blaze he makes in the Church? What a Raiser of Doctrines, what a Confounder of Heresies, what an able Interpreter of hard Places, what a Resolver of Cases of Conscience, and what a prudent Guide must he needs be to all his Parish?

You may possibly think, Sir, that this so early preaching might be easily avoided, by with-holding Holy Orders: the Church having very prudently constituted in Her Canons, that none under Twenty three Years of Age (which is the usual Age after seven Years being at the University) should be admitted to that great Employment.

This indeed might seem to do some service, were it carefully observed; and were there not a thing to be got, called a Dispensation, which will presently make you as old as you please.

But if you will, Sir, we'll suppose that Orders were strictly denied to all, unless qualified according to Canon. I cannot foresee any other Remedy, but that most of those University Youngsters must fall to the Parish, and become a Town Charge, until they be of Spiritual Age. For Philosophy is a very idle thing, when one is cold: And a small system of Divinity (though it be Wollebicus himself) is

sufficient when one is hungry. What then shall we do with them, and where shall we dispose of them until they come to a holy Ripe ness? May we venture them into the Desk to read Service? That cannot be, because not capable: Besides, the tempting Pulpit usually stands too near. Or, shall we trust them in some good Gentlemens Houses, there to perform holy Things? Withal my heart, so that they may not be called down from their Studies to say Grace to every Health: That they may have a little better Wages than the Cook or Butler: As also that there be a Groom in the House, besides the Chaplain: (For sometimes to the Ten pounds a year, they crowd the looking after a couple of Geldings:) And that he may not be sent from Table, picking his Teeth, and sighing with his Hat under his Arm, whilst the Knight and my Lady eat up the Tarts and Chickens: It may be also convenient, if he were suffered to speak now and then in the Parlour, besides at Grace and Prayer time: And that my Cozen Abigail and he sit not too near one another at Meals: Nor be presented together to the little Vicarage. All this, Sir, must bee thought of: For, in good earnest, a Person, at all thoughtfull of himself and Conscience, had much better chuse to live with nothing but Beans and Pease- Pottage (so that he may have the command of his thoughts and time) than to have his second and third Courses, and to obey the unreasonable humours of some Families.

And, as some think, two or three years continuance

in the University, to be time sufficient for being very great Instruments in the Church; so others we have so moderate, as to count that a solemn admission, and a formal paying of Colledge-Detriments, without the trouble of Philosophical Discourses, Disputations, and the like, are Virtues that will influence as far as Newcastle, and improve, though at never such a distance.

So strangely possessed are People in general, with the easiness and small Preparations that are requisite to the Undertaking of the Ministry, that, whereas in other Professions they plainly see what considerable time is spent, before they have any hopes of arriving to skill enough to practice, with any confidence, what they have design'd; yet to preach to ordinary People, and govern a Country-Parish, is usually judg'd such an easie performance, that any body counts himself fit for the Employment. We find very few so unreasonably confident of their parts, as to profess either Law, or Physick, without either a considerable continuance in some of the Inns of Courts, or an industrious search in Hearbs, Anatomy, Chymistry, and the like; unless it be only to make a Bond; or give a Glyster. [7] But, as for the knack of Preaching, as they call it, that is such a very easie attainment, that he is counted dull to purpose that is not able at a very small warning, to fasten upon any Text of Scripture; and to tear and tumble it till the Glass be out [8]. Many, I know very well, are forced to discontinue,

having neither stock of their own, nor Friends to maintain them in the University. But, whereas a Man's Profession and Employment in this World, is very much in his own, or in the Choice of such who are most nearly concern'd for him: He therefore that foresees that he is not likely to have the advantage of a continued Education, he had much better commit himself to an approved-of Cobler or Tinker, wherein he may be duly respected according to his Office and condition of Life, than to be only a disesteemed Pettifogger, or Empyrick in Divinity.

By this time, Sir, I hope you begin to consider, what a great disadvantage it has been to the Church and Religion, the meer venturous and inconsiderate determining of Youths to the Profession of Learning.

There is still one thing, by a very few at all minded, that ought also not to be overlooked; and that is, a good Constitution, and Health of Body. And therefore discreet and wise Physicians ought also to be consulted, before an absolute Resolve be made to live the Life of the Learned. For he that has strength enough to buy and bargain, may be of a very unfit habit of body to sit still so much, as in general is requisite, to a competent degree of Learning: For although reading and thinking, breaks neither Legs nor Arms, yet certainly there is nothing that flags the Spirits, disorders the Blood, and enfeebles the whole Body of Man, as

intense Studies. As for him that rives Blocks, or carries Packs, there is no great Expence of Parts, no Anxiety of Mind, no great Intellectual Pensiveness: Let him but wipe his Forehead, and he is perfectly recovered. But he that has many Languages to remember; the Nature almost of the whole World to consult, many Histories, Fathers, and Councils to search into, if the Fabrick of his Body be not strong and healthful, you will soon find him as thin as a piece of Metaphysics, and look as piercing as a School sublety. This, Sir, could not be conveniently omitted; not onely, because many are very careless in this point, and at a venture determine their young relations to Learning; but because, for the most part, if amongst many, there be but one of all the Family that is weak and sickly, that is languishing and consumptive, this of all the rest, as counted not fit for any course Employment, shall be pick'd out as a choice Vessel for the Church: Whereas most evidently, he is much more able to dig daily in the Mines, than to sit cross-legg'd musing upon his Book.

I am very sensible, how obvious it might be here to hint, that, this so curious and severe Inquiry, would much hinder the Practice, and abate the flourishing of the Universities: As also, there has been several, and are still many living Creatures in the World, who whilst young, were of a very slow and meek apprehension, have yet afterward cheared up into a great briskness, and became Masters of much Reason:

And others there have been, who, although forced to a short continuance in the University, and that oft-times interrupted by unavoidable services, have yet by singular care and industry, proved very famous in their Generation: And lastly, some also of very feeble and crasie Constitutions in their Childhood, have out-studied their distempers, and have become very healthful and serviceable in the Church.

As for the flourishing, Sir, of the Universities; what has been before said, aims not in the least at Gentlemen, whose coming thither is chiefly for the hopes of single improvement, and whose Estates do free them from the necessity of making a gain of Arts and Sciences; but onely at such, as intend to make Learning their Profession, as well as Accomplishment: So that our Schools may be still as full of Flourishings, of fine Cloaths, rich Gowns, and future Benefactors, as ever. And suppose we do imagine, as it is necessary we should, that the Number should be a little lessen'd; this surely will not abate the true splendour of an University in any Man's opinion, but his, who reckons the flourishing thereof, rather from the multitude of meer Gowns, than from the Ingenuity and Learning of those that wear them; no more than we have reason to count the flourishing of the Church, from that vast number of People that crowd into Holy-Orders, rather than from those Learned and useful Persons that defend her Truths, and manifest her Ways.

But, I say, I do not see any perfect necessity, that our Schools should hereupon be thinn'd and less frequented; having said nothing against the Multitude, but the indiscreet Choice. If therefore, instead of such either of inferiour Parts, or a feeble Constitution, or of unable Friends, there were pick'd out those that were of a tolerable Ingenuity, of a study-bearing Body, and had good hopes of being continued; as hence there is nothing to hinder our Universitities from being full, so likewise from being of great Credit and Learning.

Not to deny then, but that now and then there has been a Lad of very submissive Parts, and perhaps no great share of time allow'd him for his Studies, who have proved, beyond all expectation, brave and glorious: Yet surely we are not to over-reckon this so rare a hit, as to think that one such proving Lad, should make recompense and satisfaction for those many weak ones (as the common people love to phrase them) that are in the Church. And that no care ought to be taken, no choice made, no Maintenance provided or considered, because now and then in an Age, one miraculously, beyond all hopes, proves learned and useful, is a practice, whereby never greater Mischiefs, and disesteem has been brought upon the Clergy.

I have in short, Sir, run over, what seemed to me, the first Occasions of that small learning, that is to be

found amongst some of the Clergy. I shall now pass from Schooling to the Universities.

I am not so unmindful of that Devotion which I owe to those places, nor of that great esteem I profess to have of the Guides and Governours thereof, as to go about to prescribe new Forms and Schemes of Education, where Wisdom has laid her Topstone. Neither shall I here examine which Philosophy, the old or new, makes the best Sermons: it is hard to say that Exhortations can be to no purpose, if the Preacher believes that the Earth turns round: Or, that his Reproofs can take no effect, unless he will suppose a Vacuum. There has been good Sermons, no question, made in the days of Materia Prima, and Occult Qualities: And there is doubtless, still good Discourses now under the Reign of Atoms. [9]

There is but two things wherein I count the Clergy chiefly concerned (as to University Improvements) that at present I shall venture to make Inquiry into.

And the first is this; Whether or no it were highly useful (especially for the Clergy, who are supposed to speak English to the People) that English Exercises were imposed upon Lads, if not in publick Schools, yet at least privately. Not, but that I am abundantly satisfied that Latin. O Latin! 'tis the all in all, and the very Cream of the Jest: As also, that Oratory is the same in all Languages: The same Rules being observed, the same Method,

the same Arguments and Arts of perswasion; But yet it seems somewhat beyond the reach of ordinary Youth, so to apprehend those general Laws, as to make a just and allowable use of them in all Languages, unless exercised particularly in them. Now, we know, the Language that the very learned part of this Nation must trust to live by, unless it be to make a Bond, or prescribe a Purge (which possibly may not oblige or work so well in any other Language as Latin) is the English. And after a Lad has taken his leave of Madam University, God bless him, he is not likely to deal afterward with much Latin; unless it be to checker a Sermon, or to say Salveto to some travelling Dominatio Vestra. Neither is it enough to say, that the English is the Language with which we are swaddled and rock'd asleep, and therefore there needs none of this artificial and superadded care. For there be those that speak very well, plainly, and to the purpose, and yet write most pernicious and phantastical stuff: Thinking, that whatsoever is written, must be more than ordinary, must be beyond the guise of common speech, must savour of Reading and Learning, though it be altogether needless, and perfectly ridiculous.

Neither ought we to suppose it sufficient, that English Books be frequently read; because there be all sorts good and bad (and the worst are likely to be admired by Youth more than the best) unless Exercises be required of Lads, whereby it may be guessed what their judgment is, where they

be mistaken, and what Authors they propound to themselves for imitation. For by this means they may be corrected and advised early, according as occasion shall require: Which if not done, their ill stile will be so confirmed, their improprieties of speech will become so natural, that it will be a very hard matter to stir or alter their fashion of Writing. It is very curious to observe, what delicate Letters your young Students write after they have got a little smack of University Learning! In what elaborate heights, and tossing nonsense will they greet a right-down English Father, or Country Friend! If there be a plain word in it, and such as is used at home, this tastes not, say they, of Education among Philosophers, and it is counted damnable Duncery and want of Phansie: Because, Your Loving Friend, or Humble Servant, is a common phrase in Countrey-Letters; therefore the young Epistler is Yours to the Antipodes, or at least to the Centre of the Earth; and because ordinary Folks love and respect you, therefore you are to him the Pole Star, a Jacob's Staff, a Loadstone, and a Damask Rose.

And the misery of it is, this pernicious accustom'd way of expression; does not only oft-times go along with them to their Benefice, but accompanies them to the very Grave; And for the most part an ordinary Cheesmonger or Plum-seller, that scarce ever heard of an University, shall write much better sense, and more to the purpose than these young Philosophers, who injudiciously hunting only for great

words, make themselves learnedly ridiculous.

Neither can it be easily apprehended, how the use of English Exercises should any ways hinder the improvement in the Latin Tongue; but rather be much to its advantage: And this may be easily believed, considering what dainty stuff is usually produced for a Latin Entertainment. Chicken-broth is not thinner than that which is commonly offered for a piece of most pleasing and convincing sense. For, I'll but suppose an Academick Youngster to be put upon a Latin Oration: Away he goes presently to his Magazine of collected Phrases; he picks out all the Glitterings he can find; he hales in all Proverbs, Flowers, Poetical Snaps, Tales out of the Dictionary, or else ready latin'd to his hand out of Licosthenes: This done, he comes to the end of the Table, and having made a submissive Leg, and a little admir'd the number, and understanding countenances of his Auditors (let the subject be what it will) he falls presently into a most lamentable complaint of his insufficiency and tenuity: That he, poor thing, hath no acquaintance with above a Muse and a half; and that he never drunk above siz-q; of Helicon [10], and you have put him here upon such a task (perhaps the business is only, which is the noblest Creature a Flea or a Louse) that would much better fit some old soker at Parnassus, than his sipping unexperienc'd Bibbership. Alas, poor Child! he is sorry at the very soul that he has no better speech; and wonders in his heart, that

you will lose so much time as to hear him: For he has neither Squibs [11] nor Fireworks. Stars nor Glories; the curs'd Carrier lost his best Book of Phrases, and the Malicious Mice and Rats eat up all his Pearls and Golden Sentences: Then he tickles over a little the skirts of the Business: By and by, for similitude from the Sun or Moon; or if they be not at leisure, from the grey-ey'd Morn, a shady Grove, or a purling Stream: This done, he tells you, that Barnaby-bright [12] would be much too short for him to tell you all that he could say; and so fearing he should break the thread of your patience, he concludes.

Now it seems, Sir, very probable, that if Lads did but first of all determine in English what they intend to say in Latin, they would of themselves soon discern the triflingness of such Apologies, the pittifulness of their matter, and the impertinency of their Tales and Fancies, and would according to their subject, age, and parts, offer that which would be much more manly, and towards tolerable sense. And if I may tell you, Sir, what I really think, most of that Ridiculousness, phantastical Phrases, harsh and sometimes blasphemous Metaphors, abundantly foppish Similitudes, childish and empty Transitions, and the like, so commonly uttered out of Pulpits, and so fatally redounding to the discredit of the Clergy, may in a great measure be charg'd upon the want of that which we have here so much contended for.

The second inquiry that may be made, is this: Whether or no Punning, Quibbling, and that which they call Joquing, and such other delicacies of Wit, highly admired in some Academick Exercises, might not be very conveniently omitted? For one may desire but to know this one thing: In what Profession should that sort of Wit prove of advantage? As for Law, where nothing but the most reaching Subtilty, and the closest Arguing is allow'd of, it is not to be imagined, that blending now and then a piece of a dry Verse, and wreathing here and there an odd Latin Saying into a dismal Jingle, should give Title to an Estate, or clear out an Obscure Evidence. And as little serviceable can it be to Physick, which is made up of severe Reason, and well-tryed Experiments. And as for Divinity, in this place I shall say no more, but that those usually that have been Rope-dancers [13] in the Schools, oft-times prove Jack-puddings [14] in the Pulpit. For he that in his youth has allow'd himself this liberty of Accademick Wit, by this means he has usually so thinn'd his judgment, becomes so prejudiced against sober sense, and so altogether disposed to trifling and jingling; that so soon as he gets hold of a Text, he presently thinks he has catch'd one of his old School-questions; and so falls a flinging it out of one hand into the other, tossing it this way and that; lets it run a little upon the Line, then tanatus, high jingo, come again; here catching at a word, there lie nibbling and sucking at an and, a by, a quis or a quid, a sic or a sicut; and thus minces the text so small,

that his Parishioners, until he rendezvous it again, can scarce tell what's become of it.

But, shall we debar youth of such an innocent and harmless Recreation, of such a great quickner of Parts, and promoter of Sagacity? As for the first, its innocency of being allow'd of for a time, I am so far from that perswasion, that from what has been before hinted, I count it perfectly contagious, and as a thing that for the most part infects the whole life, and influences upon most actions. For he that finds himself to have the right knack of letting off a Joque, and of pleasing the Humsters [15], he is not only very hardly brought off from admiring those goodly applauses, and heavenly shouts, but it is ten to one if he directs not the whole bent of his Studies to such idle and contemptible Books, as shall only furnish him with Materials for a Laugh, and so neglects all that should inform his Judgment and Reason, and make him a man of Use and Reputation in this World. And as for the pretence of making People sagacious, and pestilently witty: I shall only desire, that the nature of that kind of Wit may be considered, which will be found to depend upon some such Fooleries as these: As first of all, the lucky ambiguity of some word or sentence. Oh! what a happiness it is, and how much does a Youngster count himself beholden to the Stars, that should help him to such a taking Jest? And whereas there be so many thousand words in the World, and that he should luck upon the right

one, that was so very much to his purpose, and that at the explosion made such a goodly report? Or else they rake Lilly's Grammar [16]; and if they can but find two or three Letters of any Name in any of the Rules, or Examples of that good Man's Works, it is as very a piece of Wit as any has pass'd in the Town since the King came in. Oh! how the Fresh-men will skip to hear one of those lines well laugh'd at, that they have been so often yer'k for? It is true, such things as these go for Wit so long as they continue in Latin; but what dismally shrimp'd things would they appear, if turned into English? And if we search into what was or might be pretended, we shall find the advantages of Latin-Wit to be very small and slender, when it come into the World. I mean not only amongst strict Philosophers, and Men of meer Notions, or amongst all-damning and illiterate Hectors; but amongst those that are truly ingenious, and judicious Masters of Phansie: We shall find, that a Quotation out of Qui mihi, an Axiom out of Logick, a Saying of a Philosopher, or the like, though manag'd with some quickness, and applied with some seeming ingenuity, whatever they did heretofore, will not in our dayes pass, or be accepted for Wit. For we must know, that as we are now in an Age of great Philosophers, and Men of Reason; so of great quickness and phansie: and that Greek and Latin which heretofore, though never so impertinently fetch'd in, was counted admirable, because it had a learned twang, yet now, such stuff being out of

fashion, is esteemed but very bad company. For the World is now, especially in Discourse, for one Language, and he that has somewhat in his mind of Greek or Latin, is requested now adayes to be civil, and translate it into English for the benefit of the Company. And he that has made it his whole business, to accomplish himself for the applause of a company of Boys, School-Masters, and the easiest of Countrey Divines, and has been shoulder'd out of the Cock-pit for his Wit; when he comes into the World, is the most likely person to be kick'd out of the Company, for his pedantry and over-weening opinion of himself. And, were it necessary, it is an easie matter to appeal to Wits both Ancient and Modern, that beyond all controversie have been sufficiently approved of, that never, I am confident, received their improvements by employing their Time in Puns and Quibbles. There is the prodigious Lucian, the great Don of Mancha, and there is many now living Wits of our own, who never certainly were at all inspir'd from a Tripus's, Terrae-filius's or Praevarecator's Speech.

I have ventur'd, Sir, thus far, not to find fault with, but only to enquire into an ancient Custom or two of the Universities, wherein the Clergy seem to be a little concern'd, as to their Education there. I shall now look upon them as Beneficed, and consider their Preaching: Wherein I pretend to give no Rules, having neither any gift at it, nor Authority to do it; but only shall make some

conjectures at those useless and ridiculous Things, commonly uttered in Pulpits, that are generally disgusted, and are very apt to bring contempt upon the Preacher, and that Religion which he professes.

Amongst the first things that seem to be useless, may be reckon'd the high tossing and swaggering Preaching; either mountingly Eloquent, or profoundly Learned. For there be a sort of Divines, who if they but happen of an unlucky hard word all the week, they think themselves not careful of their Flock, if they lay it not up till Sunday and bestow it amongst them in their next Preachment. Or, if they light upon some difficult and obscure Notion, which their curiosity inclines them to be better acquainted with, how useless soever, nothing so frequent as for them for a month or two months together, to tear and tumble this Doctrine; and the poor People once a week shall come and gaze upon them by the hour, until they Preach themselves, as they think, into a right understanding.

Those that are inclinable to make these useless Speeches to the People, they do it, for the most part, upon one of these two considerations: Either out of simple phantastick Glory, and a great studiousness of being wonder'd at; as if getting into the Pulpit were a kind of Staging, where nothing was to be considered, but how much the Sermon takes, and how much star'd at: Or else they do this to gain

a respect, and reverence from their People; who, say they, are to be puzzled now and then, and carried into the Clouds. For, if the Ministers words be such as the Constable uses, his Matter plain and practical, such as comes to the common Market, he may pass possibly for an honest and well-meaning Man, but by no means for any Scholar: Whereas, if he springs forth now and then in high raptures toward the uppermost Heavens, dashing here and there an all-confounding Word; if he soars aloft in unintelligible huffs, Preaches Points deep and mystical, and delivers them as dark and phantastical; this is the way, say they, of being accounted a most able and learned Instructor.

Others there be, whose parts stand not so much towards tall Words and lofty Notions, but consist in scattering up and down, and besprinkling all their Sermons with plenty of Greek and Latin. And because St. Paul, once or so, was pleased to make use of a little Heathen Greek; and that only, when he had occasion to discourse with some of the learned ones, that well understood him, therefore must they needs bring in twenty Poets and Philosophers (if they can catch them) into an hours talk: Spreading themselves in abundance of Greek and Latin, to a company perhaps of Farmers and Shepherds. Neither will they rest there, but have at the Hebrew also; not contenting themselves to tell the People in general, that they have skill in the Text, and that the Exposition they offer agrees with the Original, but must

swagger also over the poor Parishioners with the dreadful Hebrew it self, with their Ben-Israel's, Ben-Manasses's, and many more Ben's that they are intimately acquainted with; whereas there is nothing in the Church, or near it by a Mile, that understands them, but God Almighty himself, whom it is supposed, they go not about to inform or satisfie.

This learned way of talking, though for the most part it is done meerly out of ostentation, yet sometimes (which makes not the case much better) it is done in complement and civility to the all-wise Patron, or all-understanding Justice of the Peace in the Parish: Who by the common Farmers of the Town, must be thought to understand the most intricate Notions, and the most difficult Languages. Now, what an admirable thing this is? Suppose there should be one or so in the whole Church that understands somewhat besides English; Shall not I think that he understands that better? Must I out of Courtship to his Worship and Understanding, and because perhaps I am to dine with him, prate abundance of such stuff, which I must needs know nobody understands, or that will be the better for it, but himself, and perhaps scarce he? This I say, because I certainly know several of that disposition, who, if they chance to have a Man of any Learning or Understanding, more then the rest in the Parish, Preach wholly at him, and level most of their Discourses at his supposed Capacity; and the rest of the good People shall have onely a handsom gaze or

view of the Parson. As if plain words, usefull and intelligible instructions, were not as good for an Esquire, or one that is in Commission from the Kings, as for him that holds the Plough or mends Hedges.

Certainly he that considers the design of his Office, and has a Conscience answerable to that Holy Undertaking, must needs consider himself engaged, not only to mind this or that accomplish'd or well dress'd Person, but must have an universal care and regard of all his Parish. And as he must think himself bound not only to visit Down-beds, and Silken Curtains, but also Flocks and Straw, if there be need: So ought his care to be as large to instruct the Poor, the weak and despicable part of his Parish, as those that sit in the best Pews. He that does otherwise, thinks not at all of a Man's Soul, but onely accomodates himself to fine Cloaths, an abundance of Ribbons, and the highest Seat in the Church: Not thinking, that it will be as much to his reward in the next World, by sober advice, care and instruction, to have saved one that takes Collection, as him that is able to relieve half the Town. It is very plain that neither our Saviour, when he was upon Earth and taught the World, made any such distinction in his Discourses: What more intelligible to all Man-kind, than his Sermon upon the Mount? neither did the Apostles think of any such way: I wonder whom they take for a Pattern? I will suppose once again, that the design of these Persons is to gain Glory:

And I shall ask them; Can there be any greater in the World than doing general good? To omit future reward: Was it not alwayes esteemed of old, That correcting evil practices, reducing People that lived amiss, was much better, than making a high Rant about a Shittle-cock, and talking Tara-tantara about a Feather? Or if they would be only admired, then would I gladly have them consider, What a thin and delicate kind of admiration is likely to be produced, by that which is not at all understood? Certainly that Man that has a design of building up to himself real fame in good earnest, by things well laid and spoken, his way to effect it, is not by talking staringly, and casting a Mist before the Peoples Eyes, but by offering such things by which he may be esteemed with knowledge and understanding.

Thus far concerning hard Words, high Notions, and unprofitable Quotations out of learned Languages. I shall now consider such things as are ridiculous, that serve for Chimney and Market-talk, after the Sermon be done; and that do cause more immediatly the Preacher to be scorn'd and undervalued. I have no reason, Sir, to go about to determine what stile or method is best for the improvement and advantage of all People: For, I question not, but there has been as many several sorts of Preachers as Orators; and though very different, yet useful and commendable in their kind. Tully takes very deservedly with many, Seneca with others, and Cato, no question, said things wisely and well:

So doubtless the same place of Scripture may by several be variously considered; and although their method & stile be altogether different, yet they may all speak things very convenient for the People to know, and be advis'd of. But yet certainly what is most undoubtedly useless, and empty, or what is judg'd absolutely ridiculous, not by this or that curious or squemish Auditor, but by every Man in the Corporation that understands but plain English and common sense, ought to be avoided. For all People are naturally born with such a judgment of true and allowable Rhetorick, that is, of what is decorous and convenient to be spoken, that what ever is grossly otherwise, is usually ungrateful, not only to the wise and skilful part of the Congregation, but shall seem also ridiculous to the very unlearned Tradesmen, and their young Apprentices. Amongst which may be chiefly reckoned these following; harsh Metaphors, childish Similitudes, and ill-applied Tales.

The first main thing, I say, that makes many Sermons so ridiculous, and the Preachers of them so much disparag'd and undervalued, is an inconsiderate use of frightful Metaphors; which making such a remarkable impression upon the Ears, and leaving such a jarring twang behind them, are oftentimes remembred to the discredit of the Minister, as long as he continues in the Parish. I have heard the very Children in the Streets, and the little Boyes close about the Fire, refresh themselves strangely, but with

the repetition of a few of such far-fetch'd and odd-sounding Expressions: Tully therefore and Caesar, the two greatest Masters of Roman Eloquence, were very wary and sparing of that sort of Rhetorick: We may reade many a Page in their Works, before we meet with any of those Bears; and if you do light upon one or so, it shall not make your hair stand right up, or put you into a fit of Convulsion; but it shall be so soft, significant, and familiar, as if 'twere made for the very purpose. But as for the common sort of people that are addicted to this way of expression in their Discourses; away presently to both the Indies, rake Heaven and Earth, down to the bottom of the Sea, then tumble over all Arts and Sciences, ransack all Shops and Ware-houses, spare neither Camp nor City, but that they will have them. So fond are such deceived ones of these same gay words, that they count all Discourses empty, dull, and cloudy, unless bespangl'd with these Glitterings. Nay, so injudicious, and impudent together, will they sometimes be, that the Almighty himself is often in danger of being dishonoured by these indiscreet and horrid Metaphor-mongers: And when they thus blaspheme the God of Heaven, by such unhallowed Expressions, to make amends, they'll put you in, an As it were, forsooth, or, As I may so say; that is, they will make bold to speak what they please concerning God himself, rather than omit what they judge, though never so false, to be witty: And then they come in hobling with their lame submission, and with their

Reverence be it spoken. As if it were not much better to leave out what they foresee is likely to be interpreted for Blasphemy, or at least great Extravagancy, than to utter that, for which their own Reason and Conscience tells them, they are bound to lay in before-hand an excuse.

To which may be further subjoyn'd, That Metaphors, though very apt and allowable, are intelligible but to some sorts of Men, of this or that kind of Life, of this or that Profession: For example; Perhaps one Gentleman's metaphorical knack of Preaching comes of the Sea; and then we shall hear of nothing but Star-board and Lar-board, of Stems, Sterns and Fore-castles, and such-like Salt-water Language; so that one had need take a Voyage to Smyrna or Aleppo, and very warily attend to all the Saylor's terms, before I shall in the least understand my Teacher. Now, although such a Sermon may possibly do some good in a Coast-Town, yet upward into the Country in an Inland-Parish, it will do no more than Syriack or Arabick. Another he falls afighting with his Text, and makes a pitch'd Battel of it, dividing it into the Right-wing and Left-wing, then he rears it, flanks it, entrenches it, storms it; and then he musters all again, to see what words was lost, or lam'd in the Skirmish, and so falling on again with fresh Valour, he fights backward and forward, Charges through and through; Routs, Kills, Takes; and then, Gentlemen, as you were. Now to such of his Parish as have been in the late Warrs, this is

not very formidable; for they do but suppose themselves at Edgehill or Naseby [17], and they are not much scar'd at his Doctrine: But as for others, who have not had such fighting opportunities, it is very lamentable to consider, how shivering they sit without understanding, till the Battel be over. Like instance might be easily given of many more Discourses; the metaphorical phrasing whereof, depending upon peculiar Arts, Customs, Trades, and Professions, makes them useful and intelligible only to such who have been very well busied in such like employments.

Another thing, Sir, that brings great disrespect and mischief upon the Clergy, and that differs not much from what went immediately before, is their packing their Sermons so full of Similitudes; which, all the World know, carry with them but very small force of Argument, unless there be an exact Agreement with that which is compared; of which there is very seldom any sufficient care taken. Besides, those that are addicted to this slender way of discourse, for the most part, do weaken and enfeeble their judgement, by contenting themselves to understand by colours, features, and glimpses, that they perfectly omit all the more profitable searching into the nature and causes of things themselves. By which means it necessarily comes to pass, that what they undertake to prove, and clear out to the Congregation, must needs be so faintly done, and with such little force of Argument, that the conviction or perswasion will last no

longer in the Parishioners minds, than the warmth of those Similitudes shall glow in their Phansie. So that he that has either been instructed in some part of his Duty, or excited to the performance of the same, not by any judicious dependence of things, and lasting reason, but by such faint and toyish evidence; his understanding upon all occasions will be as apt to be missed as ever, and his affections as troublesome and ungovernable.

But they are not so unserviceable, as usually they are ridiculous; for People of the weakest parts are most commonly overborn with these fooleries; which together with the great difficulty of their being prudently mannag'd, must needs occasion them, for the most part, to be very trifling and childish. Especially, if we consider the choiceness of the Authors, out of which they are furnished: There is the never-to-be-commended-enough Licosthenes; there is also the admirable Piece, called the second Part of Wits Common-wealth (I pray mind it, it is the second Part, not the first): and there is besides, a Book wholly consisting of Similitudes, applyed and ready fitted to most Preaching-Subjects, for the help of young-Beginners, who sometimes will not make them hit handsomly. 'Tis very well known, that such as are posses'd with an admiration of such Eloquence, think that they are very much encourag'd in their way, by the Scripture it self: For, say they, did not our blessed Saviour himself use many Metaphors, and many Parables? And did not his Disciples,

following his so excellent an Example, do the like? And is not this, not only Warrant enough, but near upon a Command to us for to do? If you please therefore we will see what our Saviour does in this Case. In St. Matthew he tells his Disciples, that they are the salt of the Earth; that they are the Light of the World; that they are a City set on a Hill: Furthermore, he tells his Apostles that he sends them forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves; and bids them therefore, be as wise as Serpents, and harmless as Doves. Now, are not all these things plain and familiar, even almost to Children themselves, that can but taste and see; and to Men of the lowest Education, and meanest Capacities?

I shall not here insist upon those special and admirable Reasons, for which our Saviour made use of so many Parables: Only thus much is needful to be said, namely, that they are very much mistaken, that from hence think themselves tollerated to turn all the World into frivolous and abominable Similitudes. As for our Saviour, when he spoke a Parable, he was pleased to go no further than the Fields, the Sea-shoar, a Garden, a Vineyard, or the like; which are things, without the knowledge whereof, scarce any Man can be supposed to live in this World. But as for our Metaphorical and Similitude-Men of the Pulpit, these things to them are too still and languid, they do not rattle and rumble: These lie too near home, and within vulgar kenn: There is little on this side the Moon that will content them: Up presently

to the Primum-Mobile, and the trepidation of the Firmament: Dive into the Bowels and hid Treasures of the Earth: Dispatch forthwith for Peru and Jamaica; a Town-bred or Country-bred Similitude, it is worth nothing! 'Tis reported of a Tree growing upon the bank of Euphrates, the great River Euphrates, that it brings forth an Apple, to the Eye very fair and tempting, but inwardly it is fill'd with nothing but useless and deceitful dust: Even so, dust we are, and to dust we must all go. Now, what a lucky discovery was this, that a Man's Body should be so exactly like an Apple? And I will assure you, that this was not thought on till within these few years. And I am afraid too, he had a kind of hint of this from another, who had formerly found out, that a Man's Soul was like an Oyster; For sayes he, in his Prayer, Our Souls are constantly gaping after Thee, O Lord: yea verily, our Souls do gape, even as an Oyster gapeth. It seems pretty hard, at first sight, to bring into a Sermon all the Circles of the Globe, and all the frightful terms of Astronomy. But, I'll assure you, Sir, it is to be done, because it has been; But not by every Bungler and ordinary Text-divider, but by a Man of great Cunning and Experience: There is a place in the Prophet Malachi, where it will do very neatly, and that is chap.4 vers.2. But unto you who fear my Name, shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his Wings: From which words, in the first place, it plainly appears, that our Saviour passed through all the twelve Signs

of the Zodiac: And more than that too, all proved by very apt and familiar places of Scripture. First then, our Saviour was in Aries; or else what means that of the Psalmist? The Mountains skipped like Rams, and the little Hills like Lambs. And again, in the second of the Kings ch.3.ver.4. And Mesha King of Moab was a Sheep-Master, and rendered unto the King of Israel an hundred thousand Lambs: and what follows? and an hundred thousand Rams, with the Wool. Mind it: it was the King of Israel. In like manner was he in Taurus, Psal.22.12. Many Bulls have compassed me: Strong Bulls of Bashan have beset me round. They were not ordinary Bulls: They were compassing Bulls, they were besetting Bulls, they were strong Bashan Bulls. What need I speak of Gemini? Surely you cannot but remember Jacob and Esau, Gen.25.24. And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold there were Twins in her Womb. Or of Cancer? when as the Psalmists says so plainly: What ailed thee, O thou Sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back? Nothing more plain. It were as easy to shew the like in all the rest of the Signs: But instead of that, I shall rather chuse to make this one practical Observation: That the mercy of God to Mankind in sending his Son into the World, was a very signal Mercy: it was a Zodiacal Mercy. I say it was truly Zodiacal: For Christ keeps within the Tropics: He goes not out of the Pale of the Church. But yet he is not alwayes at the same distance from a Believer: Sometimes he withdraws

himself into the Apogoeum [18] of doubt, sorrow, and despair, but then he comes again into the Perigoeum [19] of joy, content, and assurance: But as for Heathens and Unbelievers, they are all Artick and antartick Reprobates. Now when such stuff as this (as sometimes it is) is vented n a poor Parish, where People can scarce tell what day of the month it is by the Almanac [20], how seasonable and savory it is likely to be? It seems also not very easie, for a Man in his Sermon to learn his Parishioners how to dissolve Gold: of what, and how the stuff is made. Now, to ring the Bells, and call the People on purpose together, would be but a blunt business; but to do it neatly, and when no Body look'd for it, that's the rarity and art of it. Suppose then, that he takes for his Text that of St. Matthew, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of God is at hand &c. Now tell me, Sir, do you not perceive the Gold to be in a dismal fear, to curl and quiver at the first reading of these words. It must come in thus: The blotts and blurrs of our Sins must be taken out by the Aqua-fortis of our Tears: to which Aqua-fortis if you put a fifth part of Sal-Amoniack, and set them in a gentle heat, it makes Aqua-Regia, which dissolves Gold. And now 'tis out. Wonderful are the things that are to be done by the help of Metaphors and Similitudes! And I'll undertake, that with a little more pains and consideration, out of the very same words, he could have taught the People how to make Custards, Marmalade, or to stew Prunes. But pray, why the Aqua-fortis

[21] of Tears? For, if it so falls out, that there should chance to be neither Apothecary nor Druggist at Church, there's an excellent Jest wholly lost. Now had he been so considerate, as to have laid his Wit in some more common and intelligible Material: For example, had he said that the blots of Sin, will be easily taken out by the Soap of Sorrow, and the Fuller's Earth of Contrition; then possibly the Parson and the People might all have admired one another. For there be many a Good-Wife that understands very well all the intrigues of Pepper, Salt, and Vinegar, who knows not any thing of the all-powerfulness of Aqua-fortis, how that it is such a Spot-removing Liquor. I cannot but consider with what understanding the People sighed and cried, when the Minister made for them this Metaphysical Confession: Omnipotent All; Thou art only; Because thou art All, and because thou only art; As for us, we are not, but we seem to be; and only seem to be, because we are not; for we be but Mites of Entity, and Crumbs of something; and so on: As if a company of Country People were bound to understand Suarez, and all the School-Divines.

And as some are very high and learned in their attempts; so others there be who are of somewhat too mean and dirty imaginations: Such was he, who goes by the name of Parson Slip-stocking: Who preaching about the Grace and Assistance of God, and that of ourselves we are able to do nothing; advised his Beloved to take him in this plain

Similitude. A Father calls his Child to him, saying, Child, pull off this Stocking: The Child mightily joyful, that it should pull off Father's Stocking, takes hold of the Stocking, and tuggs, and pulls, and sweats, but to no purpose; for Stocking stirs not, for it is but a Child that pulls: Then the Father bids the Child to rest a little, and try again: so then the Child sets on again, tuggs again, and pulls again, and sweats again, but no Stocking comes: for Child is but Child: Then at last the Father, taking pitty upon his Child, puts his hand behind, and slips down the Stocking and off comes the Stocking: Then how does the Child rejoyce? For Child hath pull'd off Fathers's Stocking. Alas, poor Child! it was not Child's strength, it was not Child's sweating, that got off the Stocking, but yet it was the Father's hand that slipt down the Stocking. Even so _ Not much unlike to this was he, that Preaching about the Sacrament and Faith, makes Christ a Shopkeeper; telling you, that Christ is a Treasury of all Wares and Commodities: And thereupon, opening his wide throat, cryes aloud, Good People, what do you lack? what do you buy? Will you buy any Balm of Gilead, any Eye-salve, any Myrrhe, Aloes, or Cassia? shall I fit you with a Robe of Righteousness, or with a white Garment? See here! what is it you want? Here's a very choice Armory: shall I show you an Helmet of Salvation, a Sheild or a Breast-plate of Faith? Or will you please to walk in, and see some precious Stones? a Jasper, a Sapphire,

or a Chalcedonit? Speak, what do you buy? Now for my part, I must needs say, and I much phansie I speak the mind of thousands, that it had been much better for such an imprudent and ridiculous Bawler as this, to have been condemn'd to have cryed Oysters or Brooms, than to discredit, after this unsanctified rate, his Profession, and our Religion.

It would be an endless thing, Sir, to count up to you all the Follies, for an hundred years last past, that have been Preached and Printed of this kind. But yet I cannot omit that of the famous Divine, in his time, who advising the People in days of danger to run unto the Lord, tells them, that they cannot go to the Lord, much less run without feet: There be therefore two feet to run to the Lord, Faith and Prayer: 'Tis plain that Faith is a foot, for by Faith we stand, 2 Cor.I.24. therefore by Faith we must run to the Lord who is faithful. The second is Prayer, a spiritual Leg to bear us thither: Now, that Prayer is a spiritual Leg, appears from several Places of Scripture: as from that of Jonah, speaking of coming, chap.2.vers.7. And my Prayer came unto thine holy Temple: And likewise from that of the Apostele, who sayes, Heb.4.16. Let us therefore go unto the Throne of Grace: Both intimating, that Prayer is the spiritual Leg, there being no coming or going to the Lord without the Leg of Prayer. He further adds: Now, that these feet may be able to bear us thither, we must put on the Hose of Faith: for the Apostle sayes our feet must be shod with

the preparation of the Gospel of Peace. The truth of it is, the Author is somewhat obscure: For at first, Faith was a Foot; and by and by it is a Hose; and at last it proves a Shoo. If he had pleased, he could have made it anything.

Neither can I let pass that of a later Author; who telling us, It is Goodness by which we must ascend to Heaven; and that Goodness is the Milky-way to Jupiter's Palace; could not rest here, but must tell us further, that to strengthen us in our journey, we must not take morning Milk, but some morning Meditations; fearing, I suppose, lest some people should mistake, and think to go to Heaven by eating now and then a Mess of Morning Milk, because the way was milkey.

Neither ought that to be omitted, not long since printed, upon those words of St. John, These things I write unto you, that you sin not. The Observation is That it is the purpose of the Scripture to drive Men from Sin. These Scriptures contain Doctrins, Precepts, Promises, Threatnings, and Histories: Now, sayes he, take these five smooth stones, and put them into the scrip of the Heart, and throw them with the Sling of Faith, by the Hand of a strong Resolution, against the forehead of Sin, and we shall see it, like Goliath, fall before us.

But I shall not trouble you any further upon this subject: but, if you have a mind to hear any more of this

stuff, I shall refer you to the learned and judicious Author of the Friendly Debates [22]; who particularly has at large discovered the intolerable fooleries of this way of talking. I shall only add thus much; that such as go about to fetch blood into their pale and lean discourses, by the help of their brisk and sparkling Similitudes, ought well to consider whether their Similitudes be true. I am confident, Sir, you have heard it many a time (or if need be, I can shew you't in a Book) that when the Preacher happens to talk, how that the things here below will not satisfie the Mind of Man; then comes in the round World, which cannot fill the trianguler Heart of Man: Whereas every Butcher knows, that the Heart is no more triangular, than an ordinary Pear, or a Child's Top: But because Trianguler is a hard word, and perhaps a Jest, therefore people have stolen it one from another, these two or three hundred years: And, for ought I know, much longer; for I cannot direct to the first Inventaer of the phansie.

In like manner they are to consider, what things either in the Heavens, or belonging to the Earth, have been found out by experience to contradict what has been formerly allow'd of. Thus, because some ancient Astronomers had obvserv'd, that both the distances, as well as the Revolutions of the Planets, were in some proportion or harmony one to another; therefore people that abounded more with imagination than skill, presently phansi'd the Moon, Mercury, and Venus to be a kind of Violins or Trebles to

Jupiter and Saturn; and that the Sun and Mars supply'd the room of Tenors; the Primum Mobile running Division all the time. So that one could scarce hear a Sermon, but they must give you a touch of the Harmony of the Spheres. Thus, Sir, you shall have'm take that of St. Paul, about Faith, Hope, and Charity: And instead of a sober instructing the People in those eminent and excellent Graces, they shall only ring you over a few changes upon the three words: crying, Faith, Hope and Charity: Hope, Faith and Charity; and so on: And when they have done their Peal, they shall tell you, that this is much better than the Harmony of the Spheres.

At other times I have heard a long Chyming only between two words; as suppose Divinity and Philosophy, or Revelation and Reason; setting forth with Revelation first: Revelation is a Lady; Reason an Handmaid. Revelation's the Esquire; Reason the Page. Revelation's the Sun; Reason but the Moon. Revelation is Manna; Reason's but an Acorn. Revelation a Wedge of Gold; Reason a small piece of Silver. Then by and by Reason gets it and leads it away. Reason indeed is very good; but Revelation is much better. Reason is a Counsellor; but Revelation is the Law-giver. Reason is a Candle; but Revelation is the Snuffer. Certainly those People are posses'd with a very great degree of dullness, who, living under the means of such enlightning Preaching, should not be mightily settled in the right Notion, and true bounds of Faith and Reason.

Not less able, me-thought, was the difference between the Old Covenant and New, lately determined. The Old Covenant was of Works; the New Covenant of Faith. The Old Covenant was by Moses; the New by Christ. The Old was heretofore; the New afterwards. The Old was first; the New was second. Old things are passed away; behold all things are become new. And so the business was very fundamentally done.

I shall say no more upon this subject, but this one thing, which relates to what was said a little before: He that has got a set of Similitudes, calculated according to the old Philosophy, and Ptolomy's Systeme of the World, must burn his common-place Book, and go a gleaning for new ones: It being now adays much more gentile and warrantable, to take a Similitude from the Man in the Moon, than from solid Orbs: For though few People do absolutely believe, that there is any such Eminent Person there, yet the thing is possible, whereas the other is not.

I have now done, Sir, with that imprudent way of speaking, by Metaphor and Similitude. There be many other things commonly spoken out of the Pulpit, that are much to the disadvantage, and discredit of the Clergy, that ought also to be briefly hinted. And that I may the better light upon them, I shall observe their common method of Preaching.

Before the text be divided, a Preface is to be

made: And it is a great chance, if, first of all, the Minister does not make his Text to be like something or other. For Example: One he tells you, And now (methinks) my Text, like an ingenious Picture, looks upon all here present: in which both Nobles and People may behold their sin and danger represented. This was a Text out of Hosea. Now, had it been out of any other place of the Bible, the Gentleman was sufficiently resolv'd, to make it like an ingenious Picture. Another taking (perhaps) the very same words, sayes, I might compare my Text to the Mountains of Bether, where the Lord disports himself as a young Hart, or a pleasant Roe among the Species. Another Man's Text is like the Rod of Moses, to divide the Waves of Sorrow; or, like the Mantle of Elijah, to restrain the swelling floods of Grief: Another gets to his Text thus; As Solomon went up six steps to come to the great Throne of Ivory; so must I ascend six degrees to come to the high top-meaning of my Text. Another thus: As Deborah arose and went with Barack to Kadesh; so, if you will go along with him, and call in at the third verse of the Chapter, he will shew you the meaning of his Text.

Another he phancies his Text to be extraordinarily like to an Orchard of Pomegranates; or like St. Matthew, sitting at the Receipt of Custom; or like the Dove that Noah sent out of the Ark. I believe there are above forty places of Scripture that have been like Rachel and Leah: And there is one in Genesis, as I well remember, that is like a pair of

Compasses stradling: And, if I be not much mistaken, there is one somewhere else, that is like a man going to Jericho.

Now. Sir, having thus made the way to the Text, as smooth and plain as anything; with a Preface perhaps from Adam; though his business lie at the other end of the Bible: In the next place, he comes to divide the Text.

-----Hic Labor, hoc Opus. Per varies casus, per tot discrimina rerum. Silvestrem tenui----- Now come off the Gloves, and the Hands being well chafed, he shrinks up his shoulders, and stretches forth himself as if he were going to cleave a Bullock's head, or rive the body of an Oak. But we must observe, that there is a great difference of Texts. For all Texts come not asunder alike: For sometimes the words naturally fall asunder; sometimes they drop asunder; sometimes they melt; sometimes they untwist; and there be some words so willing to be parted, that they divide themselves, to the great ease and rejoycing of the Minister. But if they will not easily come in pieces; then he falls to hacking and hewing, as if he would make all fly into shivers. The truth of it is, I have known, now and then, some knotty Texts, that have been devided seven or eight times over, before they could make them split handsomly, according to their mind.

But then comes the joy of joyes, when the parts jingle, or begin with the same letter; and especially if in

Latin. O how it tickled the Divider, when he had got his Text into those two excellent Branches; Accusatio vera; Comminatio severa. A charge full of verity; A discharge of severity. And I'll warrant you that did not please a little, viz. there is in the words duplex miraculum; miraculum in modo; and miraculum in nodo. But the luckiest that I have met withal, both for wit and keeping the letter, is upon those words of St. Matt. 12.43,44,45. When the unclean spirit is gone out of a Man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none. Then he saith, I will return, etc. In which words all these strange things were found out. First there was a Captain and a Castle. Do ye see, Sir, the same letter? Then there was an ingress, an egress; and a regress, or reingress. Then there was unroosting and unresting. Then there was number and name, manner and measure, trouble and tryall, resolution and revolution, assaults and assassination, voidness and vacuity. This was done at the same time, by the same Man: But, to confess the truth of it, 'twas a good long Text, and so he had the greater advantage.

But for a short Text, that certainly was the greatest break that ever was; which was occasioned from those words of St. Luke 23.28. Weep not for me, weep for your selves; or, as some read it, but weep for your selves. It is a plain case, Sir, here's but eight words, and the business was so cunningly ordered, that there sprung out

eight parts: Here are, sayes the Doctor, eight words, and eight parts. 1. Weep not. 2. But weep. 3. Weep not, but weep. 4. Week for me. 5. For your selves. 6. For me, for your selves. 7. Weep not for me. 8. But weep for your selves. That is to say: North, North and by East, North North East, North East and by North, North East, North East and by East, East North East, East and by North, East -- Now it seems not very easie to determine, which has obliged the World most, he that found out the Compass, or he that divided the forementioned Text: But I suppose the cracks will go generally by the Doctor's side; by reason what he did, was done by undoubted Art, and absolute Industry; but as for the other, the common report is, that it was found out by meer foolish fortune. Well, let it go how it will, questionless, they will be both famous in their way, and honourably mentioned to Posterity.

Neither ought he to be altogether slighted, who taking that of Gen. 48.2. for his Text, viz. And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy Son Joseph cometh unto thee; presently perceived, and made it out to the People, that his Text was a Spiritual Dial. For, sayes he, here be in my Text twelve words, which do plainly represent the twelve hours. Twelve words: And one told Jacob, and said, Thy Son Joseph cometh unto thee. And here is, besides Behold, which is the Hand of the Dial, that turns and points at every word in the Text. And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, Thy son Joseph

cometh unto thee. For it is not said, Behold Jacob, or Behold Joseph: But it is, And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. That is to say: Behold And. Behold one. Behold told. Behold Jacob. Again Behold and. Behold said. (And also:) Behold Behold, &c. Which is the reason that this word Behold is placed in the middle of the other twelve words, indifferently pointing at each word.

Now, as it needs must be One of the Clock, before it can be Two or Three: so I shall handle this word And, the first word in the Text, before I meddle with the following. And one told Jacob: This word And is but a Particle, and a small one: But small things are not to be despised: St. Mat.18.10. Take heed that you despise not one of these little ones. For this And is as the Tacks and Loops amongst the Curtains of the Tabernacle. The Tacks put into the Loops did couple the Curtains of the Tent, and sew the Tent together: So this Particle And being put into the Loops of the words immediately before the Text, does couple the Text to the foregoing Verse, and sewes them close together.

I shall not trouble you, Sir, with the rest; being much after this witty rate, and to as much purpose. But we'll go on if you please, Sir, to the cunning Observations, Doctrines, and Inferences, that are commonly made and rais'd from places of Scripture.

One he takes that for his Text, Psal. 68.3. But let the Righteous be glad. From whence he raiseth this Doctrine, That there is a Spirit of Singularity in the Saints of God. But let the Righteous. A Doctrine, I'll warrant him, of his own raising; it being not very easie for any body to prevent him.

Another, he takes that of Isa.41.14,15. Fear not thou Worm Jacob, &c. thou shalt thresh the Mountains ----- Whence he observes, That the Worm Jacob was a threshing Worm.

Another, that of Gen 44.1. And he commanded the Steward of the House, saying, Fill the Mens sacks with food as much as they can carry. And makes his Note from the words; that great Sacks, and many Sacks, will hold more than few Sacks, and little ones. For look, sayes he. how they came prepared with Sacks and Beasts, so they were sent back with Corn: The greater and the more Sacks they had prepared, the more Corn they carry away: if they prepared but small Sacks, and a few, they had carried away the less: Verily and indeed extraordinarily true.

Another he falls upon that of Isa. 58.5. Is it such a Fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a Bulrush? The observation is, That Repentance for an hour, or a day, is not worth a Bulrush. And there, I think he hit the business.

But of these, Sir, I can shew you a whole Book full, in a Treatise called Flames and Discoveries: Consisting of very notable and extraordinary things, which the inquisitive Author had privately observed, and discovered, upon reading the Evangelists. As for example: Upon reading that of St. John chap.2. vers.15. And when he had made a scourge of small Cords, he drove them all out of the Temple: This prying Divine makes these Discoveries. I discover, sayes he, in the first place, that in the Church or Temple, a scourge may be made. And when he had made a scourge. Secondly, that it may be made use on: He drove them all out of the Temple. And it was a great chance, that he had not discovered a third thing, and that is, that the scourge was made before it was made use of. Upon Mat.4.25. And there followed him great Multitudes of People from Galilee. I discover, sayes he, when Jesus prevails with us, we shall soon leave our Galilees. I discover also, sayes he, a great Miracle, viz. that the way after Jesus being straight, that such a multitude should follow him. Matth. 5.1. And seeing the Multitude, he went up into a Mountain: Upon this he discovers several very remarkable things: First, he discovers, that Christ went from the Multitude. Secondly, That it is safe taking warning at our eyes: for seeing the Multitude he went up. Thirdly, It is not fit to be alwayes upon the plains and flats with the Multitude: but if we be risen with Christ, to seek those things that are above. He

discovers also very strange things from the latter part of the fore-mentioned Verse: And when he was set, his Disciples came unto him. 1. Christ is not alwayes in motion: And when he was set. 2. He walks not on the Mountain, but sits: And when he was set. From whence also, in the third place, he advises People, That when they are Teaching, they should not move too much, for that is to be carried to and fro with every wind of Doctrine: Now certainly never was this place of Scripture more seasonably brought in. Now, Sir, if you be for a very short and witty Discovery, let it be upon that of St. Mat.6.27. which of you by taking thought, can add one Cubit unto his stature? The Discovery is this: That whilst the Disciples were taking thought for a Cubit, Christ takes them down a Cubit lower. Notable also are two Discoveries made upon St. Mat.8.1. When he came down from the Mountain, great Multitudes followed him. 1. That Christ went down as well as went up: When he came down from the Mountain. 2. That the Multitude did not go hail fellow well met with him, nor before him: For, great Multitudes followed him. I love with all my heart, when People can prove what they say: For there be many that will talk of their Discoveries and spiritual Observations; and when all comes to all, they are nothing but pitiful gheses, and slender conjectures. In like manner that was no contemptible Discovery that was made upon St. Mat. 8.19. And a certain Scribe came and said, Master, I will follow thee wheresoever thou goest. A thou

shall be followed more than a that: I will follow thee wheresoever thou goest. And, in my opinion, that was not all together amiss, upon St. Mat. 11.2. Now when John had heard in the Prison the Works of Christ, he sent two of his Disciples. The Discovery is this, That it is not good sending single to Christ: He sent two of his Disciples. Some also possibly may not dislike that upon St. Luk 12.35. Let your Loyns be girded. I discover, says he, there must be holy girding and trussing up for Heaven. But I shall end all with that very politick one, that he makes upon St. Mat. 12.47. Then one said unto him, Behold thy Mother and thy Brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said, Who is my Mother? and who are my Brethren? I discover now, sayes he, that Jesus is upon business. Doubtless, this was one of the greatest Discoverers of hidden mysteries, and one of the most Pryers into Spiritual Secrets, that ever the World was owner of. It was very well that he happen'd upon the Godly Calling, and no secular Employment; or else in good truth, down had they all gone, Turk. Pope. and Emperour; for he would have discovered them, one way or other, every Man.

Not much unlike to these wonderful Discoverers are they, who chusing to Preach upon some Point in Divinity, shall purposely avoid all such plain Texts, as might give them very just occasion to discourse upon their intended Subject, and shall pitch upon some other places of Scripture,

which no Creature in the world but themselves did ever imagine that which they offer to be therein designed. My meaning, Sir, is this: Suppose you have a mind to make a Sermon concerning Episcopacy, (as in the late Times there was several occasions for it) you must by no means take any place of Scripture that proves or favours that kind of Ecclesiastical Government: For then the Plot will be discovered, and the People will say to themselves, we know where to find you, you intend to Preach about Episcopacy. But you must take that of the Acts c.16.v.30 Sirs. What must I do to be saved? An absolute place for Episcopacy, that all former Divines had idly over-look'd: For, Sirs, being in the Greek Kypol, which is to say in true and strict translation, Lords, what more plain than that of old, Episcopacy was not only the acknowledg'd Government, but that Bishops were formerly Peers of the Realm, and so ought to sit in the House of Lords. Or, suppose that you have a mind to commend to your People Kingly Government; you must not take any place that is plainly to the purpose, but that of the Evangelist, Seek first the Kingdom of God. From which words the Doctrine will plainly be; That Monarchy or Kingly Government is most according to the Mind of God. For it is not said, Seek the Parliament of God, the Army of God, or the Committee of Safety of God; but it is, Seek the Kingdom of God. And who could expect less? Immediately after this the King came in, and the Bishops were restored. Again, Sir,

because I would willingly be understood, Suppose you design to preach about Election and Reprobation: As for the eighth Chapter to the Romans, that's too well known: But there's a little private place in the Psalms that will do the business as well, Psal. 90.19. In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my Soul. The Doctrine which naturally flows from the words, will be, That amongst the multitude of thoughts, there is a great thought of Election and Reprobation. And then away with the point according as the Preacher is inclined. Or, suppose lastly, that you were not fully satisfied that Pluralities were lawful or convenient: May I be so bold, Sir, I pray what Text would you chuse to Preach upon against Non-residents? Certainly nothing ever was better pick'd then that of St. Matth. 1.2. Abraham begat Isaac. A clear place against Nonresidents: For had Abraham not resided, but discontinued from Sarah his Wife, he could never have begot Isaac.

But it is high time, Sir, to make an end of their Preaching, lest you be as much tired with the repetition of it, as the people were little benefited, when they heard it. I shall only mind you, Sir, of one thing more, and that is the ridiculous, senseless and unintended use, which many of them make of Concordances. I shall give you but one instance of it, although I could furnish you with an hundred printed ones. The Text, Sir, is this, Galat. 6.15. For in Christ Jesus neither Circumcision, nor Uncircumcision availeth any

thing but a new Creature. Now all the World know the meaning of this to be, that let a Man be of what Nation he will, Jew or Gentile, if he amends his life, and walks according to the Gospel, he shall be accepted with God. But this is not the way that pleases them: They must bring in to the Sermon, to no purpose at all, a vast heap of places of Scripture (which the Concordance will furnish them with) where the word new is mentioned: And the Observation must be, That God is for new things; God is for a new Creature. St. John 19.41. Now in the place where he was Crucified, there was a Garden; and in the Garden a new Sepulchre, wherein was never Man yet laid; there laid they Jesus: And again: St. Mark 16.17. Christ tells his Disciples, That they that are true Believers, shall cast out Devils, and speak with new tongues: And likewise the Prophet teaches us, Isa. 42.10. Sing unto the Lord a new Song, and his Praise unto the end of the Earth. Whence it is plain, that Christ is not for old things; he is not for an old Sepulchre; he is not for old Tongues; he is not for an old Song; he is not for the old Creature: Christ is for the new Creature: Circumcision and Uncircumcision availeth nothing, but the new Creature. And what do we read concerning Sampson, Judg. 15.15. Is it not, that he slew a thousand of the Philistines with one new Jaw-bone? An old one might have killed its tens, its twenties, its hundreds; but it must be a new Jaw-bone that's able to kill a thousand. God is for the new Creature.

But may not some say, is God altogether for new things? How comes it about then that the Prophet says, Isa. 1.13,14. Bring no more vain Oblations. &c. your New-Moons and your appointed Feasts my Soul hateth? And again, what means that, Deut. 32.17,19. They sacrifice unto Devils, and to New-Gods, whom they knew not: to New-Gods, that came newly up: And when the Lord saw it, he abhorred them? To which I answer; that God indeed is not for New-Moons, nor for New-Godds; but, excepting Moons and Godds, he is for new things: God is for the New Creature.

It is possible, Sir, that somebody, besides your self, may be so vain as to reade this Letter; and they may perhaps tell you, that there be no such silly and useless people as I have described; and if there be, there be not above two or three in a County; or should there be more, it is no such complaining matter, seeing that the same happens in other Professions, in Law and Physick: In both which there be many a contemptible Creature.

Such therefore as these may be pleased to know, that if there had been need, I could have told them either the Book and very Page, almost of all that has been spoken about Preaching; or else the when and where, and the Person that Preached it.

As to the second, viz. That the Clergy are all mightily furnished with Learning and Prudence, except ten,

twenty or so; I shall not say any thing my self, because a very great Scholar of our Nation shall speak for me, who tells us, That such Preaching as is usual, is a hindrance of Salvation, rather than the means to it. And what he intends by usual, I shall not here go about to explain.

As to the last, I shall also in short answer: That if the advancement of true Religion, and the eternal Salvation of a Man, were no more considerable than the health of the Body, and the security of his Estate, we need not be more solicitous about the Learning and Prudence of the Clergy, than of the Lawyers and Physicians: But being we believe it to be otherwise, surely we ought to be more concern'd for the Reputation, and success, of the one than of the other.

I come now, Sir, to the second Part, that was designed, viz. the Poverty of some of the Clergy: By whose mean condition, their sacred Profession is much disparaged, and their Doctrine undervalued.

What large provisions of old, God was pleased to make for the Priesthood, and upon what reasons, is easily seen to any one that looks but into the Bible. The Levites, it is true, were left out in the Division of the Inheritance; not to their loss, but to their great temporal advantage: for whereas, had they been common sharers with the rest, a twelfth part only would have been their just allowance, God

was pleased to settle upon them a tenth; and that without any trouble or charge of tillage: Which made their portion much more considerable than the rest.

And this provision was very bountiful, so the reasons, no question, were very divine and substantial: which seem chiefly to be these two.

First, that the Priesthood might be altogether at leasure for the Service of God, and that they of that Holy Order might not be distracted with the cares of the World, and interrupted by every neighbour's Horse or Cow, that breaks their hedges, or shackles their Corn [23]: But, that living a kind of spiritual life; and being removed a little from all worldly affairs, they might alwayes be fit to receive holy Inspirations, and alwayes ready to search out the mind of God, and to advise and direct the People therein. Not, as if this divine exemption of them from the common troubles and cares of this life, was intended as an opportunity of Luxury and Laziness; for certainly there is a labour besides digging: And there is a true carefulness without following the Plough, and looking after their Cattel. And such was the Employment of those holy Men of old: their care and business was to please God, and to charge themselves with the welfare of all his People: Which thing he that does with a good and satisfied Conscience, I'll assure you, he has a task upon him, much beyond them that have for their care,

their hundreds of Oxen and five hundreds of Sheep.

Another reason that this large allowance was made to the Priests, was, that they might be enabled to relieve the Poor, to entertain Strangers, and thereby to encourage People in the wayes of Godliness: For they being in a peculiar manner the Servants of God, God was pleased to entrust in their hands a portion more than ordinary of the good things of the Land, as the safest storehouse and treasury for such as were in need. That in all ages therefore, there should be a continued tollerable Maintenance for the Clergy; the same reasons, as well as many others, make us think to be very necessary. Unless they'll count Money and Victuals to be only Types and Shadows, and so to cease with the Ceremonial Law.

For where the Minister is pinch'd, as to the tollerable conveniences of this Life, the chief of his care and time must be spent not in an impertinent considering what Text of Scriptures will be most useful for his Parish, what Instructions most seasonable, and what Authors best to be consulted: But the chief of his thoughts, and his main business must be to study how to live that week: Where he shall have bread for his Family? Whose Sow has lately Pigg'd? Whence will come the next rejoycing Goose, or the next cheerful Basket of Apples? How far to Lammas, or Offerings? When shall we have another Christening and Cakes,

and who is likely to Marry or Die? These are very seasonable considerations, and worthy of a Mans thoughts. For a Family cannot be maintain'd by Texts and Contexts: And the Child that lies crying in the Cradle, will not be satisfied without a little Milk, and perhaps Sugar, though there be a small German System in the house.

But suppose he does get into a little hole over the Oven, with a Lock to it, call'd his Study, towards the latter end of the week (for you must know, Sir, there is very few Texts of Scripture that can be divided, at soonest, before Friday night; and some there be that will never be divided but upon Sunday morning, and that not very early, but either a little before they go, or in the going to Church:) I say, suppose the Gentleman gets thus into his Study: one may very near gness, what is his first thought when he comes there, viz. that the last Kilderkin of Drink is near departed; and that he has but one poor single Groat in the house, and there's judgment and execution ready to come out against it, for Milk and Eggs. Now, Sir, can any Man think that one thus rack'd, and tortur'd, can be seriously intent half an hour to contrive any thing that might be of real advantage to his People? Besides; perhaps that week he has met with some dismal crosses and most undoing misfortunes. There was a scurvy-conditioned Mole that broke into his Pasture, and plough'd up the best part of his Glebe [24]: And a little after that, came a couple of spiteful ill-favour'd Crows,

and tramp'd down the little remaining Grass: Another day, having but four Chickens, sweep comes the Kite [25], and carries away the fattest and hopefulest of all the Brood. Then after all this came the Jack-daws, and Starlings (idle Birds that they are!) and they scattered and carried away from his thin thatch'd house forty or fifty of the best straws: And to make him compleatly unhappy, after all these afflictions, another day, that he had a pair of Breeches on, coming over a perverse stile, he suffered very much in carelessly lifting over his Leg. Now, what Parish can be so inconsiderate and unreasonable, as to look for any thing from one, whose phansie is thus check'd, and whose understanding is thus ruffl'd and disordered. They may as soon expect comfort and consolation from him that lies rack'd with the Gout and Stone, as from a Divine thus broken and shatter'd in his fortunes.

But we'll grant, that he meets not with any of these such frightful disasters, but that he goes into his Study with a Mind as calm as the Evening: For all that, upon Sunday, we must be content even with what God shall please to send us. For as for Books, he is (for want of Money) so moderately furnish'd, that except it be a small Geneva-Bible, so small, as it will not be desired to lie open of it self, together with a certain Concordance thereunto belonging; as also a Book for all kind of Latin Sentences, called Polyanthoea; with some Exposition upon the Catechism (a

portion of which is to be got by heart, and to be put off for his own;) and perhaps Mr. Caryl upon Pineda, Mr. Dod upon the Commandements, and Mr. Clark's Lives of famous Men, both in Church and State; such as Mr. Carter of Norwich, that uses to eat such abundance of Pudden: Besides, I say, these, there is scarce any thing to be found but a boudget [26] of old stitch'd [27] Sermons, hung up behind the door, with a few broken Girts [28], two or three yards of Whipcord, and perhaps a Saw and a Hammer, to prevent dilapidations. Now, what may not a Divine do, though but of ordinary parts, and unhappy education, with such learned helps and assistances as these? No Vice surely durst stand before him, nor Heresie affront him.

And furthermore, Sir, it is to be considered, that he that is but thus meanly provided for, it is not his only infelicity that he has neither Time, Mind, nor Books, to improve himself for the inward benefit and satisfaction of his People, but also that he is not capable of doing that outward good amongst the needy, which is a great Ornament to that holy Profession, and a considerable advantage towards the having his Doctrine believed and practiced in a degenerate World. And that which augments the misery, whether he be able or not, it is expected from him. If there comes a Brief [29] to Town, for the Minister to cast in his Mite [30], will not satisfie, unless he can create six-pence or a shilling to put into the Box, for a stale [31] to decoy

in the rest of the Parish: Nay, he that has but twenty or thirty pounds per annum, if he bids not up as high as the best in the Parish in all acts of Charity, he is counted carnal, and earthly-minded, onely because he durst not coin, and cannot work Miracles. And let there come never so many Beggars, half of these I'll secure you, shall presently enquire for the Minister's House: For God, say they, certainly dwells there, and has laid up for us sufficient relief.

I know many of the Laitie are usually so extreemly tender of the spiritual welfare of the Clergy, that they are apt to wish them but very small temporal Goods, lest their inward state should be in danger, (A thing they need not much fear, since that effectual humiliation of Henry the Eighth.) For, say they, the great Tithes, large Glebes, good Victuals and warm Cloathes, do but puff up the Priest, making him fat, foggy, and useless, and fill him with pride, vainglory, and all kind of inward wickedness, and pernicious corruption. We see this plain, say they, in the Whore of Babylon [32]: To what a degree of Luxury and Intemperance (besides a great deal of false Doctrine) have Riches and Honour raised up that Strumpet? How does she strut it, and swagger it all over the World, terrifying Princes, and despising Kings and Emperours? The Clergy, if ever we would expect any edification from them, ought to be dieted and kept low, to be meek and humble, quiet, and stand in need of a pot of Milk from their next

Neighbor, and alwayes be very loth to ask for their very right, for fear of making any disturbance in the Parish, or seeming to understand, or have any respect for this vile and outward World. Under the Law, indeed in those old times of darkness and eating, the Priests had their first and second dishes, ther Milk and Honey, their Manna and Quails, their outward also and inward Vestments: But now under the Gospel, and in times of Light and Fasting, a much more sparing Diet is fitter, and a single Coat, though it be ever so ancient and thin, is fully sufficient. We must now look, say they, (if we would be the better for them) for a hardy and labouring Clergy, that is mortified to a Horse, and all such pampering vanities; and that can foot it five or six miles in the dirt, and Preach till star-light for as many shillings; as also a sober and temperate Clergy, that will not eat so much as the Laity, but that the least Pig, and the least Sheaf, and the least of every thing, may satisfie their Spiritualship. And besides, a Money-renouncing Clergy, that can abstain from seeing a penny a month together, unless it be when the Collectors, and Visitationers come. These are all Gospel-Dispensations, and great instances of Patience, contentedness, and resignation of affections; to all the emptinesses and fooleries of this life.

But, cannot a Clergy-man chuse rather to lie upon Feathers than an Hardle [33], but he must be idle, soft, and effeminate? May he not desire wholsom Food, and fresh Drink,

unless he be a Cheat, a Hypocrite and an Imposter? And must he needs be void of all Grace, though he has a shilling in his Purse after the Rates be cross'd? And full of pride and vanity, though his house stands not upon crutches, and though his Chimney is to be seen a foot above the Thatch? Oh, how prettily and temperately may half a score Children be maintained with almost Twenty pounds per annum! What a handsome shift a poor ingenious and frugal Divine will make, to take it by turns, and wear a Cassock one year, and a pair of Breeches another? What a becoming thing is it, for him that serves at the Altar, to fill the Dung-Cart in dry weather, and to heat the Oven, and pill [34] Hemp in wet? And what a pleasant sight is it, to see the Man of God fetching up his single Melancholy Cow, from a small rib of Land that is scarce to be found without a Guide? Or to be seated upon a soft and well grinded pouch of Meal? Or to be planted upon a Pannier [35] with a pair of Geese, or Turkeys, bobbing out their heads from under his Canonical Coat, as you cannot but remember the Man, Sir, that was thus accomplish'd? Or to find him raving about the Yards, or keeping his Chamber close, because the Duck lately miscarried of an Egg, or that the never-failing Hen has unhappily forsaken her wonted Nest?

And now, shall we think that such Employments as these can any way consist with due reverence, or tollerable respect from a Parish? And he speaks altogether at a venture [36], that either sayes that this is false, or, at least it

need not be so, notwithstanding the mean condition of some of the Clergy. For let any one make it out to me, which way it is possible, that a Man shall be able to maintain perhaps eight or ten in his Family, with twenty or thirty Pounds per annum, without a most intollerable dependance upon his Parish, and without committing himself to such vileness, as will in all likelihood, render him contemptible to his People. Now, where the In-come is so pitifully small (which I'll assure you, is the portion of hundreds of the Clergy of this Nation) which way shall he manage it for the subsistence of himself, and his Family? If he keeps the Glebe in his own hand (which he may easily do, almost in the hollow of it) what encrease can he expect from a couple of Apple-trees, a brood of Ducklings, a Hemp-Land, and as much Pasture as is just able to summer a Cow? And as for his Tithes, he either Rents them out to a Lay-Man, who will be very unwilling to be his Tenant, unless he may be sure to save by the bargain at least a third part: Or else he compounds for them; and then as for his Money, he shall have it all when the rest of the World be paid. But if he thinks fit to take his Dues in kind, he then either demands his true and utmost Right; and if so, it is a great hazzard if he be not counted a Caterpillar, a Muck-worm, a very Earthly-minded Man, and too much sighted into this lower World; which was made, as many of the Laity think, altogether for themselves: Or else he must tamely commit himself to that little Dose of the

Creature, that shall be pleased to be proportioned out unto him: Chusing rather to starve in peace and quietness, than to gain his right by noise and disturbance: The best of all these wayes that a Clergy-man shall think fit for his preferment to be manag'd, where it is so small, are such, as will undoubtedly make him either to be hated and reviled, or else pitifully poor and disesteemed.

But has it not gone very hard in all ages with the Men of God? Was not our Lord and Master, our Great and High Priest, and was not his fare low, and his life full of trouble? And was not the Condition of most of his Disciples very mean? Were not they notably pinch'd, and severely treated after him? And is it not the Duty of every Christian to imitate such holy Patterns: But especially of the Clergy, who are to be shining Lights and visible Examples, and therefore to be satisfied with a very little Morsel, and to renounce ten times as much of the World as other People? And is not Patience better than the great Tithes, and Contentedness to be preferred before large Fees and Customs? Is there any comparison between the expectation of a cringing Bowe, or a low Hat, and mortification to all such Vanities and Fopperies; especially with those who, in a peculiar manner, hope to receive their unheritance, and make their Harvest in the next Life? This was well thought of indeed: But for all that, if you please, Sir, we will consider a little some of those remarkable Inconveniencies, that do most

undoubtedly attend upon the Ministers being so meanly provided for.

First of all, the holy Men of God, or the Ministry in general, hereby is dis-esteemed, and rendered of small account. For though they be called the Men of God, yet when it is observed, that God seems to take but little care of them in making them tollerable provisions for this Life, or that Men are suffered to take away that which God was pleased to provide for them, the People are presently apt to think, that they belong to God no more then ordinary folks, if so much. And although it is not to be question'd, but that the laying on of Hands is a most Divine Institution; yet it is not all the Bishops Hands in the World, laid upon a Man, if he be either notoriously ignorant, or dismally poor, that can procure him any hearty and lasting respect. For though we find that some of the Disciples of Christ, that carried on and established the great Designs of the Gospel, were Persons of ordinary Employments and Education; yet we see little reason to think that Miracles should be continued to do that, which natural endeavors, assisted by the Spirit of God, are able to perform. And if Christ were still upon Earth to make Bread for such as are his peculiar Servants, and Declarers of his Mind and Doctrine, the Laity, if they please, should eat up all the Corn themselves, as well the tenth sheaf as the other; but seeing it is otherwise, and that the Miraculous Power was not left to the succeeding Clergy, for them to beg

their Bread, or depend for their subsistence upon the good pleasure and humour of their Parish, is a thing that renders that holy Office very much slighted, and disregarded.

That constitution therefore of our Church was a most prudent design; that sayes, that all who are Ordain'd, shall be Ordain'd to somewhat; Nor Ordain'd at random, to Preach in general to the whole World, as they travel up and down the Road, but to this or that particular Parish. And no question, the reason was to prevent Spiritual-Pedling, and gadding up and down the Country with a bag of trifling and insignificant Sermons; enquiring, who will buy any Doctrine? So that no more might be received into Holy Orders, than the Church had Provision for. But so very little is this regarded, that if a young Divinity-intender has but got a Sermon of his own, or of his Father's, although he knows not where to get a Meals Meat, or one penny of Money by his Preaching, yet he gets a qualification from some Benefic'd-Man or other, who perhaps is no more able to keep a Curate, than I am to keep ten Foot-boys, and so he is made a Preacher. And upon this account I have known an ordinary Divine, whose Living would but just keep himself and his Family from Melancholly and Dispair, shroud under his protection as many Curates, as the best Nobleman in the Land has Chaplains [37]. Now, many such as these go into Orders against the Sky falls; foreseeing no more likelihood of any Preferment coming to them, than you or I do of being

Secretaries of State. Now, so often as any such as these, for want of Maintenance, are put to any unworthy and disgraceful shifts, this reflects disparagement upon all the Order of Holy Men.

And we must have a great care of comparing our small-preferr'd Clergy with those but of the like fortune in the Church of Rome, they having many Arts and Devices of gaining Respect and Reverence to their Office, which we count neither just nor warrantable. We design no more than to be in a likely capacity of doing good, and not discrediting our Religion, nor suffering the Gospel to be dis-esteemed: But their aim is clearly, not onely by Cheats, contriv'd Tales, and feigned Miracles, to get Money in abundance; but to be worshipped, and almost deified, is as little as they will content themselves withal. For, how can it be, but that the People belonging to a Church, wherein the Supream Governour is believed never to erre, either purely by virtue of his own single Wisdom, or by the help of his Inspiring Chair, or by the assistance of his little Infallible Cardinals, (for it matters not where the root of not being mistaken lies) I say, how can it be, but that all that are Believers of such extraordinary knowledge, must needs stand in most direful awe, not only of the foresaid Supreme, but of all that adhere to him, or are in any Ghostly Authority under him? And although it so happens, that this same extraordinary knowing Person is pleased to trouble himself with a good large

proportion of this vile and contemptible World, so that should he now and then, upon some odd and cloudy day, count himself Mortal, and be a little mistaken; yet he has chanced to make such a comfortable provision for himself and his Followers, that he must needs be sufficiently valued and honoured amongst all: But had he but just enough to keep himself from catching cold, and starving, so long as he is invested with such spiritual Sovereignty, and such a peculiar privilege of being Infallible, most certainly, without quarreling, he takes the Rode of all Mankind.

And as for the most inferior Priests of all, although they pretend not to such perfection of knowledge, yet there be many extraordinary things, which they are believed to be able to do, which beget in People a most venerable respect towards them; such is the power of Making God in the Sacrament; a thing that must infallibly procure an infinite admiration of him that can do it, though he scarce knows the Ten Commandments, and has not a farthing to buy himself Bread. And then when Christ is made, their giving but half of him to the Laity, is a thing also, if it be minded, that will very much help on the business, and make the People stand at a greater distance from the Clergy. I might instance likewise in their Auricular Confessions, injoyning of Penance, forgiving Sins, making of Saints, freeing People from Purgatory, and many such useful Tricks they have, and Wonders they can do, to draw in the forward

believing Laity into a most Right-Worshipful Opinion, and Honourable Esteem of them. And therefore seeing our Holy Church of England counts it not just, nor warrantable thus to cheat the World, by belying the Scriptures, and by making use of such falshood and strategems to gain respect and reverence: It behoves us certainly to wish for, and endeavor all such means as are useful and lawful, for the obtaining the same.

I might here, I think, conveniently add, that though many Preferments amongst the Clergy of Rome may possibly be as small as some of ours in England, yet we are to be put in mind of one more excellent Contrivance of theirs, and that is the denyal of Marriage to Priests, whereby they are freed from the Expenses of a Family, and a train of young Children, that, upon my word, will soon suck up the Milk of a Cow or two, and grind in pieces a few sheaves of Corn. The Church of England therefore thinking it not fit to oblige their Clergy to a single Life, and I suppose are not likely to alter their Opinion, unless they receive better reasons for it from Rome, then has been as yet sent over; he makes a comparison very wide from the purpose, that goes about to try the livings here in England, by those of the Church of Rome: There being nothing more frequent in our Church, than for a Clergy-man to have three or four Children to get Bread for, by that time one in theirs shall be allowed to go into Holy Orders.

There is still one thing remaining, which ought not to be forgotten, (a thing that is sometimes urged, I know, by the Papists, for the single life of the Priests) that does much also lessen the Esteem of our Ministry; and that is the poor and contemptible Employment that many Children of the Clergy are forced upon, by reason of the meanness of their Fathers Revenue. It has happen'd, I know sometimes, that whereas it has pleased God to bestow upon the Clergy-man a very sufficient Incom; yet such has bin his carelessness, as that he has made but pitiful provisions for his Children. And on the other side, notwithstanding all the good care and thoughtfulness of the Father, it has happen'd at other times that the Children, beyond the power of all advice, have seemed to be resolved for Debauchery; but to see Clergy-mens Children condemn'd to the walking of Horses, to wait upon a Tapster, or the like, and that only because their Father was not able to allow them a more gentile Education, are such Employments that cannot but bring great disgrace and dishonour upon the Clergy.

But this is not all the inconvenience that attends the small Income that is the Portion of some Clergy-men; for besides that the Clergy in general is disesteemed, they are likely also to do but little good in their Parish. For it is a hard matter for the people to believe that he talks any thing to the purpose, that wants ordinary Food for his Family, and that his Advice and Exposition can come from

above, that is scarce defended against the Weather. I have heard a travelling poor Man beg with very good Reason and a great stream of seasonable Rhetorick, and yet it has been very little minded, because his Cloaths were torn, or at least out of fashion: And on the other side, I have heard but an ordinary saying, proceeding from a fine Suit, and a good lusty Title of Honour, highly admired; which would not possibly have been hearken'd to, had it been uttered by a meaner person; yet by all means, because it was a phansie of his Worships, it must be counted high, and notably expressed. If indeed this World were made of sincere and pure beaten Virtue, like the Gold of the first Age, then such idle and fond prejudices would be a very vain supposal: And the Doctrine that proceeded from the most tattered and contemptible Habit, and the most sparing Diet, would be as acceptable as that which flowed from a Silken Cassock, and the best Chear: But seeing the World is not absolutely perfect, it is to be questioned, whether he that runs upon Trust for every Ounce of Provision he spends in his Family, can scarce look from his Pulpit into any Seat of the Church, but that he spies some body or other that he is beholden to, and depends upon; and for want of money has scarce confidence to speak handsomly to his Sexton; it is to be question'd, I say, whether one thus destitute of all tolerable subsistance, and thus shattered and distracted with most necessary Cares, can either invent with discretion, or

utter with courage any thing that may be beneficial to his Poepple, whereby they may become his diligent attenders, and hearty respecters,

And as the People do almost resolve against being amended, or bettered by that Ministers Preaching, whose circumstances, as to this life, are so bad, and his condition so low; so likewise is their Devotion very cool, and indifferent in hearing, from such a one, the Prayers of the Church. The Divine-Service, all the World know, is the same, if read in the most magnificent Cathedral, or in the most private Parlour: Or, if performed by the Arch-Bishop himself, or by the meanest of his Priests: But as the Solemnity of the place, besides the Consecration of it to God Almighty, do much influence upon the Devotion of the People: so also the quality and condition of the person that reads it. And although there be not that acknowledged difference between a Priest comfortably provided for, and him that is in the Thorns and Bryars, as there is between one placed in great Dignity and Authority, and one that is in less; yet such a difference the People will make, that they will scarce hearken to what is read by the one, and yet be most religiously attentive to the other. Not surely that any one can think, that he whose countenance is chearly, and his Barns full, can petition Heaven more effectually, or prevail with God for the forgiveness of a greater sin, than he who is pitifully pale, and is not owner of an Ear of Corn: yet most

certainly they do not delight to confess their Sins, and sing Praises to God with him, who sighs more for want of Money and Victuals, than for his Trespasses and Offences. Thus it is, and will be, do you and I (Sir) what we can to the contrary: Did our Church indeed believe, with the Papists, every Person rightfully Ordained, to be a kind of God Almighty, working Miracles and doing Wonders; then would People most readily prostrate themselves to every thing in Holy Orders, though it could but just creep: But being our Church counts those of the Clergy to be but mortal Men (though peculiarly dedicated to God and his Service) their behavior, their condition and circumstances of life will necessarily come into our value, and esteem of them. And therefore it is no purpose for Men to say, that this need not be; it being but meer prejudice, humour, and phansie: And that if the Man be but truly in Holy Orders, that's the great matter: And from thence come Blessings, Absolution, and Intercession through Christ with God: And that it is not Philosophy, Languages, Ecclesiastical History, Prudence, Discretion, and Reputation, by which the Minister can help us on towards Heaven: Notwithstanding this, I say again, that seeing Men are Men, and seeing that we are of the Church of England, and not of that of Rome, these things ought to be weighed and considered; and for want of being so, our Church of England has suffered much.

And I am almost confident, that since the

Reformation, nothing has more hindred People from a just estimation of a Form of Prayer, and our Holy Liturgie than employing a company of Boyes, or old illiterate Mumbler, to read the Service. And, I do verily believe, that at this very day, especially in Cities and Corporations (which make up the third part of our Nation) there is nothing that does more keep back some dissatisfied People from Church, till Service be over, than that it is read by some Ten or Twelve-pound Man, with whose Parts and Education they are so well acquainted, as to have reason to know, that he has but just skill enough to reade the Lessons with twice conning over. And though the Office of the Reader, be only to read word for word, and neither to invent or expound; yet People love he should be a Person of such worth and knowledge as it may be supposed he understands what he reads. And although for some it were too burthensome a task to read the Service twice a day, and preach as often; yet certainly it were much better if the People had but one Sermon in a fortnight or month, so the Service was performed by a knowing and valuable Person, than to run an unlearned rout of contemptible People into Holy Orders, on purpose only to say the Prayers of the Church, who perhaps shall understand very little more than a hollow pipe made of Tin or Wainscot.[38]

Neither do I here at all reflect upon Cathedrals: Where the Prayers are usually read by some grave and worthy Person; and as for the unlearned Singers, whether Boys or

Men, there is no more complaint to be made, as to this case, than that they have not an all-understanding Organ, or a prudent and discreet Cornet.

Neither need People be afraid that the Minister for want of Preaching should grow stiff and rusty, supposing he came not into the Pulpit every week: For he may spend his time very honestly, either by taking better care of what he Preaches, and by seriously considering what is most useful and seasonable for the People; and not what subject he can Preach upon with most ease, or upon what Text he can make a brave Speech, for which no body shall be better, or where he can best steal without being discover'd, as is the practice of many Divines in private Parishes: Or else he may spend it in visiting the Sick, Instructing the Ignorant, and recovering such as are gone astray: For, though there be Churches built for publick Assemblies, for publick Instruction, and Exhortation; and though there be not many absolutely plain places of Scripture that do oblige the Minister to walk from house to house, yet certainly People might receive much more advantage from such charitable Visits and friendly Conferences, than from general Discourses levell'd at the whole World; where perhaps the greatest part of the time shall be spent in useless Prefaces, Dividings and Flourishings. Which thing is very practicable, excepting some vast Parishes: In which also it is much better to do good to some, than to none at all.

There is but one Calamity more that I shall mention, which though it need not absolutely, yet it does too frequently accompany the low condition of many of the Clergy: And that is, it is a great hazzard, if they be not idle, intemperate and scandalous. I say, I cannot prove it strictly and undeniably, that a Man smally beneficed, must of necessity be dissolute and debauched; But when we consider, how much he lies subject to the humour of all kind of Reprobates, and how easily he is tempted from his own house of Poverty and Melancholly; it is to be feared, that he will be willing too often to forsake his own Study of a few scurvy Books, and his own Habitation of Darkness, where there is seldom eating or drinking, for a good lightsome one, where there is a bountiful provision of both. And when he comes here, though he swears not at all, yet he must be sure to say nothing to them that does it, by all that they can think of: And though he judges it not fit to lead the Forelorn in Vice and Prophaneness; yet, if he goes about to damp a Frolick, there is great danger, not only of losing his Sunday Dinner, but all opportunities of such future refreshments, for his niceness and squeamishness. And such as are but at all disposed to these lewd kind of Meetings, besides the Devil, he shall have sollicitors enough, who count all such revelling occasions very unsavory, and unhollow'd, unless they have the presence of some Clergy-man to sanctifie the Ordinance: Who, if he sticks at his Glass, bless him, and

call him but Doctor, and it slides presently. I take no delight, I must confess, to insist upon this; but only I could very much wish that such of our Governors, as go amongst our small preferr'd Clergy, to take a view of the Condition of the Church and Chancel, that they would make but enquiry whether the Minister himself be not much out of repair.

I have now done, Sir, with the Grounds of that disesteem that many of the Clergy lie under, both by the Ignorance of some, and the extream Poverty of others: And I should have troubled you no farther, but that I thought it convenient not to omit the particular occasions that do concur to the making up of many of our Clergy so pittifully poor and contemptible.

The first thing that contributes much to the Poverty of the Clergy is the great scarcity of Livings: Churches and Chappels we have enough, it is to be confessed, if compared with the bigness of our Nation: But in respect of that infinite number that are in Holy Orders, it is a very plain case, that there is a very great want. And, I am confident that in a very little time I could procure hundreds, that should ride both Sun and Moon down, and be everlastingly yours, if you could help them but to a Living of Twenty five, or Thirty pounds a year: And this I suppose to be chiefly occasioned upon these two accounts; either

from the Eagerness and Ambition that some People have of going into Orders; or from the refuge of others into the Church; who being otherwise disappointed of a Livelihood, hope to make sure of one by that means.

First, I say, that which encreases the unprovided-for number of the Clergy, is people posting into Orders, before they know their Message or Business, onely out of a certain kind of Pride and Ambition. Thus some are hugely in love with the meer Title of Priest, or Deacon; never considering how they shall live, or what good they are likely to do in their Office: But only they have a phansie that a Cassock, if it be made long, is a very handsom Garment, though it be never paid for: And that the Desk is clearly the best, and the Pulpit the highest Seat in all the Parish: That they shall take place of most but Esquires and Right-Worshipfuls: That they shall have the Honour of being Spiritual Guides and Counsellors: And they shall be supposed to understand more of the mind of God than ordinary, though perhaps they scarce know the old Law from the new, nor the Canon from the Apocrypha. Many, I say, such as these there be, who know not where to get two groats, nor what they have to say to the People, but onely because they have heard that the Office of a Minister is the most Noble and Honourable Employment in the World, therefore they, not knowing in the least what the meaning of that is, Orders by all means must have, though it be to the disparagement of that Holy

Function.

Others also there be, who are not so highly possess'd with the meer dignity of the Office, and honourableness of the Employment, but think, had they but a Licence and Authority to Preach, Oh how they could pay it away! And that they can tell the People such strange things, as they never heard before in all their lives: That they have got such a commanding Voice, such heart-breaking Expressions, such a peculiar Method of Text-dividing, and such notable Helps for the interpreting all difficulties in Scripture, that they can shew the People a much shorter way to Heaven, than has been as yet made known by any. Such a forwardness as this, of going into Holy Orders, either meerly out of an ambitious humour of being called a Priest, or of thinking they could do such feats and wonders, if they might be but free of the Pulpit, has filled the Nation with many more Divines, than there is any competent Maintenance for in the Church.

Another great crowd that is made in the Church, is by those, that take in there only as a place of shelter and refuge: Thus we have many turn Priests and Deacons, either for want of Employment in their Profession of Law, Physick, or the like; or having been unfortunate in their Trade, or having broken a Leg, or an Arm, and so disabled from following their former Calling; or, having had the pleasure

of spending their Estate, or being (perhaps deservedly) disappointed of their Inheritance. The Church is a very large and good Sanctuary, and one Spiritual shilling is as good as three Temporality shillings: Let the hardest come to the hardest; if they can get by heart, Quid est Fides? quid est Ecclesia? quot sunt Concilia Generalia? and gain Orders, they may prove Readers or Preachers according as their Gifts and Opportunities shall lie. Now, many such as these, the Church being not able to provide for (as there is no great reason that She should be solicitious about it) must needs prove a very great disparagement to Her: They coming hither just as the old Heathens use to go to Prayers: When nothing would stop the anger of the Godds, then for a touch of Devotion: And if there be no way to get Victuals, rather than starve, let us Read or Preach.

In short, Sir, We are perfectly overstock'd with Professors of Divinity; There being scarce Employment for half of those who undertake that Office. And unless we had some of the Romish tricks, to ramble up and down, and cry Pardons and Indulgencies: Or for want of a Living, have good store of Clients in the business of Purgatory, or the like, and so make such unrighteous Gains of Religion, it were certainly much better if many of them were otherwise determined. Or unless we had some vent for our Learned Ones beyond the Sea, and could transport so many tunns of Divines yearly, as we do other Commodities with which the Nation is

over stocked; we do certainly very unadvisedly to breed up so many to that Holy Calling, or to suffer so many to steal into Orders, seeing there is not sufficient Work and Employment for them.

The next thing that does much heighten the Misery of our Church, as to the Poverty of it, is the Gentries designing, not onely the weak, the lame, and usually the most ill-favor'd of their Children for the Office of the Ministry, but also such as they intend to settle nothing upon for their subsistance; leaving them wholly to the bare hopes of Church-preferment. For, as they think, let the thing look how it will, it is good enough for the Church; and that if it had but Limbs enough to climb the Pulpit, and Eyes enough to find the day of the Month, it will serve well enough to Preach and Read Service: So likewise they think they have obliged the Clergy very much, if they please to bestow two or three years Education upon a younger Son at the University, and then commend him to the Grace of God, and the favour of the Church, without one Penny of Money or Inch of Land. You must not think that he will spoyle his Eldest Son's Estate, or hazzard the lessening the Credit of the Family, to do that which may in any way tend to the reputation and honour of the Clergy. And thus it comes to pass that you may commonly ride ten miles, and scarce meet with a Divine that is worth above two Spoons and a Pepper-box, besides his Living, or Spiritual Preferments. For, as for the Land, that goes sweeping away

with the Eldest Son, for the immortality of the Family; and as for the Money, that is usually employed for to bind out, and Set up other Children. And thus you shall have them make no doubt of giving five hundred or a thousand pounds for a stock to them: But for the poor Divinity-Son, if he gets but enough to buy a broad Hat at second hand, and a small system or two of Faith, that's counted stock sufficient for him to set up withal. And possibly he might make some kind of shift in this World, if any Body will engage that he shall have neither Wife nor Children; but if it so falls out, that he leaves the World, and behind him either the one or the others; in what a dismal condition are these likely to be, and how will their sad Calamities reflect upon the Clergy? So dismal a thing is this commonly judged, that those that at their departure out of this Life are piously and vertuously disposed, do usually reckon the taking care for the Relief of the poor Ministers Widows, to be an opportunity of as necessary Charity, as the mending of the High-ways, and the erecting of Hospitals.

But neither are spiritual Preferments only scarce by reason of that great number that lie hovering over them, and that they that are thus upon the wing, are usually destitute of any other Estate and Livelihood; but also when they come into possession of them, they find for the most part a little Sauce and second Course, Pigs, Geese, and Apples, must needs be put upon great perplexities for the

standing necessities of a Family. So that if it be enquired by any one, how comes it to passe that we have so many in Holy Orders, that understand so little, and that are able to do so little service in the Church? If we would answer plainly and truly, we may say, Because they are good for nothing else. For, shall we think that any man, that is not curs'd to uselessness, poverty and misery, will be content with Twenty or Thirty Pounds a Year? For though in the bulk it looks at first like a bountiful Estate; yet, if we think of it a little better, we shall find that an ordinary Brick-layer, or Carpenter, (I mean not your great Undertakers and Master Workmen) that earns constantly but his two shillings a day, has clearly a better Revenue, and has certainly the command of more Money: For that the one has no dilapidations, and the like, to consume a great part of his weekly Wages, which you know how much the other is subject unto. So that as long as we have so many small and contemptible Livings belonging to our Church (let the World do what it can) we must expect that they should be supplied by very lamentable and unserviceable things: For that nobody else will meddle with them: Unless one in an Age, abounding with Money, Charity and Goodness, will Preach for nothing. For if Men of Knowledge, Prudence, and Wealth, have a phansie against a Living of Twenty or Thirty Pounds a year: There is no way to get them into such an undertaking, but by sending out a spiritual Press: For that very few Volunteers that are

of worth (unless better encouraged) will go into that Holy Warfare: But it will be left to those who cannot devise how otherwise to live.

Neither must people say, that besides Bishopricks, Prebendries, and the like, we have several brave Benefices, sufficient to invite those of the best Parts, Education, and Discretion. For imagin one living in forty is worth a Hundred Pounds a year; And supplied by a Man of Skill, and wholesome Counsel: What are the other thirty nine the better for that? What are the people about Carlisle better'd by his Instructions and advice who lives at Dover? It was certainly our Saviour's Mind, not only that the Gospel should be Preached to all Nations at first, but that the meaning and Power of it should be preserved and constantly declared to all People, by such as had judgment to do it.

Neither again must they say, that Cities, Corporations, and the great Trading Towns of this Nation, (which are the strength and glory of it, and that contain the useful People of the World) are usually instructed by very learned and judicious Persons. For, I suppose, that our Saviours Design was not that Mayors, Aldermen, and Merchants, should be only saved; but also that all plain Countrey People should partake of the same means: Who, though they read not so many Gazetts, as a Citizen, nor concern themselves where the Turk, or King of France sets on next;

yet the true knowledge of God is now so plainly delivered in Scripture, that there wants nothing but sober and prudent Offerers of the same, to make it saving to those of the meanest understandings. And therefore in all Parishes, if possible, there ought to be such a fixt and settled Provision, as might reasonably invite some careful and prudent Person, for the Peoples Guide and Instruction in Holy Matters.

And furthermore: It might be added, that the Revenue belonging to most of Corporation-Livings is no such mighty business: For were it not for the uncertain and humour-some contribution of the well-pleased Parishioners, the Parson and his Family might be easily starved, for all the Lands or Income that belongs to his Church. Besides the great mischief that such kind of hired Preachers have done in the World: Which I shall not stay here to insist upon.

And as we have not Churches enough, in respect of the great multitude that are qualified for a Living; so, considering the smallness of the Revenue, and the number of People that are to be the Hearers, it is very plain that we have too many. And we shall many times find two Churches in the same Yard, when as one would hold double the People of both the Parishes: And if they were united for the encouragement of some deserving Person, he might easily make shift to spend very honestly and temperately the Revenue of both. And what though Churches stand at a little further

distance? People may please to walk a mile without distempering themselves; when as they shall go three or four to a Market to sell two pennies worth of Eggs.

But suppose they resolve to pretend, that they shall catch cold (the Clouds being more than ordinary thick upon the Sunday, as they usually are, if there be Religion in the case) and that they are absolutely bent upon having instruction brought to their own Town: Why might not one Sermon a day, or rather than fail one in a fortnight, from a prudent and well esteem'd of Preacher, do as well as two a day from him, that talks all the year long nothing to the purpose, and thereupon is laugh'd at and despised?

I know what people will presently say to this, viz. That if upon Sunday the Church doors be shut, the Ale-houses will be open. And therefore there must be some body, though never so weak and lamentable, to pass away the time in the Church, that the people may be kept sober and peaceable. Truly, if Religion and the Worship of God consisted only in Negatives; and that the observation of the Sabbath was only not to be drunk; then they speak much to the purpose: but if it be otherwise, very little. It being not much unlike (as it is the fashion in many places) to the sending of little Children of two or three years old to a School-Dame, without any design of learning one Letter, but onely to keep them out of the fire and water.

Last of all: People must not say that there needs no great store of Learning in a Minister, and therefore a small Living may answer his deserts: For that there be Homilies made on purpose by the Church for young Beginners & slow Inventers. Whereupon it is that such difference is made between giving Orders and License to Preach; the last being granted onely to such as the Bishop shall judge able to make Sermons.

But this does not seem to do the business: For, though it be not necessary for every Guide of a Parish to understand all the Oriental Languages, or to make exactly elegant or profound Discourses for the Pulpit; yet most certainly it is very requisite that he should be so far learned and judicious, as prudently to advise, direct, inform, and satisfie the People in holy matters, when they demand it, or beg it from him. Which, to perform readily and judiciously, requires much more discretion and skill, than, upon long deliberation, to make a continued talk of an hour, without any great and discernable failings. So that were a Minister tyed up never to speak one sentence of his own invention out of the Pulpit in his whole Lifetime, yet doubtless many other occasions there be, for which neither Wisdom nor Reputation should be wanting in him that has the Care and Government of a Parish.

I shall not here go about to please my self with

the imagination of all the great Tithes, being restored to the Church, having little reason to hope to see such dayes of vertue. Nor shall I here question the almightiness of former Kings and Parliaments; nor dispute whether all the King Henries in the World, with never such a powerful Parliament, were able to determine to any other use what was once solemnly dedicated to God and his Service. But yet when we look over the Prefaces to those Acts of Parliament, whereby some Church-Revenues were granted to Henry the Eighth, one cannot but be much taken with the ingenuity of that Parliament: That when the King wanted a supply of Money, and an Augmentation to his Revenue, how handsomely out of the Church they made provision for him, without doing themselves any injury at all: For, say they, seeing His Majesty is Our joy and life, seeing that He is so couragious and wise, seeing that He is so very tender of, and well-affected to all His Subjects: and He that has been at such large Expences for five and twenty whole years to defend and protect this his Realm: therefore in all Duty and Gratitude, and as a manifest token of Our unfeigned Thankfulness. We do grant unto the King, and his Heirs for ever, &c. It follows as closely as can be, That because the King had been a good and deserving King, and had been at much trouble and expence for the safety and honour of the Nation, that therefore all his wants should be supplied out of the Church: As if all the charges that he had been at, was upon the account onely of

his Ecclesiastical Subjects, and not in relation to the rest.

It is not, Sir, for you and I to guess which way the whole Clergy in general might be better provided-for. But sure it is, and must not be denied, that so long as many Livings continue as they now are, thus impoverished; and that there be so few encouragements for Men of Sobriety, Wisdom, and Learning, we have no reason to expect much better Instructors and Governours of Parishes, than at present we commonly find.

There is a way, I know, that some people love marvellously to talk of, and that is, a just and equal levelling of Eccliaistical-Preferments. What a delicate refreshment, say they, would it be, if Twenty or Thirty thousand pounds a year were taken from the Bishops, and discreetly sprinkled amongst the poorer and meaner sort of the Clergy? how would it rejoyce their hearts, and encourage them in their Office? What need those great and sumptuous Palaces, their City and their Country-houses, their Parks and spacious Waters, their costly Dishes and fashionable Sauces? May not he that lives in a small thatch'd House, that can scarce walk four strides in his own ground, that has only read well concerning Venison, Fish, and Fowl; may he not, I say, preach as loud, and to as much purpose, as one of those high and mighty Spiritualists? Go to then, seeing it hath pleased God to make such a bountiful Provision for his Church

in general, what need we be solicitous about the emending the low condition of many of the Clergy, when as there is such a plain remedy at hand, had we but grace to apply it? This Invention pleases some mainly well: But for all the great care they pretend to have of the distressed part of the Clergy, I am confident, one might easily guess what would please them much better; If instead of augmenting small Benefices, the Bishops would be pleased to return to them those Lands that they purchased in their absence. And then as for the relieving of the Clergy, they would try if they could find out another way.

But art thou in good earnest my excellent Contriver? Dost thou think that if the greatest of our Church-Preferments were wisely parcell'd out amongst those that are in want, it would do much feats and courtesies? And dost thou not likewise think, that if ten or twenty of the lustiest Noble-mens Estates of England were cleaverly sliced among the Indigent, would it not strangely refresh some of the poor Laitie, that cry Small-Coal or grind Scissors? I do suppose that if God should afterwards incline thy mind (for I phansie it will not be as yet a good while to be a Benefactor to the Church; thy wisdom may possibly direct thee to disperse thy goodness in smaller parcels, rather than to flow in upon two or three with full happiness. But if it be my inclination to settle upon one Ecclesiastical person, and his successors for ever, a thousand pounds a year: upon

condition only to read the Service of the Church once in a week; and you take it ill, and find fault with my Prudence, and the method of my Munificence; and say, that the stipend is much too large for such a small task: Yet, I am confident, that should I make thy Laityship Heir of such an Estate, and oblige thee only to the trouble and expence of spending a single Chicken, or half a dozen Larks, once a year, in commemoration of me, that thou wouldst count me the wisest Man that ever was since the Creation: And pray to God, never to dispose thy mind to part with one farthing of it, for any other use than for the service of thy self and thy Family. And yet, so it is, that because the Bishops, upon their first being restored, had the confidence to levy Fines according as they were justly due, and desired to live in their own Houses (if not pull'd down) and to receive their own Rents: Presently they cry out the Church-men have got all the Treasure, and Money of the Nation into their hands. If they have any, let them thank God for it, and make good use of it. Weep not, Beloved, for there is very little hopes, that they will cast it all into the Sea, on purpose to stop the mouths of them, that say they have too much.

What other contrivances there may be for the settling upon Ministers in general a sufficient Revenue for their subsistence, and encouragement in their Office; I shall leave to be considered of by the Governours of Learning and Religion. Only, thus much is certain, that so long as

the Maintenance of many Ministers is so very small, it is not to be avoided, but that a great part of them will want learning, prudence, courage, and esteem to do any good where they live. And what if we have (as by all must be acknowledged) as wise, and learned Bishops, as be in the World; and many others of very great understanding, and wisdom, yet (as was before hinted) unless there be provided for most Towns and Parishes, some tollerable and sufficient Guides; the strength of Religion, and the Credit of the Clergy will daily languish more and more. Nor that it is to be believed, that every small Countrey Parish should be altogether hopeless as to the next Life, unless they have a Hooker, a Chillingworth, a Hammond, or a Sanderson [39], dwelling amongst them; but requisite it is, and might be brought about, that somebody there should be, to whom the People have reason to attend, and to be directed, and guided by him.

I have, Sir, no more to say, were it not that you find the word Religion in the Title; of which in particular I have spoken very little: Neither need I, considering how nearly it depends, as to its glory and strength, upon the reputation and mouth of the Priest. And I shall add no more but this, viz. that among those many things that tend to the decay of Religion, and of a due Reverence of the Holy Scriptures, nothing has more occasion'd it, than the ridiculous, and idle discourses that are uttered out of

Pulpits. For when the Gallants of the World do observe, how the Ministers themselves do jingle, quibble, and play the fools with their Texts, no wonder if they, who are so inclinable to Atheism, do not only deride and despise the Priests, but droll upon the Bible, and make a mock of all that is sober and sacred. I am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant, T.B. August 8. 1670.

HISTORICAL COLLATION

The historical collation contains all substantive variations as well as those accidentals which affect tone or meaning. The reading of the present text appears first. The accidentals, as they appear in this edition, largely follow those of the copy text; in the few instances where change was necessary to clarify meaning, the emendations are silent.

<u>page</u>	<u>line</u>	
126	12	than] then Syn, 698, 1696
137	17	and likelihood of not being] likelihood of being CT, Bass, 1671, 1685; any likelihood of being 1672
138	4	to be?] to me? CT
138	14	admitted to that] admitted that CT, Bass, 1672, 1685
139	15	It may be also] it might be also Syn, Ely, Adams, 698
141	14	to the Profession of Learning.] [end of paragraph; not end of paragraph in Syn, Ely, Adams, 698]
147	11	Country Friend!] Country Friend? Syn, Ely, Adams, 698
150	10	odd <u>Latin</u> saying] old <u>Latin</u> Syn, Ely, Adams, 698, 1671, 1672, 1685
150	21	thinks he has] thinks that he has Syn, Ely, Adams. 698, 1672
150	27	or a <u>sicut</u>] and a <u>sicut</u> Syn, Ely, Adams, 1672, 1685
151	23	it is] is it CT, Bass, 1671, 1685
151	24	beholden] beholding Syn, Ely, Adams, 698, 1672
152	6	in the Town] in Town Syn, Ely, Adams, 698 1672, 1685
152	18	an Axiom] a Axiom CT, Syn
155	5	honest and well-meaning] honest well meaning Syn, 1672, 1685

162 2 Edgehill or Naseby] Naseby or Edgehill
Syn, Ely, Adams, 698; Edg-Hill 1672, 1685

162 16 exact Agreement] exact Argument Bass, Syn,
Ely. Adams, 698

164 19 no further] on further CT, Ely

165 11 thought on till] on tell Syn, Ely, 698

168 26 take him in] take him it CT

169 12 Child hath] Child have Syn, Ely, Adams
698, 1671

182 26 A thou shall be followed more than a that]
A [thou] shall . . . [that] CT,
Bass, 1672, 1685; And thou shalt 1671

185 13 Non-residents] Non-residence Syn, Adams,
Ely, 698,

187 15 in a County] in a Country CT

190 25 When] When shall we have Syn [the only
instance of variant page ending]

194 14 Henry the Eighth] Henry the Eight Syn;
Henrie 1671

199 17 were Persons] where Persons Bass, Syn, 698
1671

210 17 he judges] he judge Syn, 1671

216 13 the Clergy?] the Clergy! Ely, Adams, 698;
Clergy. 1671; Clergy 1 [sic] Syn

216 18 mending of High-ways] the High-ways CT,
Bass, 1672, 1685

222 9 Henry the Eighth] the eight CT, Bass,
1672, 1685

222 25 should be supplied] shall be CT, 1672, 1685

COMMENTARY

- 1 This is aimed at John Milton, whom Eachard,
(in a 15 January 1676 letter to Samuel
Frankland, Headmaster of the Conventry School,) described as " a man of vile principles".
- 2 Eachard thus proclaims himself a member of the Church of England rather than a Catholic or a non-conformist, a position which he confirms in the first paragraph of the text.
- 3 Here Eachard reflects the seventeenth-century tension between reliance on the authority of the classics and the emerging Baconian interest in natural history, personal observation, and utility.
- 4 Janua Linguarum Reserta (The Gates of Language Unlocked). In this 1631 work, Comenius arranged Latin and the vernacular in parallel columns of useful sentences. Comenius based this work on the Janua Linguarum of William Bateus, written about 1600, in which Bateus, a Jesuit father, compiled 1200 short Latin sentences with an accompanying Spanish translation (Comenius, 25; Monroe, 125).
- 5 Sizars were undergraduates at Cambridge (and at Trinity College, Dublin) who, on admission to the University, received an allowance in exchange for menial services performed for wealthier students. In effect, they were college servants. Eachard had served as a sizar at St. Catharine's.
- 6 The college roster
- 7 (or Clyster) an enema or an injection
- 8 until the sand has run out in the pulpit hour-glass
- 9 Eachard here acknowledges the new science and the new philosophy, but will not advocate either as a basis of sermons.

- 10 size-q(ue): the half of an ordinary allowance. Cue was the sum of half a farthing, formerly denoted in college accounts by the letter q, originally for quadrans. Also, a university term for a small quantity of bread, extended to a small quantity of beer. (The New English Dictionary cites Eachard on this.)
Helicon: name of a mountain in Boetia, sacred to the Muses, in which rose the fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene. Seventeenth century writers sometimes confused the mountain with the fountains. (Q.E.D.)
- 11 smart or sarcastic language
- 12 for St. Barnabas Day, the eleventh of June in the Old Style Calendar, thought to be the longest day. (Q.E.D.)
- 13 tight-rope walkers, balanced high above the ground (Q.E.D. cites Eachard)
- 14 clowns, buffoons
- 15 those who express approval by humming (Q.E.D. cites Eachard)
- 16 William Lilly was the first High Master of St. Paul's School. His Latin Grammar was standard in the schools from the mid sixteenth century on.
- 17 Civil War battles, 1642 and 1645
- 18 The highest point. A term from Ptolemaic astronomy. In modern astronomy, used only in reference to the moon. (Q.E.D.)
- 19 The lowest point
- 20 Eachard makes many references to almanacs and to astrology. Almanacs, which included astrological information, were very popular in the seventeenth century; two out of five houses had them. In Eachard's time, astrology and religion were still

complementary, astrologers seeing themselves as partners rather than rivals of the clergy, but astrology lost respect as the century ended (Capp, 131, 142).

- 21 dilute Nitric acid, a powerful solvent and carrosive.
- 22 Simon Patrick, later Bishop of Ely, wrote A Friendly Debate Between a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, in two parts. First published in 1669, it reached five editions in its first year. It presented a model of attack on pulpit eloquence which influenced others, including Eachard.
- 23 lays the standing corn to litter (Q.E.D. cites Eachard)
- 24 the portion of land assigned to the clergyman as part of his benefice (Q.E.D.)
- 25 bird of prey (Q.E.D.)
- 26 a bag, pouch, or wallet, usually of leather (Q.E.D.)
- 27 the signatures bound together, but the book without covers and therefore bought more cheaply.
- 28 girths or string for measuring the girth of something (Q.E.D.)
- 29 one bearing a letter of authority (Q.E.D.)
- 30 the smallest denomination of money, a fraction of a penny
- 31 a lure or a bait. "seed money" to prompt others to give

- 32 The Catholic Church

- 33 a bed frame formed of cross-bars or grating

- 34 peel

- 35 a large market basket

- 36 speaks at a risk

- 37 Eachard refers here to the common practice of beneficed clergyman paying part of his income to a lesser cleric, who has no fixed position, to work in his stead.

- 38 a superior quality of foreign oak; here clearly, a reference to a wooden pip. Again, O.E.D. cites Eachard as user of word.

- 39 Richard Hooker (1554-1600) Cambridge Fellow; William Chillingworth (1602-1644) Royalist Chaplain in Civil War; Henry Hammond (1605-1660) Oxford Fellow; Robert Sanderson (1587-1663) Bishop of Lincoln.

APPENDIX I

ABBREVIATIONS FOR FIRST-YEAR EDITIONS; LIBRARY PRESSMARKS

Bass	Bassingbourne 409,1	
Adams	Adams 8.67.1	Cambridge University
Dd	Dd ^a 5.67.1	Library
Syn	Syn. 8.67.78	
Ely	Ely.e.238	
698	698.c.14	British Library

APPENDIX II

Manuscript

Copy Text (Dd)

Adams

Bass

Ely

1671

698

1672

Syn

1685

APPENDIX III

Book: Eachard's personal 1670 copy, signed; Copy Text
Location: Sherlock Library, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge
Press Mark: E xi 14

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
 CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
 In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
 LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
 Cornhill. 1670

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages, John Eachard's signature on the third] A6(-A6), B-I8, K4 [\$sig 4(-K4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131; K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone,	H6 stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesome	K1v who	

Notes: Copy in good condition, brown leather binding with rectangular rule design cut in center of covers; 28 lines per page; vertical chain lines; watermarks barely visible due to close cropping, but may be seen in upper, inner margins of B-C2,3,6,7; D1,4,5; E1,8; F2,7; G2,3; H2,3,6; I4; K2,3. Ornamentation: A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis, woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de lis above title, rule below title, woodcut initial T. Printer's error: numbering of pages 12 and 13 interchanged. Bound with (1) "An Answer to a Letter of Enquiry" (1671) and (2) "Some Observations upon the Answer" (1671).

APPENDIX IV

Book: Bassingbourne (Bass)

Location: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

Press Mark: 409,1

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages] A6(-A6), B-18, K4
[\$sig 4(-K4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 Hand	G3v Stone,	H6 stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesome	K1v who	

Notes: Copy in fair condition, dark brown leather binding
drying and coming loose, triple rectangular rules stamped on
center of cover, with leaf design stamped on each corner, no
lining to cover. This copy "From Bassingbourne Parish
Library, founded by Edward Nightingale in 1717, purchased and
divided between, the Universities of Cambridge and Essex,
1969." A loose guard leaf inscribed in ink: "Bassingbourne
Library." First guard leaf, a name at top crossed out; name
J. Trarts and listing of contents, all in ink. Second guard
leaf, inked: "John Greeneth 169-", name written three times
and "John" three times as if practicing penmanship. Third
guard leaf blank. Title page, inked above horizontal rule:
"By John Eachard fellow of Catharine Hall in Cambridge."
Watermarks, upper, inner margins of A2,3; B2,3,6,7; C1,4,5,8;
D2,3,6,7; E2,3,6,7; F2,3,6,7; G2,3,6,7; H2,3,6,7;
I2,3,6,7. Ornamentation: A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis
above title, woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de
lis above title, rule below title, woodcut initial T. Inked
out by an earlier reader: "God/knows" (p.13, ll. 19/20) and
"God/bless him" (p.28, ll. 10/11).

APPENDIX V

Book: Adams

Location: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

Press Mark: 8.67.1

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages] A6(-A6), B-I8, K4
[\$sig4 (-K4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot,	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone	H6 stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesom	K1v who	

Notes: This copy rebound since the seventeenth century, with
new guard leaves, brown leather binding with triple rule
edge; pages in good condition, some waterstained;
watermarks visible: B2,3,6; C2,3,6,7; D1,4,5,8; E2,3;
F2,3,6; G2,3; H1,4; I2,3; K1,2. Another copy from this
edition is listed under the press mark Syn 8.67.37(1), washed
and rebound at the University Library, 1983. Ornamentation:
A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis above title, woodcut initial
I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de lis above title, rule below
title, woodcut initial T.

APPENDIX VI

Book: Dd (Identical to Copy Text: from same edition)

Location: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

Press Mark: 5.36,2 (G)

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages] A6(-A6), B-I8, K4
(-K3,4) [\$sig4 (-K3,4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke missing from this
copy.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone,	H6 stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesome	K1v who	

Notes: This copy rebound in 1910 in light brown leather, an inked listing of contents on verso of first guard page, the fourth entry erroneous. Watermarks visible on: A3,4,5; B4,5,8; C2,3,6,7; D3,6,7; E2,3,6,7; F2,3; G2,3; H2,3; I1,4,5,8. Ornamentation: A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis, woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de lis above title, rule below title, woodcut initial T. Printer's error: numbering of pages 12 and 13 interchanged. Bound with (1) "The Blind Guide Forsaken" (1641), a work by Francis Cupiffe, translated from the French, "wherein he setteth downe the reasons whereby he was moved to separate himself from the Church of Rome, and to embrace the reformed"; (2) "An Answer to a Letter of Enquiry"(1671); (3)"Divine Contentment: or a Medicine for a Discontented Man & a Confession of Faith: And other Poems upon several Subjects by Edward Manlove"(1667); (4) Poems against Popery: Composed by Edward Manlove of Ashborn (1667); (5) "Latham Spaw in Lancashire: with some remarkable Cures Effected by it" (1670).

APPENDIX VII

Book: Syn

Location: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

Press Mark: 8.67.78

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages] A6(-A6), B-I8, K4
[\$sig4 (-K4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot,	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone,	H6 stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesome	K1v who	

Notes: This dark brown leather bound copy is from the library of William Hayward, Esq. A leather patch title is glued on the cover: "Eachard's Enquiry. 1670." Copy in good condition, but pages stained. Inked on verso of title page, in one hand: "Laurance Drake, Christian Osborne"; in lighter ink: "John Darby," then lower: "Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy & Religion," "Dr. Eachard," and doodles. Inked at bottom of last page: "John Darby 1717." No visible watermarks. Ornamentation: A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis, woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de lis above title, rule below title, woodcut initial T.

APPENDIX VIII

Book: Ely

Location: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

Press Mark: e.238

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo [three guard pages] A6(-A6), B-I8, K4
[\$sig4 (-K4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot,	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone,	stand
I3 scarce	I4 wholesome	K1v who	

Notes: This copy in poor condition: binding loosening,
leather spine tearing. Light brown leather binding, double
rule around edges, no lining to cover. Inked on verso of
guard leaf: "J. Patrick." Inked on bottom of title page:
"Echard." This copy transferred to the University Library by
the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral, 11 May 1970.
Watermarks visible at upper, inner margins: B5,8; C6,7;
D5,8; E2,3,6,7; F5,8; G6,7; H2,6,7; I5,8. Numbering on page
60 is blurred, almost illegible. Ornamentation: A4 top, row
of ten fleur de lis, woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten
fleur de lis above title, rule below title, woodcut initial
T.

APPENDIX IX

Book: 698
Location: British Library, London
Press Mark: 698.13(2)

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
 CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
 In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | [xylograph] | [rule] |
 LONDON, | Printed by W. Godbid for N. Brooke at the | Angel in
 Cornhill. 1670.

Collation: 8mo, A6(-A1,2,6), B-I8, K4 [\$sig4 (K2,4)]

Contents: A3 title page [verso blank]; A4-5 The Preface
 to the Reader [RT]; B1-K2r text, pages numbered 1-131;
 K2v-K4 listing of books sold by Nath. Brooke.

Catchwords:

B2v minative	B6 lot,	C3v perfectly	D8 then
E4 People	F3 <u>Hand</u>	G3v Stone,	stand
I3 scarce	I4 whole-	K1v who	

Notes: This copy in good condition, bound in green buckram by
 the British Library. "Echard" inked on title page, above
 rule over xylograph. Watermarks visible in upper, inner
 margins of: B6; C7; D6,7; E6,7; G6,7; H6,7; I2,3,6,7;
 K1,3,4. Ornamentation: A4 top, row of ten fleur de lis,
 woodcut initial I; B1 top, row of ten fleur de lis above
 title, rule below title, woodcut initial T. Bound with:
 (1)"Vindiciae Sacre, a Treatise of the Honor and Maintenance
 due to Ecclesiasticall Persons"; (2) "Some Observations upon
 the Answer"(1671);(3)Tracts, 1629-1671.

APPENDIX X

Book: 1671 edition, the 7th
Location: British Library, London
Press Mark: 1606/216

THE | Grounds & Occasions | OF THE | CONTEMPT OF THE |
 CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. | In a LETTER
 written to R.L. | [xylograph: six fleur de lis in a
 triangular pattern] | LONDON, | Printed by W.G. for N.B.
 at the | Angel in Cornhill. 1671.

Collation: 12mo [two guard leaves] A4, B8, C-E12,
 F-H8(-H8), I12 [two guard leaves] [\$5sig (-A4,5; -B5;
 D4 sig D3; G5 sig G; -H5)]

Contents: A1 title page [verso blank]; A2-3v The Preface
 to the Reader [RT]; A4-I12 text, pages numbered 1-162.

Catchwords:

B2v mighty	B6 and	C3v thing	D8 these
E4 <u>they</u>	F3 solute	G3v indeed	H6 conning
I3 so	I4 if		

Notes: This copy in good condition; black leather cover with
 double rule border; rough textured paper, lower edges
 natural rather than cut on D5-7; E2,6,7; G3; I6,11; chain
 lines horizontal; watermarks visible at upper, outer margins
 of: first guard leaf, C11,12; D11,12; F11,12; I7,8.
 Ornamentation: A2 top, row of 20 fleur de lis, ornamental
 initial I; A4 top, row of 21 acorns, ornamental compartment
 around initial T. 26 lines per page; pagination errors:
 page 110 printed as 100; 112 as 113; 113 as 102, no
 interruption of text.

APPENDIX XI

Book: 1672 edition, the 8th
Location: British Library, London
Press Mark: 1470.b.23

[within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE |
 CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into. |
 In a LETTER written to R.L. | [rule] | The Eighth Edition. |
 [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by E. Tyler and R. Holt, for |
 Nathaniel Brooke, at the Sign of | the Angel in Cornhil, near |
 the | Royal Exchange. 1672.

Collation: 8mo. A4, B-L8 [\$4sig (-A4)]

Contents: A1 title page [verso blank]; A2-4v The Preface
 to the Reader [RT]; B1-L8 text, pages numbered 1-160.

Catchwords:

B2v and,	B6 and	C3v Age.	D8 being
E4 tinues	F3 <u>Crums</u>	G3v <u>Loops</u>	H6 And
I3 Earth	I4 put		

Notes: This copy in good condition, brown leather binding,
 cover ornamented with triple ruled rectangle and acorn design
 in center, double rules around edge; vertical chain lines,
 watermarks visible at upper, inner margins of: A1-4;
 B2,3,6,7; C1,4,5,8; D1,4,5,8; E2,3,6,7; F2,3,6,7; G1,4,5,8;
 H1,4,5,8; I1,4,5,8; K2,3,6,7; L2,3,6,7; 27 lines per page.
 Ornamentation: A2, design border at top of page and
 ornamental initial I; B1, same top of page ornament and
 ornamental initial T. Bound with (1)"Some Observations upon
 the Answer"(1671); (2)"Mr. Hobbs's State of Nature" 2nd
 edition; (3)Five Letters.

APPENDIX XII

Book: 1685 edition, the 9th
Location: Sherlock Library, St. Catharine's College
Press Mark: K.V.20

First title page: [within double rules] The Grounds & Occasions | OF THE | CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY AND RELIGION | Enquired into, etc. | Together with some | OBSERVATIONS | Upon an ANSWER thereto. | With Mr. Hobbs's | STATE of NATURE | Considered in a | DIALOGUE | BETWEEN | Philautus and Timothy: | To which are added | FIVE LETTERS | From the Author of the Grounds | and Occasions of the Contempt of the | CLERGY. | [rule] | London, Printed by R.H. for Obadiah Bla- | grave at the Sign of the Bear, in St. Paul's | Church-yard over against the little North Door, 1685.

Second title page: [within double rules] THE | GROUNDS & OCCASIONS | OF THE | CONTEMPT | OF THE | CLERGY | AND | RELIGION | Enquired into | In a LETTER written to R.L.: [rule] | The Ninth Edition. | [rule] | London, | Printed by R. Holt, for Obadiah Bla- |grave at the Sign of the Bear in St. Paul's | Church-yard, over against the little | North Door, 1685.

Collation: 8mo [two guard leaves] A6 (-A6), B-L8 [\$sig4 (-A4)]

Contents: A1 first title page [verso blank]; A2 second title page [verso blank]; A3-5v The Preface to the Reader [RT]; B1-L8 text, pages numbered 1-160.

Catchwords:

B2v hardly	B6 and	C3v Age.	D8 being
E4 tinues	F3 <u>Crumbs</u>	G3v <u>Loops</u>	H6 And
I3 Earth	I4 put		

Notes: This copy in fair condition, brown leather binding, slightly pitted, front cover coming loose at top, double rules around edges; pages mottled with age; vertical chain lines; watermarks visible on: first guard leaf, C6,7,; D2,3; E-F5,8; K2,3; L1,4. A bookmark pasted on A2v shows the coat of arms of St. Catharine's. A previous reader, possibly a contemporary of Eachard's, has made inked corrections of

verb tenses in the margins of pages 4, 13, 29, 33, 46, 54, 93, 124, and 128, and has made marginal notes: pages 92 "Here seems to be an omission" [a carat points to the space before "Some also possibly may not dislike" and the reader is correct in that a sentence to be found on page 75 of the copy text has been omitted]; p. 149, notation that "smallest" should read "smallness" [as it does on page 121 of the copy text]; page 122 "and" has been changed [correctly] to "an" by inking out the d. This copy seems to be from the same edition as the copy in the British Library, press mark 4109.de.16.

APPENDIX XIII

PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS

ASSOCIATED WITH Grounds & Occasions

William Godbid: printer in London, Over against the Anchor Inn in Little Britain, 1656-77. Apprenticed to Richard Cotes who, at his death, left him a legacy of 40 shillings. Godbid who was noted for his printing of music, was the printer of the six first- year editions of Grounds & Occasions and of the 1671 edition.

Nathaniel Brooke: bookseller in London, (1)Angel, Cornhill; (2)At the Angel, in the second yard going into the Exchange from Bishopgate Street, 1646-77. Brooke was the seller of the first seven editions of Grounds & Occasions.

R. Holt: printer in London, 1671-88. In 1671-3 he and Evan Tyler, sometimes as R.H. & E.T., printed in partnership. They printed the 1672 edition of Grounds & Occasions for N. Brooke.

Obadiah Blagrove: bookseller in London (1)In Cornhill; (2) Printing press at the entrance into Gresham College, Broad Street, over against the Church; (3)Printing press, Little Britain, over against the Pump; (4) (a) Bear, St. Paul's Churchyard near the little North Door of the Church, (b) Black Bear, or Bear and Star, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1669-91. Blagrove was the seller for the 1685 edition of Grounds & Occasions, printed by Holt.

(Bentley, Phillips, Rhodes, & Taylor shared copies and were joint sellers of the 1696 edition of Grounds & Occasions.)

Richard Bentley: bookseller in London, Post House in Russell Street, Covent Garden, 1675-97.

Joshua Phillips: bookseller in London, 1680-1709. (1)Atlas in Cornhill, 1680; (2)7 Stars, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1680-93; (3) King's-Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1694-1706; Black

Bull, Cornhill 1707-9.

Henry Rhodes: bookseller in London, 1681-1709. Next door to the Bear Tavern, Fleet Street, near Bride Lane; (2) next door to Swan Tavern, Fleet Street, at corner of Bride Lane; (3) Star, Fleet Street, at or near corner of Bride Lane or near Fleet Bridge. These various addresses may describe the same house.

John Taylor: bookseller in London, 1683-1713. (1)Globe, at West End of St. Paul's Churchyard, 1683-7; (2)Ship, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1687-1713. One of the largest publishers of the period.

(The above information from Plomer's Dictionary of Printers & Booksellers, 1907, 1922.)

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1696

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