Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

Scuola Dottorale di Ateneo
Graduate School

Dottorato di ricerca in Lingue, Culture e Società Moderne
Indirizzo Filologia Moderna
Ciclo XXV
Anno di discussione: 2014

Assessing Human Happiness in John Tillotson's Sermons

SETTORE SCIENTIFICO DISCIPLINARE DI AFFERENZA: L-LIN/10

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INTRODUCTION

John Tillotson (1630-1694) was one of the most significant exponents of the Latitudinarian movement which originated within the Church of England in the second half of the Seventeenth-century and reached its maximum development with the election to the see of Canterbury of Tillotson himself in 1691. Though he presided over the Church for just three years, his influence as a preacher, as a champion of morality and as an advocate of reason in religion proved crucial for the development of Eighteenth-century divinity. Tillotson became famous for his mode of preaching which suited the necessity of combining practical, moral issues with faith and of demonstrating the reasonableness of Christianity, encouraging the use of reason in the understanding of the Christian doctrine exposed in the rationalised structure and partitioning of his sermons. The characteristics of his sermons and of his art of preaching made him one of the most famous preachers in London, and the attendance to his services amply demonstrated his ability as a preacher. In an age in which church attendance was diminishing, he was able to create a fashionable trend in the capital, where it became common practice to attend the celebrations of famous divines.

Tillotson's success as a preacher was also demonstrated by the large number of sermons that he published, both in his life and posthumously. He edited six octavo volumes of collected sermons and twenty-eight single publications, and at his death his wife sold the copyright of his sermons for the exorbitant sum of £2500. The success of his sermons is often attributed to the plainness of style, the rational structure and moderate language, but also the themes analysed in them play a fundamental role. Tillotson often poses the accent on morality and on practical issues, thus engaging the audience on their level. The central parts of his sermons are the *confirmation*, in which he discusses the theme, and the *application*, in which he either provides possible solutions to the problem analysed or makes inferences to

help the audience in the process of identification with the topic which has been taken into consideration.

Tillotson's particular interest in morality coincides with his apostrophes to the degenerate Londoners who do not seem to care about their present and future happiness. It is exactly from the questions that he incessantly asks his audience that my analysis begins: "Why are people not happy and satisfied with their duty, i.e. obedience to divine laws? Why do they not follow their own interests, and acknowledge the advantages that a religious course of life could provide them?" These questions pervade Tillotson's sermons and influence his discussion of all the topics he presents, from the necessity of charity and education, to the faith in reason and the possibility of self-knowledge, to the description of the punishments designed by God's providence or the dreadful future perspective of sinful, unrepentant men. Tillotson investigates human behaviour in order to value the degree to which each single individual is able to work for his own happiness, and in doing so he also reminds his audience of the brotherhood that unites them, and of the effects that their conduct has on society at large and on the whole nation.

I focus attention in particular on the idea of happiness and the way in which it was rehabilitated at the end of the Seventeenth-Century, thanks to the revival of Aristotelian, Platonic and Stoic philosophy and as a reaction to Thomas Hobbes's theories. My interest in human happiness in Tillotson's sermons stems from the diatribe which saw as protagonists Robert Crane's article *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, first appeared in 1934, and reprinted in 1967, and Donald Greene's criticism in his article *Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling' Reconsidered* (1977). Both positions were later taken into consideration in Gregory F. Scholtz's article *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson: The Doctrine of Conditional Salvation* which appeared in 1988-89. Taking these articles as a basis for my discussion, I try to demonstrate through direct textual analysis of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons that though he embraces the view of man as a degraded creature, he also mediates this picture with the power of the mind to improve and change the human condition.

My aim is to demonstrate that Scholtz's point of view is the most balanced one and the one that proves that though the idea of man's depravity was maintained in the sermons, there is an increasing use of interest, both individual and social, of self-love and of an appeal to pleasure and happiness enjoyed not only in the afterlife but also in this world. The reasons for this manoeuvre could be retraced to the necessity of appealing to an evolving society and to be "modern" in the sense of proving to these audiences that they could eventually change their social status and improve their lives in present and future times by reformation and avoiding God's punishments which were manifested not only in sickness and sudden loss of wealth or affections, but also nationally interpreted in natural disasters which hit England such as the Great Fire in 1666 or atmospheric phenomena.

Part One presents the historical background with particular attention to the role played by the Latitudinarians in the reformation and reconstruction of the Anglican confession after the Civil War and the Cromwellian protectorate. In Chapter One, *The Church of England and the Restoration*, I describe the Latitudinarian movement, its origins and members, with particular attention to the first and second generation of divines that belonged to it, focusing on Tillotson's life. I also expand on the style and themes developed in the Latitudinarian sermons, with references to the structure, the language, the delivery and the themes. Part of this section is dedicated to the analysis of the style of Tillotson and Barrow.

Part Two and Three are dedicated to the textual and thematic analysis of the twelve volumes of sermons written by Tillotson. I analyse and compare them (when possible) with the sermons written by Isaac Barrow and John Wilkins, two exponents of the Latitudinarian movement whom Tillotson knew and held in high regard and whose works he edited. Part Two discusses the human relationship of each individual with happiness, whereas Part Three analyses the association of society and collective happiness.

Part Two is divided into three chapters. In Chapter Two, *Malleable Creatures? Reshaping Human Depravity And The Role Of Education*, I take into consideration a group of sermons Tillotson published separately in 1694 which are dedicated to the theme of education and to the possibility of checking human

depravity through a proper Christian training. The purpose of this chapter is to confront the idea of depravity in Article IX and in the Augustinian tradition by showing that, even if Tillotson and the other divines embraced this idea, they also tried to promote the belief in the malleability of man and the necessity to have good examples in order to promote individual obedience and happiness and in consequence benefit society. In analysing Latitudinarian sermons, one cannot leave out the aim that they had of reforming the manners of their society and improving people's active role in the building and consolidation of the British society. The concern of education is to limit human passions and prevent children and young men from falling prey to sin, portrayed with vicious habits that influence their behaviour and their relationships with other members of society. The link of education with happiness is given by the advantages that society and smaller units, such as families, gain when profiting from the pleasure that virtuous and obedient children give as well as the joyful perspective of having future upright citizens. This group of sermons is central because in them Tillotson states his interest in human morality and behaviour and he also presents a possible way to mitigate the inward depraved nature of man.

As it regards the language and style, Tillotson often points to the necessity of speaking by clear examples and the accent is on practical issues. The tone is didactic and encouraging, but also reproachful in addressing neglecting parents. Apart from rebuking, the divine also uses fear to spur his audience to improve the education of their children, in particular in showing them the necessity of it to avoid the tragic events of the Civil War which were still vivid in their minds.

Chapter Three, *Individual Happiness And Moral Judgement,* is centred on the way in which the individual can get to his own happiness by knowing himself and how to govern his passions. The discussion on the education of the passions is resumed in this section with a more specific analysis of the way in which man can know his inclinations and character and of the tools he has to get to self-knowledge. My discussion begins with a detailed description of the parts and activities of the soul which are examined in the sermons, i.e. reason, conscience, will and consideration. After having briefly explained the dichotomy between body and soul

and how sin generates itself, my analysis moves to the role played by conscience and consideration in giving men the proper instruments to know themselves, to judge their actions and to follow the path settled by divine laws. Once man has understood his position regarding his duty to God, he can check his behaviour and proceed to repentance and to an active change of his life. Obedience and sincerity are the highest values praised by God which introduce the idea that human duty does not necessarily have to be perfect but must be sincere. This belief introduces the idea of the covenant of leniency which will be developed in Chapter Three.

What I am eager to underline in this chapter is the way in which Tillotson moves his audiences, by using fearful images of hell and eternal punishment while at the same time insisting on God's goodness and willingness to promote mankind's happiness and well being. My point here is to show that though depicted in a positive and encouraging way, reason is often considered insufficient in moving man to repentance and action, therefore other forces need to be aroused and taken into consideration. This analysis demonstrates that the divines knew they could play on the passions of their audiences in order to move them, coupling this effort with the encouragement to use their rational side. Tillotson usually tries first to convince his public and to oppose prejudices with reasonable motives, but he also shakes them if he perceives that his reasoning is not sufficient (and in most cases it is not). The advantages deriving from this process will be discussed in Section Three.

Chapter Four, *Religion And Advantages*, is dedicated to the analysis of those sermons in which Tillotson presents the advantages of religion and plays on the desire of his audience to fulfil their want of self-satisfaction and their interest, both temporal and spiritual. My purpose is to analyse a series of sermons dedicated to religion and the advantages of divine laws not only to eternal benefits, but also and particularly to the temporal rewards that men can enjoy in this life. My focus is on both, as the first ones do not exclude the second ones. I aim to show that Tillotson is eager to demonstrate that the advantages in religion are also temporal because he wants to move his audience to moral regeneration and the consideration of these benefits increases self-interest which in turn becomes a powerful motive to obedience. The idea of obeying God will be used also in political sermons in which

the necessity of obeying one's governor are explained and motivated. These advantages push man's self-love to moderation when confronting himself with other fellows but also to satisfaction when considering his role in the great chain of being.

The advantages are also centred on two aspects in particular: covetousness and suppression of anger. These two features are key-elements in the promotion of the health of the single individual but are moreover central to the building of a wealthy society. Checking these two passions helps man to improve his condition not only in this world but also in the next one because it encourages charitable attitudes and actions. The tone used by Tillotson is mainly focused on the arousal of interest, both present and future, and on the importance of proving one's faith both by word and action. Here the reference to the theme of happiness takes on a more practical shade which stresses the fundamental relationship between faith and actions, knowledge and practice. This does not mean that Tillotson thought that faith was less fundamental to salvation, but that it was proper for men to demonstrate their loyalty and reverence to God considering that their actions all have an influence on their future benefits.

The third part of the thesis takes into consideration the theme of happiness on a large scale, referred to the blessings that the British kingdom could derive from God if made of a population of upright, religious and charitable citizens. Chapter Five, *Reassuming Humanity: Charity, Politics And Providence*, is dedicated to charity and to its advantages, in particular in the process of reassuming humanity. The analysis of this topic starts with an analysis of the sermons that Isaac Barrow dedicated to the subject as Tillotson considers him the divine who most expanded on this topic and therefore his source of inspiration. The focus is on the use of self-love both as a drive to promote charity as well as an admonition to limit its force. The discussion begins therefore with the definition of charity and self-love, their coexistence and the advantages that they produce to move to the analysis of the practical examples offered by the divines as patterns to follow. The highest example is the one of Jesus but positive examples are given in some funeral sermons where the deeds of the deceased are praised. The techniques used by Tillotson to encourage charity are again fear and interest: the fear of neglecting charity and

bringing disadvantages to society at large (the fear of having ignorant zealous people which could become a menace to the wealth of the nation) and at the same time the benefit that charity gives to communities. This chapter shows how happiness is connected to the rehabilitation of humanity and might lead to the subsequent preferment of sensibility and affections in literature. This is also the point from which Crane's discussion starts.

Chapter Five is also dedicated to the avoidance of providential punishments and to the explanation of the necessity of providence in the government of the world. This points leads the discussion to the last chapter, dedicated to political sermons and to the way in which political propaganda was made in reference to the evident need of submitting to the power of a sovereign both in this world and in the afterlife. The sermons analysed here are mainly concerned with natural disasters both past and recent (for example references to the Great Fire) but also to providential blessings concerned with the favourable arrival of the sovereigns William and Mary. Providence contributes to human happiness in the regulation of the world and of the body's functions and in pointing the necessity of laws to direct the relationships between men, given their inner vanity and sinful nature. In this view providence can be both positive but also subject to human prejudices.

Tillotson's *Sermons* are indispensable to understand the religious and stylistic "revolution" that the Latitudinarian movement brought to completion in the second half of the Seventeenth-century. Due to the popularity that they enjoyed during Tillotson's lifetime up to the Nineteenth-century, they contributed to the diffusion of the Latitudinarian moderate policy and brought the accent on questions which became central in religious and philosophical debates in the Eighteenth-century, as for example the role of conscience and the reformation of manners. In analysing them, we understand how the Latitudinarians changed Anglicanism. They underlined the centrality of a life of faith and works and the interdependence of these two elements as a fundamental condition to salvation and eternal blessings. They united man's sincere obedience to God with advantages and benefits, thus working on individual interest and self-love, with the purpose of extending these beneficial results also on society. Perfect adherence to divine laws was changed into

sincere endeavour, thus acknowledging human frailty but also the assistance of God’s grace which is always at man’s disposal to sustain him in attaining his supreme good, happiness both in this world and in the next.

PART ONE

JOHN TILLOTSON AND THE LATITUDINARIANS

CHAPTER ONE
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE RESTORATION

I.i The Latitudinarians and the Church of England

The Anglican Church has always had a central role in the history of England, but after 1660 it acquired a particular position in politics and was considered the right middle way between two extremes: Calvinism and the Catholic Church. Calvinism was associated with the Civil War and the Cromwellian Revolution. Among the divines it was going through a "final phase" and its main exponent was Richard Baxter (1615-1691). According to Gilbert Burnet, this change in the role of the church was eventually possible due to the insurgence of "a new set of men" among the clergy called "Latitudinarians."[1] According to Isabel Rivers, the Latitudinarian Movement was a profound rationalist religious movement which originated in the Church in the second half of the seventeenth-century. Scholars usually divide this group of divines into two trends: the first generation, known as Cambridge Platonists, and the second generation, usually labelled Latitude-men, which held important positions during the reign of William III[2].

The first group is comprised of Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), John Wilkins (1614-72), Henry More (1614-87) and Ralph Cudworth (1617-88). They played a central role in the Civil War and during the Interregnum, holding cardinal

[1] Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, cited in Martin I. J. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, (1992), p. 2-4.
On the Latitudinarians and the Restoration of the Church cf. John Spurr, " "Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church," *The Historical Journal* vol. 31 no. 1 (1988), pp. 61-82.

[2] Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment. A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: CUP, (2005). Rivers points out the fact that the label "Cambridge Platonists" poses problems which could influence the opinion of scholars on the approach of these divines to both philosophical and theological matters. Cf. pp. 28-29.
Cf. also Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson. A Study of its Literary Aspects*, New York: Russell & Russell, (1962), p. 277. According to Mitchell, the first generation of Latitudinarians could also be labeled "rational", being the first to introduce the rational element in their prose. The second generation, instead, could be called "political", for their commitment in the Revolution.
On the position assumed by these divines cf. Martin I. J.Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, (1992), p. 10. Griffin states that the term "Latitudinarian" was applied indistinctly to both generations.

positions at Cambridge. The Cambridge Platonists are today considered as one of the most important philosophical groups in the seventeenth-century. Their label is derived from their association with the University of Cambridge, where most of them studied, and with their appraisal of the philosophy of Plato and Plotinus. Their importance however is connected with their criticism and analysis of the "new philosophy" which developed in that period, namely the theories promulgated by René Descartes and his followers, the empiricism of John Locke and the materialistic view of human nature argued by Thomas Hobbes. The main difference which can be found between these Cambridge *illuminati* and other contemporary philosophers is that they had a strong religious background and in most cases were active members of the Church of England.

After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Roman Catholic Church represented a serious menace . Soon after his return to England, Charles II married the Catholic Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza, who maintained a Catholic household and instilled in the population doubts about Charles II's religious preferences. By the 1670s, the fear of the return of Catholicism was felt among all strata of society, and the pulpits flocked with anti-Catholic sermons. The 'Popish Plot' in 1678 "whipped national feeling to a frenzy"[3] and gave more attention to the succession, because James II, Charles's brother, was the only legitimate heir and was openly Catholic. When James II came to the throne in 1685, he had the favourable support of the Tory faction. However, this seemingly harmonious relationship began to collapse at his coronation, when most of his subjects were shocked by his attending Catholic Mass immediately after the ceremony.[4] The Anglican Church did not support the newly elected monarch, and on the contrary a large number of sermons were delivered in opposition to Roman Catholic religious practice.

[3] Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, London: Penguin, (1990), p. 55. Tillotson was asked to preach to the House of Commons on 21st October 1678. Cf. Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Lord Achbishop of* Canterbury, Complied chiefly from his Original Papers and Letters, the second edition, London: Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER, R. WARE, J. and P. KNAPTON, S. BIRT, T. LONGMAN, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, J. HODGES, A. MILLAR, J. and J. RIVINGTON, J. WARD, W. JOHNSTON, C. CORBERT and M. COOPER, 1753; p. 54.
[4] William Gibson, *A Brief History of Britain, 1660-1851*, London: Robinson, (2010), pp. 65-66.

The second group of Latitudinarians, which includes Isaac Barrow[5] (1630-77), Edward Stillingfleet (1635-99) and John Tillotson (1630-94) was prominent in defending their confession, and Tillotson in particular was a leading figure in this protest, eventually preaching a sermon on Anti-Catholicism in front of the Duke of York, later James II[6]. In 1687-88 the King issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* in order to separate the Dissenters from the Anglicans, as some attempts had been made to unite against the common Catholic menace. The *Declaration* had to be read in all churches, but most bishops refused to accomplish the request. Some of them were arrested for sedition, but not condemned. The night after the trial, some politicians wrote to William of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James II's daughter Mary in 1677.

With the support of most of the members of the Church[7], William invaded England in November 1688. Chapman affirms that the inconsistent behaviour of James II who openly practised Roman Catholicism led to the formulation of doubts on the role of the sovereign as the supreme head of the Church[8]. This episode brought the necessity of stressing the role of providence in the arrival of William of Orange and in his beneficial mission to save England from secure disaster. Being linked to politics and divisions of the factions, theology became a topic discussed everywhere, not just on pulpits. From a political point of view, the relationship between church and state was marked by the division of the clergy into three groups: the Non-Jurors, the High Churchmen and the Low Churchmen. The first category did not acknowledge the supremacy of the new sovereigns. The second one supported the freedom of the king and church from the political ties imposed by the Parliament and these ideas reflected the Tory ideal. The third group asserted the necessary control of the Church made by the Parliament and thus reflected the Whig

[5] On Barrow's life and important role as a mathematician cf. *Before Newton: The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, Cambridge: CUP, (1990). Feingold also includes a chapter on Barrow as a divine. Cf. ch. 6 "The Preacher".
[6] Isabel Rivers, 'John Tillotson', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, (2004), p. 6. The sermon that offended James, who at that time was the Duke of York, was sermon XI, vol. 1, *The hazard of being saved in the church of Rome*.
[7] Gilbert Burnet played a fundamental role in the negotiation.
[8] Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP, (2006), pp. 54-55.

position. William had to give the bishoprics to moderate divines, and most of them were Latitudinarians[9].

The Latitudinarians had the possibility of promoting their religious ideas. They held a position of a certain importance both in the education of future generations, as in the case of the Cambridge Platonists, and in the promotion of religion and morality to the city congregations, as in the case of the members of the second generation[10]. Assuming man's dependence on God, and the fact that God does not allow man to know everything, they nevertheless believed in the centrality of reason in knowing and understanding the world. Man can enjoy God in using reason and in living a virtuous life. The Christian life imposes a moral code of rules on man that he has to follow, and it is man's own responsibility to fulfil this duty. The Cambridge Platonists counterbalance modern philosophy with the ancient one, proving that the latter was extremely relevant to the understanding of the present reality. They praise Plato, but they are also well versed in Aristotle and in Stoicism, while on the contrary they repudiate Scholasticism. They feel the obligation to find alternatives to the emergent scepticism and atheism which modern philosophy eagerly promotes. Regarding the relationship between faith and reason not only possible, but to be preferred, they base their theories of knowledge and their ideas of human nature on the concordance between spiritual and material substances.

The Cambridge Platonists' works extend to religious and moral topics. As regards the religious part, they seek to defend the idea of an immortal and immaterial soul and study different ways to prove the existence of God in the world and his beneficial presence in man. Concerning human nature, instead, these divines are interested in the relationship between body and soul, the animal and the spiritual part of man, especially observing the consequences of their combination on human

[9] Cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 31: "The Latitudinarians as a group, then, marshalled every possible argument, whether legal, Scriptural, constitutional, prudential, or religious, in support of the Revolutionary Settlement; and while other clergymen supported the Revolution, the Latitudinarian clergy were the most forward and articulate Anglicans to do so."

[10] On the relationship between divines and congregations in the Eighteenth-century cf. M. F. Bowden, *Yorick's Congregation. The Church of England in the Time of Laurence Sterne*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, (2007).
On the influence of the Latitudinarian rhetoric on divines in the Eighteenth-century cf. James Downey, *The Eighteenth-century Pulpit. A Study of the Sermons of Butler, Berkeley, Secker, Sterne, Whitefield and Wesley*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1969). Cf. also *Divine Rhetoric. Essays on the Sermons of Laurence Sterne*, ed. W.B. Gerard, Newark: University of Delaware Press, (2010).

behaviour and moral conduct. The Christian perspective which they adopt, the one that describes man as a double creature, made of a soul and of a too often unruly body does not come from the Old Testament and the ancient Jewish tradition. On the contrary, it is a mixture of Greek philosophy and Oriental doctrines[11]. The disposition of body and soul is given by an eternal cosmic order which guarantees the survival of the soul. Pythagoras and Plato were the first to introduce this dualistic idea into philosophy as they first asked themselves questions about the world of ideas and about morality. The predominance of mind over matter also proved a very important principle which was welcomed by the Stoics as proof of the necessary abatement of all the physical appetites, even arriving at their erasure. The physical and psychological aspects in man were considered as united in Greek philosophy. The soul could influence the body and vice versa. To this purpose the Cambridge Platonists argued the freedom of the will to decide between good and evil. They thought the human mind reflected the divine mind of God, thus containing in it the means to reason about the nature of the world and about its Creator.

The Cambridge Platonists became the spokesmen of a "critical, elaborate, closely reasoned"[12] religious prose and their influence on the second generation was very strong. Simon Patrick describes them as "the very chariots and horsemen" of the Church of England[13]. Both Rivers and Cragg consider Isaac Barrow as the link between the two generations. Cragg defines him as "representative in ethical seriousness"[14] and adduces his style as an example of rationality in sermon writing. Irene Simon includes Barrow in her triad of Restoration divines, together with John Tillotson and Robert South (1634-1716). In regards to his life, she mentions the fact that Barrow was appointed Master of Trinity College only in 1672, five years before his death. Barrow had a propensity for philosophy and geometry but that he was

[11] Cf. Joseph M. Levine, "Latitudinarians, neoplatonists, and the ancient wisdom," *Philosophy, Science and Religion in England 1640-1700*, ed. R. W. F. Kroll, R. Ashcraft, P. Zagorin, Cambridge: CUP, (1992), pp. 85-101.
[12] Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason*, p. 70.
[13] Norman Sykes, *The English Religious Tradition. Sketches of its Influence on Church, State, and Society*, London: SCM Press, (1961), p. 148.
[14] Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason*, p. 70.

also interested in divinity. It was the study of chronology as given in the Bible that brought him closer to religion. Barrow had the possibility to travel in eastern Europe and to visit Constantinople and read the works of Chrysostom. Greek was one of his other interests and he was professor of Greek from 1660 to 1662. When in 1662 he was appointed professor of geometry, he started lecturing on optics and geometry. From 1670 on he gave Newton his post and devoted himself only to the study of divinity. The short period in which he was master of the college he worked to build the new library and to fight against Catholicism.

His sermons rather than his mathematical ideas consecrated his fame[15]. They are the proof of his intellectual vivacity and of his imaginative verbal acquisitions. Barrow can be remembered as the "divine of words" because he weighed them carefully and knew their values. Once he chose a topic, he exhausted it in order to give his readers a complete spectrum on the subject. As for Tillotson, Simon points out that Barrow's character can be retraced in his tone and syntax. His way of proceeding by consideration after consideration suggests "the relentless labours of the scholar's life."[16]

Barrow's negative side can be found in his indifference for his public's extraction and patience. His sermons are too long and his language rich in Latinisms and Greek citations that remind of the language used by his Baroque predecessors. His language often clashes with his simple syntax and sermon structure. The *exegesis* in the first part of his sermons can assume a central importance in the discussion of the whole work because he analyses words with a devout precision. His research for the right meaning and weight of words could be spurred on by his audience which was mainly composed of university scholars and students. His sentences grow as the discussion proceeds and he is verbose in creating images. Simon also points out that, though Barrow is extremely exhaustive in discussing a topic, he often repeats the same concept more than once in a single sermon, and this practice might be pedantic. Barrow's use of such figures as amplification is significant when he is able to cast a new light on old topics, as for example when he

[15] Irene Simon, *Three Restoration Divines: Barrow, South, Tillotson. Selected Sermons*, vol. I, Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", (1967), p. 217.
[16] Ibid, p. 218.

is dealing with moral issues. Considering all possible variations of a topic, he also provides new ways of analysing it. His way of using repetition follows the schemata given by the classic rhetorician who advised to "consider in succession the various loci of a theme."[17] He did not learn the "gentleman like conversation"[18] nor does he use the "common speech" that Tillotson brought to perfection[19]. Even if his language could sound "old" even in that period, he sometimes strikes the public with powerful images. He always grounds his arguments "on the reason of the thing"[20] and cites the Scripture or the Fathers to add proof of his ideas. His use of the sources is different from those of his contemporaries, Tillotson first of all, because they preferred to adduce common sense as a witness to what they were saying.

Barrow is often included in the Latitudinarian movement because he equally stressed the concept that faith is the perfection of reason and that man must live in practice to God's laws. He analyses a topic giving proof from the truth of the Scriptures but also from common experience, and promotes rational reasoning in the discussion. As the other members of the group, he knew that reason is not sufficient to understand all the mysteries of religion, but he nevertheless stressed its centrality in man's way to happiness and salvation. Even if he was usually moderate in his references to his enemies, from a "political" and sectarian point of view, he insisted on the unity of the Established Church and on the necessity of joining the Dissenters in fighting Catholics. He believed in a "geometer-God"[21] whose works could be enjoyed by man and whose power could be grasped at once by looking at the wonders in the natural world and at miracles. He insisted on morality and on the cultivation of some virtues such as patience, industry and love of one's neighbour. As Tillotson after him, he recommended passive obedience to God's Providence and his emissaries in the world, i.e. the rulers of the country.

[17] Ibid, p. 221.
[18] Ibid, p. 222.
[19] Ibid, p. 223.
[20] Ibid, p. 224.
[21] Ibid, p. 228.

According to Cragg, the second generation of Latitudinarians differ from the Cambridge Platonists because they do not maintain a mystical strain and on the contrary they insisted on "a far less imaginative approach to the life of Faith"[22]. This difference is probably due to the position that the two groups held, the Latitudinarians having a more prominent role in society among city congregations. In London they held posts at St Lawrence Jewry, Lincoln's Inn and St. Paul's which were considered the most influential pulpits in the capital. Their influence was also perceived in lay organisations, such as the Royal Society, as the secretariat of Wilkins demonstrates. Sykes states that the Latitudinarians desire to face two problems: the revolutionary change in the intellectual elite and a disregard for morality and good conduct. This is partly a reaction to the restraints imposed by the Puritan government of the Commonwealth. They fight these problems with the proposal of a simple code of morality, underlining its easiness in being actuated. They prioritise the natural duties of man. Sykes relates this way of acting to the revolutionary scientific discoveries of the age. The effects of these theories are centred on man as the sole creature to be able to understand the extent of the universe and the principles of creation. At the same time, however, they reduce God to a mere governor of the world he had created. In this seemingly idyllic picture, reason becomes the means through which man knows the world around him and attains superior proof of the existence of his creator.

According to Rivers, the Latitudinarians favour moderation as expressed in St. Paul's *Letter to Philippians* 4:5[23]: they unite ideas and practice, they explain religion on a rational basis but also expand on its mysteries[24]. They give basic moral

[22] Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason*, p. 70.
[23] Philippians 4:5: [5] Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand.
[24] Latitudinarians were negatively labelled "rational preachers" by those who "believed that only faith is to be set on work of matters of religion, not reason." Cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 38.
The negative meaning of the word "rational" changes during the Eighteenth-century. Cf. Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, p. 406: "Some have called him a rational Preacher, as indeed he was in the best sense. He understood human nature, and natural divinity, and true morality very well; and therefore there was something in the hearts and consciences of men not debauch'd, that mov'd them to give assent and consent to what he spoke."
On moderation, cf. also Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, pp. 39-41. Griffin's account is mainly based on Edward Fowler's *The Principles and Practices, Of Certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England, abusively called Latitudinarians (Greatly mis-understood) Truly Represented and Defended … in A Free Discourse between two Intimate Friends* (2nd edition), London 1671.

interpretations of the Gospel. They set religion between reason and faith but they actively sustain the doctrine of the Trinity against the menace of Socinianism. They also believe that Grace is given to everybody and that each individual is free to please God or to move away from his dictates[25]. The themes that they promote are grounded on a vision of man as a supremely rational creature, whose duties are sobriety, righteousness and godliness. Man possesses an innate idea of God, of the concepts of good and evil and a knowledge of his moral duties. Religion is rational and faith is an act of reason[26]. They emphasise the ability of reason of discovering and acquiring natural religion and they place a high responsibility on conscience which becomes the moral judge of the individual, as well as the bestower of corrective measures. The Latitudinarians created "reasonable patterns of belief"[27] to make natural and revealed religion coincide. They have to prove their assumptions with tangible proof and often researched it in more practical matters. They sometimes relied on the classics and sometimes on modern, contemporary scientific discoveries. Their doctrine is grounded on few and simple beliefs: human morality, the process of reforming manners and man's duty towards God and his fellow creatures. They consider man's rational faculty as a divine implantation. It is the faculty of ratiocination which interprets natural law, guides morality and is deeply connected with conscience. The divines underline the division between the natural religion which is based on reasonable principles and revealed religion which is made of ideas beyond the understanding, as in the case of divine Providence and miracles. The Latitudinarians are opposed to certain intellectual evils which are contrary to reason, as for example atheism, enthusiasm and superstition. Under the first label they identify libertarianism, Epicurean atomistic theories, determinism and the ideas promoted by Hobbes. Under the second label they include the puritan movements of the late Seventeenth-century (1650-80) and the Non-Conformists. Under the third one instead they include the Roman Catholic Church.

[25] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, p. 73.

[26] They base their argumentation on texts such as, for example, Proverbs 20:27 : [27] The spirit of man is the candle of the LORD, searching all the inward parts of the belly; and Romans 2: 14-15: [14] For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: [15] Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another.

[27] Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason*, p. 71.

These concepts of religion as natural and reasonable, purged from faith, led to the formation of philosophical currents known as Deism and the Latitudinarians were often accused of being the advocates of these theories, thanks to their strain to reunite natural and revealed religion without contradictory effects. Indeed the latitude-men supported the necessity of Revelation stating that the Fall had impaired man's reason and that he could not follow God's law but with the help of divine revealed word. In order to prove this idea, the divines usually included discussions on rewards and punishment in their sermons. Other polemics however were at stake. The philosopher John Locke, in his work *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, claimed that faith was needed only to believe in the existence of Jesus Christ the Messiah and he proved his theory citing the Bible, the highest authority in this matter. Other controversies about the Trinity followed, and these led to the publication of Royal Directions to the Pulpit in 1695 in which the King prohibited the discussion of these themes on the pulpit and on publications.
Polemics however went on and divided the Church from the inside. Samuel Clarke, for example, raised the question of the acceptance of the Articles of Religion. Another blow came from the works of Anthony Collins and Matthew Tindal and from the propagation of the movement of Deism. This controversy was protracted for a long time, up to the publication of Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion* in 1736 which proved that natural religion was as full of mysteries as revealed religion[28].

I.ii John Tillotson: his life and theology

John Tillotson was born in 1630 at Haugh End, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, the eldest son of Robert Tillotson, a clothier, and his wife Mary. He grew up in a Puritan milieu, and he attended a grammar school until he was admitted at Clare College in Cambridge in 1647. During the war he supported the Independents and he graduated a Bachelor of Arts in 1650 and was elected fellow in November 1651.

[28] Sykes, *The English Religious Tradition* , p. 174.

His first pupil, John Beardmore, describes him as "an acute logician and philosopher [and] a quick disputant."[29] He taught Latin and questioned his students on sermons they heard at Sunday service. He regularly attended Sunday service and Wednesday lectures at Trinity Church where he probably had the possibility of hearing Benjamin Whichcote preach.

Probably after having read Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation* (1637)[30], Tillotson began to reconsider his Calvinist background. Shortly after having completed his Masters in 1654, he moved to London where he was employed as chaplain to Edmund Prideaux, Cromwell's attorney-general. Here he had the possibility of taking part in the abortive Savoy Conference, from April to July 1661, and about this time he was ordained. His first published sermon was a lecture delivered in September 1661 which is known today under the title in *The Morning Exercise at Cripple-Gate*. While some of his Cambridge fellows were ejected from the Church, Tillotson decided to conform to the Established Church. He was presented with the rectory of Ketton in Suffolk, which he accepted, even if later on he was accused of having usurped the livings bestowed on other divines.

The period between 1663 and 1688 was very prolific for Tillotson who became one of the most famous preachers in London, first as a Tuesday lecturer at St. Lawrence Jewry and then as the preacher of the Society of Lincoln's Inn. His audience was a mixture of middle-class merchants, lawyers and members of the clergy. In 1664 he published his first major publication, *The Wisdom of Being Religious* which was the expansion of a sermon he had preached at St. Paul's before the Lord Mayor. His success as a preacher[31] was recognised also by the King who appointed him as one of his chaplains. Charles II gave him a prebend at Canterbury where he was elected as dean in 1672. The king also made him a prebendary and residentiary canon of St. Paul's. In the 1660s Tillotson also had the possibility of

[29] Cited in Rivers, 'John Tilltoson', p. 2.
[30] Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, p. 6: "This admirable book gave his mind the ply, that it ever held after, and put him upon a true scent. He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or rather he was never mastered by them. Yet he still adher'd to that strictness of life, to which he was bred."
[31] Cf. Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, p. 33: "He thought the openness of his temper, the course of his life, his sincerity, and the visible effects of his labours, which had contributed so much to turn the greatest part of the city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm adherence to the communion of it, in which no man was ever more eminently distinguished than he was."

reinforcing his friendship with John Wilkins, who was vicar at St. Lawrence and exercised a strong influence on Tillotson's writings. Tillotson married Wilkins's stepdaughter Elizabeth French in 1664. In line with his antagonism to the Roman Catholic confession he published *The Rule of Faith* in 1666, thus contributing to the anti-Catholic literature which had flourished since the 1630s. In 1672 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and in 1674 together with Stillingfleet he met Richard Baxter and started a correspondence with him in order to promote the comprehension of Non-Conformists. In the same year he became a member of the trust directed by Thomas Gouge for the distribution of Welsh bibles in Wales. As a prebendary at Canterbury he was responsible for the introduction of the Eucharist weekly celebration in the Cathedral. In 1680 he brought to publication three folio volumes of sermons and *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* and in 1683 he published a *Discourse against Transubstantiation*[32]. When James II was crowned, Tillotson began his protest against Catholicism together with Stillingfleet, Patrick and Thomas Tenison (1636-1715) which led to the Conference at Lambeth on 18 May 1688 in which William Sancroft (1617-1693) and the other divines decided to disobey James II's order of reading in churches his *Declaration of Indulgence*. After Wilkins's death in 1672, he revised and published his works, of particular relevance *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion* which appeared in 1675. He was also nominated as literary executor of the works of Isaac Barrow, of whom he published the *Sermons* and the *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*.

Tillotson's life underwent a serious change with the election of William III to the throne. After the failure of the negotiation for the comprehension of Non-Conformists, Tillotson became one of the members of the commission promoted by William III after the *Toleration Act.* Its aim was to discuss ceremonial and liturgical issues in order to produce a revised liturgy. The commission did not, however, manage to present its modified liturgy to the Parliament, and this attempt to promote comprehension was abandoned. In 1690 Tillotson was asked to accept the archbishopric, and he gave in to the requests of the King and his friend Burnet and

[32] For a detailed account of Tillotson's published works, both in life and posthumously, cf. Rosemary Dixon, "The Publishing of John Tillotson's Collected Works, 1695-1757, *"The Library, 7th series* vol. 8 no. 2 (June 2007), pp.154-176.

was nominated on 23 April 1691. However, the task that he was presented with was not an easy one. According to Rivers, Tillotson had to preside over a divided church, and though he was loved by many, he was also distrusted and criticised by his opponents. To defend himself from various accusations he published four *Sermons Concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ* in 1693 and *Six Sermons* on family religion in 1694. He collaborated actively with Burnet and Queen Mary to promote moral reformation in the clergy and in society at large. He supported William's campaigns and politics up to his death on 22 November 1694.

Spellman believes, and I completely agree with him, that the elevation of Tillotson to the see of Canterbury signalled the triumph of moderate, reasonable Latitudinarian thought. His policy of moderation was accompanied by his policy of the relationship between church and state[33]. Being obedient to the laws of God, man has to obey also the laws imposed by the government and accept a policy of non-resistance. His ideas could be directed to the new government of William and Mary and the events which preceded and followed the Glorious Revolution. The inconsistency of his policy was pointed out by his enemies and Non-juror colleagues. His relationship with the Low-party church was also controversial. Tillotson's liberality of thought cast a dark light on his orthodoxy. His enemies presented him four major objections: the rejection of hell torments, his Socinian attitude, his unbelief in the resurrection of the body and in the Holy Trinity.

However, a close reading of Tillotson's sermons demonstrates the opposite, that he firmly believed in hell torments and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, that he also judged Christ's death as a superior act of love and that he thought the resurrection of the soul was the basis for the theory of rewards and punishment and for morality. Tillotson attacks ceremonies only if they become a motive for schisms and division inside the church. His controversial behaviour

[33] Cf. also Julius J. Kim, "Archbishop John Tillotson and the 17th Century Latitudinarian Defense of Christianity," Part I," *TTJ* vol. 11 no. 1 (2008), pp. 130-146 and Kim, Julius J., "Archbishop John Tillotson and the 17th Century Latitudinarian Defense of Christianity," Part II," *TTJ* vol. 12 no. 1 (2008), pp. 127-148. While the first article is dedicated to Tillotson's life and to the emergence of the latitudinarian movement, in the second part Kim concentrates on the fight against atheism and the Catholic Church, and the way in which providential discourse was exploited to support the arrival of William of Orange. Cf. Part II, pp. 143-46.

brought on him the hate of the High-Church party and the doubts of the Dissenters. It is needless to say that both groups were wrong in their opinions. Tillotson wanted to re-unite the church and he worked for this purpose. However, his hopes in a reunification were often contradicted by the High Church opposition.

Spellman's study of the sermons of Tillotson proves that he was interested in theological matters and that his being a mere moral preacher is a false assumption. His emphasis on the practical rather than theoretical aspects of theology came from his belief that salvation depends on God and on man's works. Tillotson's religious thought is dominated by practicality and by an innate sense of duty to maintain morality. The one great principle of religion is to do good. Goodness and charity are the pillars of religion. He also discusses the world's absence of faith which causes degeneracy in the present age.

As it concerns theology, Tillotson divides religion into natural and revealed. Natural religion is the manifestation of God's will through human instincts and reason. In this context God requires of man piety towards him and justice towards man. Through reason man discovers the difference between good and evil. All men share some ideas and attribute to them a general consent. This consent is seen also in vices, as most of them are equally condemned in different countries. Natural religion does not include the ceremonial laws of the Jews. Revealed religion on the contrary is a development of the natural one. Natural religion is the part of religion concerned with morality. It is basic but the system of reward and punishment, which is essential to the life of man, is presented in the revealed religion.

As it regards revelation, Tillotson introduces it as an element not contrary to reason but instead as a reinforcement of the natural law, and he stresses its importance to clarify the word of God. Revelation is one of the means that man has to know God's will. It can be private or public, as in the writing of the Scriptures, and it is always accompanied by sufficient assurance of its validity. Tillotson insists on the ability of man to judge by himself the compatibility of these two elements, natural law and faith. Tillotson acknowledges the strong opposition of man to what is good and profitable for him and the fact that he often prefers to disobey to God's laws, even if he knows that there will be certain consequences for his sins.

Spellman points out that the problems that Tillotson discusses in his sermons had their origin during the Civil War and in the period which immediately followed. The scholar identifies in Chillingworth and Wilkins the two great figures who had a strong influence on Tillotson's mind. The true reason why Tillotson adopts the plain style is that he wants to follow the example given by St. Paul, whom he regards as the first "gospel preacher"[34]. Moreover, Spellman underlines how religious debates were common in Tillotson's youth and that the Archbishop had realised how these did not work for the benefit of the Church. Tillotson therefore adds scriptural justification for his new plain style, as he underlines the unscholarly preparation of the Apostles who needn't have known rhetoric to preach the Gospel. The same simplicity has to be applied to contemporary sermons to reach the minds and hearts of the modern congregations, thus suiting their needs and language. This process of simplification does not mean that Tillotson diminishes the value of Christian precepts. On the contrary, the themes that are dear to him, man's immorality and proneness to sin, the dependence on God and the centrality of faith in Christ remain the core of his discussions.

Tillotson underlines the personal advantage that the single individual benefits from the laws that God bestows on him, but he also concentrates on the more general benefit that society profits from these laws. Nevertheless, he does not omit the obstacles posed by human depravity and proneness to sin, even if he often discusses the punishments that wait for man's soul in the afterlife. It seems to him that society and manners are so degenerated that neither appeals to reason nor to fear of future judgement will help men to follow the right path to happiness. The proof of his reasoning is given by the Providence of God and the terrible catastrophes that sometimes hit England. In talking about morality and about the ability of man to follow God's dictates, Tillotson points the non-grievousness of God's moral code, affirming at the same time that they should not be underestimated. He warns the audience against the danger of immoral sinful habits

[34] William M. Spellman, "Archbishop John Tillotson and the Meaning of Moralism", *Anglican and Episcopal History*, vol. 56 (1987), pp. 404-422; p. 409. For another, though similar perspective on Tillotson's theology cf. Norman Sykes, "True Religion and Sound Learning," *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English History 1660-1768*, Cambridge: CUP, (2004), pp. 140-188.

which once rooted are painful to remove. He also admits that the "true test of religious conviction is to fell a genuine love for God"[35] which is the only way to gain temporal and eternal happiness. While underlining the reasonableness of Christianity, Tillotson admits he cannot explain the unreasonableness of the corruption of mankind. He claims that the only answer to this inexplicable oddity is in the Bible, in the story of the Fall. The Latitudinarians maintained the idea that reason had been impaired, but not utterly extinguished after the Fall, and that it was still able to oppose evil forces in order to pursue the good ones.

As it concerns salvation, Tillotson was against Calvinist predestination. He could not accept this theory because in it man has no free will to choose. According to him, predestination leads to the conclusion that God is the author of sin and this is a contradiction. It also puts in danger morality, as man feels free to sin and to disregard the laws posed by God. Tillotson sustains the theory promoted by St. Paul of salvation by Grace through faith alone[36]. He inserts himself in between Pelagian and Puritan theories: he refuses the idea that Grace is unnecessary to salvation but he also refuses to think that Grace is the only means to salvation. In opposition to these theories he places his idea of the importance of works and faith together to work out man's salvation. This is the reason why he points at morality so often and with such a vehemence in his discourses. He urges his congregation to follow the rules dictated by natural and divine laws and also to believe in Christ.

Tillotson shares the same idea of his contemporaries about God as the creator and architect of the world whose presence is never absent thanks to his providence. There is obviously a gulf between man and God considering the limited and unlimited nature of the two parts involved. Man's relationship with God is a cardinal element in Tillotson's theology because it is connected with another theme, that of happiness. God is the only means through which man can aspire to and obtain happiness both in this and in the next world. Man is wholly dependent on God, he is not able to procure happiness by himself therefore religion is his best interest.

[35] Ibid, p. 415.
[36] Ibid, p. 417.

Tillotson stresses on man's selfishness when he says that self-love if applied to religion can be a great motive and spring. He wants to recover his degenerated generation and he therefore appeals to what interests them. This is probably the reason why Tillotson is also concerned with education and with the perfectibility of man. His sermons are the testimony of his desire to educate his people to the proper use of reason[37]. He encourages parents to care for the education of their children, sharing the Lockean idea of the malleability of the infants' minds.

I.iii The Latitudinarian Sermon

The sermon is a versatile form which adapts itself to the exigencies of the period[38]. In the Seventeenth-century, the sermon undergoes a revolution, first adopting the "metaphysical trend", then the "witty preaching" and finally setting on the plain style advocated by Tillotson. Mitchell lists the politics of Charles II, who encouraged a new, simpler kind of writing in his *Directions Concerning Preachers* in 1662, the emergence of the prose style of the Royal Society, the influence of French preaching, but especially the desire to avoid extravagances among the possible reasons that brought the prosaic reformation that invested England in the Seventeenth-century[39]. A vain profusion of obtrusive terms and of complex ornamental elements, such as citations or intricate allegorical images, generated only confusion in the audience. The divines thought these were the distinguishing features of a different kind of preaching which was closer to the old Puritan tradition and was thus meant to generate false enthusiastic reactions in the members of the congregation. The Latitudinarians created a sermon that could be considered as a literary work, not simply as an oration[40]. They promoted the use of familiar

[37] Ibid, p. 419.
[38] Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson* , p. 217.
[39] Ibid, p. 311. Mitchell defines this change in prose style as "native" product in English literature. The characteristic of this product was that it was "plain yet fluent in secular prose."
Cf. also Griffin's detailed account of how Latitudinarians themselves considered the reform of sermon writing. *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 42.
[40] Ibid, p. 123.

imageries and of common vocabulary and this kind of prose style remained in vogue up to 1815[41]. These divines wanted to restore the evangelical simplicity of the biblical prose, but they were often accused of oversimplifying their writings. The lay public opinion was, nevertheless, a strong supporter of this desire to purge prose from ornaments, as they demanded a prose style which resembled that of the essay. The sermon therefore remained "a norm of dignified, sustained and beautifully modulated prose"[42] up to the Wesleyan revival, so that in 1713 Burnet was able to affirm that "preaching is brought of late to a much greater perfection than it was ever before us."[43]

The key-word in the Latitudinarians' sermons is moderation. It equals morality in the themes and it is mirrored in the plain language and style used by them, though there are some differences in the prose of the Cambridge Platonists, who addressed themselves at university audiences, and the second generation of Latitude-men, whose target was urban congregations. In Lessenich's opinion[44], the style had to suite the passions that the preacher wanted to arouse in his audience. Reason was considered a central element in the process of understanding the message of the sermon, but it was also thought that passions had to be moved first in order to open the passage to comprehension. Both dryness and extreme ornamental syntax had to be avoided, otherwise the sermon risked being ineffective or misinterpreted by the audience.

John Wilkins is the first exponent of the group to pose the basis for writing policies in his treatise *Ecclesiastes*. He first published this work in 1646 and enlarged and revised it in 1669. Meant as an instructive book for young preachers, it explains how to write a sermon in order to "inform or perswade"[45] the congregation. To Wilkins, language must "proceed from the heart,"[46] and it has to match the

[41] Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, "The Art of Preaching," in *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Joris Van Eijnatten, Leiden: Brill, (2009), p. 113.
[42] Ibid, p. 125.
[43] Ibid, p. 128.
[44] Rolf P. Lessenich, *Elements of Pulpit Oratory in Eighteenth-Century England (1660 - 1800)*, Köln: Böhlau, (1972).
[45] Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, p. 51.
[46] Ibid, p. 52.

purpose of increasing morality in the audience. In order to erase ambiguity, he promotes the simplification of biblical language with the introduction of philosophical terminology. He encourages the disuse of metaphors and ornaments and encourages the clear explanation of biblical metaphors. His aim was to promote a plainer style which differs from the Puritan sermons which confounded the congregations with the manipulation of the gospel and the addition of obtrusive terms. He also sustains the necessity of gaining the audience's attention through language, thus using worldly phrases in sermons, such as for example mercantile language.

Wilkins proposes the insertion of quotations from the Heathen moralists, for example Plato and Aristotle, but also Cicero, Plotinus Plutarch and Seneca[47], in order to prove the truth and intelligibility of Christian natural religion. This practice was brought to perfection by the Cambridge Platonists, but it was also embraced by Barrow and Tillotson[48]. Wilkins advises young divines not to include too many quotations to the risk of making their compositions pedantic. Among these Heathens, the Renaissance had brought a particular love and admiration for the rhetoric and content of Seneca's writings, in particular for his "crisp antithetical manner" of discussing different topics. Moreover, his writings were usually about morality and degeneracy, themes which were dear to the divines in the Seventeenth-century. His plain style also brought to light the essay-like sermon that became popular at the end of the century. Some of the first examples of this style are given by Chillingworth who is considered philosopher-preacher[49]. Wilkins's importance stands in having understood that preaching is an art as well as a divine call and he explains this point in his book, thus linking the religious composition to the present cultural background and to the past.

As for the structure, the Latitudinarian sermon commonly consists of seven parts: the exordium, the explication, the proposition, the partition, the argumentative part, the application and the conclusion. Wilkins summarises them into three main parts, explication, confirmation and application. The preacher opens the discussion

[47] Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson*, p. 107.
[48] Ibid, p. 135.
[49] Ibid, p. 196.

with the exegesis of the biblical quotation[50], and then moves to the confirmation, the "core" of the sermon in which the "Arguments from Reason"[51] are presented. The choice usually falls on texts which have narrative or historical features and can be explained as a "story." The explanation of the text has to be simple and to follow the traditional biblical commentaries. The divines abandon the practice of their Baroque predecessors who tried to propose new interpretations of the biblical texts in their sermons. They prefer grounding the explanation on the literal context of the text. Preachers are advised to keep the explanation short and to render it elegant in order to prevent falling into long philological analysis of the passage thus losing the audience's attention.

Lessenich identifies the corpus of the sermon in the *confirmation* or argumentative part[52]. He considers four different types of argumentation. The explicatory sermon proposes the analytic procedure to explain a dogma or to provide the explanation of the specific meaning of the text. These texts range from particular to more general truths and their aim is to erase difficulties. The counterpart of the explicatory sermon is the propositional sermon. The main difference lies in the discussion of the biblical text. Whereas in the explicatory sermon the analysis is restricted to the commentaries traditionally used to explain the meaning of the Scriptures, in this type of sermon the argumentation is free to range and to propose different readings. The development of the topic is based usually on two main general propositions which are applied to particular situations, especially those regarding morality and improvement of manners. The observatory

[50] Cf. Lessenich, *Elements of Pulpit Oratory*, p. 51. The exordium is concerned with the choice of the biblical text on which the sermon is based. This operation has to follow some dictates: the preacher has to consider the occasion of the preaching, and his congregation, but he also has to avoid the discussion of controversial theological theories and avoid satire. The exordium has the function to introduce the argument. It is usually twinned to "an introductory device" to gain the audience's attention. It normally presents a general truth which is dissected by the preacher in the text. A precaution is taken to begin the sermon in a sober style for fear that the preacher might not be able to keep a higher style for the rest of the delivery. The length of the exordium depends on the length of the whole sermon.

[51] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, p. 51.

[52] The division of the confirmation in different heads is usually marked by the proposition and the partition which form a short list of the aim of the sermon and of the points that the preacher wants to analyse. However, there were some polemics on the use of partition. Some divines thought it was necessary to help the hearers to follow the discussion. Others thought that it anticipated too much, thus spoiling the effect of surprise. Of the two theories, however, the second one which privileged the pleasure of hearing was discarded in favour of the rational one, because engaging the memory of the hearers was considered a more important function in the sermon. Cf. Lessenich, *Elements of Pulpit Oratory*, ch. 3.

sermon, on the contrary, presents different "exegetical remarks"[53] which enables the preacher to make the audience observe the situation that he is describing from different points of view. This type of sermon is suitable for historical texts which are developed on a narrative rather than explanatory purpose. Other types of texts could be the ones on which the preacher is describing a character and his or her personality, thus observing his or her vices and virtues from contrasting perspectives. The applicative sermon instead proceeds from a synthetic procedure, presenting a general truth which is applied to particular situations. Fast sermons fall into this category as their purpose is an immediate reaction in the public. The arrangement of the arguments can undergo some variations according to the methodology that the preachers prefer to adopt. The main difference lies in the concealment of the division: some divines prefer to state explicitly the points that they are going to develop, while others prefer to move from one point to the other without graphical interruptions.

The arguments in favour of formal division are connected to the appeal to order in the text and to the restraint played by headings on the imagination of the preacher, who was thus constrained to limit his thoughts. In this way of proceeding the influence of the scientific prose is palpable. The arguments are usually set in a logical arrangement which has to be clear to the listener and reader. These are usually disposed in such a way as to affect first the interest of man, then his duty and to then back to interest again[54]. Another way of arranging topics is the "climatic arrangement"[55]. With this disposition the preacher presents the topic in order of gradation, from the milder ones to the stronger ones. This way of proceeding is considered the best to reinforce the action of reason in comprehending the message delivered in the sermon. It gives time to the understanding to weight all the propositions adduced and to evaluate which one is the best to follow. When confronted with too many arguments to be sustained, the preacher is advised to operate a selection and to present only those arguments which he considers the most

[53] Lessenich, *Elements of Pulpit Oratory*, p. 87.
[54] Ibid, p. 102.
[55] Ibid, p. 103.

effective for his public. The selection is encouraged especially when the sermons are delivered orally, but it could be disregarded if the sermons are meant for print.

Wilkins underlines how confirmation has to engage a man's sense of duty or his interests. Duty involves personal judgement and the knowledge of good and evil. Interest, instead, regards the will and the affections, and it can be moved also with appropriate language. This is the reason why application is the most important and useful part of the sermon. It answers to the necessity promoted by the Latitudinarians of increasing man's morality. To them, theoretical knowledge is just one of the means to attain practical morality[56] and the accent on practice has the predominance over theory. If the argumentation aims at conquering reason, the application is meant to conquer the heart of the audience. Application is a specifically Latitudinarian device in the sermon, the Latitude-men being the first to include it in their writings[57]. Application is often announced in the partition and it is marked by a direct appeal to the audience, usually with phrases such as "Let us." This is the part of the sermon which is more influenced by classic rhetoric. In it the preacher is free to use all those rhetorical expedients which are meant to raise the listeners' attention: metaphors, comparisons, exclamations and climax[58], thus employing the "sublime and pathetic style" that has the power to conquer the hearts[59]. Confirmation and application therefore fulfil the last purpose of the sermon, i.e. to lead man into action through reason and passions.

The conclusion of the sermon has a double function: it is the recapitulation of the main points developed in the texts and the last incitement that the audience receives. Its aim is to stress the practicality of the sermon and to sum up its consequences on the life of man. Sometimes the preacher urges his public to behave in a more proper way and to let the negative aspects encountered in the discussion aside. Sometimes the attention is recalled by the reference to Doomsday and to God's judgement. In both cases it can become the *coup d'état* which gives a strong encouragement to the proposals advanced in the application.

[56] Ibid, p. 111.
[57] Ibid, p. 115.
[58] Ibid, p. 117.
[59] Ibid, p. 119.

Seventeenth-century divines were very attentive to the art of delivering sermons and to their efficacy in promoting man's duty through the use of reason and the control over the passions. Mitchell explains the ways in which the sermons were written, preached and edited for the press, underlying the fact that extempore sermons were still in vogue and that some sermons, as for example Barrow's ones, were delivered and subsequently edited and published posthumously. The sermons as delivered at the service and those edited for publication were usually different, the latter being more expanded to help the reader in his catechism. If after the Reformation the written sermon was seen as a proof of the doctrine and religious faith of the deliverer and helped to reinforce the Anglican principles, at the end of the Sixteenth-century the extempore delivery was considered more sincere, coming from the heart of the preacher, therefore not subject to artifices[60]. After 1660 the exiled preachers in France came back bringing along with them the *memoriter* vogue. King Charles II sustained the written sermon rather than the extempore one and this appears to be the vogue in Tillotson's days. Thus there was a division between the Anglicans who preferred the written composition and the Non-conformists who privileged the *memoriter* fashion.

The universities promoted the study of classic and modern rhetoric to help the preachers in the preparation and delivery of their sermons. The phenomenon of sermon writing and hearing had become so fashionable that in London it was common praxis to attend the celebrations of famous preachers. According to Lessenich, the pleasure in hearing the sermon had to be subordinated to the instruction that the audience could derive from it. To get to this purpose, the sermon had to be first of all intelligible to all kinds of congregations, both urban and from the countryside. Deconinck-Brossard[61] explains how the art of preaching could be learned by young divines, as the five elements which compound it are the ones which characterised classic rhetoric, e.g. *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria* and *pronuntiatio*. *Inventio* was based on the careful study of ancient orators, in particular Cicero and Quintilian but also of modern ones. This analysis regarded

[60] Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson*, p. 19.
[61] Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, *The Art of Preaching*, pp. 95-127.

both style and content. Tillotson, but also South and John Norris (1657-1711) were taken as examples. Young preachers were advised to keep a commonplace book, a practice which applied to the method of commonplacing promoted by Locke[62]. It was an important help for the choice of the topic and for the disposition of the arguments in the composition of the sermon. It suited the idea that rewriting "old beauties" was the step to produce new ones[63].

As for the *dispositio*, the choice of the biblical text followed the choice of the topic and suited the occasion of the sermon. The length of the citation was controlled by the preacher and usually a single verse was preferred. Memory was the privileged element in the preparation of the sermon. The preacher employed features to capture the attention of the congregation, as for example the use of captions and headings to engage the listener's memory. The length of the sermon was also quite short, it should not exceed the half an hour and digressions should not be too long.

The *elocutio* was marked by the willingness to make the sermon useful and pleasant rather than difficult to understand. The aim of the sermon was the "edification" of people, as Joseph Glanvill (1634-1680) said[64] in his *Essay*. The syntax mirrored this desire for simplicity: the sentences are short, parataxis is privileged and the vocabulary is simple, without archaisms or citations form Greek or Latin. The language is however to be levelled to the audience and it must suit the interests of the congregation in order to persuade rather than only to communicate with them, because the purpose of the sermon is to move the passions.

Memoria and *pronuntiatio* referred to the way in which the sermon had to be delivered. In order to be more profitable, the preacher was advised to experiment the passions that he himself wanted to raise in his audience and to emphasise them with body language and posture. There was a polemic raging on the rightfulness of learning the sermon by heart or of reading it in front of the audience. Tillotson's generation was used to learning their sermons by heart, but the practice was not held

[62] Though in vogue, Tillotson never conform to this practice. Cf. Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson*, p. 334.
[63] Deconinck-Brossard, *The Art of Preaching*, p. 100.
[64] Ibid, p. 115.

by their followers. The preacher had to become a good reader. He usually provided himself with a fair copy which enabled him to read but at the same time to maintain the eye contact with his audience, thus giving the illusion of reciting the sermon rather than reading it. Pronunciation had to be perfected and also the tone of the voice had to be adjusted to the place of delivery. Moreover, the discourse needed to be intermingled with emphatic expressions, such as for example rhetorical questions, apostrophes and exclamations, in order to give it a movement. Words and also single letters had to be pronounced distinctly to the advantage of the listeners.

Starting with the Cambridge Platonists, Mitchell presents them as a group that wants to distance itself from the old Calvinist positions, assuming God-given reason as a common standpoint to guide man through the rough difficulties of life. They fight against Hobbesian and Cartesian materialistic ideas underlining the immanence of the spirit in the world. Their ideas are presented in a rational, clear style that addresses itself to common consent. Their works are rich in quotations from Plato and Plotinus and from other ancient moralists.

The merit of these divines is their return to simple moral truths and to the principles directing human conduct and behaviour and their consequences. Their style is at once plain and pictorial[65], marking a transition from the dry style of the Calvinists with the re-utilization of the quotations dear to the Anglo-Catholic preachers in the first half of the century. The abundance of quotations make the reading of these sermons difficult especially for those audiences outside the university entourage. The Cambridge Platonists wanted to prove the consent of the ancient philosophers in demonstrating the force of natural religion when applied to the maxims of Christian morality[66] and it was therefore vital to give proof to the rational principle that they so strenuously defended.

The style of the second generation unites the rational principle with the simplicity advocated by Wilkins. They were all accused of being “moralist preachers”[67] because they preferred to discuss moral conduct rather than religious doctrine. They oppose reason to the word interpreted by the institutions. The High

[65] Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory From Andrewes to Tillotson*, p. 285.
[66] Ibid, p. 290.
[67] Ibid, p. 305.

Church party on the contrary believed they wanted to deny the authority of the Church. According to Mitchell, South's, Barrow's and Tillotson's writings include the best elements from the new stylistic features of the sermon and those of the preceding period due to their education and interests. South is the youngest of the group and writes in a style that still maintains archaic forms. He still employs "witty forms" of preaching which were close to the ideal of the scientific community which considered wit as a vigorous and manly thing. South criticises the Puritans' manner of preaching and he is the prototype of the advocate of the plain style. He aimed at writing sermons which were "plain, natural, and familiar"[68] but they sometimes could fall into scurrility. South's witty manner did not set a fashion and died with him. Though influenced by differing sources, South promoted the plain style of the Royal Society. He emphasised the use of reason and of common sense to assert the validity of his propositions, but his work had to be concluded by a finer personality as the one of Tillotson.

Barrow was a preacher of highly individual and intellectual capacities. He tried to combine scientific knowledge with religious truths and regarded preaching as a branch of rhetoric, demonstrating the will to promote a wider use of the imagination of his readers. Barrow was devoted to the writings of Chrysostom, and from them he developed the ability to write ample paragraphs adorned with illustrative imagery in which he presented his point of view equating it to the common opinion of men. The problem with Barrow's writings is that the style sometimes overcomes the subject. His sentences are shaped according to the indications given by the Royal Society, but once together they recall the great oratory of Chrysostom. His writings did not gain success with ordinary congregations and he seems to forget the importance of adapting the oration to the present public, so that his prose can appear "too fatiguing"[69].

Barrow's power stands in his ability to revive the attention of his listeners. He usually employs a method dear to Chrysostom, a rhetorical question followed by a reply set in a series[70], which was later employed also by Tillotson. This cumulative

[68] Ibid, p. 316.
[69] Ibid, p. 324.
[70] Ibid, p. 327.

figure of speech offers different angles from which the listener can look at the whole argument and promotes multiple reflections. Barrow's choice of language and liveliness largely depended on the ancient moralists, but his prose also recalls the style of the Cambridge Platonists, from whom he also borrowed the practice of citing heathen moralists to assert their consent to his Christian theories.

I.iv John Tillotson's Style

In Mitchell's opinion, Tillotson's fortune was to be in the right place at the right time[71]. Even if he was not endowed with superb gifts, his style became a model for his era. The popularity of his sermons is demonstrated by the conspicuous attendance, both lay and religious public, to his lectures at St. Lawrence Jewry and also by the publication of his works, six octavo volumes of collected sermons and twenty-eight separate sermons. Swift describes Tillotson as "an excellent prelate, known to preach after a much more popular manner in city congregations"[72].

Tillotson's behaviour was somehow "atypical": in an age in which extempore sermons were keenly requested, he read his sermons word by word. He was interested in the Calvinists' intellectual devotion and even if he was not a hard student, he appreciated the works of Cicero and of the Church Fathers, in particular Basil and Chrysostom as Barrow did. His theological career was also "atypical." He was bred in a Puritan family, became a conformist and a Latitudinarian at the end of his life. His style is the summit of the earnestness of the Puritans and the rational element used by the Cambridge Platonists. Tillotson showed that the new plain style was perfect for pulpit oratory, demonstrating his abilities in structuring the sermon

[71] Ibid, p. 330. According to Mitchell, Wilkins and Tillotson share the same destiny, they are important not for the beauty of their prose, but for the influence that they operated on the generations to come.

[72] Cited in Sykes, Norman Sykes, "The Sermons of Archbishop Tillotson", *Theology. A Journal of Historic Christianity* vol. 58 (1995), pp. 297-302; p. 298. Both Sykes and deSilva acknowledges the fact that Tillotson's sermons were often copied and abused by country parsons. However, according to deSilva this eventually brought "the Anglican church back towards frigidity." Cf. David deSilva, "The Pattern for Preachers: Archbishop John Tillotson and the Reform of Ecclesiastical Oratory in the Seventeenth Century," *Anglican and Episcopal History* vol. 75 no. 3 (Sep. 2006), pp. 368-399; p. 399.

and in choosing the right language and appellation to the public. The syntax is easy to follow thanks to the clearly marked divisions and to the accessible images and figures he provides.

Being considered as the most important exponent and promoter of the new, rational, plain style, scholars paid much attention to Tillotson's composition of his sermons. Both DeSilva and Sykes begin their analysis by citing the epilogue of Burnet's sermon preached at the funeral of Tillotson. According to Burnet, Tillotson had his own personal pattern in composing sermons. He first studied the Scriptures in order to derive the arguments to sustain his thesis and then proceeded to the proofreading of the topic adding comments taken from commentaries, the Church Fathers and ancient philosophers. Burnet states that Tillotson promoted a way of preaching that was absent in England in that period. According to him, Tillotson reused the dialectical mode typical of the Calvinist tradition but expands on practical issues rather than religious matters, thus being able to "meet his hearers on their own ground."[73] He was a "moral teacher"[74] who pointed at the ethos of the class that was in front of him. His prose is defined as "a middle style" removed from both the Puritan and the metaphysical tradition. Sykes underlines Tillotson's "simplicity of diction:"[75] his style is personal and self-made. Tillotson's career gave him the possibility to put it on display in numerous sermons and publications. Due to his prominent positions in the church, his oratory was much more under the eyes of both religious and lay people.

Tillotson's characteristic prose writing mirrors his personality. He is described as a "temperate, moderate man"[76] and these features are retraceable in his sermons. He was ready to compromise for the sake of peace, but there were some points which he could not question, in particular some open issues with the Catholic Church. Apart from these, his purpose was to teach people to live well, underlining the reasonableness of both man and of religion[77]. He became an icon in prose writing

[73] Simon, *Three Restoration Divines*, p. 285.
[74] Ibidem.
[75] Sykes, *The Sermons of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 298.
[76] deSilva, *The Pattern for Preachers*, p. 371. Cf. also Warburton, "Archbishop Tillotson," *European Magazine, and London Review* vol. 57 (Feb. 1810), pp. 108: "As to the archbishop, he was certainly a virtuous, pious, humane, and moderate man."
[77] Simon, *Three Restoration Divines*, p. 281.

probably because the intellectuals of his age were asking for a new, smooth style and he just gave them what they wanted.

In deSilva's opinion, Tillotson replaces the sermons of the metaphysical divines and, following Wilkins's rules, becomes a model for a conscientious arrangement of the parts of the sermon. The arguments that he adduces from Scripture are meant to satisfy the reason of his hearers. The *exordium* serves "as a bridge between the congregation and the text,"[78] as Tillotson pays attention to the context of the text and explains it in details. The *propositio* which follows is the explanation of the aim of the sermon and the subsequent division of the argument. This part provides "a map"[79] to guide the congregation as well as the reader who approaches the sermons in private. The way in which Tillotson develops the topic is compared to that of a forensic detective: he proceeds step by step indicating the difficulties while providing the solutions to them at the same time. He usually ends his discussion with a demonstration of what he has previously expounded. In the *divisio* he eventually anticipates the last applicative part of the sermon. While looking for proofs, Tillotson often refers to Scripture and philosophy but also to the direct personal experience of man which functions as a stronger persuasive force. To reinforce his topic, he usually employs repetition and parallelism. The images that he employs are taken from popular literature read at universities. His use of metaphors is limited to the exemplification of some of the more comprehensible arguments and he often draws them from the Bible, yet attributing to them a different tone. Both George Smalridge (1662-1719), Bishop of Bristol, considered by Samuel Johnson as one of the best English orators, and Francis Atterbury (1663-1732) who was addressed as the glory of English orators went through a "careful apprenticeship" in Tillotson's school[80].

In deSilva's and Simon's opinion, the faults of his sermons remain their redundancy and the lack of rhythmic energy[81]. Tillotson employs rhetorical

[78] Ibid, p. 388.
[79] Ibid, p. 389.
[80] Ibid, p. 341.
[81] deSilva, *The Pattern for Preacher*, p. 396-97. Cf. also "Character of Archbishop Tillotson," *Weekly Entertainer or, Agreeable and instructive repository* vol. 3 no. 75 (June 1784), pp.542-43: "Simplicity is the great beauty of archbishop Tillotson's manner. [...] His style is always pure, indeed, and perspicuous, but careless and remiss, too often feeble and languid; little beauty in the construction of his sentences, which are

questions which are not emphatic and he slackens the rhythm of his compositions by using doublets[82]. According to Sykes, instead, the weakness of Tillotson's sermons resides in the tripartite division, because Tillotson tends to over elaborate the points in which he divides the discussion and he does not dedicate the same amount of space to all of them. Sykes also claims that Tillotson gives too much importance to the theme of the sermon, disregarding the exposition of the text he chose.

His merits are, nevertheless, greater than his faults. His character is reflected in his posed and pensive reflections which largely contribute to the pleasure in reading and listening to his writings[83]. He particularly refers to the authority of the Scripture and he enjoys expounding on those aspects of natural religion which he considers more accessible to all: the existence and attributes of God, the immortality of the soul and the mechanism of rewards and punishments. He also underlines the importance of Revelation to help human reason to understand God's laws. Playing on man's interest and morality, Tillotson prefers to discuss clear matters rather than controversial ones which were difficult to explain even for well-practised divines as himself. He proves that controversy is enemy to practice and morality which are the goals that he highly praised.

In his discussion of a topic, Tillotson uses the rational approach which was considered fashionable to get closer to his audience. Louis Locke describes this approach as "supernatural rationalism,"[84] because he unites supernatural elements

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frequently suffered to drag unharmoniously; seldom any attempt towards strength or sublimity." On Tillotson's character cf. also Clarke, A. H. T., "Archbishop Tillotson - A Study in Historical Parallels," *Spectator* vol. 125 no. 4801 (July 1920), pp. 9-10; "An Occurrence, illustrative of the Characters of the Rev. John Howe, M. A. A famous Non-Conformist Minister, and Dean Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury," *Methodist Magazine* vol. 35 (Jan 1812), pp. 68, Warburton, "Archbishop Tillotson," *European Magazine, and London Review* vol. 57 (Feb. 1810), p. 108. Both descriptions combine positive and negative aspects of Tillotson's preaching and create a connection between his character and his delivery.
Cf. also Simon, *Three Restoration Divines*, pp. 286-88.

[82] According to Simon, there are only few sentences by Tillotson which are worth remembering. He sounds more modern than Barrow, but lacks South's vigour. Cf. *Three Restoration Divines*, p. 288 and 291.
Cf. also O.C. Edwards Jr., "Varieties of Sermon: a Survey", in *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Joris Van Eijnatten, Leiden: Brill, (2009). According to Edwards, Tillotson's sermons were more "clear than profound" and that they were marked by "phlegmatic British rationality." Cf. pp. 12-13.

[83] Cf. Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, pp. 396-98 for a detailed description of Tillotson's character which culminates with the exclamation "His moderation was known unto all men."

[84] Louis G. Locke, *Tillotson. A Study in Seventeenth-Century Literature*, Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, (1954), p. 108.

with reason. Nevertheless, Tillotson understands the limits of reason and the infinity of God's understanding and he believes that reason could comprehend when something is above itself and consequently accept the impossibility of understanding it.

PART TWO

INDIVIDUAL HAPPINESS

CHAPTER TWO
MALLEABLE CREATURES?
RESHAPING HUMAN DEPRAVITY AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

II.i Man's Degeneracy and Education in the late Seventeenth-Century

> Nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education.
>
> **John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education***

In approaching themes in Latitudinarian sermons, we first need to understand the divines' position on human nature and its capacity for happiness. What is the image that sermons provide of man's nature and place in this world? Is it so positive as to forget its degeneracy as Crane's article[85] affirms or is it still chained to the Calvinist dogma? In line with the Latitudinarians' will to find a middle way between extremes, we might say that their position lies in between the consciousness of human vanity and man's ability to enjoy his good works. This position influences their discussion of all the themes; happiness, charity and providence. To which degree can man be an active participant in building his own happiness? What are his duties and how does the preacher struggle to move him to action? Where is the limit between human potentiality and grace's intervention? And how can the divine go beyond this limit in trying to appeal to the audience?

In presenting the Latitudinarian position regarding the degeneracy of man and his proneness to vice and his vanity, Spellman[86] states that if on the one side the divines did not abandon the story of the Fall and its consequences, on the other side they refused the Calvinist tradition and underlined man's individual effort and good works accompanied by God's grace. This canon follows the doctrine exposed in the Thirty-Nine Articles, in particular the articles nine to eighteen, which are concerned

[85] R. S. Crane, "Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling" ," *ELH* vol. 1 no. 3 (Dec. 1934), pp. 205-30.
[86] Cf. W. M. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, Athens; London: The University of Georgia Press, (1993); chapter 3: Assessing Adam's Bequest, pp. 54-71.

with personal religion. Spellman believes that the Latitudinarians tried to complement the Augustinian import of these articles with their encouragement to moral reform. The picture of man that is derived from the articles is characterised by a belief in faith and good works, a balance between the overstressed principles on the exterior ceremonies of religion and the Lutheran doctrine of *sola fide*[87]. There is, therefore, on the one side the accent on man's depravity and proneness to sin and, on the other, the possibility of educating man using his own reason, God's gift[88] - the characteristic element that distinguishes him from beasts and places him on a higher position in the natural world. In his Sermon 28, *Objections against the true Religion answered*, Archbishop Tillotson offers a description of man's condition in the dichotomy between body and soul[89]. Going back to the Platonic philosophy, he questions the cause of the degeneracy of man, stating that the problem is in man as the only cause of this fight and, in particular, in his inferior faculties, appetites and passions. Man is therefore tempted from within, by his desires, and from without, by the allurements of the world[90]. Luckily, conscience, reason and judgement still operate in him and help him. In ancient philosophy, Aristotle thought that man's end is his ability to attain his well-being[91].

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[87] Cf. Sykes, *The English Religious Tradition*, p. 37. Sykes affirms that due to the "providential length of the reign of Elizabeth I, […] the Church of England was able to stand forth in fact as well as in aspiration as a *via media* between Rome and Geneva."
Article XII in specific is directed to the criticism of the *sola fide* doctrine in stressing the importance of the good works that God's assistance allows men to perform. In commenting the article, Burnet declares that works can help men to attain those degrees "of both Purity and Perfection, to which we may arrive, and to which we must constantly aspire." Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of* England, the second edition, London: Printed by *R. Roberts*, for RI. Chiswell, at the *Rose and Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, 1700, pp. 128-30.
On the reception Burnet's *Exposition* cf. Richard Nash, "Benevolente Readers: Burnet's *Exposition* and Eighteenth-Century Interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 25 no. 3 (Spring 1992), pp. 353-366.
[88] On the Latitudinarians' position on reason cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, Chapter Five. "'Reason' can be defined briefly as the means by which certainty is attained, through the assent of the mind to evidence proposed to it.", p. 61. "Fundamental to the Latitudinarians' belief that human faculties were "not mere imposters and deceivers, but report things as they are" was the religious conviction that a God of veracity and benevolence would not deceive men."; p. 68. Griffin is citing Glanvill's 'Of Scepticism and Certainty' in *Essays*.
[89] On the ways in which both body and soul were perceived and studied during the Enlightenment cf. Roy Porter, Porter, Roy, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*. How *Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls*, London: Penguin Books, (2003).
[90] Cf. Sermon 69, vol. 5, p. 1080: "It is true indeed, that by reason of our corrupt inclinations within, and powerful temptations without, this way (especially at our first setting out) is rugged and difficult."
[91] Aristotle, *Ethics*, Books I-II. In the Introduction to Aristotle's *Ethics*, the work is described as a classic of moral philosophy, in which Aristotle defines the end of human action as the aim to attain the greatest amount of "good character". The human end is therefore the desire to be happy, and moral virtue becomes a form of

What the Anglican doctrine wants to achieve is the demonstration that works are an outgrowth of faith because they cannot save man alone and their validity is nullified if exempted of it. It might also imply that certain works, such as the education of people or the disposal of charity, are good and need to be performed to prove to God the sincerity of the faith of the British nation as a whole. If reformation begins with the acknowledgement of man's fall and sinfulness, as Isaac Barrow and many other contemporary moderate churchmen believed[92], it is no wonder that the story of the Fall and its consequences were at the core of many sermons at the end of the Seventeenth-century.

In the second half of the Seventeenth-century, the Christian idea of man's malleability evolved into the idea that education could facilitate the individual's moral progress and therefore increase the benefits of society. This idea was promoted not only by sermon writers but was also at the core of John Locke's treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1694). According to Gilead, the Eighteenth-century saw a shift in the idea of education from an individual enterprise to the consolidating element generating public good and sociability. The purpose of educating people had been centred since Plato on improving people by restraining and shaping their desires. The aim of this process was to increase happiness in society by teaching children how to use their reason, setting good habits and strengthening faith[93]. The concepts of perfection and perfectibility were developed in antiquity and in Christian theology where moral perfection consists of the willingness to submit the passions to rational control[94]. In living a virtuous life, man demonstrates his obedience to God and to divine laws and this leads him to the ultimate perfection of himself. The divines indicate the goal of education in the

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obedience that requires knowledge of the rules and acceptance of them. According to Aristotle, moral virtues and vices form a man's character, and this in turn is made up by "habituation". Cf. *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by R. Bartlett, Susan D. Collins, London: The University of Chicago Press, (2011).

[92] Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 59.

[93] Tal Gilead, *Progress* "Progress or stability? An Historical approach to a central question for moral education," *Journal of Moral Education* vol. 38 no. 1 (March 2009), pp. 93-107; p. 97.

[94] According to Glanvill, affections are impediments to human knowledge which are either influenced or functions of the will and passions. Cited in Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 65.

passions and in the "forwardness in man's will to follow them."[95] Their aim is first directed to the parents and consequently to the children, preaching to them constancy and dependency on God. Man was portrayed as if in constant battle with himself and his base appetites, facing the trials that God was pleased to place in front of him and accepting them. In Christianity it is religion alone that can furnish happiness to man and this according to Aquinas can be found in the "vision of God"[96]. This ultimate bliss can be achieved with the grace of God and cannot be attained only by man's natural talents.

The connection between personal self-government and restraint of one's passions was equated to the country's necessity of having a government and monarch and to promote the avoidance of religious extremes, Catholic heresy and enthusiasts' claims. One might therefore agree with Roy Porter who, describing the role of education in the long Eighteenth-century, asks himself whether the instruction of children could be considered as a "panacea" to make children become stout and morally solid adults[97]. As education was necessary to counterbalance man's vicious nature, the same balance was needed in society and the status quo had to be maintained as coming from divine providence. It was the individual who had to adapt himself to society and conversation, and not vice versa. The greatest threat was the possibility of reviving the enthusiastic trends of the mid-century and of experiencing another Civil War. With this menace in mind, pulpits submitted descriptions of riotous future generations and encouraged parents to take their educational responsibilities and care for the present situation of their children and their own future happiness.

Latitudinarian discussion on education provides an insight into their adherence to the story of the Fall but also to their faith in human ability to improve

[95] W. M. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 58. Cf. also Glanvill: "The difficult work of Religion is not in the Understanding, but in the Affections and Will"; cited in John Spurr, "Rational Religion" in Restoration England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 49 no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1988), pp. 563-585; p. 580.
[96] Cf. *Summa Theologiae* I-II, q. 2, a.8. Question 2, "Things in which man's happiness consists", is dedicated to the idea of human happiness and to the right ways in which man can experience it.
[97] Roy Porter, *Enlightenment*, London: Penguin, (2000); Chapter 15 *Education: A Panacea?*.

with God's grace and parents' or masters' assistance[98]. A closer reading of the sermons helps us to understand Tillotson's position on the depravity of man. What emerges is his adherence to the doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles (number IX in particular[99]) in underlining the proneness of the human will to evil even when clearly confronted with good. However, Tillotson is also influenced by the Thomist tradition which insisted on the presence of reason in man, a sort of divine reminiscence placed by God to guide him and he tries to reconcile these two principles, impulsiveness and rationality, to the promotion of morality. The divine first presents man in his physical side, the only one on which man can somehow act. He explains how the mind works, its being an active principle in constant need of an occupation. He presents the passions and the menace that they pose when not well-regulated and under reason's control. He then moves deeper into man's appetites and impulses, drives that are even more difficult to manage, ending with an explanation of the importance of memory and remembrance. The discussion that derives from this description is strictly connected to upright Christian behaviour, to the idea that man has of virtue and benevolence, to the improvement of honesty and sincerity and to the establishment of charitable activities. Assessing that education is the best inheritance that parents could leave to their children leads Tillotson to underline that education probably is the only aspect in a man's life that cannot be changed or impaired by fortune:

> Dost thou love thy child? This is true love to any one, to do the best for him we can. Of all your toil and labour for your children, this may be all the fruit they may reap, and all that they may live to enjoy, the advantage of a good education. All other things are uncertain.[100]

He also stresses the pleasure derived from it and from the comfort and satisfaction that young men give to their parents, the same pleasure that is stressed in charity sermons and in the performance of benevolent actions. The positive results of

[98] Cf. for example Sermon 28, vol. 2, pp. 277-78 in which Tillotson presents the "universal remedy for [men's] degeneracy and weakness of humane Nature" in Jesus Christ and the assistance of grace.
[99] Cf. Burnet, *An Exposition*, pp. 108-116. In commenting Article IX, Gilbert Burnet explains that both the Scriptures and human experience can testify the "Corruption of our whole Race." He defines Adam's brain as a "*Tabula Rasa*, as White Paper, had no impressions in it but such as either God put in it, or such as came to him by his senses." Burnet desires to prove that man was not corrupted nor his body was inclined to appetite when God created him. It was Adam's own fault that brought to him his liability to death.
[100] Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 510.

educating children can also be seen in the reformation of adult men who by necessity need to provide exemplary patterns for their heirs.

Education works like a scientific experiment in which observation and analysis of the data are the first two steps to be considered. Parents should observe the behaviour of their children in order to understand the level of proneness to evil that they possess[101]. Practically speaking, they should look after their children's well-being and happiness, providing examples of restraint and using fear to control their children's inclinations. Reproof must be measured to the gravity of the sin and cold reproofs should be used to encourage future virtue and distance children from temptation. Parents also provide models of conversation and politeness, teaching silence and self-control. They should find the right balance between knowledge and practice, as these two are complementary and cannot exist alone. This balance might well represent the dichotomy between reason and passions, a delicate equilibrium which evidences the human difficulties in finding the proper way to live and act. What I would like to underline is that Tillotson insists on the combination between divine assistance and individual effort thus giving the same weight to supernatural intervention in man's reformation and human practical import. In discussing the advantages and temporal benefits promoted by a good Christian education, Tillotson affirms that even those tempers that are next to desperate are "not utterly intractable to the grace of GOD and to the religious care of Parents."[102]

This idea is central also to Sermons 27 and 28 which probably functioned as a base for Sermon 49, being centred on the same character, Joshua, and having the vindication of religion as the main theme. Sermon 28 might be particularly useful to our discussion because in it Tillotson presents an analysis of the degeneracy of man, stating that it is not complete because some rational faculties still operate in him:

[101] Locke makes a similar point in discussing behaviour and association of ideas. Cf. *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ch. XXXIII.8 in John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Milano: Bompiani, (2004).
[102] Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 502.

> They are not destroyed nor wholly perverted. Our natural judgment and conscience doth still dictate to us what is good, and what we ought to do; and the impressions of the natural law, [...] are still legible upon our hearts.[103]

The problem seems to lie in the "inferior faculties, our sensitive appetite and passions" which "are broke loose and have got head of our reason"[104]. Indeed, we can see that one of the aspects that Tillotson examines in depth in his sermons on education is the control over the passions. Morally speaking children should be taught their duties towards God and men. The topics on which he focuses regard different types of government, of the passions, in particular anger and desire, of one's tongue and of sensual appetites. Governing appetites means to learn sobriety, temperance, chastity and purity and these can be achieved also with the help of a moderate diet[105]. Justice and honesty are also manly virtues that sons should learn from their fathers in order to be accepted and esteemed in society.

II.ii Latitudinarian Education: The Sermons by Archbishop Tillotson

> Not that I do, or can expect that all parents should be philosophers, but that they should use the best wisdom they have in a matter of so great concernment.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 52***

The centrality of the theme of education in the divines' fight to contrast atheism in the second half of the Seventeenth-century might derive from the awareness of the Church of having lost the monopoly over education and morals[106].

[103] Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 274.
[104] Ibidem.
[105] The important role played by the diet in controlling the humors is also underlines in John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. Cf. John Locke, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. J. L. Axtell, Cambridge: CUP, (1968), sections 21 to 30.
[106] Porter, p. 99. Cf. also John Spurr, *"Rational Religion" in Restoration England*, pp. 563-85. According to Spurr, the rational trend in Latitudinarian religion can be imputed to the necessity of furnishing reasonable truths to the mysteries of Christianity, due to the increasing willingness of the young generations to inquire after religion by themselves. Spurr also cites the comment of the politician George Savile, first Marquis of Halifax (1633-95) on the situation in England, pp. 565-66: "But now the world is grown saucy, and expecteth reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their opinions to other men's dictates, though never so magisterially delivered." We cannot but underline the fact that Tillotson and the Latitudinarians were praised for the clarity in style and language in their sermons and for the reasonable explanations that they gave on Christian dogmas.

The positive results of religious education for the community, ascribing to religion the title of a social bond to unite the population under a common belief, together with the urge to charity and to provide means of salvation to fellow creatures resulted into the spread of voluntary associations for the reform and education of poor population, supported by divines in their fund raising. It should not therefore surprise us to see that Tillotson sets the pattern to follow in the discussion of education. In the sermons published in volumes I, II, III and IV Tillotson concentrates on morality and on the malleability of man. He devotes six sermons to *Steadfastness and Resolution in Religion*, which are mainly focused on the issue of moral education and the benefits deriving from it, for the single individual but especially for family units and society. Having preached them in the 1680s (probably in 1684) at St. Lawrence-Jewry in front of the most fashionable audience in the capital, Tillotson decided to publish these sermons in 1694[107], maybe as a response to John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and to show the active participation of the church in delicate issues such as the education of future generations. After his election to the see of Canterbury, but even before that, in his position as preacher at Lincoln's Inn and at St. Lawrence-Jewry, "he was a national teacher of traditional doctrine."[108] As Burnet makes it clear, Tillotson's purpose was to evangelise the City of London and his Tuesday lectures at St. Lawrence-Jewry favoured him in setting his own set of values and creating his own culture[109]. The educational purpose of the texts is seen in their structure, beginning with a perfunctory exegesis, followed by the proposition of the arguments, and ending with the practical application[110]. Read as a whole, they might be considered as a "manual."

The idea of education that Tillotson promotes is that of "training in Christian culture"[111] where man's dependence on God and obedience to his laws are paramount. In the active process of parental regeneration and children's education a

[107] The sermons were included in the authorised edition of his *Works* published in 1696, thus underlining the importance of the topic and the admiration he had for them.
[108] Gerard Reedy, "Interpreting Tillotson," *The Harvard Theological Review* vol. 86 no. 1 (Jan. 1993), pp. 81-103;. p. 94.
[109] Ibid, p. 87.
[110] Cf. David A. deSilva, *The Pattern for Preachers*, pp. 368-399.
[111] Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 61.

guide is needed. Tillotson considers examples as "living rules"[112], and we might not be surprised in having him beginning this short group of sermons with a pattern that he encourages his public to follow. The first two, Sermons 49 and 50, are indeed centred on the figure of Joshua[113]. This character offers Tillotson an ambivalent example because he was considered a good father but he was also renowned for standing alone in religion without following the Jews' idolatry. In Tillotson's sermons, Joshua's protest is updated into the Anglican refusal of the precepts promoted by the Catholic Church, such as for example transubstantiation. We could say that he represents the Anglican Church collectively, but also its members taken individually as they stand against the heresy of the Church of Rome and are contented with their choice[114]. The other important motivation that urges Joshua to act resolutely is the proper use of reason that he makes. In his complexity as a figure, Joshua therefore offers the reader the correct example in using his rational faculties, taking proper decisions based on natural religion and on the tangible advantages it offers mankind. Tillotson insists on man's free will and choice: with this biblical figure he can demonstrate that what is most important is that man is able to confront what goes against his reason and senses, and that he can rationally calculate his interest.

The Bible itself indicates fathers as the depositaries of the Christian teachings, and as those responsible for transmitting them to future generations, starting with Abraham's example. The discussion that follows is expanded in all the six sermons and it consists of the explanation of what these teachings are and of the practical religion that parents should respect. The ideas that should be imparted to children are focused on moral duties and human vanity: they are about God's attributes, his providence, the immortality of the soul and the polity of rewards and punishments[115].

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[112] Cf. Sermon 18 *The example of Jesus in doing good* in which Jesus is presented as highest example a man can follow.

[113] After the death of Moses, Joshua led the Israelite tribes to the conquest of the land of Canaan. He is protagonist of Tillotson's Sermons 49 and 50.

[114] This theme is commonplace in Tillotson's sermons. Cf. Sermon 6, The *precepts of Christianity not grievous* and Sermon 12, *Of the inward peace and pleasure which attends religion.*

[115] The value of these teachings is underlined in Sermon 74, vol. 5, p. 1156: "Men are very hardly brought off from the religion which they have been brought up in, how little ground and reason soever there be for it; the

Tillotson adds a preface to the 1694 edition of his sermons on family religion in which he states that he prefers commenting on topics such as happiness and reformation of the world, which are more agreeable to his temper rather than talking about controversies in religion. He states that he wants to move his audience through meekness, and that he is sure that a good man would not want to endanger his future happiness with disputes and contentions about religion which cannot be solved in this world but only in the next, as if to say that man's focus must be on himself and on nothing else, limited to his personal sphere, the only one he might be able to control. Tillotson also acknowledges the style of the sermons to be "loose, and full of words, than is agreeable to just and exact discourses." Nevertheless, he acknowledges that "so [I think] the stile of popular sermons ought to be", as if to underline the necessity of presenting sermons which suit the interests and literacy competence of those to whom the collection is addressed. These sermons can therefore be read "in their native simplicity" inducing the readers to "lay them to heart" and "put them effectually in practice."[116] Tillotson laments that degeneracy and sin govern the life of the British people and encourages the audience to dispose of their duties and resources in order to nourish the hope in a better future with morally upright generations. He is sure that his time cannot be better spent than by preparing these useful sermons for the public in order to encourage the process of moral reformation in society.

The first sermon on the steadfastness of religion was preached at St. Lawrence-Jury on 3rd June 1684 and it might be considered as a general introduction to the religion that parents ought to teach their children. As if he wanted to assert the association between knowledge and practice, Tillotson presents a combination of these two elements in Sermons 49 and 50. The practical aspect is instead dominant in the other sermons on education. Sermon 49 is a vindication of the Anglican confession in opposition to the dogmas imposed by the Roman Catholic Church. It answers some of the objections raised during the centuries against the schism from Rome and insists on the rational and doctrinal truths

being trained up in it, and having a reverence for it implanted in them in their tender years supplies all other defects."

[116] *The Preface to the Reader*, vol. 3, pp. 393-96.

promoted by Protestantism. Seen as a whole, this sermon seems a way of teaching people how to defend themselves from schismatic accusations. Parents are reminded of the advantages of their religion and of its validity, a key-aspect that they will have to teach their sons in order to promote unity inside the church. Tillotson refers to those practices in the Church of Rome that go contrary to a man's reason and senses, as for example transubstantiation, or to those which keep men in ignorance, as for example the practice of reading the Bible in Latin and not in the vernacular language:

> Just so in matters of religion, if any church [...] should declare for transubstantiation, that is, that the bread and wine in the sacrament, by virtue of the consecration of the priest, are substantially changed into the natural body and blood of CHRIST; this is so notoriously contrary both to the sense and reason of mankind, that a man would chuse to stand single in the opposition of it; [...] And in like manner, if any church should declare [...] that the holy scriptures [...] are to be locked up and kept concealed from the people in a language which they do not understand, lest if they were permitted the free use of them in their mother tongue, they should know more of the mind and will of GOD than is convenient for the common people to know.[117]

To these two, Tillotson also adds the practice of worshipping images of the saints and the rules regarding the sacraments. The means that he adduces to produce the validity of his criticism are the dictates of reason and the authority of the Scriptures. Thus, in the sermons in which he underlines the reasonability of Christianity and of divine laws, he often produces the example of the practice of transubstantiation to demonstrate the clarity of the Anglican confession opposed to the mysteries that often compound the Catholic doctrine. For the same reason, when he evidences the destructive power of zeal when associated with ignorance, he proposes the example of the degree of ignorance in which the Church of Rome keeps his adepts.

Having premised in the preface some worries about his old age, Tillotson like Joshua, the protagonist of the sermon, decides to present his posterity with the wisdom he might include in this sermon in which he presents the example of Joshua as a sincere and devout good man and as a loving and caring father and master. The

[117] Sermon 49, vol. 3, p. 408.

parallel can be drawn even further: Tillotson is guiding the nation through a path of renovation and spiritual consolidation as Joshua had to guide Israel into the land of Canaan. Both actions are allowed and directed by the will of God and his providence. Tillotson begins his sermon with the explanation of the biblical text, presenting the historical account of the life of Joshua. This character leaves the Jews free to decide what God they prefer to worship, because man is the only one responsible for his choices in religion as well as in life. Man's fault is complete if he does not consider the advantages that true religion offers him. Indeed, as the favours granted by God are manifold, Joshua cannot but provide a good example of steadfastness to his people. God's words have been manifested in his providential deeds and he cannot give more evident proof than these:

> By a very elegant scheme of speech he does, as it were, once more set them at liberty; [...] Not that they were at liberty whether to serve the true God, or not; but to insinuate to them that religion ought to be their free choice: and likewise, that the true religion hath those real advantages on it's side.[118]

Joshua therefore declares his intentions to his people, grounding his resolution on the reasonability of the advantages that "true religion hath on it's side"[119]. In order to demonstrate its validity, in the *confirmation* Tillotson considers both the causes and the limits of Joshua's action, "a resolution truly worthy of so great a prince and so good a man."[120] His example is not the only one in the Bible or in British history to prove the legitimacy of such a rebellion to the common opinion of the majority. Joshua, like Wycliffe and Luther after him, decided to confront his people because he saw the plainness and the reasonableness of his choice both according to natural reason and to divine revelation. He is entitled to act thus against his people's belief because he grounds his reasoning on God's words and on what his reason tells him. Tillotson does not miss the opportunity to comment on the absurdity which characterises the Jewish practises and the immorality that they generate, keeping people in blind ignorance, leading them to

[118] Sermon 49, vol. 3, p. 398-99.
[119] Ibid, p. 399.
[120] Ibid, p. 400.

superstition and enthusiasm[121]. Reason therefore, Tillotson continues, can go against authority if the latter is clearly in the wrong. To be even more effective, Tillotson employs the first-person narrator, imagining that he is questioned by Cardinal Bellarmine in the church of Rome, on the possibility for the Pope to change virtue into vice, thus undermining the pillars of religion. If vice becomes virtue, he thus debates, then heaven and hell lose their validity and, as a consequence, men do not need religion and therefore the authority of the Pope is no longer justified, and the reasoning thus contradicts and destroys itself. To prove that the opinion of a man can coincide with the view of the Church he is serving and in order to prevent misunderstandings and misinterpretations of his sermon, Tillotson cites a passage from Richard Hooker's work[122]. Hooker asserts that God's word is stronger than the proof given by the majority of men and that man should not behave like an animal, "following like beasts the first in the herd"[123] and thus degrading himself in the Chain of Beings.

To demonstrate that both the Anglican Church's position and the one of Joshua are reasonable, Tillotson answers some of the most common objections against the schism from Rome. With reference to the accusations of immodesty, Tillotson asserts that man can stand alone without being considered proud in matters that are plain to his reason, which he alone can understand to be wrong or right. If the authority of a church is being used to corrupt its ideals, man can oppose himself to this idolatry as in the case of transubstantiation. The second objection regards the complicity "with the known errors and corruptions of any church whatsoever"[124]. Common sense might tell man that he is less culpable if he errs within his church, but this is not true because he has reason and conscience to direct his actions in the

[121] The same practice is performed in the Church of Rome. Tillotson comments on ignorance in Sermon 30, vol. 2, pp. 318: "Ignorance indeed may be the cause of wonder and admiration, and the mother of folly and superstition"; pp. 332-33: "Ignorance knows no difference of things; it is only knowledge that can distinguish. [...] Knowledge is a troublesome thing, and ignorance very quiet and peaceable, rendering men fit to be governed, and unfit to dispute."

[122] Richard Hooker (1544-1600) was a British theologian who became famous for having combined the claims of reason, Revelation and tradition in his works.
On the tradition of Anglican rationalism and Hooker cf. Donald Greene, "Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling" Reconsidered," *Modern Philology* vol. 75 no. 2 (Nov. 1977), pp. 159-183; pp. 170-71.

[123] Sermon 49, vol. 3, p. 410.

[124] Ibid, p. 412.

right direction. In defending human reason and the Anglican doctrine, Tillotson stresses the strong individual power each man has in distinguishing good from evil. The same can be said in the third objection, where no distinction is made between a sect and an official universal church, because the religious community does not differentiate men's sins.

The last objection is concerned with the guilt of schism that was imputed to the Anglican confession by the Church of Rome. These accusations do not stand true because the reasonable and plain grounds on which the Anglicans decided to separate are contained in the Bible and therefore cannot be denied or opposed. They did not decide to follow their ministers blindly because they believed in God's words which do not assert the existence of infallible churches.

Sermon 50 begins with the second characteristic of Joshua, the fact that he was a good master and father. The text is a general introduction to education and its advantages, focusing on its validity in building a solid society. Education is part of religion and consists in making children and those under the care of the master of the family good subjects under God's rules. This practice comes immediately after the care of a man's soul. In displaying children's situation, Tillotson stresses the natural bond that links them to their parents, but he also gives weight to the civil and political accent included in the word "education." Like all human beings, children are dependent on their Creator and should be put under his service. Parents ought to use Abraham as an example of the way of behaving towards their offspring. Tillotson states their duties are plain and do not need long discussions[125], but he acknowledges the difficulties parents might have.

The *confirmation* of the sermon is dedicated to the analysis of parental duty. The first accent is posed on prayers and reading[126] and on encouraging and providing easy, exemplary books to children and servants to improve their

[125] "In all which I shall be very brief, because things that are plain need not to be long." Sermon 50, vol. 3, p. 422

[126] Cf. Sermon 50, vol. 3, p. 425: "Our children and servants, should be taught to read, because this will make the process of instruction much easier; so that if they are diligent and well-disposed they may […] by reading the holy scriptures and other good books, greatly improve themselves."

knowledge. The book suggested is *The Whole Duty of Man*[127]. The second part regards giving notions and examples of the miracles that the providence of God can work for man and providing efficient means of thanking him. Here Tillotson begins a digression on the ingratitude of England and on the neglect of education. In order to arouse shame in his audience, Tillotson explains how even the heathens knew the value of education and cherished this practice for the advantages that they could derive from it. Neglecting education of course leads to consequent punishments, as typically announced in political sermons. It is indeed the ministers' duty "to reprove, even in the highest and greatest of the sons of men, so shameful and heinous a fault, with a proportionate vehemence and severity."[128] For future benefits at large it is moreover necessary that children are educated in some notions, such as the goodness of God, the evil and danger of sin and the rewards and punishments policy. At church, ministers will instruct children in the doctrine of salvation, piety and virtue and in the benefits of communion. Parents should advise children how to spend Sunday in a profitable way, dedicating themselves to public worship and to the exercise of piety and the care of one's soul. They should also be taught how to manage their time: every day children must find a space in the morning and at the end of the day to retire in themselves, concentrate on their consciences and, with simple prayers, ask God for forgiveness and mercy.

The last part of the duties consists in providing good examples to the offspring, because they are key principles in the educational process. These should in particular be directed to the proper service of God and to conversation[129]. The import of this point can be seen in the discussion on Joshua's example in Sermon 49, and is resumed in the examination of negative patterns and their consequences in Sermon 53.

After having presented what parents should do, Tillotson explains the reasons why they should keep true to this process. First of all because they are obliged by

[127] The book was an influential devotional work published anonymously in 1658. Its title is taken from Ecclesiastes 12:13: [13] Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.
[128] Sermon 50, vol. 3, p. 425.
[129] Cf. p. 429: "Take great care to be exemplary to thy family in the best things; in a constant and devout serving of GOD, and in a sober and prudent and unblameable conversation."

law to provide for the temporal benefit of their children and servants and by God's laws to care for their souls by giving them the means to attain eternal happiness. Natural affections lead men to rectify their children's perverse natures and to perfect and cure them "by the abundant grace of the gospel, so powerful a remedy for this hereditary disease of our corrupt and degenerate nature"[130]. With servants the duty is related to common humanity and charity as these people are committed to the care of their masters. Tillotson underlines how man's conscience will rebuke him if he does not take this process to conclusion:

> So that our obligation in point of duty is very clear and strong, and if we be remiss and negligent in the discharge of it, we can never answer it either to GOD, or to our own consciences: which I hope will awaken us to all we are concerned in it to the serious consideration of it, and effectually engage us for the future to the faithful and conscientious performance of it.[131]

The other reason why parents should educate their inferiors is their own interest. It is in their interest, in fact, to maintain the order in the associations between man and man, and religion is the best foundation of these relationships. Children become diligent only if they receive a good religious education. They should know how to fear and revere God, because this is the only way to rouse obligations in their consciences which can sting them in return when they act sinfully:

> If our children and servants be not taught to fear and reverence God, how can we expect that they reverence and regard us? [...] for nothing but religion lays an obligation upon conscience, nor is there any other certain bond of duty and obedience and fidelity. [132]

The last part of the sermon regards the causes and consequences of the neglect of education[133]. Here the tone of the sermon acquires a more political taint. Tillotson imputes the Civil War as the one responsible for the licentious behaviour that is spreading in the country and for the weakness of familiar bonds. Different

[130] Ibid, p. 431.
[131] Ibid, p. 432.
[132] Ibid, p. 434.
[133] When education is neglected, men are partly ignorant of their duties. Cf. Sermon 114, vol. 7, p. 1886: "And this is likewise the case of many christians; who either through the natural slowness of their understandings, or by the neglect of their parents and teachers, or other circumstances of their education, have had far less means and advantages of knowledge than others."

religious opinions and creeds lead to the destruction of families and generate confusion. Tillotson even admits that, without religious union and toleration, England could not go back to its past splendour, before the outburst of the Puritan revolution:

> And to put us in mind of those happy days when GOD was served in one way, and whole "families went to the house of GOD in 'companies'; and fathers and masters had their children and servants continually under their eye, and they were all united in their worship and devotion, both in their houses, and in the house of GOD; [...] And we may assure our selves, that till we are better agreed in matters of religion, and our unhappy childish differences are laid aside; [...] the good order and government of families as to the great ends of religion is never likely to obtain and to have any considerable effect.[134]

There cannot be any social bonds where the primary unit is degenerated. Indeed, the consequences of this neglect affect primarily the public sphere, generating a hellish society where nobody could possibly prosper:

> Undutiful children, slothful and unfaithful servants, scandalous members of the church, unprofitable to the commonwealth, disobedient to governors both ecclesiastical and civil; and in a word burthens of the earth, and so many plagues of human society.[135]

The consequences for the individual are connected to the shame that he will have to bear in this life in feeling responsible for the monsters that he had generated, but they are also associated with a more dangerous threat, the impossibility of eternal happiness, both of the parents and of the children. Children and servants will blame and curse them for their neglect and God will punish them accordingly. If education were not neglected and toleration were promoted, England could be "a happy and delightful place, a paradise."[136]

Sermons 51, 52 and 53 are based on a different biblical quotation and form a unified group within the collection. Sermon 51 is labelled a "preparatory discourse"

[134] Sermon 50, vol. 3, p. 436.
[135] Ibid, p. 438.
[136] Ibid, p. 439. On degeneracy, cf. Tillotson's description at the end of Sermon 98, vol. 6, pp. 1579-80: "A great part of us are degenerated into beasts and devils, wallowing in abominable and filthy lusts, indulging ourselves in those devilish passions of malice and hatred, of strife and discord, or revenge and cruelty, of sedition and disturbance of the publick peace to that degree, as if the grace of GOD had never appeared to us to teach us the contrary."

on education. In its opening Tillotson resumes the discussion of the preceding sermon and investigates the benefits and the parental duties of a proper education. Advantages derived from education can be both temporal and eternal, worldly and religious, and the message in the text proves the validity of prudent education and its future benefits, as the results are most of the times successful. The characters involved in the educational process are parents who should prove they have sagacity, discretion, care and attendance in teaching children[137], but also ministers, teachers, masters and instructors. Tillotson first questions when education should start; he believes that it should begin at birth with the care of the mothers and then become more effectual as soon as the children are capable of understanding up to youth, when confirmation of what they have learnt becomes effective. The argument is divided into five *heads* but here Tillotson only develops one of them, the first, and even that is not developed entirely. This *head* aims at giving a general view of education and its main parts. The discussion proceeds chronologically starting with nursing and baptising to instructing.

The nurture of children is a problematic matter to Tillotson who accuses mothers who leave their children to the care of nurses instead of caring for them themselves. The dispute lies in the exposition of infants to strange milk that might bring diseases and in the disaffection of nurses who look after babies only because they are paid and not because they feel natural bonds. Tillotson therefore tries to discourage this habit by talking about the mortality rates in London, linking the death of babies to the responsibility of nurses. The direct consequence of this practice is the weakening of the mother-child relationship, which is, on the contrary, fundamental in the future instruction of the offspring. The objections that mothers adduce for these behaviours are futile and only concerned with their personal pleasure and entertainment. The world will not change and society will not improve if mothers do not decide to abandon this practice, repent heartily, show their deep contrition and decide to care for their children themselves. Tillotson admits the vehemence of the attack, probably improper for the fashionable audience that he has in front of him, but he also hopes that, while past and present generations made the

[137] Sermon 51, vol. 4, p. 448.

mistake to encourage hiring nurses, future generations will not do the same[138]. The second duty in order of importance is baptism and Tillotson particularly insists on avoiding private ceremonies and on improving the participation to communal ones in order to reinforce the feeling of belonging to a community thus cementing the social bonds.

The third *head* is the instruction of children in their duties to God, their neighbours and to their own conscience. Tillotson briefly explains the value of instruction as the first step to govern one's life and its importance in all the stages of a man's life. This duty was imparted to the Jews and to their offspring and it was God himself who promoted it. The Bible provides the parents with an indication of the proper time to begin instruction, at the first appearance of reason or understanding[139]. Tillotson underlines how children should learn their dependence on God and the due respect they have to pay him with honour, reverence and prayers. The image of God that he presents is that of a benevolent father, whose love for mankind is demonstrated in his providence and in the pleasant things that he allows men to enjoy. He also stresses the duties that men have in his regard and their vanity and frailty:

> To this end we must, by such degrees as they are capable, bring them acquainted with GOD and themselves. And in the first place we must inform them, that there is such a being as GOD, whom we ought to honour and reverence above all things. And then, that we are all his creatures, [...] that he continually preserves us, and gives us all the good things that we enjoy: [...] we ought to ask every thing of him by prayer, because this is an acknowledgement of our dependence upon him. [140]

The remaining space for discussion is left to the teaching of divine laws, grace, virtue and their exercise in order to govern one's life. Tillotson underlines

[138] Tillotson's tone is worth noticing. Cf. Sermon 51, vol. 4, p. 457: "Perhaps I may have gone further in this unusual argument, than will please the present age: but I hope posterity will be so wise as to consider it and lay it to the heart. For I am greatly afraid that the world will never be much better till this great fault be mended."

[139] Cf. Isaiah 28:9-10: [10] For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little: [11] For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people. [12] To whom he said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest; and this is the refreshing: yet they would not hear. [13] But the word of the LORD was unto them precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little; that they might go, and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken.

[140] Sermon 51, vol. 4, p. 459.

how a good teacher should use fear and hope to present the theory of rewards and the punishments in after life to children[141]. Children should also know the degeneracy and corruption of man's nature and their redemption through Christ's sacrifice. Under the fourth *head*, Tillotson describes the virtues that man should exercise. The divine laws are concerned with obedience to parents and to God and modesty in behaviour. Modesty is "a fear of shame and disgrace"[142] as having a bad reputation is extremely negative in an organised society. Modesty is also a sign of a man's good disposition and a security against sin.

Other virtues are sincerity and diligence. Sincerity is the "life and soul of all graces and virtues"[143], whereas diligence can be used both in a positive and a negative way. It brings worldly, material advantages, but it can dangerously change into idleness, making children's minds passive. The remedy to laziness is by always employing children in an activity. In order to encourage these virtues, parents should preserve the children's innocence, tenderness and goodness; thus they should not be shown cruel spectacles and executions, neither should they be taught to abuse animals for sport or pleasure otherwise their hearts will be hardened.

Instruction also means the government of man's passions and tongue[144]. Tillotson describes the passions as "cross and perverse inclinations from within"[145], like "a tyrant at home, and always ready at hand to domineer over him"[146]. In Sermon 4, Tillotson provides a similar definition of passions, admitting that "the lusts and passions of men do fully and darken their minds, even by natural influence"[147]. Tillotson's idea of what passion is was influenced by Church Fathers,

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[141] Cf. Chapter Three for the use of fear in sermons.

[142] Sermon 51, vol. 4, p. 461. Tillotson also describes modesty as "not properly a virtue", but as "a very good sign of a tractable and towardly disposition."

[143] Ibid, p. 464.

[144] Cf. for example Tillotson's Sermon 42, vol. 3 on *evil-speaking*.

[145] Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 276. On the effects of passions cf. also Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3792: "Sensual pleasures soon die and vanish; but that is not the worst of them, they leave a sting behind them; and when the pleasure is gone, nothing remains but guilt, and trouble, and repentance."

[146] Ibid, p. 285.

[147] Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 111. Cf. also Sermon 69, vol. 5, p. 1069: "Fleshly lusts do not only pollute and defile, but even quench and extinguish our divine part, and do work the ruin destruction of it; they sink our affections into the mud and filth of this world, and do entangle and detain them there."
Cf. also Sermon 87, vol. 6, pp. 1391: "What clouds and mists are to the bodily eye, that the lusts and corruptions of men are to the understanding; they hinder it from a clear perception of heavenly things; the pure in heart, they are best qualified for the sight of GOD"; pp. 1394-95: "And as vain-glory, and desire of the applause of men; so likewise doth every other lust make a man partial in his judgment of things, and clap

such as Augustine and Aquinas, but also by ancient and modern philosophers, for example Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero, Descartes and Hobbes. The discussion on passion was particularly significant in Seventeenth-century England due to the revival of Stoicism accompanied by its Christianised version which implied that passions were studied at university in the curricula for their incitement in rhetoric but also for their moral and political significance. Passion is connected to knowledge and control, to the art of knowing oneself and therefore of controlling one's impulses. This art was directed to a male elite and implied the idea that man could cure himself and consequently know himself. Passions are therefore discussed in every field of human knowledge. They are fundamental to human nature, "generally understood to be thoughts or states of the soul which represent things as good or evil for us"[148], and they have physical manifestations. Passions are like sensations and they need an object to be roused. They move man first by analysing the context and secondly by moving him physically into action. Some passions are considered central and therefore more important than others. These are fear and love, hatred and hope. Augustine's and Aquinas' influence is particularly strong in the Christian reshaping process of the notion of the passionate man.

Augustine reinterprets the passions as diverging forms of love. The original Greek word *pathe* contains in itself three Latin translations: *passiones*, *perturbationes* and *affectus*. These translations underline two main characteristics of the passions, man's passivity to them and their capacity to agitate man even beyond his control[149], as the Cambridge Platonist Henry More sustains. This is probably the reason why passions are variously portrayed with images connected to social

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a false bias upon his understanding, which carries it from the truth, and makes it to lean towards that side of the question which is most favourable to the interest of his lust."

[148] Susan James, *Passion and Action. The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, New York: Oxford University Press, (2000), p. 4.

[149] The characteristic of the passions and the idea that they cannot be controlled by man who is therefore passive in the process comes nevertheless from Aristotle. According to the philosopher, active principles are those that create what a thing is. The soul in this sense is actual because it allows the body to become one with it and to make a living being. The powers in the soul can be divided into nutritive power, sensation, appetite or aversion and imagination. The nutritive power is active whereas sensation is passive because it needs the stimulation from an object in order to act on the world. Men can sense objects but cannot transform them. Appetite and aversion are passive as well because they need an agent. They are connected to passions because they can be defined as "feelings accompanied by pleasure and pain." Passions in this context are like grounded "judgements" on objects that generate desires of possessing them or aversion. Cf. James, *Passion and Action*, part 1, Chapter 2.

turbulence as rioters, rebels, cunning and insatiable. They cause civil strife in man between what the body desires and what reason commands him to do. What man has to remember is that being a part of him, he cannot run from them and needs to understand how he can control them with the supervision of reason assisted by divine grace. Another popular image with which passions and their consequences are portrayed is by using natural disasters[150]. They lead men to blindness to their sins and behaviours, they bend the will, bring maladies and alteration of the humours. The reason why passions are so strong is man's first disobedience to God who as a consequence turned him into a vulnerable being prey to insatiable desires.

Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* is an orthodox formative work of the Scholastic tradition which offers a discussion of each passions which proved influential up to the Seventeenth-century. Aquinas describes the passions as "affectiones" and analyses the link between activity and form. To Aquinas there were eleven passions[151], and the factors that shape them are experience, age, climate and genre. They have a functional character and help both body and mind and are therefore good for man's wise use. The Thomist analysis is extended to appetite which is the power to be acted on by external objects. It is an inclination towards or away from something. It is passive because the object acts on man. It is a motion and man can be changed for the worse or for the better. Appetites give rise to passions because they generate conflicts which usually take place in the sensitive soul whose appetites are divided into concupiscible and irascible. The former perceives the object as desirable or undesirable. The latter instead is the ability to strive for or to resist an object. Aquinas uses this distinction to point out the subjection of the passions to the agent's perception of the world. This means that passions are different according to the degree of difficulty or of easiness with which the object

[150] James, *Passion and Action*, p. 13. Tillotson often portrays the passions as a troubled sea (Isaiah 57:20). Cf. Sermon 23, vol. 2, p. 118; Sermon 12, vol. 1, p. 283 and 293; Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 115; Sermon 41, vol. 3, p. 179.
Cf. also Sermon 142, vol. 8, p. 3522: "Nothing is more turbulent and unquiet than the spirit of a wicked man; it is like the sea, when it roars and rages through the strength of contrary winds; it is the scene of furious lusts, and wild passions, which as they are contrary to holiness, so they maintain perpetual contests and feuds among themselves."

[151] "Love and hatred, desire and aversion, sadness and joy, hope and despair, fear and daring and finally anger." James, *Passion and Action*, p. 6.

can be obtained. Generated by the concupiscible appetite there are six passions[152]: love, desire, joy, hatred, avoidance, sorrow. On the irascible one instead depend hope, despair, audacity, fear and anger, the last one perceived as aggressiveness but also as resolution in completing a task. Man can cope with passions and desires and the conflict is located in the sensitive soul, the part of the soul connected to vital human impulses according to Plato and Aristotle. Nevertheless, Aquinas acknowledges that passions are not simple and that they usually occur in sequences. As love generates desire, hatred creates aversion. The developments then follows the sequence of events coming from the reaction of the agent and the sequences end in joy or sadness according to the case.

Tillotson acknowledges the Augustinian strife but at the same time he follows the Cambridge Platonists' tradition which claims that passions are good if, in Thomistic terms, they are under the control of reason. Indeed, only religion with its set of rules and advantages can purify man's mind "quenching the fire of lust and suppressing the fumes and vapours of it, and by scattering the clouds and mists of passions"[153]. The passions that have to be checked are desire, fear and anger. These lead respectively to covetousness and fraud, sin and distance from duty and contention and murder. Carried away by these passions, children become headstrong and unruly, corrupt and wilful, and they cultivate prejudices. The consequences therefore impair both themselves as individuals and their role in society. The best way to teach children how to govern their passions[154] is for parents to have them under constant observation in order to discern what inclinations prevail in them. Once parents understand their offspring's temperament, they can proceed to verify their children's desires and to gratify them as if they are presenting them with a favour, instilling in their minds the fearful spectacle of

[152] Aquinas distances himself from Cicero who thought man has just four passions: joy, sadness, hope and fear. To Aquinas, joy is connected to a present good and hope to a future one and therefore it is more uncertain. Cf. James, *Passion and Action*, part 1, Chapter 3.
[153] Sermon 4, vol. 1, pp. 111-12
[154] Cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 70. Citing Wilkins's *Natural Religion*, Griffin argues that the Latitudinarians were influenced by Stoicism in "their distrust or discounting of "imagination" [...]; their concern that the "rational part of the soul" which produced "full conviction, deliberate choice, and firm resolution" should completely govern the "sensitive" part, including the "fancy and appetite," which operated by "some hidden *impetus* and transport of desire after a thing."

future punishments[155]. The neglect of this practice explains the presence of so many adult men who live debauchedly and provide examples of imperfect and corrupt conversation[156].

The "government of the tongues" consists in teaching children to respect silence when needed, to speak only upon due consideration and to tell the truth always. Tillotson reasserts that sincerity is a bond in society because it is the foundation of all types of business. Nevertheless, it is the parents' duty to avoid lewd talk at home and not to expose children to negative examples, a point that interests Tillotson and one which he will develop in the following sermons. He particularly insists on the noxious influence negative examples and unrestraint have on people as they allow vices to become habits which in turn are extremely difficult to overcome[157].

The next duty that parents have is to teach children the essential parts of religion and virtue. These consist in sobriety, temperance, purity and chastity, i.e. the control of appetites and bodily pleasures and they are the foundation of piety and justice, teaching man to live soberly in order to have a solid and positive relationship with God and his fellows. Sobriety and temperance are connected to the children's diet which should not fuel inordinate appetites[158].

Other virtues are piety and devotion. These are related to man's relationship with God and consist in praying and thanking him both in public services and in private prayers. In their relationship with other men, children must learn justice and honesty as they both lead them to equity. These two points form the basis of the

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[155] Cf. Matthew 10:28: [28] And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

[156] Tillotson often hints at the importance of conversation. Cf. Sermons 8, 22, 31, 42, 55.

[157] Tillotson devotes Sermon 10 to the description of habit and of the positive or negative consequences that it has on a man's mind. It can increase his virtue as well as harden his heart into sin, depending on which force it is commanded by. Cf. Tillotson's discussion of habit in Sermon 10 *Of the deceitfulness and danger of sin* and Sermon 29 *Of the difficulty of reforming vicious habits*.
Habit is also analysed by Locke in *Some Thoughts*, sections 11-20, in which the philosopher discusses the necessity of forming children's physical habits before having access to the moulding of their minds. In the *Essay*, Chapter XXXIII.6, instead, Locke discusses the formation of habits of thinking due to custom in the process of associating ideas.

[158] As in Locke. Cf. *Some Thoughts*, sections 21 to 30 on sleep, intestinal regularity and diet. According to Locke, children must have a healthy body if they want to have a healthy mind. He cites Juvenal's *Satires* (Satire 10.356), "a sound mind in a sound body" to sustain his position. Juvenal and Persius, The Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation by G. G. Ramsay, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1979); p. 218-19.

ideas that lie under latitudinarians' charity sermons in which benevolence is an innate principle that men are able to use wisely in order to promote social union and benefit. This rule is so simple and natural that even children can understand it and practise it easily, provided they have the support of positive examples offered by their parents. For this reason, children should not be taught to cheat in sport or games and should practise the rule of doing to others what they would have others do to them[159]. Without the example of their parents children grow up in ignorance and become unruly. The last virtue that children should learn is charity to the poor and its advantages in future rewards. The best way to teach them is by giving examples and by reading them some passages in the Bible concerning this virtue. With this incitement to charity Tillotson closes the sermon.

Sermon 52 opens with a reflection on examples and their importance in the educational process. The idea of using examples is eradicated in Tillotson's doctrine and in the Church's polity in general. Jesus Christ is considered the highest example that man can follow, not only in the way of directing one's life, but also in the practice of using parables and exemplary stories to teach the Christian precepts. Having Articles X to XII in the background[160], with the idea of God's grace as the powerful force that allow man to do good works, Tillotson nevertheless focuses on practical issues and activities to perform. The addressees of the sermon are parents and ministers. They must know what to do, what their duties are, and how to perform them correctly. The examples that they must give to their children are taken from the Bible but also from their own lives, the way in which they execute God's precepts.

A good example is "the most lively way of teaching"[161] and it should be given in the service of God and man's conversation. Conversation, in particular, should not be allowed with servants and people who might be negative models. In

[159] The reference is to Matthew 7:12 "[12] Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."
[160] Articles X to XII are respectively entitled Of Free-Will, Of the Justification of Man, Of Good Works. They belong to the section dedicated to personal religion (Articles IX to XVIII) and are focused on human vanity and on the ever present support given by God's grace.
[161] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 473. Cf. also Sermon 96, vol. 6, p. 1548 on man's attitude towards examples: "There being something in the nature of man, which had rather take a hint and intimation from another, to advise himself, and would rather choose to imitate the silent good example which they see in another, than to have either his advice or his example imposed upon them."

this case parents must behave in a correct way because their conduct is the one that has the most powerful influence on children. They learn by imitation and all negative examples become a justification to sin. For this reason Tillotson addresses parents directly[162] and explains to them the nature of precepts and the necessity of making theory correspond to practice. He therefore asks for the same constancy that he stresses in Sermon 49:

> In a word, if you be not careful to give good example to your children, you defeat your own counsels and undermine the best instructions you can give them; and they will all be split like water upon the barren sand, they will have no effect, they will bring forth no fruit.[163]

As well as proving good patterns to follow, parents must seasonably reprimand their children, bestowing corrections when necessary, measuring them to the entity of the sin committed. The aim is to avoid repeating the same errors in the future. To be more effective, Tillotson provides an example from the Bible, the story of Eli[164] and of the punishment his family received for the scandalous behaviour of his children resulting from an overindulgent attitude in educating them[165]. Eli is therefore considered as the ultimate illustration in the biblical tradition of the negative consequences of idle and indulgent instruction.[166] The discussion is therefore centred on fear of future miscarriages with consequences not only on parents, but also on their communities.

Tillotson proceeds to the discussion of the duty of catechizing children, publicly and at home, in order to prepare them for solemn confirmation. Tillotson dedicates a conspicuous part of the text to this topic because he admits that this subject has been never fully developed in sermon literature and indeed has been

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[162] Ibid, p. 474: "With what reason canst thou expect that thy children should follow thy good instructions, when thou thyself givest them an ill example? thou dost but as it were beaken to them with thy head and shew them the way to heaven by thy good counsel, but thou takest them by the hand and leadest them in the way to hell by thy contrary example."
[163] Ibid, p. 475.
[164] The story of Eli and his sons is narrated in 1 Samuel 2:12-36.
[165] "There is hardly to be found in the whole bible a more terrible temporal threatening than that concerning Eli and his house, for his fond indulgence to his sons." Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 478.
[166] For further discussion cf. Bishop Hall's description of the story of Eli. *Contemplations on the Historical passages of the Old and New Testaments by the Right Revedern Joseph Hall*, late Lord Bishop of Norwich, in 2 volumes, London: printed for William Baynes and Son, Paternoster Row; and H.S. Baynes, Edinburgh, (1825). Cf. vol. 1, Book XI, n. 7, pp. 318-326.

neglected. Catechizing is a particular way of teaching by question and answer[167] and it is necessary because children are subject to forgetfulness and lack of attention and questioning them is a way to improve their attentive abilities. The necessity of catechizing appears from experience as it gives children the basis of religious education and assists them in understanding the meaning of the sermons they hear at mass. Abandoned to ignorance, children can become an easy prey to enthusiast sects as the Civil War has demonstrated:

> Besides, that if they have no principles of religion fixed in them, they become an easy prey to seducers. And we have had sad experience of this in our age; and among many other dismal effects of our late civil confusions this is none of the least, that publick catechizing was almost wholly disused, and private too in most families.[168]

Moreover, this neglect was emphasised by the fact that catechizing has always been one of the pillars of the Anglican Church. The catechism that has to be used is the one in the Anglican liturgy as in it there are the chief principles suitable to children. Those who have the duty to catechize are parents, masters and ministers. Parents are exhorted to do it because they retain the advantage of living close to their offspring and of having them under control. Ministers instead should start catechizing as soon as they can and leave a space for it between prayers and sermons.

The second part of Sermon 52 is occupied by the explanation of the directions in managing the instruction of children, which must be as effective as possible. The first *head* consists in discovering the temper and disposition of children in order to govern them. Temper tells the parents what inclinations children have and which sin is predominant in them and needs reproof. This point is extremely important because the process of instruction is difficult when nature is compelled to do something which is contrary to its inclination. Knowing one's temper is therefore an advantage to the parents who must act wisely, using patience and prudence when they rectify their offspring's natures:

[167] Catechizing resembles the way in which Latitudinarians engage their audiences in the *confirmation* of the sermons, and this could be one of the reasons why Tillotson particularly insists on this matter.
[168] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 480.

> Such ways of education as are prudently fitted to the particular dispositions of children are like wind and tide together, which will make the work go on amain: but those ways and methods which are applied cross to nature are like wind against tide, which make a great stir and conflict, but a very slow progress.[169]

The second *head* that Tillotson proposes is to plant the principles of natural religion and virtue in children, as through them they grow in goodness and holiness of character. The principles can be summarised in the knowledge of God, of the great evil and danger of sin, of the future life and its rewards. If well taught, these dictates influence a man's actions all life long because they function as a base to morality. The issues parents might have to face is that their own education is erroneous, based on little opinions and prejudices, prone to schism and sectarianism. Therefore they might teach these principles with zeal but without knowledge. The consequence is that ignorant Christians abuse the true religion and, instead of presenting sobriety and good conversation, they employ "wild opinions, a factious and uncharitable spirit, a furious and boisterous zeal."[170] Tillotson uses both the Bible and heathen literature to prove that the consequences are all answerable to the negligence of the husbandry[171]:

> But if you desire to reap the effects of true piety and religion, you must take care to plant in children the main and substantial principles of christianity, which may give them a general bias to holiness and goodness, and not to little particular opinions, which being once fixed in them by the strong prejudice of education will hardly ever be rooted out[172].

The third *head* is concerned with checking and discouraging sin, remembering that vice can grow fast and easily and that, imposing on a man's character, it becomes "obstinate." Sin is like weeds[173] and, once it takes root, is

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[169] Ibid, p. 485.
[170] Ibid, p. 487.
[171] Hosea 8:7: [7] "For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no stalk: the bud shall yield no meal: if so be it yield, the strangers shall swallow it up."
Virgil, *Georgics*, I.154: "infelix lolium & steriles dominantur avenae" (wretched darnel and barren oats proliferate). Lines 118 to 159 are concerned with the beginnings of agriculture. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics:* Volume 1, Books: I-II, ed. Richard F. Thomas, Cambridge: CUP, (1988); p. 41. We might see the parallel between agriculture and the metaphor of sowing used by Tillotson to portray education. The same metaphor is used in charity sermons. Cf. Chapter Five.
[172] Ibid, p. 487.
[173] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 487. Tillotson uses the metaphor of sin and vices similar to weeds which can grow faster than good herbs, suffocating them to gain supremacy.

extremely difficult and out of parents' power, to pluck out from their children[174]. The fourth *head* is directed to public worship. Tillotson resumes the discussion on catechizing and suggests parents question their children on what they have heard during the service in order to improve their attention, their memory and to furnish them with a vivid and lasting impression. This might be considered as a form of domestic catechizing which involves not only parental duty but also the improvement of the rational faculties of children.

With the fifth *head* Tillotson opens a digression on the indissoluble marriage between knowledge and practice, which is the main idea underling his educational sermons. The practical purpose is teaching children some solemn forms of prayers that they can perform once they are in private. This exercise might become a habit and therefore contribute to the pleasure and enjoyment of daily practising religion. Habit always has something pleasurable in it; this is why knowledge and practise must promote each other. Knowledge prepares for practice and this in return perfects knowledge. Experience and practice are seldom deceived and they add precious information to what man knows. Tillotson explains this point comparing the expert in geography or in navigation who learnt what he knows in books with the traveller who has visited the countries he is describing and the seaman who has experimented the dangers of the sea. These parallels exemplify the difference between speculation and skill. The moral that the reader can draw from this discussion is that the best way to know God and therefore perfect the knowledge man has of him is to transcribe his perfections in his life and actions:

> Therefore when the minds of children are once thoroughly possest with the true principles of religion, we should bend all our endeavours to put them upon the practice of what they know: let them rather be taught to do well than to talk well; rather to avoid what is evil, in all its shapes and appearances, and to practise their duty in the several instances of it, than "to speak with the tongues of men and angels."[175]

Tillotson therefore stresses the practical dimension of the duty of man and he portrays the importance that manners had in antiquity if compared to the value

[174] Cf. Hebrews 3:13: [13] But exhort one another daily, while it is called To day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.
[175] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 490.

attributed to learning[176]. Nevertheless, Tillotson believes that "the care of both is best"[177], and that in modern times learning is an advantage to the commonwealth and the government of people as it brings goodness in conduct with it.

Heads six and seven are more related to practical issues as in them Tillotson advises parents how to proceed in teaching their children. They should use care and diligence, constancy and patience and remember that religious principles must be taught by degrees according to the children's capacity. Practice should also be introduced by degrees as children are "narrow mouth vessels"[178]. Reusing the biblical metaphor of the seed, he also states that some seeds fall deeper in some children and that their results are slow to appear. Parents however should not stop their vigilance of children and should not be afraid if they do not see the results[179].

The last *head* is an admonition to parents to pray for God's grace and assistance. One cannot but notice that the appeal to grace is left at the end of the sermon. We might suggest one reason for this choice: Tillotson is debating this issue on the assumption that the effect of a discussion centred on morality and on the active role of man in practical matters has the power to move man more than a sermon based entirely on the content of Article X, where the presence of grace in a man's life is stressed. However, he also acknowledges that grace alone can sanctify children and parents should ask their creator to instil fear in them as this passion alone is the beginning of wisdom[180]. Indeed, Tillotson himself claims the validity of this proposition by adopting fear as the most powerful spur to encourage the practice of parental duties. Using the plant and seed metaphor again, Tillotson asserts that parents should plant the seed and ministers water the plants, but only God gives the possibility of growth. Parents should follow the example of Monica, St. Augustine's mother, who asked God for help, and her prayers allowed her to

[176] Cf. Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 491, where Tillotson cites two anecdotes concerning the practice of the Persians "of making their children learned taught them to be virtuous; and instead of filling their heads with fine speculations, taught them honesty, and sincerity, and resolution". The second anecdote regards the practice among the Lacedemonian people, who "took no care about learning, but only about the lives and manners of their children." Tillotson indicates Xenophon and Lycurgus as his sources.
[177] Ibid, p. 491
[178] Ibidem.
[179] Tillotson cites a *Survey of Education* by Henry Wotton. Cf. *Reliquiae Wottonianae: or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems; with Characters of Sundry Personages*, 3rd edition, London, (1672), p. 77.
[180] Cf. the discussion of the role of fear in Sermon 1.

obtain God's grace as they were a demonstration of man's belief and confidence in his creator. The ultimate goal that comprehends all these elements is human happiness. The end of the discussion is both temporal and eternal happiness, the two cannot be separated. Faith in eternal life should also lead men to improve their good works. These in turn are living examples to the offspring, thus leading the discussion to the means with which man can educate man.

Sermon 53 opens the third *head* presented in Sermon 51, the miscarriage in education for want of prudence and skill and not necessarily for want of diligence. The analysis is divided by Tillotson in miscarriage in matters of instruction, of example and of reproof. Instructors are defective in explaining the difference between good and evil, in giving the definition of sin and in attributing too much importance to trivial and lesser things, such as for example the length of the hair, some games in which fortune and skills are combined and common opinions. These in particular make men grow up like hypocritical and factitious adults whereas the inability to distinguish between vice and virtue increases their failure in keeping a moral conduct. These men can be easily recognised as they are embarrassed once they get in touch with polite society because they do not know how to behave, not having received a proper education[181].

In showing themselves as an example to follow, parents should remember that children deserve reverence and therefore their actions have to be checked with gravity and circumspection[182]. Instructors should protect children morally as they do physically, not allowing them to play in dangerous places. The issue that Tillotson develops most is the one on correction. Parents tend to use too much

[181] Sermon 53, vol. 4, pp. 497-98. Cf. also *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 449: "Our humour must not take up all the world. Those, who want this complaisance, are in society […] like irregular stones in a building, which are full of roughness and corners; they take up more room than they fill; till they be polish'd and made even, others cannot lie near them: so men of sharp and perverse humours are unsociable, till the ruggedness and asperities of their nature be taken off."

[182] Tillotson cites Juvenal, *Satire XIV*.47: "maxima debetur puero reverential" (you ought the greatest reverence to the young). In his *Satires*, Juvenal explores some of the topics that Tillotson himself considers in his sermons, i.e. the vanity of human wishes (Satire X), the terrors of a guilty conscience (Satire XIII) and the role played by examples (Satire XIV). Juvenal and Persius, The Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation by G. G. Ramsay, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1979); pp. 268-69.

rigour without realising that "great severities are unsuitable to human nature"[183]. Severity does not work with some tempers and children should be conquered with praise and reward. Too much rigour leads to disgust and prejudice against religion because children will associate it with the rods used to educate them. Physical punishment makes human nature work like a spring: it first recoils and then returns back with violence[184]. Tillotson enlivens the description with some anecdotes from heathen philosophy demonstrating that the association education and pleasure was promoted also by Speusippus and Cicero[185]. The other question with reproach is in the passion that too often guides parents. This attitude is similar to hatred or revenge and it is caused by the need to satisfy individual passions that are therefore projected to inferior fellows:

> Secondly, another miscarriage in this matter is when reproof and correction are accompanied and managed with passion. [...] This makes reproof and correction to look like revenge and hatred, which usually does not persuade and reform but provoke and exasperate. [...] Correction is a kind of physic, which ought never to be administered in passion, but upon counsel and good advice.[186]

A father should act like a prince or judge, balancing good and evil and leaving his own passions aside. In this way he has God's example to follow who chastises man only for his future profit.

Head four is meant to prove the validity of this long debate by describing the effects of good education. Tillotson begins the discussion with the acknowledgement that some tempers are extremely difficult to educate due to their

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[183] Ibid, p. 499. Tillotson is also willing to underline that lack of correction has extremely negative consequences on the single individual and on society at large. Cf. *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 440: "A parent or a magistrate may not wholly omit correction or punishment, because such omission would tend to the ruin of good manners and of human society."

[184] Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 501.

[185] Speusippus of Athens was a disciple of Plato, and one of his favourite students. The anecdote that Tillotson narrates is about the philosopher's use of images in his school in order to make the learning process more enjoyable to students.

The quotation from Cicero is probably taken from *Philippics* II.xxxvi.90, though Tillotson cites the line in a distorted way. This is the text Tillotson cites: "metus haud diuturni magister officii", and this is the translation he provides: "Fear alone will not teach a man his duty and hold him to it for a long time." The original text is probably "Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii" (However, it was fear – no steadfast teacher of duty – that made you good). Cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, The Loeb Classical Library, Cicero in 28 volumes, vol. XV, with an English translation by W. C. A. Ker, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1969), p. 153.

[186] Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 501.

strong inclination to evil. Nevertheless, nothing is impossible for God's grace. As with all material things that can be tested with experience, advantages prove the validity of the process from which they come. The privileges that come from education are the first possession of a man's heart and the power of habit and custom: "We are too naturally inclined to that which is evil: but yet this ought not to discourage us, because it is certain in experience that the a contrary custom hath done much in many cases, even where nature hath been strongly inclined the other way."[187]

Tillotson explains the import of the first advantage starting with a description of the mind of man and of how it works. Being an active entity, the mind needs an occupation and feels a strong impulse towards knowledge. The purpose of religious education is to conquer the mind before worldly pleasures get the upper hand over it[188]. Under parental vigilance, children are like tender and fresh soils where the seed of goodness can be planted. The preacher then moves to the description of the positive effects of habit and custom. These forces are second only to human nature itself in their power and capacity to influence an individual's actions. Custom is usually associated with pleasure and its might can be perceived in man's actions. Custom proves that education has a strange power in forming people:

> Custom is most strong which is begun in childhood: and we see in experience the strange power of education in forming persons to religion and virtue. Now education is nothing but certain customs planted in childhood, and which have taken deep root whilst nature was tender.[189]

For the same reason, if habits are evil they are extremely difficult to fight and this obstacle can be perceived from daily experience. However, by reflecting on human nature Tillotson arrives to the conclusion that, even if men are prone to evil, contrary customs can still prove effectual in changing man and rescuing him from sin:

> Secondly, good education gives likewise the advantage of habit and custom; and custom is of mighty force. [...] It is an acquired and a sort of second nature, and next to nature itself a

[187] Ibid, p. 505.

[189] Ibid, p. 504.

> principle of greatest power. Custom bears a huge sway in all humane actions. [...] And among all others, that custom is most strong which is begun in childhood: and we see in experience the strange power of education in forming persons to religion and virtue.[190]

Man has the power to perfect himself, though "too naturally inclined to that which is evil"[191] and this principle goes against Aristotle's philosophy which on the contrary considered nature immobile in his state. According to Tillotson, if this Aristotelian principle[192] might be demonstrated in nature, the same discourse cannot be applied to moral inclinations that allow man to change and improve himself. With this statement Tillotson asserts the centrality of morality and the belief in man's perfectibility opposed to Augustinian utter depravity. The truth is that customs in children must become responsible choices when they become adults and decide to embrace religion. Man must not do wrong to God's providence which provides for him and makes men more educable, so that Tillotson can freely exclaim "God be thanked, most tempers are tractable to good education, and there is very great probability of the good success of it, if it be carefully and wisely managed."[193]

The last *head* developed in the sermon is an exhortation planned to move parents' consciences and make them more responsible in the role they play in the process of leading their children to perfection as long as their nature allows them. Tillotson first presents the matter by exaggerating its description: "Some parents are such monsters, I had almost said devils, as not to know how 'to give good things to their children.'"[194] These figures enjoy leaving their offspring in ignorance or giving them false notions. They teach them atheism, profaneness and blasphemy, three aspects that Tillotson heavily criticises in his collection of sermons[195] as he considers them the direct cause of the degeneracy of morals in England. With this kind of instruction parents induce children to become wrathful, vicious and wicked. Tillotson then addresses the audience directly, expressing the hope that none of the

[190] Ibidem.
[191] Ibid, p. 505.
[192] Cf. John Passmore, The Godlike man: Aristotle to Plotinus, in *The Perfectibility of Man*, 3rd edition, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, (2000).
[193] Sermons 53, vol. 4, p. 502.
[194] Ibid, pp. 506-507.
[195] Cf. Sermons 1, 2, 3, 9, vol. 1.

people listening to him or reading his text has neglected religious education up to the point exposed. He hopes that the public listening to him is composed of people who are faulty because, even if it is in man's nature to be faulty, they might eventually find some hints to reflection in what he is saying to them. To prove more effective he proposes six *considerations*.

The first one is the acknowledgment that some children are the mirror of their impolite and sinful parents, and therefore become heirs to a "sad inheritance"[196], being deprived of the means of receiving a good Christian education and of working for their salvation. The hindrance has to be imputed to their mothers and fathers who function like patterns: they should check themselves first and then proceed to straighten their offspring. Tillotson presents the example of the importance fathers give to estates and the care they put into having their rights recognised and passed to their offspring without caring about the state of their souls. They therefore give more importance to worldly things. The second *consideration* proceeds directly from the first because it is a reflection on the importance of education as the best inheritance that parents could leave to their beloved. If directed by virtue and wisdom, education is the only aspect in a man's life that is not subject to fortune as opposed to fame, riches and a good name:

> You may raise your children to honour, and settle a noble estate upon them to support it. You may leave them, as you think, to faithful guardians, and by kindness and obligation procure them many friends: and when you have done all this, their guardians may prove unfaithful and treacherous, and in the changes and revolutions of the world their honours may slip from under them. [...] But if the good education of your children hath made them wise and virtuous, you have provided an inheritance for them which is out of the reach of fortune, and cannot be taken from them.[197]

Loving one's child means offering him/her the best education and using patience and toil to obtain these precious results. In order to move the audience's interests, the divine presents what advantages for parents a good education brings, and this is explained in the third *consideration*. Comfort is derived from support in

[196] Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 508.
[197] Ibid, p. 510.

old age and in seeing children become the memorial of their parents. On the contrary wicked children are a burden to the family and ruin its good name. It is also a comfort in the other world because diligent parents will be rewarded accordingly: "Rebellious children are to their infirm and aged parents so many aggravations of an evil day, so many burdens of their age. [...] And good children will likewise be an unspeakable comfort to us in the other world."[198]

With the fourth *consideration*, Tillotson moves to the public sphere. He comments on the interdependence between single family units and the welfare of the whole society, an issue that he develops at large in charity sermons. Tillotson demonstrates that as children form families, so families form the population in cities and countries and therefore the better education these pillars receive, the greatest happiness civil society gains. The preacher believes that the best way to reform a people is to reform the children that will build its future. Laws and sermons, as well as the work of magistrates, have a slow impact to society while education is "timely and compendious"[199] and consequently the most effectual way to reformation. Parents however must not forget that laws are directed to them and it is their duty to introduce children to public life and to the hopes of a more religious society.

With the fifth *consideration* Tillotson goes back to the discussion of the evils brought by the neglect of educating children. These are felt not only by families but by society at large and the direct result is the ruin of the children and of the stability of society. Educators cannot forget that human nature is corrupt and attracted to evil and that if left alone without a guide it will lead man to misery. Nature is like a field, it is always active and if plants do not grow in it, vices are like weeds that will take their place[200]. This is the reason why Tillotson claims the necessity of parental vigilance. If evil overcomes virtue, men lose their freedom and only God can save them. The consequences for society regard the fact that those children will become

[198] Ibid, p. 512.
[199] Ibid, p. 513.
[200] Ibid, p. 515. Tillotson cites Horace, Book I, Satire III. 37: "Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris" (For in neglected fields there springs up bracken, which you must burn). Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, The Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation by H. R. Fairclough, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1929), pp. 34-35. Tillotson refers again to the biblical metaphor of the sowing and harvesting.

a burden to human relationships as their lives are guided only by ignorance, error and "wild opinions"[201]:

> There will certainly spring up briers and thorns, of which parents will not feel the inconveniences, but every body else that comes near them. [...] We are naturally inclined to evil, and the neglect of education puts children upon a kind of necessity of becoming what they are naturally inclined to be. Do but leave them alone, and they will soon be habituated to sin and vice. [...] Nor doth the mischief of this neglect end here, but it extends it self to the publick, and to posterity.[202]

The last *consideration* that closes the sermon is a reflection on the guilt that parents have to bear once they neglect their children. As in the previous sermons, Tillotson does not miss the opportunity of raising fears in the audience, reminding them that the consequences are both temporal and eternal. They affect their credit, health and estate and most of the time lead them to hell where they live again and again their children's sins. It seems that the purpose of the discussion is to terrify and awaken the conscience of instructors. In order to impress the audience Tillotson presents God's words in a short monologue on the day of judgement. The preacher also reports the possible rebuke of a neglected child showing the horror of the situation and thus increasing the feeling of guilt in the parent, giving the discussion a more theatrical taste:

> Had you been as careful to teach me the good knowledge of the LORD, [...] to instruct me in my duty, I had not now stood trembling here in a fearful expectation of the eternal doom which is just ready to be pass'd upon me. Cursed be the man that begat me, and the paps that gave me suck. It is to you that I must in a great measure owe my everlasting undoing.[203]

The conclusion of the sermon is an exhortation to obedience, to take these matters to heart and avoid mistakes by following one's duty to the letter. This discourse

[201] On ignorance cf. note 34. Cf. Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 487 for a description of the consequences of ignorance: "There will come up new and wild opinions, a factitious and uncharitable spirit, a furious and boisterous zeal, which will neither suffer themselves to be quiet, nor any body that is about them."
[202] Sermon 53, vol. 4, pp. 514-15. The divine does not lose the opportunity to remind the audience that the present degenerate situation is a direct consequence of the neglect of catechism during the Interregnum.
[203] Ibid, p. 518.

ends the series dedicated to the instruction of children and the following one, the last of the collection, is dedicated to the education of young men.

Sermon 54 opens with the exegesis of the new citation that Tillotson uses for this sermon. It is taken from Solomon's book whose content is focused on the vanity of the world and of the life of man. Tillotson announces that the content of the sermon is similar to that of the book of Solomon, in specific to prepare men in reflection concerning life and his situation in this world. The duty that Solomon underlines is that human beings should remember God in the days of youth which is the best time in a man's life[204]. The opposition in the life of man is the one between youth and old age and therefore between pleasure and a burden.

The necessity of this obligation is reflected in three things that Tillotson considers in the *confirmation*: the nature of the duty, the notion of God as a creator and the temporal limit of this duty to youth. The first *head* begins with a reflection of the meaning of "duty". If remembering means to call something to the mind, remembering God means to have him in a man's mind and to revive the thought of him every day. This duty must be regulated by love and fear of God and man must follow what the memory of something tells him to do. Remembering God means to consider him in his being, recognising his power in creating men and governing them providing suitable laws, to lay God's future judgement in rewards and punishment at heart, and lastly to contemplate his attributes, his perfection and omnipresence[205]. This duty must be performed in youth because a young man's mind is still malleable and uncorrupted, and not exposed to strong impressions. Considering their creator, men should begin their lives in a religious course, acting in his fear and glory:

> The duty then here required of us, is so soon as we arrive at the use of reason and the exercise of our understandings, to take GOD into consideration, and to begin a religious

[204] Cf. also Sermon 101, vol. 6, p. 1640: "And youth, which is the morning of this day, tho' it is the flower of our time, and the most proper season of all other, for the remembrance of GOD, and the impressions of religion; yet it is usually possest by vanity and vice."
[205] Sermon 54, vol. 4, p. 524.

course of life betimes; [...] whilst our mind is yet soft and tender, and in a great measure free from all other impressions, to be mindful of the being that is above us[206].

In the second *head*, Tillotson deals with one of the first and most fundamental duties of man, i.e. to remember that he depends on God, his bountiful creator, who also has the power to punish him if necessary. Man should also remind himself of his vanity and of the ever present providence of God which created the world and still rules it wisely[207]. With these admonitions, the divines work on human fear and awe to God as some of the strongest passions in man that are able to move him to perfect himself[208]. Moreover, the way in which the world is regulated is the most sensible argument that man possesses to prove the existence of God[209]. Man can see the evidence of it in himself and in the natural world around him. Creation proves divine power as it can give life to man, but at the same time it can make him miserable. It also demonstrates God's goodness if man considers that He is perfect and did not need to create man. He acted out of mere kindness as he still keeps on protecting men with his providence. Only when the individual knows how to use his/her reason he can understand perfectly that God was and still is his/her benefactor.

The third *head* is concerned with time and Tillotson devotes a conspicuous part of the sermon to the discussion of this issue[210]. Referring to Solomon, Tillotson restricts the task to youth because, as he has already explained, this is the right moment to begin a religious life as human faculties are at their top. Some

[206] Ibid, pp. 524-25.
[207] Tillotson resumes the same considerations exposed in Sermon 51, vol. 4, pp. 459-60, where he explains the beliefs which parents should teach their children about God and natural religion.
[208] Ibid, p. 526. Cf. also Sermon 1, vol. 1, pp. 63-64.
Cf. the discussion on Sermon 38 in 2.2.1.
[209] Cf. Sermons in volume 8 dedicated to God and his attributes.
[210] The discussion of how to manage one's time is common in Tillotson's Lent sermons. Cf. for example Sermon 101, vol. 6, pp. 1638: "Time is the season and opportunity of carrying on of any work, and for that reason is one of the most valuable things; and yet nothing is more wastefully spent, and more prodigally squandered away by a great part of mankind than this, which next to our immortal souls, is of all other things most precious; because upon the right use or abuse of our time, our eternal happiness or misery does depend."
Cf. also the apostrophe in Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 292: "Wretched and inconsiderate men! who have so vast a work before them, the happiness of all eternity to take care of and provide for, and yet are at a loss to employ their time: so that irreligion and vice makes life an extravagant and unnatural thing, because it perverts and overthrows the natural course and order of things."

observations in particular need to be made on this temporal limit. Tillotson begins here a discussion on the characteristics of youth.

Youth is the time in a man's life in which God's memory is fresher and man starts using his reason and the first questions that he asks himself regard his origins and his creator. He therefore gets acquainted with God's providence and goodness especially when he considers the beauties in the world and his position in the Chain of Being. He acknowledges God had given him some instruments such as for example reason, speech, mind and understandings to govern the world and excel in it. Especially because he is occupying a special place in the world, man has to be thankful to God and oblige his duty in youth when his mind is still apt to impressions and he feels pleasure in what he does and sees. In time his heart will harden and this process of recognition will become more and more difficult.

If on the one hand, youth is virtuous and prolific, on the other Tillotson acknowledges that young men also tend to forget their obligations to God because they are healthy and they are experiencing the pleasures of the world and its prosperity. Youths are attracted to pleasure because they are more sensitive and capable of feeling it than adult men. Such a propensity might become problematic if their transport naturally ends in transgression and addiction. Tillotson promotes again the search for a middle way, a balance between rational and appetitive faculties. Sensual pleasures indeed have the power to distance man from religion and to steal his heart once he has fallen in love with them. This attitude comes from the nature of young men who are rash and inconsiderate because they are inexperienced. Reason does not have full possession of them and therefore needs guidance. This is the reason why Tillotson calls this age the "age of discipline", underlying that man is tractable and open to everything, both good and evil offers. The Bible describes this one as the right time to plough and sow[211] and parents should exploit the situation because once their children experience the world, they will harden their hearts and become rigid. Tillotson opens a discussion on the development of this topic citing "a noted saying of Aristotle, 'that young persons

[211] Isaiah 28:9: [9] Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts.

are not fit to hear lectures of moral philosophy'."[212]According to the Greek philosopher, passions are so predominant in young men that the influence that they have on their minds is extremely difficult to contrast. Some critics have interpreted these ideas as the impossibility of educating children and have therefore advised their public to leave them in ignorance as the process was unnecessary by itself. Tillotson, on the contrary, believes that Aristotle perfectly knew the importance of giving moral precepts to guide youth in the process of governing their passions before they become habits and therefore very difficult to mould[213]. Young men are malleable like clay, but as clay they must be wrought upon before it gets hard[214]. Where there is no instruction ignorance can grow wildly and block the passages to wisdom and this is exactly the reason why religion should come first to anticipate sin. Tillotson underlines once more that the soul is not immune to iniquity and being active it will concentrate on something either good or evil.

Youth is also characterised by heat which is both a positive and negative principle. It leads to practice and action, to improve courage, vigour and constancy[215], but also to lack of control because in their heat men cannot govern themselves. Therefore instructors should use honour, praise, virtue and commendation to engage them in religion and play on their aptness to believe, their hopes and courage to go beyond the limits to improve their learning. Moreover,

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[212] Sermon 54, vol. 4, p. 533. The extract that Tillotson might be hinting at is Aristotle's description of the character of young men in *Rhetoric*, II.xi.7-xii.7. Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, ed. J. H. Freese, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1967); p. 247-51.

[213] On the control of the passions cf. Sermon 95, vol. 6, p. 1520: "As desirable as it is, it must be acknowledged very difficult for a man to raise himself to that temper and disposition of mind, so to subdue his lusts, and govern his passions, to bridle his tongue, and order all the actions of his life, as is necessary to qualify him for happiness, and to make him fit to be admitted into the Kingdom of GOD."

[214] Tillotson cites Persius, Satire III.23: "udum et molle lutum es, nunc properandus et acri fingendus sine fine rota." (You're soft as wet mud, you need to be dragged off now, and shaped on the swift ever-turning potter's wheel). Juvenal and Persius, The Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation by G. G. Ramsay, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1979); pp. 346-47. Cf. also a similar passage in Sermon 50, vol. 3, p. 437-38. "Because if no care be taken of persons in their younger years, when they are most capable of the impressions of religion, how can it reasonably be expected that they should come to good afterwards?"

[215] The sermons on education are followed by a sermon on Moses (Sermon 57) who is considered a great example of constancy in religion, and by a series of sermons (58 to 63) which discuss the issue of constancy comparing the practices of the Church of England to those of the Church of Rome. Cf. in particular Sermon 60, in which the divine analyses the influence of some of the temptations of the world, "fashion and example" and "worldly interest and advantage"; pp. 913-16. His discussion might be applied to his willingness to instruct young men.

their modesty and honesty might be helpful to restrain them from evil as their minds are not corrupted by covetous thoughts.

Being the first profitable time in a man's life, youth should be devoted to God: "Under the law the first-fruits and the first-born were GOD's. In like manner we should devote the first of our age and time to him."[216] It is also a way of demonstrating man's sincerity to his creator. Early habits are like clothes, they fit "gracefully" those who wear them[217]. Tillotson describes the picture of a young man tempted on every side and presents his monologue where he explains that he will serve the lord and avoid sin and the joy in heaven at his purpose. Lastly Tillotson reflects on the fact that youth might be the only time man has to set himself on religion due to uncertainty of his life. What is important is that this process cannot be started too soon when children do not understand it fully and not too late when men have already experienced too much of this world.

The last section of the sermon is dedicated to the inferences that the preacher can draw from the analysis. The two inferences that the public can rationally infer are the encouragement to young men to consider God's importance in their lives and the exhortation to those who neglected this practice. The warning is made by a series of negative imperatives, "be not", "think not", which underline the vanity of man and its uncertain existence. If youth is the period in which the Lord's candle shines more brightly on man, it is also the period in which what God's laws require of men seems difficult but not impossible to perform. With the passing of time the process of rectifying one's life becomes more difficult because lusts control the mind and the heart is hardened by sin. Man has a great work to do in fighting sin and his life on earth is barely sufficient to get him to eternal happiness. He therefore needs to organise his time and start his work now. Here Tillotson adds a reflection on old age and its infirmities, giving a pessimistic view of it as corrupted and stiffened, insincere in its seeking after God for comfort. Tillotson invokes sincerity in offering oneself entirely to God in order to repay his infinite goodness.

[216] Sermon 54, vol. 4, p. 536.
[217] Ibid, p. 537.

The second inference is a reflection on repentance, a process that Tillotson reminds his audience is not sudden and cannot be done at any time. The problem in delaying it can be found in man's ideas of sin, heaven and repentance itself. Heaven is not a hospital[218] where man can cherish his last refuge and that he can enter under petition. A sinner's monologue, talking at the hour of death, asking God to let him in, sounds false, a mockery of God. Even if man's creator desires his repentance, he will not prostitute heaven in order to let him in. He will not accept criminals as it happens in the new plantations around the world[219]. Moreover, man must not forget that God is infinite goodness and happiness and that he does not need man's company in heaven. He is all-sufficient. On the contrary, man needs his creator to be happy, thus acknowledging his dependence on him.

The sermon ends with some excerpts from the Holy Scriptures combined in such a way as to summarise the content and exhortations of the sermon, in particular the necessity of believing and considering God's perfection and goodness, and the obligation to spend one's time in a profitable way[220]. The question that closes the sermon is how man can understand how to fight his passions and regulate them once he is not under the influence of his parents' education anymore. Tillotson replies that a man's reformation comes from thoughtful contrition[221] and never without God's assistance. What matters anyway is the way in which the reformation is performed. Youth is the proper time for reflection, the period in which man asks himself questions about his creator and acquires a certain knowledge of himself. It is in this sermon that Tillotson insists particularly on the question of time and of its disposal which is connected to the theme of the vanity of the world and of the place where happiness can be found. His young public is encouraged to look into themselves and to find an answer to their questions using reason and conscience.

[218] Ibid, p. 544.
[219] Ibid, p. 545.
[220] Tillotson might be thinking about Ecclesiastes 11:9: [9] Rejoice, O young man, in your youth, and let your heart cheer you in the days of your youth. Walk in the ways of your heart and the sight of your eyes. But know that for all these things God will bring you into judgment.
[221] Spellman, *Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 61.

CHAPTER THREE
INDIVIDUAL HAPPINESS AND MORAL JUDGEMENT

III.i Knowing Oneself

> Let us not deceive ourselves; there is one plain way to heaven, by sincere repentance and a holy life.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 21***

The Latitudinarians believed that man is perfectible, that he might become a good Christian subject once he has endorsed religious precepts and thus he can actively contribute to his happiness. This idea could partly derive from ancient philosophy, especially Stoicism. The Stoics emphasise man's coherence with what reason directs him to do and with how it teaches him to live. Man is therefore autonomous in his decisions if he lets himself be guided by rational principles. A human being can distinguish himself from the beasts because he can employ his rationality to erase passions which are considered illnesses of the soul. Seneca's writings in particular were used by divines as a basis for discussion[222]. Part of the

[222] Also the idea of self-reflection, presented in *On Anger* (III. 36) could have had some appeal to the Latitudinarians who promoted it as a means to get to future happiness: "All our senses should be educated into strength: they are naturally able to endure much, provided that the spirit forbears to spoil them. The spirit ought to be brought up for examination daily. It was the custom of Sextius when the day was over, and he had betaken himself to rest, to inquire of his spirit: "What bad habit of yours have you cured to-day? what vice have you checked? in what respect are you better?" Anger will cease, and become more gentle, if it knows that every day it will have to appear before the judgment seat. What can be more admirable than this fashion of discussing the whole of the day's events? how sweet is the sleep which follows this self-examination? how calm, how sound, and careless is it when our spirit has either received praise or reprimand, and when our secret inquisitor and censor has made his report about our morals? I make use of this privilege, and daily plead my cause before myself: when the lamp is taken out of my sight, and my wife, who knows my habit, has ceased to talk, I pass the whole day in review before myself, and repeat all that I have said and done: I conceal nothing from myself, and omit nothing: for why should I be afraid of any of my shortcomings, when it is in my power to say, "I pardon you this time: see that you never do that anymore? In that dispute you spoke too contentiously: do not for the future argue with ignorant people: those who have never been taught are unwilling to learn. You reprimanded that man with more freedom than you ought, and consequently you have offended him instead of amending his ways: in dealing with other cases of the kind, you should look carefully, not only to the truth of what you say, but also whether the person to whom you speak can bear to be told the truth." A good man delights in receiving advice: all the worst men are the most impatient of guidance." L. Annaeus Seneca, *Minor Dialogs Together with the Dialog "On Clemency"*; Translated by

interest in Roman Stoicism could be derived from the type of writings that the Latin author proposes, having an addressee who is troubled and receives "consolation" from him. The reader in Seneca is thus active in the participation in the discussion, as the religious public was encouraged to be in England in the late Seventeenth-century. As in the Platonic and Aristotelian tradition, for Seneca too virtue is the only value that leads man to happiness. He believes that man is moved by the impressions he receives from external objects. Impulse generates action when man assents to the impression he has previously received and he therefore uses his will, *voluntas*, to decide how to act. Man has the power to reform himself and he should keep self-improvement as the goal of his way of living. The individual can distinguish between virtuous reasonable impressions and irrational movement of the mind. Virtue is to Seneca "a true and immovable judgement"[223] and is the only valuable good that man should consider. In becoming an adult, a man can improve himself and perfect his rationality because wisdom in choosing what is good and virtuous gives him stability in an unstable world. A man needs to look for himself and for the sense of his life in himself and not in the objects around him[224].

As we can see in Tillotson's sermons, Seneca's ideas are presented in the elements which constitute man and which the Anglican Church tried to explain: the body, the reason and will. Ernest Tuveson, describing the import of John Locke's revolutionary ideas on the mind, affirms that "it is really very difficult to guess what the average, fairly well-informed man of 1690 thought about the operations of his mind."[225] I would argue that this opinion might be reversed if we have a look at Tillotson's sermons and what they explained to the audience about their mind and its functioning. Assuming the fact that human knowledge is limited, what man may know about himself regards his own personal sphere, that is his moral conduct,

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Aubrey Stewart, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, (1889); pp. 115-161.

[223] Letters, 71.32, cited in Katja Vogt, *Seneca*, 'Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy', (Nov. 2011), p. 11.

[224] De Luise, Farinetti, *Storia della Felicità*, p. 135.

[225] Ernest Tuveson, "Locke and the "Dissolution of The Ego"," *Modern Philology* vol. 52 no. 3 (Feb. 1955), pp. 159-174; p. 161.
On the divines' reaction to Locke's theories cf. R.C. Tennant, "The Anglican Response to Locke's Theory of Personal Identity," *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 43 no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1982) pp. 73-90.

desires and passions[226]. This means that he is able to understand when and how he commits a sin contrary to God's natural laws or rather when he strays from his happiness. Barrow expresses the same position in the Sermon *Of the Virtue and Reasonableness of Faith*:

> God our parent hath stamped on our nature some lineaments of himself, whereby we resemble him; he hath implanted in our souls some roots of piety towards him; into our frame he hath inserted some propensions to acknowledge him, and affect him; the which are exited and improved by observing the manifest footsteps of divine power, wisdom, and goodness, which occur in the works of nature and providence; to preserve and cherish these is very commendable; a man thereby keeping the precious relics of the divine image from utter defacement, retaining somewhat of his primitive worth and integrity; declaring that by ill usage he hath not quite shattered and spoiled his best faculties and inclinations.[227]

Self-recognition is at the base of two sermons that Tillotson dedicates to sin and its nature, Sermon 115 and 116, *The sins of men not chargeable upon GOD; but upon themselves*. The former explains what sin is and why it is contrary to divine goodness to think that God tempts men to sin providing a variety of pleasures in this world to allure him. It is true, God threatens men with eternal punishments while encouraging him to repentance offering his grace, but he does not lead them to

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[226] Cf. Sermon 135, vol. 8, pp. 3370-71: "We are satisfied of many things, the manner whereof we do not know; we believe the union of the soul and body, thug no man can explain how a spirit can be united to matter; we believe the continuity of matter, that is, that the parts of it hang together, of which whosoever saith he can give an account, doth but betray his own ignorance."

[227] Barrow, Sermon 2, vol. 5, p. 56. This idea functions as an argument to support innatism. This theory was particularly popular in the Church of England in the Seventeenth-century and gained the support of the Cambridge Platonists in philosophy. They considered that God implanted in the mind of man the idea of his existence and of man's dependence on him and on the laws that he imposed. God therefore enables man to understand the difference between good and evil. Cf. *The Cambridge Platonists*, ed. by C.A. Partrides, Cambridge: CUP, (1969). On Cambridge Platonists and innate ideas cf. also G. A. J. Rogers, "Locke, Newton, and the Cambridge Platonists on Innate Ideas," *Journal of the History of the Ideas* vol. 40 no. 2 (Apr.- Jun. 1979), pp 191-205.
John Spurr, *"Rational Religion" in Restoration England*, argues the same point in analysing the Latitudinarian revolt against atheism. The scholar asserts that there was the coexistence of tow trends of thought: those who believed that God had implanted the idea of his being at birth and those who believed that God had moulded the soul of man "in such a way that "upon free use of reason" or its own faculties, simply by reflection and thinking, it will form a notion of a perfect being." In order to support his position Spurr cites Tillotson, Sermon 1, vol. 1, p. 33: "But no one and constant reason of this can be given, but from the nature of a man's mind and understanding, which hath this notion of a deity born with it and stamped upon it.". *"Rational Religion" in Restoration England*, pp. 572-73.
Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 89, vol. 6, p. 1432: "The principles of natural religion are born with us, and imprinted upon our minds, so that no man can be ignorant of them, nor need to be mistaken about them; and as for those revelations that GOD hath made of himself to the world, he hath been pleased to accompany them with so much evidence, that an honest and sincere mind may easily discern them from error, and imposture."

vicious conduct. On the contrary, it is man himself who looks for those situations in which he is easily drawn into temptation, especially when it concerns the allurements of the world and sensual pleasures[228]: "in this case GOD doth not tempt men to sin, but leaves them to themselves, to be tempted by their own hearts lusts."[229] Temptations are regulated by hopes and fears in what one might gain or lose, in the pleasure or the pain that he might derive from the object of temptation. They usually have origin from lusts, irregular desires and inclinations and these are combined with the temptations from without, objects, riches, power and ambition. Even if the devil tempts man to sin, Tillotson imputes most of the charge on mankind:

> I am far from thinking that the devil tempts men to all the evil that they do. I rather think that the greatest part of the wickedness that is committed in the world, springs from the evil motions of mens minds. Mens own lusts are generally to them the worst of the two, and do more strongly incline them to sin, than any devil without them can tempts them to.[230]

Human lusts are voluntary but they can be checked and mortified by reflection and repentance, keeping into consideration that "every spark is dangerous, when it falls upon combustible matter."[231] While asserting the degeneracy of human nature, Tillotson also claims that mortification is "not so difficult work to most persons, if they begin it betimes."[232] Lusts and inclinations come from within, from the human body, but they can be observed, studied and regulated and even if it is man's "outward and worse part," the body can be "admirable, even to astonishment."[233] The body is like a "cabinet, […] exquisitely wrought, and very rich,"[234] but man is

[228] Sermon 115, vol. 7, p. 1903-04.
[229] Ibid, p. 1911.
[230] Sermon 116, vol. 7, p. 1936.
[231] Ibid, p. 1945.
[232] Ibid, p. 1940.
[233] Sermon 137, vol. 8, p. 3416. Cf. also John Wilkins's discussion on the wisdom of divine providence in creating the body in *A Discourse concerning the Beauty of PROVIDENCE*, London, Printed for Sa: Gellibrand at the Brasen Serpent in St. Paul's Church-yard, (1649), pp. 86-87: "You know, that in the naturall body, the variety and dissimilitude of parts, is required to the beauty of the whole; the roundnesse of the head, the length of the arm, the flatnesse of the hand, blacknesse in one part, and whitenesse in another; all these being singly compared amongst themselves, though they may seem to argue some opposition and difformitie, yet look upon them as they stand in relation to the whole frame, and it will appear how in their several waies, they do each of them conduce to its comelinesse and order."
[234] Ibid, p. 3417.

not aware of what is going on in it and has to believe that its functioning is almost a miracle given by God's providential benevolence:

> Considering likewise this fearful and wonderful frame of a human body, this infinitely complicated engine; in which, to the due performance of the several functions and offices of life, so many strings and springs, so many receptacles and channels are necessary, and all in their right frame and order; and in which, besides the infinite imperceptible and secret ways to mortality, there are so many sluices and flood-gates to let death in and life out, that it is next to a miracle, […] that every one of us did not die every day since we were born.[235]

However, needing a certain knowledge in anatomy to explain how the human body works[236], most sermons are concentrated on the functioning of the mind portraying reason as an instrument which even if limited[237] might contribute to the process of moral improvement or of "reassuming humanity" as Spellman calls it[238]. It is the soul indeed which allies man to heavenly creatures. "The glorious faculty of reason and understanding exalt us above the rest of the creatures,"[239] exclaims Tillotson, and these in turn serve man to provide for himself, for his sustainment and defence. The mind is able to remember past events and think about its future prospects, taking also eternity into consideration. If the mind is the greatest miracle in the creation of the world, man can use it to know himself, "because we are familiar to our selves, we cannot be strange and wonderful to our selves."[240] The same reasoning can be made for the care for a man's physical and spiritual part. It is true man has to care for his body being the tabernacle of the soul, but "the things which concern our bodies, and this present life, are of no consideration, in comparison to the great and vast concernments of our immortal souls, and the happy

[235] Sermon 40, vol. 3, p. 141. Cf. also Sermon 48, vol. 3, p. 376: "There are many things likewise in our selves, which no man is able in any measure to comprehend, as to the manner how they are done and performed: as the vital union of body and soul [...]. The like may be said of the operations of our several faculties of sense and imagination, of memory and reason, and especially of the liberty of our wills."
[236] Tillotson himself claims this necessity in Sermon 137, p. 3417: "The wisdom of GOD, in the frame of our bodies, very much appears by a curious consideration of the several parts of it."
[237] Cf. Sermon 56, vol. 4, p. 834: "Our best reason is but very short and imperfect: but since it is no better, we must make use of it as it is, and make the best of it."
[238] Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 68.
[239] Ibidem. Cf. also Sermon 137, vol. 8, p. 3417: "If we consider the mind of man yet nearer, how many arguments of divinity are there in it! That there should be at once in our understandings distinct comprehensions of such variety of objects; that it should pass in it's thoughts from heaven to earth in a moment, and retain the memory of things past, and take a prospect of the future, and look forward as far as eternity! [...] The great miracle of the world is the mind of man, and the contrivance of it an eminent instance of GOD's wisdom."
[240] Ibid, p. 3418.

or miserable condition of our bodies and souls to all eternity."[241] According to B. J. Shapiro, Wilkins and Tillotson were among the first divines to promote the idea that leading a good life in this world, man can profit from a good one in the next, assuming the theory of rewards and punishments as a moral demonstration which all rational creatures could use to judge their own fate[242].

According to Tillotson, both the body carried astray by the passions and the weakness of the will pose problems to morality[243]. The will is associated with the circumstances of an action and this is the reason why divines insist on the necessity of investigating a specific situation using conscience. Circumstances give a particular light to an object which in turn rouses human curiosity and consequently feelings of pleasure or pain when the individual decides to interact with the object in question. When man commits a crime by choosing to do it willingly he cannot be forgiven by God because he knows he is doing something that his mind is telling him is wrong[244]. Together with "the operations of the several faculties of sense and imagination[245], of memory and reason," the "liberty of the wills"[246] is one of the characteristics that man is not able to comprehend by himself but that he has to ascribe to divine providence. The will poses a huge problem because it regulates the way in which man learns his duty and what is required of him by God. If the will

[241] Sermon 60, vol. 5, p. 916.

[242] Cf. B. J. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England*, Princeton University Press, (1983), ch. 3, pp. 88-89.

[243] Cf. for example Sermon 114, vol. 7, pp. 1882-83: "God measures the faults of men by their wills, and if there be no defect there, there can be no guilt; for no man is guilty, but he that is conscious to himself that he would not do what he knew he ought to do, or would do what he knew he ought not to do."
This is a clear reminder to Article X Of Free Will. Cf. for example Burnet's discussion of it, *An Exposition*, p. 117: "A rational Nature is not determined as mere Matter, by the Impulse and Motion of other Bodies upon it; but is capable of Thought, and upon considering the Objects set before it, makes Reflection, and so chuses. Liberty therefore seems to consist in this inward Capacity of thinking, and of acting and chusing upon Thought. [...] A question arises out of this, Whether the Will is not always determined by the Understanding, so that a Man does always chuse and determine himself upon the account of some Ideas or other?"
Griffin acknowledges that the Latitudinarians were aware of the limits imposed on knowledge by "inference from the will (whether faculty or function) though interests, passions and appetites." Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 67.

[244] Cf. Sermon 5, vol. 1, p. 150.

[245] On imagination and its negative influence on reason Cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 65. Griffin is explaining Glanvill's position on the human rational faculty: "Imagination was a worse enemy of truth, when the mind performed its second act of 'judging', or combining simple apprehensions into propositions. In itself, Glanvill said, imagination did not deceive men, 'yet it is the most fatal means of our deception'."

[246] Sermon 48, vol. 3, p. 376. Tillotson uses the same expression in *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 441: "Now, if there were a real contradiction in the rule, it were impossible it should be put in practice; but it is only a contradiction in our *wills*, which must thus be reconciled to the *rule*."

limits this process, it will not be able to get to the heart of man where the light of understanding is and in consequence influence human behaviour. Discussions on the unpredictability of the will are expanded in the sermons concerning covetousness, "a disease of the mind, and an unnatural thirst, which is inflamed by that which should quench it."[247] Here the power of the will over reason is testified because man chooses to be driven away by inordinate desires, and completely forgets his duty to himself and, which is even more dangerous, to others:

> Men resist the doctrine of the holy scriptures; not because they have sufficient reason to doubt of their divine authority; but because they are unwilling to be govern'd by them, and to conform their lives to the laws and precepts of that holy book: for the wills of men have a great influence upon their understandings, to make assent easy or difficult; and as many are apt to assent to what they have a mind to, so they are slow to believe any thing which crosseth their humours and inclinations.[248]

The will leads mankind to sin which is "a thing of so stupefying a nature as to make men insensible of their danger, although it be so near, and so terrible."[249] Tillotson often uses metaphors from the medical field to describe vice and its effects. It is "like a slight disease, which is easy to be cured, but dangerous to be neglected."[250] Men usually fall into sin because "an inordinate love of the world is very pernicious to [their] souls"[251] and the effects are resonant to the single individual but also to society at large. The consequent disadvantages are the increase of material, everyday cares, the temptation of forgetting one's religious duty and dependence on God and the inclination to falsehood and lying. Nevertheless, education is considered a good way to contrast the pretences of the will because man can become a positive product of the environment in which he grows up:

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[247] Sermon 91, vol. 6, pp. 1461-62.
[248] Sermon 128, vol. 7, p. 2231-32.
[249] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 247.
[250] Ibid, p. 248. Cf. also p. 252: "For a sick man as he hath lost an appetite to the most pleasant meats and drinks, so likewise his sinful pleasures and fleshly lusts are at the same time nauseous to him, and for the very same reason: for the sickness having altered the temper of his body, he hath not at that time any gust or relish for these things."
[251] Sermon 34, vol. 2, p. 431.

> By the happiness of a good education, and the merciful providence of GOD, a great part of many mens virtue consists in their ignorance of vice, and their being kept out of the way of great and dangerous temptations; rather in the good customs they have been bred up to, than in the deliberate choice of their wills; and rather in the happy preventions of evil, than in their resolute constancy in that which is good.[252]

The human condition in this world is full of trouble because the soul longs to be reconciled with the divine essence that created it[253]. Man often feels in a miserable condition because he either is ill in the body or feels his "souls are ill lodged, in the dark dungeon of a body; over-powered with a melancholy humour, which keeps out all light and comfort from our minds."[254] It should therefore not surprise men if they cannot find their happiness in the mutable world around them but have to look for it high above: "The mind which is in man, and our immortal souls, which are far the most noble and excellent part of ourselves, are the natives of heaven, and but "pilgrims and strangers" here on the earth."[255] Man lives in the constant fear of being deprived of what he can enjoy in this world[256] and he does not understand that pure bliss consists in being at ease, free from misery, especially from the trouble that his present condition generates.[257] According to Tillotson, human minds should be raised above two passions, "the fondness of life, and the slavish fears of death."[258] These are indeed the points on which Tillotson insists in his sermons: the idea that emerges is that in order to become an exemplary Christian, one should combine what is required of him in natural religion with faith in God's providence and distribution of rewards and punishments[259]. Every man is conscious of his condition and dependency on God, it is innate in him and part of his being a creature:

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[252] Sermon 16, vol. 1, p. 380.
[253] "Since our continuance in the body is to our disadvantage, and while we live, we are absent from our happiness; and when we die, we shall then enter upon the possession of it." Sermon 64, vol. 5, p. 979.
[254] Sermon 79, vol. 5, p. 1253.
[255] Sermon 68, vol. 5, p. 1052.
[256] Ibid, p. 1060.
[257] Cf. Sermon 79, vol. 5, pp. 1251-52: "Thus it is with us in this world, we are liable to sorrow and pain and death: but when we are once got to heaven, none of these things shall approach us."
[258] Sermon 69, vol. 5, p. 1074.
[259] Cf. Sermon 54, vol. 5, p. 982: "For instance, the belief of an invisible GOD, of a secret power and providence, that orders and governs all things, that can bless or blasts us, and all our designs and undertakings, according as we demean our selves towards him, and endeavour to improve our selves to him."

> Human nature is conscious to itself of it's own weakness and insufficiency, and of it's necessary dependence upon something without itself for it's happiness, and therefore, in great extremity and distress, the atheist himself hath naturally recourse to him.[260]

The key-words in this sermon are therefore obedience, sincerity and deliberation. Man's rational nature implies the necessity of the law and morality to satisfy the directions imposed by the innate idea of good and evil, right and wrong which God implanted in mankind:

> The very thought of this is enough to make human nature to tremble at it's very foundation. For the deepest principle that GOD hath planted in our nature is "the desire of our own preservation and "happiness", and into this is the force of all laws, and the reason of all our duty is at last resolved.[261]

The word "moral" contains in itself the idea of being "eternal and indispensable," especially when applied to obligations descending directly from God[262]. Man's happiness is in fulfilling the laws and in performing those actions which are required of him and generate pleasure.

Although God is free to judge man as he pleases and salvation is not automatically gained through good works, the Latitudinarians stress the idea of the benefits deriving from a morally upright life, in particular health, peace of mind and liberty[263]. Wilkins for example claims that the "rational and prudent man" is able to "order his actions in favour of that way which appears to be most safe and advantageous for his own interest."[264] As heathen authors also claimed, "felicity doth naturally result from perfection:"[265] man must tend to perfection in his life, improving those qualities of "charity, and kindness, and compassion, which we

[260] Sermon 146, vol. 8, p. 3574.
[261] Sermon 66, vol. 5, p. 1022.
[262] Sermon 141, vol. 8, p. 3505.
[263] Cf. G. F. Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson: The Doctrine of Conditional Salvation*, 'Eighteenth-Century Studies', vol. 22, n. 2 (1988-89), pp. 182-207. In Sermon 87, vol. 6, p. 1390, Tillotson affirms that "the foundation of all divine knowledge [is] in the practice of religion."
[264] Cited in Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 89.
[265] Sermon 132, vol. 8, p. 3320. Cf. also Sermon 95, vol. 6, p. 1518: "That is, we do not now distinctly understand wherein the happiness of the next life consists, we are not able to frame a clear and perfect idea of it; but this we know in general, that it consists in our likeness to GOD, in a conformity to the moral perfections of the divine nature, which are exprest by the name of purity and holiness."
Sermon 98, vol. 6, p. 1578: "The gospel would raise us to the perfection of all virtue and goodness, and the promises of it are admirably fitted to relieve the infirmities and weakness of human nature."
Sermon 142, vol. 7, p. 3519: "Holiness is the essential and principal ingredient of happiness. Holiness is a state of peace and tranquility, and the very frame and temper of happiness."

peculiarly call humanity" that are founded on love, the very essence of the divine creator[266]. Divine rules all tend to man's good and happiness and are the evidence of God's goodness. Taking therefore these laws as the criterion to judge one's actions, man has to proceed to their analysis, both in his past and present life, in order to conform to divine precepts. Only in this way can he get to true happiness which is "something that is nearer and more intimate to us, than any of the things in this world; it is within thee, in thine heart, and in the very inward frame and disposition of thy mind."[267] Following the Christian-Stoic philosophy, happiness becomes connected to virtue and pleasure through the practice of self-reflection[268]. This will eventually lead man to a change in his life and to sincere repentance for past sins. Christians have all the instruments to know themselves as Tillotson claims in Sermon 134, *The Knowledge of GOD*. On the other hand, Tillotson underlines the limits of this knowledge to the sole personal sphere of each individual. What man cannot know is what passes into another man's mind and heart:

> Men may make a probable conjecture at the thoughts and designs of others, from their words and actions; but GOD only knows them. Men are conscious to their own thoughts and purposes; 'the spirit of a man that is in him, knows the things of a man.[269]

If the divine nature is by its definition immutable, it is man who must change and conform himself to its dictates: "GOD cannot recede from his own perfection, and therefore we must quit our sins: thou canst not change GOD, therefore change thy

[266] Sermon 131, vol. 8, p. 3312. Cf. also the conclusion of Sermon 63, vol. 5, p. 978: "Now the GOD of peace which brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good word and work; working in you that which is pleasing in his sight."

[267] Sermon 132, vol. 8, p. 3331.

[268] Cf. Joseph Hall, *Characters of Virtues and Vices*, in *Works*, ed. by Philip Wynter, vol. VI, AMS Press, (1969), pp. 89-125. The entry under the title of The Happy Man reads thus: "He is an happy man, THAT hath learned to read himself more than all books, and hath so taken out this lesson, that he can never forget it; that knows the world, and cares not for it; that, after many traverses of thoughts, is grown to know what he may trust to, and stands now equally armed for all events; that hath got the mastery at home; so as he can cross his will without a mutiny, and so please it, that he makes it not a wanton: that in earthly things wishes no more than nature; in spiritual, is ever graciously ambitious." For a further discussion on Hall and Neo-Stoicism in the Seventeenth-century cf. Philip A. Smith, *Bishop Hall, "Our English Seneca"*, 'PMLA' vol. 63 no. 4 (Dec. 1948), pp. 1191-1204.

[269] Sermon 134, vol. 8, p. 3361. Tillotson acknowledges that only God can peruse a man's heart, Sermon 154, vol. 8, p. 3724: "He is every where present after a most infinite manner, in the darkest corners and most private recesses; the most secret closet that is in the whole world, the heart of man, darkness and privacy cannot keep him out."

self, and rather think of putting off thy corrupted nature."[270] The same idea is given in the final exhortation in Sermon 133, *The unchangeableness of GOD*. In addressing a sinner, the divine intimates him to "think of altering thy sinful nature, which may be changed, than of altering the divine nature, which is essentially immutable."[271]

The question that consequently arises is how man can perform his duties and which his rational faculties are, apart from reason[272]. The answer to these doubts is given in Sermon 38, *A conscience void of offence towards GOD and men*, preached in front of the Queen in 1691. Tillotson opens the sermon with this consideration, that God furnished man with a tool, conscience, which enables him to fight against sin, the "saddest slavery in the world."[273]

Conscience is "the great principle of moral actions, and our guide in matter of sin and duty. It is not the law and the rule of our actions [...]; but it is our immediate guide and director, telling us what is the law of GOD and our duty."[274] It is the faculty which gives man the power to distinguish between good and evil, yet it is nothing but "the judgement of a man's own mind concerning the morality of his actions."[275] According to Müller, Latitudinarians believed in conscience as an intellectual faculty whose judgements are based on the dictates of the Natural Law[276]. In functioning as a self-reflexive faculty to understand one's duty, conscience becomes "reason translated in moral terminology."[277] Aquinas defines conscience as an act, not a power, explaining that the word itself implies the knowledge of something, and that "it may be resolved into 'cum alio scientia'," i.e.

[270] Sermon 131, vol. 8, p. 3314.
[271] Sermon 133, vol. 8, p. 3345.
[272] Cf. Patrick Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism in Eighteenth-Century Literature: Moral Theology in Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith*, Münster Monographs on English Literature, Frankfurt, M.; Berlin; Bern; Bruxelles; New York, NY; Oxford; Wien: Lang, (2009), p. 177. Müller underlines the fact that, even if reason has been impaired by the Fall, conscience did not undergo the same damage, and it is the only faculty that man has to know himself. Temporal delusion is still possible, but it has to be imputed to the weakness of man's rational faculty.
[273] Cf. Sermon 115, vol. 7, p. 1898: "Sin is a contradiction to the will of God"; p. 1917 "Sin in its very nature is imperfection, and irregularity, crookedness, and deformity."
[274] Sermon 38, vol. 3, p. 85.
[275] Ibid, p. 86.
[276] Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, pp. 173-75.
[277] Ibid, p. 174.

knowledge applied to an individual case."[278] This is probably why Latitudinarians metaphorically describe conscience as a tribunal to present its functioning. According to Tillotson, it "sustains all imaginable parts in this spiritual court: it is the court, and the bench, and the bar; the accuser, and witness, and register, and all."[279] Following what the conscience dictates becomes an imperative to live a good life, because this principle is "a kind of god"[280] and man should admire and revere it being "a domestick judge."[281]

Conscience also has the power to perceive guilt, which Tillotson defines as "trouble arising in our minds from a consciousness of having done contrary to what we are verily persuaded was our duty."[282] If man offends this spiritual guide, he makes "the unhappiest breach in the world," stirring up a quarrel in his own breast and arming his mind against himself[283]. Tillotson shows a certain degree of faith in man's capacity to inform his conscience of what he has done right and what wrong. The way in which conscience can be listened to is by the honest, continuous examination of one's actions, and sincere repentance, especially when man is about to receive the Holy Sacrament. If man has doubts about his conduct, he has to apply as much impartiality as he can to the analysis of the situation, without being carried away by excessive zeal or by passions. As in children's education, the key-process to prove one's sincerity is the observation of behaviour:

[278] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I, q. 79, a. 13.
[279] Ibidem. Cf. Patrick Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, p. 173. Müller cites Glanvill's description of the conscience as a court to show that this was a stylistic convention.
[280] Sermon 38, vol. 3, p. 86-87.
[281] Ibid, p. 102.
[282] Sermon 10, vol.1, p. 86. Cf. also Sermon 114, vol. 7, p. 1895: "Herein lies the very nature and sting of all guilt to be conscious of our selves, 'that we knew we ought to have done, and did not'." Cf. also Sermon 151, vol. 7, p. 3672: "The conscience of a sinner doth frequently torment him, and his guilt haunts and dog him wherever he goes; for whenever a man commits a known and wilful sin, he drinks down poison, which though it may work slowly, yet it will give him many a gripe, and if no means be used to expel it, will destroy him at last." Cf. also Tillotson's description of guilt, Sermon 102, vol. 6, p. 1657: "Guilt is the natural concomitant of heinous crimes, which so soon as ever a man commits, his spirit receives a secret wound, which causeth a great deal of smart and anguish. For guilt is restless, and puts the mind of man into an unnatural working and fermentation, never to be settled again but by repentance."
[283] Sermon 38, vol. 3, p. 106.

> If men would carefully observe themselves, they might almost certainly know when they act upon reason and a true principle of conscience. A good conscience is easy to it self, and pleased with it's doings; but when a man's passion and discontent [...] bear down his conscience to a compliance, no wonder if this puts a man's mind into a very unnatural and uneasy state.[284]

The physical reactions that men have when they are carried away by a particular passion, making them "very hot and impatient,"[285] function as a strong help to point them in the right direction. Passions can blind men[286], but they cannot impair their way of feeling and their sensations. Surprisingly enough, the criterion is the perception of one's present happiness:

> Art thou sure thou art in the right? thou art a happy man, and hast reason to be pleased: What cause then, what need is there of being angry? Hath a man reason on his side? what would he have more? Why then does he fly into a passion?[287]

Tillotson mentions four reasons to explain why man should follow the dictates of his own conscience. The judgement that it furnishes man is free from compulsion and not too severe, being led by human self-love and tainted with a slight impartiality. This verdict is based on man's true intentions and on the knowledge of all the factors that contributed to the action that is subject to the inquiry. Indeed, the individual can presume erroneous motives underlying the behaviour of other people, but he cannot lie to himself about his incentives and aims: "we can descend into our own hearts, and dive to the bottom of them, and search into the most retired corners of our intentions and ends."[288] Lastly, Tillotson exemplifies the impossibility of escaping the decree of conscience, being inconceivable for man to separate from his spiritual part which in turn might become his worst enemy and tormentor. Tillotson seems thus to assume a rather positive tone in encouraging his public to practise self-reflection.

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[284] Ibid, p. 91.
[285] Ibid, p. 92.
[286] Cf. Sermon 117, vol. 7, p. 1972-73: "Therefore it concerns us to put on meekness, and humility, and modesty, that we may be able to judge impartially of things, and our minds be preserved free and indifferent to receive the truths of GOD, when they are offer'd to us: otherwise self-conceit and passion will so blind our minds, and bias our judgements, that we shall be unable to discern, and unwilling to entertain the plainest and most evident truths."
[287] Sermon 38, vol. 3, p. 92.
[288] Ibid, p. 104.

Man's ability to perfect himself is stressed also in examining conscience as this principle can teach man how to improve himself and set on his journey towards happiness. The spring that urges the single individual is nevertheless his belief in a future life which raises his interest and excites his hopes and fears. These in particular are able to stimulate a man to change the course of his life, but it is the present benefit, the tangible one that appeals to human experience and that functions as a spring to action that interests Tillotson and whose discussion takes up the remaining part of the sermon. He supposes that his audience has experienced the advantages of having a sincere conscience in the peace and satisfaction of the mind, and in "an unspeakable comfort,"[289] especially in the hardships of life, in the misunderstandings that might derive from social intercourse and at the hour of death[290]. The character that best represents those difficulties is Job who is afflicted by catastrophes and abandoned by the people he loves, but is always comforted by the sincerity of his righteousness: "In these sad and disconsolate circumstances, what was it that bore up his spirit? nothing but the conscience of his own integrity."[291] The anguish and despair of a guilty conscience while dying, "carried out of the world in a storm and tempest"[292] is not comparable to "a comfortable death, that is free from the stings and upbraidings, the terrors and tortures, the confusion and amazement of a guilty conscience."[293] This is such a happy way of leaving life, says Tillotson, that it is worth the best care of each individual. The conclusion of the text is a joyful picture of the consequences of having a good conscience: man becomes his best companion, he is at ease with the world and his creator and lives a "continuous feast."[294]

Listening to one's conscience requires an effort from man whose main interests must become the care of his soul, in the necessity of repentance and daily

[289] Ibid, p. 97.
[290] Cf. Sermon 78, vol. 5, p. 1242: "GOD will accept the resolution of our minds, and reward it according to the sincerity of it: he that knows what we would have done, will consider it, as if we had done it."
[291] Sermon 38, vol. 3, p. 98.
[292] Ibid, p. 100.
[293] Ibid, p. 101.
[294] Ibid, p. 106.

reflection[295]. This theme is recurrent in some sermons that Tillotson preached in front of the newly proclaimed King and Queen, William III and Mary II. Mary married the Dutch Stadtholder William of Orange in 1677 during the reign of Charles II and the throne of England was offered to her and her husband after the invasion in November 1688 and the abdication of the Catholic king James II, Mary's father. Tillotson had a special relationship with the Queen who favoured him. He was one of the first members of the senior clergy to proclaim his support to the newly crowned sovereigns, even if there was a small number of divines, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft, that refused to take the oath of allegiance and were ejected from the church in 1690. Tillotson's encouragement to toleration was also in line with the King's religious politics stated in the Toleration Act of 1689, which granted Dissenters the freedom of worship as long as they professed themselves loyal to the King and believed in the Trinitarian dogma. The privileged position that was bestowed to Tillotson, first to the deanery of St Paul's and then, after Sancroft's suspension, to the Archbishopric, therefore allowed him to acquire prestige within the Church and to promote his religion based on the *via media* between reason and heart, good works and faith, earthly interest and eternal blessings. According to Rivers, Tillotson "felt unqualified admiration for the new monarchs," believing that "William was to unite his protestant subjects and deliver them from popery, and Mary was to effect their religious and moral reformation by her example."[296] In accordance with the Queen and with Gilbert Burnet's assistance, Tillotson planned a series of fasts and festivities to celebrate William's military campaigns and he worked closely to reform the manners of the clergy in order to provide a profitable example in morality for the congregations.

When the sermon was delivered, the Queen in particular was young, twenty-seven years old, the proper addressee for Tillotson's sermons on the use of time for reflection. Sermon 34, *The care of our souls, the one thing needful*, is a good starting point because in it the divine gives the guidelines to a man's prosperous and religious life. The *exordium* opens with a reference to what "wise men" say about

[295] This theme is recurrent also in Sermons 35, 38, 39 and 42. These sermons were Lent sermons or preached in occasion of national fasts.
[296] Rivers, 'Tillotson, John', p. 10.

human actions: each individual should "regard every thing more or less, according to the degree of its consequence and importance to [our] happiness."[297] Nothing can bring men so much delight as the care of their souls. Attention to the destiny of one's soul means learning the necessary principles with "a teachable disposition, and a due application of mind"[298] as they are easy and disposed by God to be perfectly comprehended by limited human reason. These instructions are contained in the gospel, so the habit of reading and understanding it must be encouraged, as often remarked in the sermons on the education of children. The Holy Scriptures made God's revelation known to mankind, and wrote the law of nature upon their hearts. Unfortunately, "the impressions of this were in a great measure blurred and worn out,"[299] thus ceasing to have a strong influence on the lives of men. What remains of them has to be coupled with the wrath of God which reveals itself from heaven. Once these principles have been digested, they can shed light to the heart of man and influence his life[300], unless the will which commonly gives man the most difficult problems to solve, does not interfere in the process. As in the sermons in volume 7[301], where the link between knowledge and practice is explained and fostered, here to the principles are followed by practical applications, in particular by frequent examination of oneself and daily exercise of piety and devotion. An example is furnished by Sermon 113, *Knowledge and practice necessary in religion*, which opens with a strong, assertive statement: knowledge and practice make up religion and these two elements are complementary. The reasons why God has revealed his will are the improvement of man's heart and mind and the religious government of human actions. This means that knowing one's duty does not lead man to happiness if he does not realise in actual fact what he has learnt through

[297] Sermon 34, vol. 2, p. 425.
[298] Ibid, p. 428.
[299] Sermon 111, vol. 7, p. 1826.
[300] Cf. also Sermon 98, vol. 6, p. 1572: "For the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD conducts and manageth this great work of our sanctification and salvation from first to last, by opening our heart to let in the light of divine truth upon our minds, by representing to us the advantage of such arguments and considerations as are apt to persuade us to embrace it, and yield to it; by secret and gentle reprehensions softening our hard heart, and bending our stiff and stubborn wills to a compliance with the will of GOD, and our duty."
[301] The sermons are Sermon 113, *Knowledge and practice necessary in religion*, and 114, *Practice in religion necessary, in proportion to our knowledge*.

education and experience[302]. Moreover, practice is the only way to happiness because God, though willing to condone mistakes coming from their defective knowledge, does not forgive those sins coming from defective practice, because man freely chooses to perform good or evil actions and he has known since the first use of reason how to discern the difference between good and evil.

The idea of grounding one's effort in practical issues is underlined in the words of the preacher who reminds his audience that true repentance consists "in the steadfast purpose and resolution of a better life, and in the prosecution of this resolution, in actual reformation and amendment."[303] Man should find a proper balance between his love of the world and his desire for a heavenly life because this is the only way in which he will be able to promote his own happiness. The whole business gives rise to the advancement of faith, hope and charity which must not be separated by their positive results:

> For the bible plainly teacheth us, that unless our faith work by charity, and purify our hearts and reform our lives; unless like Abraham's faith it be perfected by works, it is but a dead faith, and will in no wise avail to our justification and salvation.[304]

In opposition to the Puritan creed of *sola fide*[305], the necessity of practice is soon after reasserted, "for he [Jesus] promiseth blessedness to none, but those who live in the practice of those Christian graces and duties."[306] Tillotson is eager to prove from the Bible that the coexistence between knowledge, faith and practice is indissoluble. After having explained how and why religion can be the only source of a man's happiness, he concludes the sermon with an application in which he hopes

[302] Cf. Sermon 83, vol. 5, p. 1321: "So that the inference from all this discourse, in short, shall be this, that men should take great care to inform their consciences aright, and to govern them by the plain rules of good and evil, the law of GOD written upon our hearts, and revealed in his word, which forbids such practices as I have been speaking of, as clearly as the sun shines at noonday."
[303] Sermon 34, vol. 2, p. 429.
[304] Ibid, p. 435. In Sermon 64, vol. 5, pp. 980-81, Tillotson explains the difference between faith and the senses: "Sight is the thing in hand, and faith the thing only in hope and expectation. Sight is a clear view and apprehension of things present and near to us; faith an obscure discovery and apprehension of things at a distance. [...] Sight is possession and enjoyment; faith is the firm persuasion and expectation of a thing."
[305] John Spurr, *"Rational Religion" in Restoration England*, p. 564. In discussing the necessity for the Anglican Church to find a *via media* based on rational faith and on the belief in the capacity of reason to understand God's natural religion, Spurr underlines the threat posed by the "irrationalism of the Puritan Revolution" and points out that the Protestants were encouraged to remember the Interregnum as the period in which reason was "stigmatized as the "wisdom of the world", as "carnal reasoning" and, most harmful of all, as the enemy of faith."
[306] Sermon 34, vol. 2, p. 435. Cf. also Sermon 31, vol. 2, p. 362: "But the infinite merit of his obedience and suffering will be of no benefit and advantage to us, if we our selves be not really and inherently righteous."

"to persuade you and myself seriously to mind this one thing necessary."[307] He divides the public into two categories, those who follow religion but not with their entire selves and hearts and those who do not pay attention to religion at all. To appeal to the first group Tillotson uses reason to move them to action and "shake off this sloth and security"[308] in order to improve their use of time to a more profitable achievement. To address the second group instead he uses fear and common sense, showing them that their efforts to live wealthily in this life will have vanished once they are dead and death in particular seems to be a great encouragement to repentance, being the time in which an evil man feels the least secure about himself in all his life. Once more, the description of the death of a sinner tormented by his conscience is a powerful image able to raise fear in the audience and Tillotson seems to lose sight of his rational tone and reasonable motives when he talks about hell and sinners. He therefore appeals to the affections of the audience, to their hearts and darkest fears in order to double the effect on them. He usually exploits monologues and vivid descriptions to stir their imagination and increase the identification with the wretched talking, but his sharp comments are the ones worth notice:

> I am conscious to my self that I would never do any thing for thy sake, but yet I hope thy goodness is such that thou wilt forgive all the ungodliness and unrighteousness of my life, and accept of this forced submission which I now make to thee. I pray thee do not at last frustrate and disappoint me in this design which I have laid, of sinning while I live and getting to heaven when I die." Surely no man can think it fit to say thus to GOD; and yet I am afraid this is the true interpretation of many a man's repentance who hath deferred it till he comes to die.[309]

Tillotson uses these expedients especially when he has to move man's interest in worldly matters, being backed up by Scripture itself, claiming that "the most powerful arguments, that GOD ever used, to persuade men to any thing, are the promise of eternal happiness, and the terror of everlasting torments."[310] Tillotson justifies the use of both fears and hopes because he acknowledges their

[307] Ibid, pp. 439-40.
[308] Ibid, p. 441.
[309] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 253.
[310] Sermon 66, vol. 5, p. 1022-23.

interdependence: the idea of being miserable forever does not have the same moral and restraining effect as the hopes in rewards[311]. Taking into consideration the mutable and inconsistent nature of man and of his thoughts, as well as that of the world, the only idea that can remain steadfast in human minds is "the belief in the blessed resurrection; which the more firmly any man believes, the more active and industrious will he be in the work and service of GOD."[312] Man should meditate upon the truth of divine promises in order to fight the great disadvantage that he perceives, that sensible objects attract him more than heavenly ones, because they are closer to his senses, thus he can perceive them more clearly. He should also remember that vice brings temporal disadvantages[313]. This is why "we should, by frequent meditation, represent these great things to ourselves, and bring them nearer our minds, and oppose to the present temptations of sense the great and endless happiness and misery of the other world."[314] Meditation therefore should inform man as to how his actions conform to the rule, and as to which the consequences to his future are.

The final exhortation is more powerfully directed to young men who still have time to work on sinful habits before they become prey to them. The preparation in this world for the next one must be carried out in practice, balancing material needs with spiritual obligations, but Tillotson does not deny temporal pleasures and cares insofar as they do not limit man's morality: "We should resolutely disentangle our selves from worldly cares and incumbrances; at least so far, that we may have competent liberty and leisure [...] to put our souls into a fit posture and preparation for another world."[315] He also acknowledges that only retirement can allow man to reach this state and the description that he gives is the opposite of the one of the dreadful death of a sinner:

[311] Ibid, p. 1023.
[312] Sermon 64, vol. 5, p. 993-94.
[313] Cf. p. 990 in which Tillotson gives a complete list of them.
[314] Ibid, p. 994.
[315] Sermon 34, vol. 2, p. 444.

> And happy that man, who in the days of his health hath retir'd himself from the noise and tumult of this world, and made that careful preparation for death and a better life, as may give him that constancy and firmness of spirit, as to be able to bear the thoughts and approaches of his great charge without amazement.[316]

The life of a good man consists in practising God's duties with constancy and earnest care, being honest with oneself. Consistent behaviour is the first step to establish a good routine. Tillotson often refers to the role played by habit in human life. An action becomes a routine "by frequency of acts" and once it is confirmed it is like a "second nature."[317] It is so powerful that it has the force to change a man both physically and mentally:

> For by virtue of a habit a man's mind or body becomes pliable and inclined to such kind of actions that it is accustomed to, and does as it were stand bent and charged such a way; so that being touched and awakened by the least occasion, it breaks forth into such or such actions.[318]

If habit *per se*[319] has a great influence on a man's behaviour and frame of mind, this power is highly increased when we talk about vicious habits. Man is like a field in which vices, like weeds, take root easily and are somehow "natural to the soil"[320] due to mankind's natural corruption. In Sermon 29, *Of the difficulty of reforming vicious habits*, Tillotson makes the same reflection on habits, comparing man to a hill whose summit is goodness and whose base is vice. The movement upwards is enormously more tiring than the one downwards. In his journey, the evil man prefers to look around himself rather than at his own actions because he does not want to see the plain truth which consideration, "the great trouble and disturber of men,"[321] presents to him: "He is afraid to be alone, lest his own mind should arrest him, and his conscience should take the opportunity to call him to an account."[322]

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[316] Ibidem.
[317] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 239.
[318] Ibidem.
[319] In order to understand the role played by "habit", i.e. "habitus" in Christian morality, we can have a look at what St. Thomas Aquinas says about this topic. Aquinas defines virtues as "those habits that dispose human beings toward the realisation of the good that is characteristic of them." Cf. M. W. F. Stone, "The Angelic Doctor and the Stagirite: Thomas Aquinas and Contemporary 'Aristotelian' Ethics," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, New Series, vol. 101, (2001), pp. 97-128; p. 127.
[320] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 239.
[321] Sermon 29, vol. 2, p. 302.
[322] Ibidem.

Man must not forget that evil habits bring disadvantages which are permitted by God himself. They make conscience become "brawny" and harden the heart rendering it impossible for advice to get into it. Once conquered by its lusts, the mind of man is "almost as hard to be rectified as it is to recover a body bowed down with age to it's first streightness."[323] The metaphor clearly shows the impossibility of this rehabilitation, thus increasing the feeling of fear and danger in the mind of the audience. The only thing that might lead man back to his religious path is a violent impression such as, for example, the one produced by sudden illness or death, by a calamity or by the fear of future prospect.

III.ii The Role of Consideration

> The heart of a man is a privileged place, and the secret and inward workings of it are not subject to the cognizance of any but of GOD alone.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 134***

Having stated that man has the tools and proper guide to know himself, how should he proceed to examine his heart? Tillotson explains that the best way to do it is by using consideration. This operation of the mind is first sponsored by conscience which prompts man to analyse his past and present situation and to consider the course of his life. Following David's example in Sermon 13[324], *The nature and benefit of consideration*, Tillotson presents the way in which man should examine himself, first by a general survey of his actions, good, bad or indifferent, and then to the specific investigation of what man has done amiss, taking the law of God as a judge. The operation should be carried out every day, "as frequently as we

[323] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 243.
[324] The quotation used by Tillotson is Psalm 119:59: [59] I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies. Cf. also Sermon 172, *The usefulness of consideration, in order to repentance*.
David is also an example of the benefit of afflictions, if man makes a wise use of them. Cf. Sermon 145, vol. 8, p. 3561: "David gives a great testimony of the mighty benefit and advantage of them [afflictions], from his own experience; Psalm cxix. 76."

can, that our repentance may in some measure keep pace with the errors and failings of our lives."[325] Tillotson uses the same line of thought of Sermon 38, *A conscience void of offence towards GOD and good men*, pointing to the possibility of being relieved at death, without having the weight of sins on one's conscience, thus insisting on the profit that man might derive from such an operation. The trouble that will arise in a man's mind from the consideration of his present sins is not to be compared to the anxiety that he might feel with a tainted conscience once coming face to face with God. When analysing one's sins in particular, man also has to take into consideration the circumstances of the action, to lay them sincerely at heart and to undertake an immediate and honest repentance in order to change his life. Stressing the circumstance surely depends on the influence that these have on human will and on the evaluation of the sincerity that man employs in his deeds[326].

The *confirmation* deals with the description of the six phases which compound "consideration." As previously stated, the first step is recalling one's actions, "at least" Tillotson specifies, "the principal miscarriages belonging to each of them, [...] abating for some particulars which are slipped out of our memory, and for sins of ignorance, and daily infirmities which are innumerable."[327] Men usually approach vice through lesser sins, they are not "so totally degenerate" and feel the pangs of shame on them, because they know they are doing something wrong. Shame is "one of the greatest restraints from sin which GOD hath laid upon human nature,"[328] but men easily dismiss it when they get accustomed to vice and start

[325] Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 304.
[326] The importance of the circumstances in judging an action was discussed by Thomas Aquinas as one of the factors that contribute to the variability of morality. The other two factors are the influence of the passions and the weakness of reason. According to Stone, Aquinas borrows from Aristotle the list of the circumstances that help men to judge their actions. Cf. Stone, *The Angelic Doctor and the Stagirite*, pp. 118-120.
Moreover, the focus on circumstances leads the discussion to the idea that Locke and other philosophers have of the role played by environment in the shaping of man. It is therefore easily connected to the idea that man can be educated also according to the environment in which he grows up. Cf. W. M. Spellman's article The Christian Estimate of Man in Locke's "Essay"," *The Journal of Religion* vol. 67 no. 4 (Oct. 1987), pp.474-492. Cf. p. 476 on education and the environment.
In his article, Spellman analyses the portrait of human nature in Locke's *Essay* and *Some Thoughts* in order to prove that, though Locke assumes reason as the only means that man has to discover what morality is, he also acknowledges that man is not obliged to follow divine moral dictates. The only solution to this problem lies, according to Spellman, in the Scriptures that Locke, in *Reasonableness of Christianity*, adopts as the right means to lead men to obedience.
[327] Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 306-7.
[328] Sermon 10, vol. 1, p. 241.

justifying their evil actions. In analysing them the focus is on the intention, motive and consequences of the action, not on the action itself and this gives rise to the second step in the process, feeling sorrow for what one has done, causing "inward trouble and confusion in our minds."[329] This passage is essential to the promotion of moral reformation because man perceives his trouble and longs for the ease and happiness which, as he naturally knows, can be found in religion. Once man has analysed and perceived the seriousness of his condition, he can get to the consideration of the unreasonableness of vice:

> Sin is the stain and blemish of our natures, the reproach of our reason and understanding, the disease and the deformity of our souls, the great enemy of our peace, the cause of all our fears and troubles: [...] we go contrary to the clearest dictates of our reason and conscience, to our plain and true interest, and to the strongest ties and obligations of duty and gratitude.[330]

However, it is interest[331] itself that should prompt man, even beyond what reason tells him to do. If sin is a "voluntary evil which men wilfully bring upon themselves,"[332] then maybe the consequences of vice on a man's life might function as a spring to direct him to speedy and sincere repentance. Recalling to the minds of his audience the dangers and calamities which befall the prodigal son once he decides to leave his father, Tillotson proceeds to the description of the horrors of hell and damnation, reminding them that "the interest of our everlasting happiness should lie near our hearts."[333] Here Tillotson addresses his audience with a series of questions which aim to prove that he is not able to describe the torments of hell, while delivering an exact description of it:

[329] Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 308.
[330] Ibidem.
[331] This aspect can be connected to human self-love, i.e. the Thomist acceptation to live a virtuous life in order to get one's maximum happiness and satisfaction. It is in a man's interest therefore to love himself and plan his salvation assisted by divine grace. Cf. Chapter Four on self-love.
[332] Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 309.
[333] Ibid, p. 311.

> Could I represent to you the horror of that dismal prison, into which wicked and impure souls are to be thrust, and the misery they must there endure, without the least spark of comfort, or glimmering of hope, how they wail and grone under the intolerable wrath of GOD, the insolent scorn and cruelty of devils, the severe sashes and stings, the raging anguish and horrible despair of their own minds, without intermission, without pity, without hope of ever seeing an end of that misery, which yet is unsupportable for one moment; could I represent these things to you according to the terror of them, what effect must they have upon us?[334]

This concern becomes a necessity which compels the individual to produce a change in his life. All reasonable creatures long for happiness, and everything which they recognise to be indispensable to attain is rational and morally accepted by their creator. What is necessary therefore is to perform this duty every day because this is why God has given man reason and understanding, elevating him over animals. The last passage in the process is the consideration of the human ability to perform a reformation. Tillotson seems again rather positive in stating that man has the power to make a metamorphosis by himself or if needed he is assisted by God's grace. Such a process is of course long and painful, but it is successful, as David's example demonstrates. Nevertheless, it must proceed by degrees, because God is not willing to offer sudden conversion or rehabilitation as he used to do in the first Christian communities.

The sermon ends with a reference to human nature and Tillotson provokes his audience by saying that man cannot be called "man" if he does not use reason to prevent sin. Even if he emphasises God's goodness and help and the shortness and the unpredictability of life, he claims the necessity of this work in order to obtain happiness, and he also affirms that man's judgement should be milder and easier than the divine one, having the monitor of conscience to direct him and helping him to analyse himself rather than having to do it in God's presence who, though benevolent, always generates awe and fearful sublime feelings in man.

Consideration and the other operations of conscience enable man to know if he is dutiful or not, and Tillotson insists on this "revelation" in Sermon 15, *The distinguishing character of a good and a bad man*. What can give man "present

[334] Sermon 112, vol. 7, p. 1854.

peace and future happiness"[335] is understanding his spiritual condition. The easiness of the task is asserted right at the beginning of the text: what man needs is to mind his mission and to deal impartially with himself[336]. The aid of God is granted in the presence of his grace, but it must be coupled with serious application.

Each man is conscious of breaking the divine laws and of the sincerity of his will and disposition in transgressing them. This is probably the only thing that rational creatures know for sure, as St. Paul himself remarks in 1 Corinthians 2:11: "No man knows the things of a man, but the spirit of a man which is in him."[337] Moreover, Tillotson eagerly insists on this truth because he wants to confute the idea that some theologians took from Jeremiah 17:9, "the heart is deceitful above all things," making it clear that this quotation can be applied to future intentions, but not to past and present ones. On these man cannot lie to himself and of course to God who knows all: "Trust no body concerning thy self rather than thy self, because no body can know thee so well as thou mayest know thy self."[338] The heart of man[339] is often taken as the judge to human actions: once they have been taken into consideration by conscience, the heart is able to return his verdict and if it does not condemn man, he may feel himself secure in his practice of the laws[340]. Exhorting the audience to consider their actions, Tillotson reminds them they all have "a faithful monitor and witness in [their] own breasts, who, if [they] will but hearken to him, will deal impartially with [them], and privately tell [them] the errors of [their] lives."[341]

Another characteristic of a righteous Christian is his ability to perceive his frailty and infirmity which might arise the fear of being punished for his sins in him. Tillotson opens here a discussion on God's goodness and bounty, stating that

[335] Sermon 15, vol. 1, p. 342.
[336] Ibidem.
[337] Ibid, p. 355.
[338] Ibid, p. 358.
[339] The insistence on the role played by the heart in human actions might be included as one of the factors that led R. S. Crane to assert that Latitudinarians' charity sermons functioned as a base for the portrayal of the "man of feeling" in the second half of the Eighteenth-century. Cf. R. S. Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, pp. 205-06.
[340] Cf. Sermon 114, vol. 7, p. 1897: "Let us then be persuaded to set upon the practice of what we know; let the light which is in our understandings, descend upon our hearts and lives; let us not dare to continue any longer in the practice of any known sin, nor in the neglect of any thing which we are convinced is our duty."
[341] Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 321.

sinning from ignorance and daily common errors cannot be avoided because they are part of human nature as well as the inconstancy of human religious temper:

> GOD considers the infirmities of our present state, and expects no other obedience [...] but what this state of imperfection is capable of: [...] provided the sincere endeavour and general course of our lives be to please him and keep his commandments.[342]

In order to understand if he is morally upright or not, man does not have to look farther than into himself: "we need not to ascend into heaven, nor go down into the deep, to search out the secret counsels and decrees of GOD."[343] The answer to man's doubts about his future condition and his search for the path to happiness is to "daily mortify our lusts and grow in goodness, and take care to add to our faith and knowledge, temperance and patience and charity and all other Christian graces and virtues."[344] TAs in matters of education, the focus is on the combination of faith and works.

All the sermons previously analysed present the problem of when this analysis and repentance should be accomplished. The necessity of performing it every day, allotting a certain amount of time to this operation is given by the urgency to establish beneficial habits in order to fight vicious ones which might become in time difficult to eradicate. The divine maintains the need of fear[345] and interest to lead men to action. The proper time to repent is this life, in particular the period of youth, as Tillotson explains in Sermon 101, *Of the work assign'd to every man, and the season for doing it*. The reason why man is living this life is to prepare himself for eternity and work out his salvation and consequent happiness[346]. Moral reformation is therefore at the core of a man's life and the divine again asserts the fact that man has the means to undergo this trial:

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[342] Ibid, p. 360.
[343] Sermon 15, vol. 1, p. 367.
[344] Ibidem.
[345] Cf. also Sermon 152, vol. 8, p. 3702: "There is no passion in the heart of man more infinite than our fear, it troubles us with jealousy and suspicion of the utmost that may happen; but when we have extended our fears to the utmost, the power of GOD's wrath reacheth farther."
[346] Cf. for example Sermon 114, vol. 7, p. 1894: "And shall I now need to tell you, how much it concerns every one of us, to live up to that knowledge which we have of our LORD's will, and to prepare our selves to do according to it; to be always in a readiness and disposition to do what we know be his will, and actually do it, when there is occasion and opportunity?"

> GOD who made man a reasonable creature, and hath endowed him with faculties, whereby he is capable of knowing and serving him; [...] hath certainly designed him for a state beyond this life, in which he shall be for ever happy or miserable, according as he useth and demeans in this world.[347]

This life is like a school instituted and directed by God himself in which human beings are trained. The only way to be promoted to a better life is to care for one's soul, to promote the salvation of other fellows and to administer one's time properly, fixing the attention to spiritual rather than material objects. Neglecting these operations brings disastrous consequences on mankind, as Sermon 14, *The folly and danger of irresolution and delaying demonstrates*. The same theme was taken up in Sermon 31, *The parable of the ten virgins*, preached in front of Princess Ann of Denmark, again another young royal auditor to which Tillotson's sermons were directed.

Sermon 14 once more presents David as the protagonist. After having shown the benefit of consideration in the preceding text, the preacher states that the direct consequence is to obtain to a speedy reformation and to carry it out as soon as man feels he is compelled to it. The first attempt is to prove that, reflecting on the consequences of his deeds, leads man to serious consideration of them and to reformation. However, being often the other way round, that man is led by carnal pleasure and sensual objects, Tillotson decides to prove the folly of such a way of living. Being a difficult and unpleasant thing to do, facing one's wilful desires, man often lies to himself and postpones his self-analysis stating that he does not have time to do it because of other worries, such as family and business, impede him. Precisely because business and daily cares are involved, Tillotson describes this excuse with a metaphor from the economic field:

[347] Sermon 101, vol. 6, p. 1629.

> It is like giving good words, and making fair promises to a clamorous and importunate creditor, and appointing him to come another day, when the man knows in his conscience that he intends not to pay him, and he shall be less able to discharge his debt then , than he is at present.[348]

Another difficulty is the fear man has of religion and of its obligations to morality. The divine asserts that men have to face some kind of difficulty because it is unavoidable, but he makes haste to remind the audience that the difficulty is only at the beginning and that it is not as troublesome as one can imagine. Men are trapped and blocked by childish fears, as children who are afraid of getting into cold water, but once they have entered it they can prosper in it and they can get so much pleasure as not to want to abandon a religious course any more[349]. To add some more considerations to the topic, Tillotson accuses his public of being irresolute and criticises their attitude by saying that the link between virtue and happiness is natural and so indissoluble and that therefore no one who lives a wicked life can be contented. Happiness is like satisfying physical needs as eating, drinking and sleeping, and therefore cannot be avoided:

> It is much more absurd to deliberate whether we should live virtuously or religiously, soberly or righteously in the world, for that upon the matter is to consult whether a man should be happy or not: nature hath determined this for us, and we need not reason about it.[350]

Every man naturally tends to happiness and well-being, and morality is an integral part of it. Tillotson proceeds to the description of repentance, man's first entrance into religion, and he defines it as a "business of execution and action."[351] The first step is to subdue the passions and lusts, the second one is the promotion of charity and the third one is to unlearn immoral behaviour in order to become good examples in conversation and attitude. Tillotson addresses the audience with a series of questions on the extremely demanding challenge that man has to face in this life if he decides to postpone this resolution to old age, stating that man is worthless

[348] Sermon 14, vol. 1, p. 325.
[349] Cf. Sermon 14, vol. 1, p. 327: "The main difficulty and unpleasantness is in our first entrance in religion; it presently grows tolerable, and soon after easy, and after that by degrees so pleasant and delightful, that the man would not for all the world return to his former evil state and condition of life."
[350] Sermon 14, vol. 1, p. 329-30.
[351] Ibid, p. 330.

once his reason, his "candle is sinking into the socket." The preacher keeps asking questions to the public, trying to appeal to their personal experience and common sense: "When our understanding is weak, and our memory frail, and our will crooked, and by a long custom of sinning obstinately bent the wrong way, what can we then do in religion?"[352] The way in which man bargains away his life and future happiness is as irrational and inconsiderate as the man who, though he has the possibility of entering in possession on an estate, decides to leave it for an uncertain reversion.

The final exhortation begins with an exclamation of the preacher, hoping to be able to "prevail with men and effectually persuade them"[353] and for this reason he addresses three categories, three different stages in the life of a man. To young men he says that they have the advantage of being still innocent, not corrupted by the world. This helps them to promote remembrance and their dependence on God and he asks them to seal this covenant at present upon due consideration of their uncertain future. To adult family heads he confirms this is the best time in their lives to change their course because they have or should have managed to control their passions and resist the wave of heat that marks out youth. At this time in a man's life reason and its faculties are at their highest development, whereas in old age they are at their lowest level. With old people Tillotson's tone is particularly vehement because he considers them inconsiderate and therefore an extremely negative example for new generations.

Indeed, Tillotson seems to be rather positive in human capacities and resolution, as he asserts in Sermon 29[354]. When men are "thoroughly roused and startled, [...] upon the brink of despair"[355] they can perform mighty things because they rediscover the divine power in their natures. Once they are taken into this newly accepted resolution, their force is invincible. The instances that Tillotson presents are taken from heathen philosophy and common events: he praises Socrates and Demosthenes for their ability to restrain the passions, he admires those who are

[352] Ibid, pp. 331-32.
[353] Ibid, p. 338.
[354] Cf. also Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, p. 174 in which the scholar cites Whichcote on the same issue.
[355] Sermon 29, vol. 2, p. 307.

able to abstain from eating and drinking in order to save their health, he applauds those who once in prison have studied and become masters of the law and finally he presents those who have changed their lives thanks to God's grace. Again, the first three examples are taken from daily experiences and public knowledge and demonstrate what man can actually and potentially do to change himself, and the last one is left to portray the power of God's grace. As previously stated in Sermon 13, God prefers to prompt man to goodness showing his bounty and mighty rewards or punishments rather than to intervene himself in the lives of man with powerful and ecstatic conversions. This idea helped the Latitudinarians to promote their moral campaign made of reasonable motives, future interest and good works.

Apart from leading man to conduct self-analysis and to know himself, consideration also helps him to distinguish between true eternal values and the ephemeral ones of this world. The example that Tillotson propounds to his audience is that of Moses and of his self-denial in order to follow religious dictates. In explaining Moses' life the divine explains that his decision of renouncing the kingdom of Egypt in order to stay with his people comes from his due consideration of what conscience told him to accomplish and what his Christian education taught him to do. In reasoning on Moses' choice, Tillotson attests the spur that a mighty reward can have on man considering that his wisdom and interest should be directed to eternity and not to this life. Tillotson compares the shortness and fickleness of pleasures to the eternity of the guilt felt by the sinner who will not be able to enjoy anything that is in the afterlife.

This miscarried judgement of the world is conditioned by want of consideration which makes the power of faith more feeble. Faith is demonstrated in a man's actions and can be "even in temporal matters, a mighty principle of action, and will make men to attempt and undergo strange and difficult things."[356] This leads us directly to the discussion of the advantages that religion brings to man's happiness in the following chapter.

[356] Sermon 57, vol. 4, p. 861.

III.iii Divine Goodness or Fearful Hell: which is the best way of teaching man?

> Every one desires his own preservation and happiness, and therefore had a natural dread and horror of every thing that can destroy his being.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 1***

The fact that man can be able to understand his actions and make amend for them is not the only incentive that was given to the audience in order to carry out the moral reformation that Latitudinarians so desired. Sermons abound with reflections on divine goodness, on the happiness that repentance produces in heaven and on the help that ever present grace give to men to encourage and somehow ease their reformation. The process of reforming one's life thus becomes easier because reason is assisted by grace and God is lenient because he considers human depravity and limits and does not require of man something that he cannot perform[357].

Tillotson allures men in telling them a virtuous life might be less praised than a sudden and honest repentance after having lived in vice for a long period. In addressing the audience, probably made of other ministers, he encourages them to use kindness and "the most winning arguments,"[358] instead of terrifying them. This seems to be a contradiction to what Tillotson preaches in his Lent sermons, but it answers the necessity of combining pleasure and pain as well as of finding the right middle way, in every aspect of life. In the final exhortation, Tillotson admits he does not want to provoke the audience by describing them their sins. He desires to persuade men and therefore leaves to every single person the task of checking his behaviour with the dictates of the conscience and only talks about the pleasure that ministers have in seeing the fruits of their efforts, presenting the advantages of repentance, the "restoring of you to yourselves, to the ease and peace of your own

[357] Man is able to understand the difference between pleasure and pain, therefore in asking for repentance Tillotson also has to move their interest and pleasure, and the image of the feast for the return of the prodigal son is a powerful one. Cf. Sermon 16, vol. 1, pp. 382-83.
[358] Sermon 16, vol. 1, p. 372.

consciences,"[359] with the consciousness of making God and all the angels and holy men rejoice in heaven.

Man can profit from the assistance of grace which is a free gift of God that must be "sincerely sought"[360] in prayer. If man considers divine goodness, patience and compassion he can "kindle some sparks of hope"[361] in his heart, but this does not exclude his personal responsibility in putting into good practice what he learnt. Man can be "weak and unstable as water" and he should ask for god's assistance to keep true to his resolution. This however is often not possible, as the comparison that Tillotson draws at the end of Sermon 16 demonstrates: man is like a horse "that has no understanding; yea in this more brutish than the beast, that he rusheth into the battel without any consideration of death or danger, and destroys himself without a syllogism."[362] But man, even if he is a sinner, has reason, continues Tillotson, and yet acts like a mad man.

This fact proves that rational motives are not sufficient to move man to action and that other forces are needed, as for example fear and self-love. In his article, Scholtz points out the necessity of using rewards and punishments as an "effective antidote to natural depravity,"[363] considering that man lives in constant religious anxiety about his salvation because, even if aided by God and encouraged by the divines to see repentance as something easy and possible to perform, the good Christian is not sure of avoiding damnation. In order to better understand the Anglican position, we might have a look at what philosophy says about the subject, in particular the opinion of John Locke, not only because his writings proved crucially influential, but also because he tried to conform his ideas to the Latitudinarian milieu. From Hobbes, Locke keeps the consideration that pleasure and good coincide and that every man is free to judge by himself what is good or evil for him, thus underlining the impossibility of generating a hierarchy of values which could be applied to all men. Man's passions move around a circle of pleasure and pain and the individual is moved by the uneasiness produced by something

[359] Ibid, p. 388.
[360] Sermon 29, vol. 2, p. 306, also cited in Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson.*
[361] Ibidem.
[362] Sermon 16, vol. 1, p. 390.
[363] Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson*, p. 201.

which is not present and that he would like to possess. Locke believes that it was God himself who decided to place human beings in this needful condition with the purpose of using this feeling of incompleteness as a way to move them to action.

A problem arises when Locke discusses the place of human needs and the way in which they influence people's conduct. Man is moved only if this discomfort, the desire of having the object, is at the highest place in his values. Thus if something is remote from him, the possibility of desiring it diminishes[364]. Happiness is therefore reduced to the erasure of pain from present life and it becomes a matter of interest for man. By longing for happiness, man becomes free because he improves and perfects himself using reason. Resuming the Aristotelian and Hobbesian distinction between apparent and true good, Locke assumes reason as the supreme judge between what favours man and leads him to the true good, and those violent passions which on the contrary impede his judgement. Whenever man feels unhappy, it is because he is committing mistakes in the evaluation of what is good for him. Human error lies in calculating the benefit gained by the enjoyment of a particular pleasure. How can man therefore cohabit with moral rules? Instead of placing the hope in a future life as the spring to noble action as Augustinian tradition promoted, Locke considers the fear of future punishment as the cause of moral adaptation. It is indeed irrational to act contrary to these dictates if there is a punishment afterwards. If the consequence is eternal damnation, man will not be so irrational as to be unable to judge his good. It is not a sacrifice of one's pleasure, but an attentive calculation of the benefits derived from a virtuous course[365]. Locke is therefore able to place man in such a condition as to be free of enjoying what is pleasurable within the limits imposed by reason. God created man as a creature capable of discovering his own happiness being able to make self-love and rationality coexist[366]. Moral natural laws imposed on man by God maintain their actual value only if there is the shadow of punishment behind them.

[364] This is a point that also divines lamented. Cf. for example Sermon 64, vol. 5, p. 980, where Tillotson discusses the difference between the knowledge derived from the senses and faith: "Sight is the thing at hand, and faith the thing only in hope and expectation."
[365] For further discussion cf. De Luise, Farinetti, *Storia della Felicità*, p. 230.
[366] Ibid, p. 231.

Locke's position seems to apply perfectly to what emerges from the sermons here taken into consideration. In most if not all of them, there is a reference to the interest of man and this is aroused by pointing out the difference between benefits in this and next life and terrors and disadvantages in vice. It seems therefore true that Tillotson, the rational divine *par excellence*, exploits one of man's most influential passions, fear, to start the rational process which leads him to consider his benefits. Tillotson uses fear in discussing one of the thorniest matters that he had to face, the increase of atheistic belief in England.

In *The wisdom of Being Religious* Tillotson discusses fear and its effects on the individual in attacking atheism and confuting its position. The quotation from Job 28:28 summarises the aim of the sermoniser: "*The fear of the Lord is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding*." We can hear the same appeal to rationality and proper judgement that Locke tried to promote in his *Essay*. The sermon opens with a brief *exegesis* of the position of the text inside the Bible and of its meaning. Tillotson first acknowledges the impossibility for man to know everything about his creator, but he immediately shifts the attention to the level of knowledge accessible to him, the duty that man has towards God and his laws. Human duty is therefore to fear the lord and as an effect to depart from what is evil. This commandment is the sum of all religious rules[367], being part of the principles of religion which are identified with knowledge, remembrance and fear which belong to the Old Testament and faith and love which pertain to the New one. After having contextualised the quotation and having shown its appropriateness to the Scriptures, Tillotson moves to the explanation of the justness of the quotation, that is the strong influence that fear has on man:

[367] Sermon 1, vol. 1, p. 2.

> Fear is a passion that is most deeply rooted in our natures, and flows immediately from that principle of self-preservation which God hath planted in every man. Every one desires his own preservation and happiness, and therefore had a natural dread and horror of every thing that can destroy his being.[368]

Man's image of a just and powerful God comes from his own conscience where the creator had planted this idea of him. Fear is also the human characteristic that allows man to live according to the divine laws. Displeasure of God is therefore stronger than "desire, love and hope,"[369] man having lost his impressions of a paradisiacal past but not the sensation of pain and misery. Trying to avoid painful experiences of which he is naturally afraid, the individual is inclined to do what is good to him in order to preserve his own existence. Fearing for one's life also leads men to get closer to religion[370]. Moving away from evil is the direct consequence of fear and a first step towards religion. Tillotson underlines the active properties of the human soul which has to be employed in something, good or evil, and man should set himself at work immediately if he wants to maintain his "purity."

And Tillotson sets his audience to work by presenting to them the motives to be religious in a way that appeals to their reason. Religion is the knowledge of God and of man's duty. It is therefore the most desirable to know because God is whole perfection and man should live virtuously in order to get to his happiness. Knowing one's duty is profitable and necessary[371]. The knowledge of the things in this world is secondary, nothing compared to the knowledge that man must have of his creator's omnipotence and of his duty to him. Wisdom consists in caring for one self: here Tillotson encourages his audience to follow him in the discussion by appealing to their self-love, the passion that Augustine had ferociously denied and criticised. Religion "directs man to a care of his own proper interest and concernment"[372] and the preacher identifies this interest in man's happiness, giving the following definition of a happy man:

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[368] Ibid, p. 4.
[369] Ibid, p. 5.
[370] Ibidem.
[371] Ibid, p. 9.
[372] Ibid, p. 12.

> This is happiness to be freed from all, (if it may) however form the greatest evils; and to enjoy (if it may be) all good, however the chiefest. To be happy is not only to be freed from the pains and diseases of the body, but from anxiety and vexation of spirit: not only to enjoy the pleasures of the sense, but peace of conscience and tranquillity of mind. To be happy, is not only to be so for a little while, but as long as may be; and if it be possible, for ever.[373]

Religion is able to give men all this because it considers the immortality of the soul and its capacity to feel beyond death. Being thus eternal, man cannot but consider the best interest of the best part in himself, trying to make it last for the longest duration, eternity. The transient pleasures of this world should be neglected in order to acquire a superior good[374] and it is man's instinctive drives for self-preservation and especially for self-gratification that move him, as the sermons in the following chapter will demonstrate.

[373] Ibidem.
[374] Ibid, p. 13.

CHAPTER FOUR
RELIGION AND ADVANTAGES

IV.i Self-love: Danger or Spur?

> It is not every body's talent to be wealthy and wise, rich and innocent.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 92***

Having stated that men are free moral agents, whose conscience guides them in the right direction, we might notice that sermons are centred on Christians' effort to obtain happiness in proving by word and hand their adherence to divine laws, assuming the interdependence of these two values. By "word," Tillotson means the demonstration of the inner disposition to religion and the duties it commands. By "hand," he generally means human actions and their practice, particularly the charitable activities and cooperation within society which will be discussed in depth in Chapter Five. The sermon by Tillotson which best summarises his idea of human happiness is Sermon 40, *That God is the only happiness of man*. The sermon evolves on the idea that the love of God and the acknowledgement of one's best interest, i.e. self-love, should be the primary sources of action in human life. What strikes at first is the long exegetical introduction that Tillotson provides to analyse the true meaning of Psalm 73:25[375] which he employs as the basis for discussion. The reason why Tillotson focuses so much on the quotation is to confute some prejudices against divine providence which men sometimes accuse of being impartial and of allowing prosperity to wicked men and on the contrary of making good men suffer. The considerations of the Psalmist lead Tillotson to the description

[375] Psalm 73:25: [25]Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.

of mankind's condition in underlining that "man of himself is not sufficient for his own happiness."[376]

The evidence of this truth can be retraced in man's frailty and vanity, in his subjection to illness and calamities in general, so that Tillotson cannot but conclude that taken by himself, man is "in a most disconsolate and forlorn condition: secure of nothing that he enjoys, and liable to be disappointed of every thing that he hopes for; […] he cannot refrain from desiring a great many things which he would fain have, but is never likely to obtain, because they are out of his power."[377] Thus, whenever man is allured by an object and believes that it can make him happy, he always encounters disappointment, because it cannot meet his expectations. Man's inability to satisfy himself is coupled with his physical frailty which makes him aware of his dependence on divine providence and of his ignorance in matters which closely regard him, as for example bodily functions. All these weaknesses lead Tillotson to the conclusion that "the nature of man, considered by itself, is plainly insufficient for it's own happiness; so that we must necessarily look abroad, and seek for it somewhere else."[378] The question which follows proposes a solution to this problem. Tillotson demands who can supply man's needs, and he presents the characteristics of this being which corresponds to the attributes of God and he concludes thus:

> Nothing that is short of all this can make us happy: and no creature, no not the whole creation, can pretend to be all this to us. All these properties meet only in GOD, who is the perfect and supreme good.[379]

In the *confirmation* of the sermon, Tillotson analyses all the attributes of God drawing comparisons between his qualities and the human ones, in order to demonstrate the effectual dependence of man on his Creator. The first attribute regards God's all-sufficiency which implies "wisdom to contrive our happiness, and

[376] Sermon 40, vol. 3, p. 138.
[377] Ibid, pp. 138-39. Cf. also Sermon 145, vol. 8, p. 3357: "Some imperfection is necessary involved in the very nature and condition of a creature, as that it derives it's being from another, and necessarily depends upon it, and is beholden to it, and is likewise of necessity finite and limited in it's nature and perfections."
[378] Ibid, p. 142.
[379] Ibidem.

power to effect it."[380] God's wisdom works to define human happiness because he knows what happiness is and how men can obtain it. His wisdom cannot be baffled by any accidents or misjudgements, whereas human wisdom on the contrary is "short and imperfect," up to the point that men often do not recognise "what is safest and best for them."[381] The second attribute that Tillotson takes into consideration is God's goodness. This feature is manifested in the Creator's willingness to work for human happiness, having created man as a creature capable of "knowing, and loving, and obeying, and enjoying him the chief good."[382] Other manifestations of God's goodness can be retraced in the sacrifice of Jesus and in the promise of the help of the Holy Spirit. Tillotson specifies that it is man himself that limits his own happiness and his capacity to enjoy it because he moves away from the dictates proposed by God.

The third and the fourth attributes are concerned with God's unchangeableness, and Tillotson uses them as the starting point to compare God to the mutability of the things in the world, in order to prove that they are not a source of happiness: "All the things of this world are mutable, and for that reason, had they no other imperfection belonging to them, cannot make us happy."[383] Indeed, everything is this world can be taken from men or can be robbed, whereas nothing can take God away, but mankind's own sins.

The fifth attribute regards the fact that "God is an eternal good:"[384] nothing which does not have this characteristic can contribute to human happiness. Tillotson acknowledges that it is the immortal nature of the soul that demands the same degree of immortality in things in order to get to eternal happiness. This remark is used by Tillotson to prove that nothing perishable in this world can match the bliss of the human soul in heaven.

With the sixth attribute, Tillotson claims that God is a comfort for men in adversities. Man on the contrary "is liable to desperate traits and exigencies: and he

[380] Ibid, p. 143.
[381] Ibid, p. 144.
[382] Ibid, p. 147.
[383] Ibid, p. 148.
[384] Ibid, p. 149.

is not happy who is not provided against the worst that may happen."[385] God thus furnishes man support in extreme situations, up to the point that even the atheists address him at the hour of death. The seventh attribute regards God's perfect nature and the peace of mind that he can give men. Tillotson acknowledges that there are differing opinions regarding the places on which man bestows his happiness and expectations: "most men place it in the present enjoyment of this world, but David for his part pitches upon GOD."[386] Tillotson concludes the *confirmation* by stating that "the great joy of the men of this world is in a plentiful harvest, and the abundance of the good things of this life: but David had found that which gave more joy or gladness to his heart, the favour of GOD and the 'light of his countenance.'"[387]

Having completed the explanation of the attributes, Tillotson moves to the inferences and application that he can draw from the analysis. The first inference that Tillotson claims is that his discussion confutes the pretences moved by atheists, whose miserable situation without a superior being is worse than that of the beasts. Tillotson indeed acknowledges that, apart from God, there is "no other reasonable, no nor tolerable hypothesis and scheme of things for a wise man to rely upon, and to live and die by."[388] The rational demonstration that he presents is given by the influence that religious principles have on man, independent of their age or social position. It is providence which directs men's lives, and "does bid more fairly for the comfort and happiness of mankind."[389] The second inference is exploited by Tillotson to oppose some of the pretences in the Church of Rome. He states that God is the only addressee of man when he is in a distressful situation, and that the belief in the intercession of angels and saints is not only wrong, but also an affront to God. The third and last inference is concerned with the human necessity of having and maintaining God's favour. Tillotson reminds his audience that the only way by which man leaves God is through the voluntary sins that he commits, thus working against his own interest. The conclusion of the sermon remarks what has

[385] Ibid, p. 150.
[386] Ibid, p. 153.
[387] Ibid, p. 154.
[388] Ibid, p. 155.
[389] Ibid, p. 156.

been discussed in the text, the necessity of God's friendship but also man's duty in obtaining this relationship with his creator. Thus interest and obedience are fused together with the providence of God.

At the core of man's inner disposition to happiness there is a strong belief in God's providence, but also in the necessity of self-denial which is often equated to self-love, and to the way in which the mind works, by cultivating one's interest with the aim at gaining rewards. Being the spur which moves man to action, self-love is connected to self-interest. This explicates itself in man's innate desire for self-preservation and in eternal interest, which coincides with happiness[390]. The conclusion to which Seventeenth-century divines arrive is that man needs self-love to realise his ultimate wish, i.e. eternal salvation. In order to better understand the import that this idea had on sermon writing, we might need to have a look at the idea of self-love, of its development and reception in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-century. There is indeed an ambiguous attitude towards self-love in sermons, a mixture of praise and refusal. This ambiguity is probably due to the description of self-love in the Christian tradition which focuses on three types of love: self-love, love of God and neighbour-love[391]. St. Thomas Aquinas proposes a further definition of self-love in *Summa Theologiae*. According to him, "*amor*" is a passion which depends on how man reacts to his own "*appetites.*" Indeed, every man feels an appetite for a particular object according to the good, i.e. the love, that he can derive from it. Love is thus "an expression of the teleological dynamism that underlies human actions."[392] If therefore man, in his relationship with the material world, uses love as a judge of his choices and actions, it clearly appears that one's self is the object of human natural love. Aquinas affirms that "to seek for one's own good and perfection is to love self."[393] Precisely because self-love is an expression of a man's passion, Aquinas does not classify it as a virtue or a vice, but advances a

[390] The discussion which follows is indebted to Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism*, pp. 186-201.
[391] On the relationship between self-love and love of God in Jansenism cf. Antonio Trampus, *Il Diritto alla Felicità: Storia di un'idea*, Roma: Laterza, (2008).
[392] Stephen Pope, "Expressive Individualism and True self-Love: A Thomistic Perspective," *The Journal of Religion* vol. 71 no 3 (Jul., 1991), pp 384-399; p. 387.
[393] *Summa Theologiae* I.60.3 cited in Pope, *Expressive Individualism and True Self-love*, p. 387.

distinction between "ordinate" and "inordinate"[394] self-love. The former, virtuous version consists in determining one's best interest and happiness, which is choosing God to be the chief love of a man's life. Inordinate self-love instead consists in "loving God as a secondary good"[395] and to prefer other objects to Him. It is therefore the foundation of multiple sins, such as for example pride and covetousness, as "*cupiditas*, loving the lower in place of the higher, is a disorder that deforms, corrupts and brings misery to the self."[396] While "inordinate" self-love is often associated with sin and damnation, virtuous self-love is coupled with interest and with the happiness and pleasure deriving from it and from an upright behaviour. This compound is reflected in the discussion of charity and of the advantages that it brings both on man and on society. Apart from the ambiguity of the triangle self-love, love of God and neighbour-love, divines were able to find a possible concurrence of these three elements. Being a passion, love has to remain under the surveillance and control of reason which proposes the avoidance of extremes, i.e. the fall into inordinate love for the self.

Tillotson discusses the nature of self-love in Sermons 66 and 67, *Of self-denial and suffering for CHRIST's sake*[397]. The core of the first sermon is dedicated

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[394] Glanvill probably thinks about "inordinate self-love" when he includes this passion as one of the means affections have to limit human knowledge. Cf. Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 65.

[395] Pope, *Expressive Individualism and True Self-love*, p. 387.

[396] *Summa Theologiae* II-II 25, 7, ad. 1, cited in Pope, *Expressive Individualism and True Self-love*, p. 390. For divines in the Seventeenth-century, self-love was defined also as an intellectual evil, not just a moral one. Cf. Dirk F. Passmann, Hermann J. Real, "The Intellectual History of "Self-Love" and Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, ed. Real Hermann J., Munich: Wilheim Fink, (2008) pp. 343-62. On self-love cf. pp. 351-56. It is interesting to notice that the reception of self-love in the Eighteenth-century recalls the Latitudinarian discussion, especially the one proposed by Isaac Barrow and John Tillotson.
According to Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica*, ch. XVI.4, self-love is one of the causes, among natural inclination, prejudice of education and interest, which leads man to set his affections on erroneous objects. In this way, man remains in ignorance all his life long, because he only takes into consideration the products of his own reason: "Self-love engages us for anything, that is a Minerva or our own. And thereby detains us in the snares of ignorance and folly. We love the issues of our brains no less than those of our bodies." Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing, or A Confidence in Opinions manifested in a Discourse of the Shortness and Uncertainty of our Knowledge and its Causes; with some Reflections on Peripatecism; and An Apology for Philosophy*, London: Printed by B.C. for H. Eversden at the Grey Hound in St.-Pauls-Church-Y, 1661.
Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 142, vol. 8, pp. 3513-14: "We admire and esteem riches, and power, and greatness; and we scorn and contempt poverty, and weakness, and meanness; yea, grace and holiness, if it be in the company of these. We are apt to reverence and value the great, and the rich, and the mighty of this world, though they be wicked, and to despise the poor man's wisdom and holiness; but we make a false judgment of things and persons."

[397] The discussion is somehow resumed in Sermon 78, vol. 5, *The encouragement to suffer for CHRIST; and the danger of denying him*.

to God's goodness[398] and to his desire to promote human happiness. The divine acknowledges that the founding principle that God planted in man concerns "the desire of our own preservation and 'happiness'"[399] and these are the basic principles on which divine laws and human duty are based. The link between self-denial, duty and happiness appears clear: by denying himself, man promotes his duty and obedience to God, while the pleasant sensations derived from it generate pleasure and bring about virtue[400]. Denial consists in abandoning temporal pleasures and in being willing to accept sufferance and hardships for the sake of religion.

The benefit in acting in this way is represented by the eternity of rewards which is underlined throughout the two sermons. At the same time, when Tillotson discusses the trials that early Christians had to undergo at the end of Sermon 67, he also hints at the easiness of divine laws. What is required of man at present is obedience and sincerity of heart. Tillotson encourages the audience to reason on this "mild obligation," informing them that it is their inner disposition which matters: "we must always be prepared in the resolution of our minds to deny ourselves, and to take up the cross, though we are not actually put upon this trial."[401] This can be obtained through repentance and reformation[402], demonstrating that God does not want man to suffer, but to keep his commandments and obey him. At the end of the sermon, Tillotson draws an interesting parallel between loving oneself and denying one's material desires, to the conclusion that they coincide: "this which we call self-denial, is, in truth and reality, but a more commendable sort of self-love, because we do herein most effectually consult, and secure, and advance our own happiness."[403]

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[398] Cf. also Sermon 143, vol. 8, pp. 3523-24: "The goodness of GOD is the cause, and the continuance of our beings, the foundation of our hopes, and the fountain of our happiness; our greatest comfort, and our fairest example, the chief object of our love, and praise, and admiration, the joy and rejoicing of our hearts."
[399] Sermon 66, vol. 5, p. 1022.
[400] Cf. also Sermon 119, vol. 7, p. 2012: "Religion […] directs men to their duty by the shortest and plainest precepts of a good life; it persuades men to the obedience of these precepts, by the promise of eternal happiness, and the threatenings of eternal misery in case of obstinate disobedience; it offers us the assistance of GOD's HOLY SPIRIT, to help our weakness."
[401] Sermon 67, vol. 5, pp. 1045-46. Cf. also Sermon 78, vol. 5, p. 1241: "We should always be prepared in the resolutions of our minds, to suffer for the testimony of GOD's truth and a good conscience, if it should please GOD at any time to call us to it." At the end of Sermon 56, vol. 4, p. 838, Tillotson comments thus: "Whilst I am persuading you and my self to resolution and constancy in our holy religion, notwithstanding all hazards and hardships that may attend it, I have a just sense of the frailty of human nature, and of the human resolution; but withal, a most firm persuasion of the goodness of GOD."
[402] Sermon 67, vol. 5, p. 1047.
[403] Ibidem.

Even if this concept implies restrictions, there is nevertheless a tendency in sermons to emphasise the possibility that man has of enjoying the world and what his senses allow him to discover with moderation, leading to a judicious self-satisfaction. Divines feel the necessity of appealing to the public, underlining the idea that though depraved, man should embrace self-fulfilment "because it is inherent in human nature and beneficial to society."[404] Scholtz[405] underlines the fact that this specific way of addressing people was peculiar to the Latitudinarians because of their mission of reforming manners by making laymen active participants in the building of a morally upright society. It is prudence that makes men believe in future judgement, urging on them its justifiable necessity, because there is nothing "so desirable to one that must live for ever, as to be happy for ever."[406] Providence gives men sufficient proof of the existence and presence of God and makes it reasonable and prudent to think that he will sentence them according to their actions and behaviour. This trend is also accompanied by the idea that divine laws do not impose anything impossible on the individual and work for the benefit of himself and of society in general[407].

In some fields, the *summum bonum* became archaic if compared to the rehabilitation of self-love and of the epicurean motives of action in man, i.e. pleasure and profit[408]. Contrary to what one might expect, these elements became the foundation of the Latitudinarian moral campaign. The revival of self-love was partly justified by the resurgence of Stoicism and Epicureanism[409] in the Seventeenth-century to investigate man's nature and build a new anthropologic system, in which man's search after happiness was prominent. Both Stoic and

[404] Porter, *Enlightenment*, p. 260.
[405] Gregory F. Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson,* pp. 182-207.
[406] Sermon 78, vol. 5, p. 1235.
[407] Cf. Shapiro's discussion of utilitarian happiness. *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England*, pp. 104-105.
[408] De Luise, Farinetti, *Storia della Felicità,* p. 200.
[409] For a discussion on the influence of Stoicism on Latitudinarian ideas cf. ch. 5, The Latitudinarians' Conception of Reason in Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England.*
For further discussion cf. also Philip A. Smith, *Bishop Hall, "Our English Seneca."* According to Smith, Stoicism appealed to Anglican divines in the Seventeenth-century due to its encouragement to follow "right reason", which in Christian terms corresponded to follow nature, i.e. natural religion. Other reasons are the Stoic appeal to a system of moral values proposed for the benefit of individuals, the perception of gods' existence in governing the universe and in desiring human good, the belief in providence and in the afterlife and the insistence on self-reflection. Cf. pp. 1191-93.

Epicurean writers placed the idea of pleasure and self-realisation at the core of their doctrines. While referring to the corruption of the present age, Stoicism invited man to withdraw from the cares of daily life to the solitude of the countryside, where he was able to exercise his rational faculties and live according to nature. Epicure's position on retirement was similar, though man's primary force to action was given by the search after pleasure, thus in the cultivation of friendship and in the enjoyment of conversation. The Stoic encouragement to employ reason to control passions was resumed in the Seventeenth-century as a way for man to improve his own benefit and work for his own salvation. If happiness was to be found in the complete control of the passions resulting into an "*aequus animus*," a balanced mind, divines would insist on the uniqueness of religion in furnishing man this type of control[410]. This was the way in which man was encouraged "to live to himself alone (*sibi vivere*), or, in Christian fashion, to God alone, scorning the entanglements of the world."[411] However, the good Christian could not resemble the wise Stoic entirely, unless he included in his moral *Decalogue* the active participation in society and charity to his fellow creatures.

Epicurean ideas came back to the European literary scene through Pierre Gassendi's works (1592-1655), and they enjoyed popularity after the enthronement of Charles II, "the merry monarch."[412] Gassendi was interested in the Senecan way of perceiving and understanding Epicure's approach of living pleasures, including his view of moderation within the limits imposed by the *koinè* of moral teachings and rules. Gassendi believed that the principle of pleasure moves man in all situations, including religious matters. Man therefore loves God because he finds pleasure in him and in the advantages that He bestows on him. In order to support his claims, Gassendi cites Augustine's position on the matter, as he aims at

[410] Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *The Happy Man: 1700-1760*, Norwegian University Press, (1962). Cf. p. 49, where the scholar defines Stoic Horatian therapy as composed of three elements: retirement in the countryside, cultivation of polite conversation and the study of poets and philosophers, because poetry can affect the passions.
[411] Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, p. 51.
[412] On Gassendi's revival of Epicurean thought cf. Pierre Force, *Self-Interest Before Adam Smith. A Genealogy of Economic Science*, Cambridge: CUP, (2003), pp. 48-90.

reconciling Epicurean and Christian thought[413]. When Gassendi takes into consideration living according to natural laws and gaining happiness he implies that man has to accept with serenity of mind the position that God bestowed on him in this life. Thus pleasure becomes the goal to be achieved and virtue the proper means to get it. What man has to accomplish is the peace of his mind, the proper condition in which he can act as a happy subject[414].

It is in Thomas Hobbes's works (1588-1679), however, that self-love acquires a new significant predominance, as man becomes a self-referential system[415], struggling to obtain its own happiness while at the same time striving to maintain the social order and communitarian principles. The philosopher's discussion of the passions presents man as an individual guided by self-love in his relationships with other human beings. Being moved by external stimuli, man can use his rational faculty to choose the best means to satisfy his expectations and wishes, as the scope of his life is to enjoy present objects and satisfy up to the moment desires. Moreover, man only has to live the present situation and does not have a future good or goal to which he tends. Hobbes therefore affirms that in his natural state man has everything he needs and follows his own pleasure without caring about the others being guided by self-love. In this outline, virtue acquires a new, normative power that helps regulate human relationships between man and man under the limits imposed by positive laws.

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[413] "The Holy Doctor also says: *being led on by one's will is not much, if one is not also led on by pleasure. What is it to be led on by pleasure? It is finding one's pleasure in God.* And he adds: *If the poet could say,*
Each is led on by his own pleasure
Not necessity, but pleasure, not obligation, but enjoyment;"
The quotation is taken from Pierre Gassendi, *Animadversiones in Decimum Librum Diogenis Laertii, qui est de vita, moribus, placitisque Epicuri*, Lyon, Guillaume Barbier, 1649; cited in Force, p. 50. The Holy Doctor is Augustine and the poet to whom Augustine refers in his quotation is Vergil, *Eclogue* II.65. The Latin quotation, "*trahit sua quemque voluptas*", is used by both Epicureans like Gassendi and Augustinians like Pascal, thus assuming a different meaning according to the context.
Cf. Vergil, *Eclogues*, ed. Robert Coleman, Cambridge: CUP, (1977), p. 48.

[414] Contrary to Hobbes, Gassendi believes that man is disposed to submit to the laws in order to guarantee the possibility to every man of progressing in his happiness and benefit. Cf. De Luise, Farinetti, *Storia della Felicità*, p. 222.

[415] Ibidem.
Cf. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chapters XIII-XIV, in which Hobbes describes the state of nature of man like a period in which "ever man is Enemy to every man" and in which "the Notions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice have [there] no place." According to Hobbes, the only passions that can incline men to live in peace is "Feare of Death; Desire of such things as are necessary to commodious living; and a Hope by their Industry to obtain them." Reason has the function of advising men to stipulate "convenient Articles of Peace" which are discussed in Chapter XIV. Cf. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. R. Tuck, Cambridge: CUP, (2010).

Nevertheless, scholars' position on Hobbes's theories prove to be controversial, especially when trying to define whether the philosopher has an egoistic position in his view of man and therefore of self-love. The two contrasting positions are expressed by Bernard Gert and F. S. McNeilly[416]. Gert develops his argument in two articles: in the former he takes into consideration Hobbes's philosophy without analysing his works, whereas in the latter he considers his writings in detail, probably moved by the critics that his position partly received from McNeilly's article. In his analysis of Hobbes's works, Gert's first article is focused on the idea of motion and of its role in moving man to action. Gert claims that Hobbes believes that human desires come from the effects that an object has on man's vital motion, but he also asserts that Hobbes never maintains that man desires something, because he believes in the benefit that the object can bestow on him. According to him, therefore, love and self-interest are separated. The scholar compares the Hobbesian position with the principles inherent in psychological egoism, whose main points are motives directed by self-interest. According to Gert, in Hobbes man is moved to action by objects for which he feels an "appetite" or an "aversion." These actions, which take the name of "voluntary," are internal motions of the body of which the individual is usually not aware. Thus these actions are "merely motions"[417] which do not depend on human interest, and therefore there is no psychological egoistic spur which moves man. Man is not aware of the motives of his desires, therefore he does not act because he believes that he can benefit from the object he is coveting.

McNeilly's position is completely different from the one exposed by Gert. The scholar takes into consideration some of the major issues of discussion in Hobbes's works, i.e. the binomial pleasure and desire, power and glory. In evaluating these concepts, McNeilly examines Hobbes's works published in the 1640s and compares them to the position that the philosopher has in *Leviathan*,

[416] Bernard Gert, "Hobbes, Mechanism, and Egoism," *The Philosophical Quarterly* vol. 15 no. 61 (Oct. 1965), pp. 341-349.
Bernard Gert, "Hobbes and Psychological Egoism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 28 no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1967), pp. 503-520.
F. S. McNeilly, "Egoism in Hobbes," *The Philosophical Quarterly* vol. 16 no 64 *History of Philosophy Number* (Jul. 1966), pp. 193-206.
[417] Gert, *Hobbes, Mechanism, and Egoism*, p. 346.

published in 1651. McNeilly analyses the problems inherent in the consistency principle, which affirms that "Hobbes's major works – between 1640 and 1656 – are expressions of a single Hobbesian philosophy which did not change or develop in any important respects."[418] Indeed, the scholar proves that the analysis of Hobbes's themes, in particular his description of pleasure and desire, power and glory, underlines how Hobbes's position changed. According to McNeilly, Hobbes developed "at least two distinct views"[419] in analysing both concepts, stressing that "in *The Elements* and *De Cive* the whole argument is essentially egoistic and would collapse if the egoistic element was removed."[420] The idea of pleasure and desire in *The Elements of Law* differs according to the immanence of the pleasure or aversion, either present or expected in the future. Desire therefore implies the perception of the interests of the other people, thus setting one's desire against other people's desires. If therefore Hobbes demonstrates an egoistic position in this work, in *Leviathan* the view he assumes is completely different. In it, pleasure is not "an intermediary in the determination of desire by an object."[421] In his search for power and glory, man manifests his own egoistic nature: "the pattern of motivation is said to be the pursuit of the agents' pleasure," because all members of society, Hobbes believes, act for personal gain or glory[422]. In the search after one's personal position in society, man finds himself fighting against the interests of his fellows. In portraying the search after power in *The Elements of Law*, Hobbes depicts what has become the epitome of his egoistic view, passionate men competing in a race with the only purpose of being first. In this way, an individual living in a society feels frustration because the only thing that dominates him is his willingness to be the first. Even charity is self-centred in this work, becoming a "self-regarding" behaviour in which man can feel "his own power."[423] According to McNeilly, the perspective in *Leviathan* changes entirely. In this work charity becomes a "desire to do good to others," without any advantage implicit in it. The same position is

[418] McNeilly, *Egoism in Hobbes*, p. 193.
[419] Ibid, p. 196.
[420] Ibid, p. 205.
[421] Ibid, p. 201.
[422] Ibidem.
[423] Ibid, p. 203. The passage that McNeilly cites is from *The Elements of Law*, I.ix.7.

maintained in issues related to power, as in *Leviathan* Hobbes assumes that men do not need to prove their superiority on their fellows as long as equality furnishes them security.

Both Gert and McNeilly sustain the belief in Hobbes's pessimistic view of man, but in his reply to McNeilly's essay Gert proceeds in analysing Hobbes's works in order to distance them from psychological egoism. The purpose of Gert's article is to demonstrate that the Hobbesian position on the laws of nature and the duties they impose on men do not change in *The Elements*, in *De Cive* and in *Leviathan*. As Gert's article is grounded on the criticism moved by Bishop Joseph Butler to Hobbes's works, it would be of no interest to our discussion here, being referred to the reception of Hobbes's works after the year 1700. It should suffice to say that Hobbes's theories circulated among Seventeenth-century divines who were particularly worried about the philosopher's atheistic view of the universe and of human nature[424]. Although he was criticised by contemporary philosophical theories and by Christian ideology, Hobbes had the merit of focusing the attention on self-love as the basic impulse which moves man.

Tillotson himself uses self-love as the impulse to move his audiences to promote virtue and charity. The fashionable London audience that he had to address demanded encouragement to live morally upright lives, yet rational motives, though strong, were not sufficient, so Tillotson had to motivate their affections and this was possible only if he appealed to their interest and self-love. Tillotson's idea of self-love is clearly connected to redemption and eternal happiness and the most profitable way to attain these is by securing honest and charitable behaviour in this

[424] Cf. Samuel I. Mintz, *The Hunting of the Leviathan: Seventeenth-Century Reaction to the Materialism and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes*, Cambridge: CUP, (2010). Mintz indicates Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae* (1662) and Thomas Tenison's *The Creed of Mr. Hobbes Examined* (1669) as two of the exemplary reactions to Hobbes's materialistic view of man. Cf. pp. 70-75.
Cf. also p. 136. Mintz notably refers that some of Hobbes's Restoration critics operated a distinction between the theories proposed by the philosopher and the reception of them by his readers. Critics affirmed that "Hobbes's Notions ... fell in with the Capricious and Licentious Humour of the Age," without eventually promoting licence and debauchery.
On the reaction of the Latitudinarians to Hobbes's theories cf. also Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p. 50. According to Griffin, the Latitude-men found their chief weapon against Hobbism in the affirmation of natural religion. Cf. p. 51. Cf. also Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, p. 221: "What chiefly provoked them to their frequent declarations of man's "natural goodness" was undoubtedly not so much their enmity to the Puritans as their zeal for combating the dangerous political and moral doctrines of Thomas Hobbes."

life. He also insists on the pleasure derived from living a satisfactory life, in which people are able to match the requests of their passionate and spiritual sides. Tillotson and the other Latitudinarians had the difficult mission of combining human interest and requests, an increasing desire of independence from providence and the necessity of divine laws in order to maintain the status quo. Even if talking about self-love was considered to be dangerous because it could fuel inordinate passions and become a spring to inflame pride, they first had to present man in a glorious position in the Chain of Being to demonstrate that he is capable of following the laws which were presented as easy, grounded on God's goodness.

Contrary to the principle promoted at the Reformation, morality is therefore unavoidably linked to self-interest "spurred on by the powerful incentives of eternal reward and punishment."[425] This idea implies a participating effort on man's side and the consequent necessity of good works, while perfection to the divine laws is not wholly required, mitigated by a sincere obedience to them according to one's capacity, as the covenant of grace or leniency claims. This idea is at the core of H. W. Sams's article[426], in which the interdependence of self-love and the doctrine of work, i.e. of the moral active role of man in reforming society is evaluated. Though Sam's target is the use that Bishop Butler makes of this idea, the general view that he gives can be useful to my discussion. As I have previously stated, the consideration of self-love in religious texts was a consistent pace towards the investigation of human nature and this was possible through the refusal of Hobbes's theories. Both the doctrine of work and the incitement to self-love are moved by "the self-seeking motives of human action" and are both concerned with morality. According to Sams, those theories were directed to the growth of a powerful Protestant merchant middle-class whose major value in dealing with business was prudence. He defines prudence as "the calm faculty by which one evaluates his actions in terms of their consequences for himself" and "a self-conscious ethical principle among English divines."[427] The demonstration of this last statement can be

[425] Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson*, p. 204.
[426] Henry W. Sams, "Self-Love and the Doctrine of Work," *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 4 no 3 (Jun. 1943), pp 320-332.
[427] Ibid, p. 322.

retraced in Tillotson's sermons where prudence holds the balance that directs man's interests, both present and future. Coupled with prudence, self-love therefore acquires a new ethical light, becoming the "ennobled self-interest" that guides the mercantile society already praised for its values in dedicating to business with honesty, energy and economy.

Sams takes into consideration the idea of self-love in Isaac Barrow who was a close friend of Tillotson and influenced his writings. Barrow dedicates two sermons to the idea of self-love as well as having included this topic also in his charity sermons. Sermon 51 is centred on self-love in general, and Sermon 52 analyses the vices that can ensue from this practice, and it is thus entitled *Of Self-confidence, self-complacence, self-will, and self-interest, &c*. The divine begins his discussion with the consideration of self-love that St. Paul himself makes, placing it "in the van, as the capital and leading vice."[428] Barrow completes this image giving it colour with a description of the vice, "the most common, so deeply eradicated in our nature, and so generally overspread in the world, that no man thoroughly is exempted from it, most men are greatly tainted with it, some are wholly possessed and acted by it."[429] The consequences of this sin are multiple and all affect the relationship between human beings, because "being blinded or transported with fond dotage on ourselves, we cannot discern or will not regard what is due to others; hence we are apt upon occasion to do them wrong."[430] The consequences are the spreading of pride, arrogance, envy, jealousy, injustice and avarice. Indeed, the original sin itself comes from this source of love for oneself.

After having presented this vice, Barrow nevertheless admits the ambiguity of the term self-love and further explains the nature of this passion and its positive as well as negative results. He claims the necessity of a distinction between innocent and culpable self-love[431]:

[428] Barrow, Sermon 51, vol. 4, p. 80.
[429] Ibidem.
[430] Ibid, p. 82.
[431].Tillotson also describes "culpable self-love" in *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 444: "In judging of your present condition and circumstances, always abate something for the presence of them, and for self-love, and self-interest, and other passions. He, that doth not consider, how apt every man is unequally to favour himself, doth not know the littleness and narrowness of human nature. We are near to ourselves, and our own interest is near to us, and we see in its full proportions, and with all

> There is a self-love originally implanted by God himself in our nature, in order to the preservation and enjoyment of our being; [...] Reason further alloweth such a self-love, which moveth us to the pursuance of any thing apparently good, pleasant, or useful to us, the which doth not contain in it any essential turpitude or iniquity; [...] Reason dictateth and prescribeth to us, that we should have a sober regard to our true good and welfare; to our best interest and solid content.[432]

The merit of this framework goes to the divine creator and to his love and goodness in creating man as a creature "capable of tasting comfort"[433] but also giving him self-love as the meter to judge his way of loving other creatures and his fellows. Thus the commandment of loving others as oneself acquires a specific value in Barrow's discussion: man himself is the primary object of charity, because he can understand his needs and give voice to them, he can feel his discomfort and do something to change his situation and last but not least he can recognise what is good for him and place it before all his other interests:

> He therefore hath made the love of ourselves to be the rule and standard, the pattern, the argument of our love to others; imposing on us those great commands of loving our neighbours as ourselves, and doing as we would be done unto; which imply not only a necessity, but an obligation of loving ourselves.[434]

The instruments and encouragements that God provides to men are the promises of rewards and punishments, the use of wisdom and virtue which are both in accordance with self-love and the obedience to his laws, whose purpose is both temporal, in the improvement of men's lives, and spiritual, in the contentment of mind and peace of the soul. This is, according to Barrow, the proof that God wants men to pursue those pleasures that they are capable of, "most ample riches, most sublime honours, most sweet pleasures, most complete felicity."[435]

Barrow proceeds to the description of culpable self-love which he describes as "foolish and vicious, […] false and equivocal love, usurping that goodly

possible advantages"; p. 446: "In all those things, wherein men are unequal, the inequality is not fix'd and constant, but mutable and by turns. All things, that belong to us, are either the *endowments of the mind*, the *accidents of the body*, or *the circumstances of our outward estate*."

[432] Barrow, Sermon 51, vol. 4, pp. 83-84.
[433] Ibid, p. 85.
[434] Ibid, pp. 85-86.
[435] Ibid, p. 87.

name."[436] The means that he proposes to distinguish between the two versions of love is self-examination of one's actions and consideration[437]. As typical of the Latitudinarians, Barrow has a positive view of the ability of man in analysing himself and in judging the real worth of each individual, beginning with a rightly estimation of oneself. Man should act "according to the good rules of humanity"[438] which imply being good, a sincere friend and working for the comfort and peace of society. If these rules are not respected, the result could be the loss of individual independence and of all the benefits deriving from charity:

> If we should entirely conform our practice to the will or humour of another, against the dictates of our own reason, and to the harm of ourselves or others; would this be love, would it not rather be vile and pitiful slavery?[439]

After having presented this form of self-love in general, Barrow moves to the description of particular situations and cases in which this vice takes different forms, namely self-conceit, self-confidence, self-complacence, self-will and self-interest. The description of the first one takes all the rest of the text, whereas the presentation of the other forms is given in Sermon 52. The divine gives more attention to self-conceit because it undermines the idea of human dependence on God and creates disparities in societies. All men are liable to fall into this sin if they do not "very carefully and impartially examine and study"[440] themselves as previously specified. Men are keen on practising this vice especially when their reputation is involved and when they want to obtain the favour of other people regarding their intellectual and moral qualities or their advantages in their riches, physical appearance and social position. Barrow confutes these vanities concentrating on the idea of wisdom, one of the dearest to men, showing that attentive reflection on oneself would prove that there are natural obstacles to wisdom in a man's mind and that the elements which influence his way of judging are so many and strong that he cannot fight them but with His divine help. This

[436] Ibid, pp. 87-88.
[437] Cf. also p. 107 in which Barrow uses self-examination to prove the foolishness of self-conceit.
[438] Ibid, p. 92.
[439] Ibidem.
[440] Ibid, p. 94.

issue leads the preacher to the consideration of the impossibility for one man of being superior to his fellows, grounding this supposition on the availability of the means of improvement to all men:

> For what ground can a man have of arrogating to himself a peculiarity of wisdom or judgment? [...] to fancy himself wiser than any other, whenas (secluding accidental differences, that cannot be accounted for) all men have the same parts and faculties of soul, the same means and opportunities of improvement, the same right and liberty of judging about things?[441]

This is a pure argument for charity, basing the discussion on the equality of all men at birth and in this world. The idea of equality is emphasised by a series of rhetorical questions in which Barrow makes his audience reflect on the absurdity of their pretences. This concept becomes central in the discussion of self-conceit in morality, especially in the description that Barrow gives of the degeneracy of men, an aspect which touches all men, both good and evil, and that in this way unites them under the same name:

> Such is the imperfection, the impotency, the impurity of all men, even of the wisest and best men (discernible to them who search their hearts and try their ways, strictly comparing them to the rules of duty, God's laws, and the dictates of reason) that no man can have reason to be satisfied in himself or in his doings.[442]

> Every man is in some kind and degree bad, sinful, vile; it is as natural for us to be so, as to be frail, to be sickly, to be mortal: there are some bad dispositions common to all, and which no man can put off without his flesh.[443]

[441] Ibid, pp. 100-101.
[442] Ibid, p. 106.
[443] Ibid, p. 109.

IV.ii Man, the World and Religion: Some Objections

> The business of religion, the practice of a holy and virtuous life, is not hindrance to a man's thriving in his temporal estate.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 95***

The idea that man was the pride of creation[444] could not be avoided by divines because it was the proof of God's goodness and it also contributed to the proof of divine existence. The pride of man had to be checked with the continuous remembrance of his limited nature and mutability, as the sermons in volume 8 demonstrate. These texts are dedicated to the discussion of the attributes of God and they present man in a double light, as a fragile, perishable creature and as the pride of creation. When compared to the perfection of his creator, human pride of course sinks while it is revived when he considers his place in the Chain of Being, above all the animals and other small creatures.

Emphasising the image that man is debased in comparison to God's omnipotence, Sermon 137, *The wisdom of GOD in the creation of the world*, gives us an idea of the type of analysis that was carried on to instil the idea of God's benevolence in the public, a God who was capable of raising a mild degree of pride in mankind for its position in the Chain of Being. The text is a celebration of the wisdom of the providence of God in creating the world and its creatures. After having briefly presented the beauties of the natural world, Tillotson focuses on the highest proof of divine goodness and wisdom, the frame of the human body. What makes man wondrous and full of awe is the fact that he is the link between the natural and the spiritual world. Tillotson acknowledges that he is talking without

[444] Cf. Psalm 8:4-8: [4]What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? [5]For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. [6]Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: [7]All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; [8] The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.

flattery[445], but the effect that this discussion might have had on those who were listening to his words is easily inferred. Being made after God's image, man is "a memorial of the workman"[446] composed of different parts, body and mind, which in turn can be dissected into smaller parts, each of which has its proper function. Even if the human body is deprived of weapons, he has his reason and understanding which place him above all other creatures. It is his mind that guides him in everything that is needful for his preservation and nutrition but it also contains in itself mirrors of divinity in its ability to memorise, to make predictions about the future and to get to the knowledge of oneself.

In describing man's position in the universe, Tillotson is careful to underline that the living things that are at man's disposal were created not just for him, even if most of them are at his service. Tillotson describes man as owning "a contemplative nature"[447] which carries him to the supreme enjoyment of the natural elements on which he can exercise his understanding. The problem that arises from this inclination is the fact that man is often driven away by his desire of rejoicing, and living in the world. The question that man often asks himself is why God created this beautiful world and human nature in such a way as to make each individual enjoy the world to the utmost of his power, creating a clash between this inclination to worldly life and his aspiration to his heavenly abode. The regulation of these desires should be inward but it is most of the time given by divine laws. This apparent difference often brings man to the elaboration of prejudices[448] regarding his duty to God.

[445] Sermon 137, vol. 8, p. 3415.
[446] Ibid, p. 3416.
[447] Ibid, p. 3418.
[448] Tillotson attacks the prejudices bred in education in Sermon 74, vol. 5, p. 1156: "We will consider the mighty opposition that was raised against the gospel. [...] No prejudice being so strong, as that which is founded in education; and of all the prejudices of education, none so obstinate and so hard to be removed, as those about religion, yea, though they be never so absurd and unreasonable."
According to Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, this idea was commonplace among the Latitudinarians. Cf. p. 67: "Like Glanvill, the other Latitudinarians were aware of the dangers from what Stillingfleet called 'the several tinctures from education, authority, custom and predisposition,' as well as interference from the will."

The covenant of leniency requires man's obedience[449] and self-denial, meaning that he sometimes has to oppose his inclination and nature in order to perfect his behaviour. Tillotson often reinforces the idea that the Anglican religion is "the best and most reasonable religion in the world, [...] that contains the best precepts, and gives men the greatest assurance of a future happiness, and directs them to the surest way of attaining it."[450] Tillotson explains his position in Sermon 28, *Objections against the true Religion answered.* The sermon develops its discussion first from an explanation of the original inclinations of the soul, before the fall of Adam and Eve: even without divine revelation the heathens acknowledged that mankind has fallen into a degenerate state, and Plato's philosophy is a demonstration of it. Tillotson hastens to comment that this state is not irretrievable, because human faculties, though feeble and weakened, have not been completely erased and still work in man to promote God's will: natural judgement and conscience continue to direct man and his heart is yet capable of discerning the general impressions deriving from natural law. As it is often remarked in the sermons, the problem lies in the lowest faculties, in the appetites and inclinations that can influence reason but cannot touch judgement which is still able to guide man according to divine precepts.

Tillotson continues his analysis by claiming that traces of goodness are still visible in man and they can be cultivated through education, provided there are good examples to follow. It is fundamental to operate at the first appearance of reason and understanding in order to let education work out human virtue, even in the worst tempers. Once more, Tillotson demonstrates his strong belief in the effects of education and in the malleability of man[451]. After having underlined again that the elements which compound the covenant are God's love for man and human duty, he points to the fact that the Creator only wants mankind's happiness and the promotion of their well-being and that he does not intend to frustrate human nature,

[449] Cf. Sermon 114, vol. 7, p. 1892: "If we know these things to be the will of GOD, we have the greatest obligation to them, whether we consider the authority of GOD, or our own interest, and if we neglect them, we have nothing to say in our excuse. We know the law, and the advantage of keeping it, and the penalty of breaking it."
[450] Sermon 74, vol. 5, p. 1169.
[451] Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 274-75. Cf. also the discussion of education in Chapter Two.

but was compelled to put it under trial after the story of the Fall. At the same time, God sent his son as a remedy and encouragement to humanity and reinforced the idea of self-preservation in order to stir human interest and self-love. When confronted with death or with a sudden danger, man is urged to save himself, and this process should function also in matters of religious reformation, where eternal happiness is involved. God promises rewards and bliss which exceed temporal benefits; however, men usually "pull destruction upon [themselves], with the works of [their] own hands."[452] This happens because they do not understand where to place and find delight as they do not see what kind of worldly pleasures they can derive from the acceptance of the laws. What man achieves is a certain degree of "true pleasure and perfect freedom"[453] because he is able to control his passions by using reason. The whole process contributes to human satisfaction and to "the pleasure of wisdom and discretion,"[454] because Tillotson explains how the fickleness of sensual pleasures generates disappointment when men experience them. Most, if not all of these delights are followed by negative consequences on the mind and the body[455], whereas religion instead improves human health, "the life of life:"

> It is not indeed so violent and transporting a pleasure, but it is pure, and even, and lasting, and hath no guilt or regret, no sorrow and trouble in it, or after it: which is a worm that infallibly breeds in all vicious and unlawful pleasures, and makes them to be bitterness in the end.[456]

The idea of freedom is also connected to the control of the passions which work like a tyrant in man, against his natural tension towards heaven. The only way to fight them is by prescribing laws, placing God as a just, compassionate governor who

[452] Ibid, p. 276.
[453] Ibid, p. 282.
[454] Ibidem.
[455] A description of the consequences of the enjoyment of delight is given in Sermon 79, vol. 5, p. 1253: "Our outward condition, it may be, is uncomfortable, we are poor and persecuted; [...] our bodies perhaps are in pain, or our spirits troubled; or though we have no real cause of outward trouble, yet our souls are ill lodged, in the dark dungeon of a body; over-powered with a melancholy humour, which keeps out all light and comfort from our minds."
[456] Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 284. Cf. also Sermon 119, vol. 7, p. 2011: "The Christian religion is a great happiness to the world in general, though some are so unhappy as to be the worse for it; not because religion is bad, but because they are so." Cf. also Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3792: "We shall reap the pleasure and satisfaction of it in our own minds, and all the other mighty advantages of it in the world, and the vast and unspeakable reward of it in the other."

does not charge man with anything but what his reason already tells him and to the improvement of his benefit, both temporal and eternal:

> So that taking all things into consideration, the interest of our bodies and souls, **of the present and the future**, **of this world and the other**, religion is the most reasonable and wise, the most comfortable and compendious course that any man can take in order to his own happiness.[457] (emphasis added)

The link between prudence on the one hand and pleasure on the other is therefore cemented. The need to avoid hellish punishments is coupled with the physical and mental pleasure that the good Christian feels once he has entered a truly religious course. Religion gives constancy to the life of man; it improves human resolution and frees him from guilt and worries by setting his mind at rest. Pleasure therefore can be had "within the limits of virtue,"[458] avoiding extreme excess as can be found for example in covetous and voluptuous people. Indeed, in another sermon Tillotson affirms that: "the temporal felicity of man, and the ends of government can very hardly, if at all, be attained without religion."[459]

However, when man is compared to God, he loses his supremacy, as the other sermons of the volume point out. For example Sermon 133, *The unchangeableness of GOD*, demonstrates the immutability of the divine nature comparing it to the mutability of man. If God "always is, and was," man is changeable in everything, starting with his physical growth and decay to his resolutions and actions, "continually waxing or waining in [his] knowledge, and wisdom, and goodness, and power."[460] While immutability recalls the idea of perfection, mutability suggests imperfection and frailty: man is subject to natural changes brought by age or by disease and his body is of course destined to death. The decay of the flesh is accompanied by the fickleness and weakness of humans' will, by the frequent changes in desires and purposes according to the object which presents itself to their minds. This idea lies at the base of the discussion of the inability of man in seeing where their true interest is. He usually seeks happiness in

[457] Ibid, p. 286.
[458] Ibid, p. 293.
[459] Sermon 27, vol. 2, pp. 250-51.
[460] Sermon 133, vol. 8, pp. 3335-36.

honours and riches without realising that their value is ephemeral. To encourage the audience to fix their lives in the right direction, divine laws are often portrayed as easy. Being unprofitable for him to appeal to the public with strong spiritual discussions, Tillotson exploits those advantages, such as for example a peaceful mind and reputation[461], which he knows could work on a man's heart without going against the precepts of the gospel.

The struggle between worldly and spiritual pleasures is nowhere so strong as when man has to confront riches and his covetous desires. Tillotson dedicates four sermons to this topic, Sermon 90 to the nature of this sin, Sermons 91 to 93 to its irrational nature. Covetousness comes directly from the human desire of avoiding want and contempt and such an ambition is so compelling that the individual is apt to save riches and stock up on them to insatiable levels[462]. What has to be avoided is extreme care in keeping one's wealth to oneself, while on the contrary Jesus "allows a prudent care, and regular industry of these things."[463] As we have seen, a religious man is also prudent in his choices for happiness because Christianity gives him moderation and regulation of desires, but it also allows him to love the things of this world, as long as his passion is "truly consistent with the love of GOD, and a due and serious care of [his] souls."[464] The idea of a moderate love for the world is reinforced in the analysis of the text[465], asserting the important role played by God's providence while at the same time claiming that God would not have created the world in so beautiful and amazing a form if it had not been for mankind's delight:

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[461] Cf. for example Sermon 76, vol. 5, p. 1194: "That natural desire which is in men, to have a good name perpetuated, and to be remembered, and mentioned with honour, when they are dead and gone, is a sign, that there is in human nature some presage of a life after death." Cf. also p. 1207: "Next to a good conscience, a clear reputation ought to be to every man the dearest thing in the world. Men have generally a great value for riches, and yet the scripture pronounceth him the happier man, that leaves a good name, than him that leaves a great estate behind him."
Tillotson stresses the favourable situation in which providence places good men in Sermons 99, 100, 185 and 186.

[462] Cf. Barrow's discussion of covetousness, Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 122: "Another culpable sort of self-love is that of Self-interest; when men inordinately or immoderately do covet and strive to procure for themselves these worldly goods, merely because profitable or pleasant to themselves, not considering or regarding goods of others, according to the rules of justice, of humanity, of Christian charity."

[463] Sermon 90, vol. 6, p. 1438.

[464] Ibid, p. 1440.

[465] Luke 12:15: [15] And he said unto them, take heed, and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.

> For nothing can be more inconsistent than to recommend to men diligence in their callings and employments (as the scripture frequently does) and that in order to the attaining of the good things of this life; and yet to forbid us to love these things at all. [...] Now can any man love the giver, for bestowing such gifts upon him, which, if he do as he ought, he must not love?[466]

The enjoyment of the world is therefore directly linked to God's love and to the feeling of awe that men feel for their Creator. Indeed, in warning men against covetousness, Jesus carefully suggests the use of moderation and reminds them that the possession of material things does not constitute their happiness[467]. Tillotson argues the fact that man looks for wealth in order to make his life "convenient and comfortable,"[468] but he asserts that he can profit from this advantage only if he is able to enjoy things moderately, without tormenting himself about the necessity of having more. In his goodness, God only asks man to consider the immortality of his soul when "making provision for these dying bodies."[469] However, if man is not able to moderate himself, and divine laws in this case enormously help him, he is in great danger of apostasy.

The word that Tillotson usually associates with covetousness is "inordinate," referring to the desire of worldly things and to the love of them. Sermon 91 opens with a reflection on human nature and its inability to love God and the world to the same degree. The tension between spiritual matters and material enjoyments is so strong that man is most of the time more inclined to what is closer to him and that he can perceive with the senses than to what he can only imagine. Covetousness takes out the worst part of men whose spirits are "commonly blown up and bloated with their fortunes, and their pride, and stomach, and passion" and "do usually increase in proportion to their wealth."[470] Covetousness takes men to the verge of unlawful pleasures and it brings diseases of the mind: "it is like the thirst of a fever,

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[466] Sermon 90, vol. 6, p. 1441.
[467] Ibid, pp. 1443-44. Tillotson refers to the biblical quotation he is discussing, Luke 12:15: "From the reason which he gives of this caution, 'take heed and beware of covetousness; for the life of man doth not consist in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' As if he had said, take great care to set some bounds to your desires after the things of this world. For whatever men may imagine, it is certain in experience, that it is not the abundance of outward things which makes the life of man happy."
[468] Ibid, p. 1446.
[469] Ibidem.
[470] Sermon 91, vol. 6, p. 1460.

or of dropsy; the more man drinks, the more he desires, and the more he is inflamed."[471] On the contrary, all natural desires can be satisfied and put the mind at rest once the thing ached for is obtained. This reasoning takes Tillotson to the conclusion of the sermon in which he reaffirms that happiness and satisfaction come from the inward frame of one's mind and that if the individual is able to check his desires, "it is possible that a man's money and his mind may meet."[472]

Tillotson therefore does not deny happiness in this world, but states that there are some assumptions that need to be taken into consideration. People must have "a competency of the things of this world" and they will enjoy them according to their capacity, i.e. that man has to listen to the needs and exigencies of his condition: "he must eat and drink within the bounds of temperance and health, and must wear no more clothes than are for his convenience."[473] The application of Sermon 92 is dedicated to the evils that covetousness generates, both in the mind of man and in his relationship with other people. Not only is a greedy man tormented by anxiety of losing his property and never at peace with what he has as his desires always surpass his possibility of quenching them; he also has problems with his family and friends because they most of the time are corrupted by the power of money, they despise him for his being uncharitable or covet his wealth.

As Alan Brinton argues[474], at the end of the Seventeenth and through all the Eighteenth-century passions were used as topics in sermons on love and anger, two drives that were considered as either positive or negative elements in the relationship between a single individual and society. According to Brinton, both topics are related to the wider discussion of the passion of anger which involved the religious and philosophical production of the period, probably due to the revival of Seneca's writings. Brinton does not take Tillotson into consideration in his article, but we can deduce from his sermons on the forgiveness of injuries and on evil-speaking that the ideas that Briton proposes apply also to his sermons.

[471] Ibid, p. 1462.
[472] Ibid, p. 1464.
[473] Sermon 92, vol. 6, p. 1469.
[474] Alan Briton, "The Passion as Subject Matter in Early Eighteenth-Century British Sermons," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* vol. 10 no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 51-69.

An exemplary case can be given by Sermon 33, *Of forgiveness of injuries, and against revenge*, which was preached before the Queen on 8th March 1688 and whose political import can be easily discerned. The whole text is an incitement to forgiveness and to the way in which religion can "enlarge and perfect the moral and natural law."[475] When dividing the *confirmation* into four *heads*, Tillotson first makes a comparison between love and revenge: even if they are two passions, love, once it is "under the government of our reason, is the most natural, and easy, and delightful of all the affections which GOD planted in human nature."[476] On the contrary, revenge has to be heartily avoided because it disturbs the mind and "puts the spirits into an unnatural fermentation and tumult."[477] Moreover, the pleasure that it might give man is just temporary and devastating, "like a flash of a lighting, which vanisheth in the twinkling of an eye."[478] Compared to the satisfaction man gets in being at peace with his fellows, revenge appears to have a brutish and unreasonable character, especially when man feels that in being charitable he is "in the easiest posture,"[479] which is the most congenial to his nature. But Tillotson goes further in his discussion, stating that if men do not want to grow in charity for the sake of other people, yet they should think about their own sake and interest, doing "as great a kindness to [themselves] as it is charity to others."[480] The second *head* is focused on the nature of a man who is an enemy to himself or a sinner. In analysing his situation, Tillotson points out the fact that sin and passions do not destroy human nature, that a man does not cease to be a man because he is a sinner. He still has "something in him which the blindest passion cannot deny to be good and amiable."[481] His discussion is directed to the confutation of the theories proposed by Thomas Hobbes, and also to the rehabilitation of the Aristotelian philosophy which plays a fundamental role in presenting men as living friendly one with the others:

[475] Sermon 33, vol. 2, p. 399.
[476] Ibid, p. 400.
[477] Ibid, p. 401. The use of the word "fermentation" might refer to the metaphor Tillotson used to describe the heart comparing it to wine. Cf. Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 115: "So long as sin and corruption abound in our hearts they will be restlessly working, like wine which will be in a perpetual motion and agitation till it have purged itself and it's dregs and foulness."
[478] Ibidem.
[479] Ibid, p. 402.
[480] Ibidem.
[481] Ibid, p. 403.

> And there is an essential relation, as well as likeness, between one man and another, which nothing can ever dissolve, because it is founded in that which no man can divest himself of, in human nature. So far is it from being true, which Mr. Hobbes asserts as the fundamental principle of his politicks, "That men are naturally in a state of war and enmity with one another," that the contrary principle, laid down by a much deeper and wiser man, I mean Aristotle, is most certainly true, "that men are naturally akin and friends to each other." Some unhappy accidents and occasions may make men enemies, but naturally every man is a friend to another.[482]

With the third consideration Tillotson explains the magnificence of forgiveness and compares the man who forgives his enemies to a wise general[483]:

> By art and stratagem, by meer dint of skill and conduct, by patience and wise delay; without ever striking a stroke, or shedding one drop of blood, to vanquish an enemy, and to make an end of the war without ever putting it to the hazard of a battle.[484]

Following the metaphor, the angry man is portrayed like a warrior who blindly hurls himself into the fray:

> Loseth and lets fall the government of himself, and lays the reins upon the neck of the wild beats, his own brutish appetite and passion; which hurries him on first to revenge, and then to repentance for the folly which he hath been guilty of in gratifying so unreasonable a passion.[485]

At the end of the sermon, Tillotson presents the inferences that can be drawn from the discussion of the text and he relates the insurgence of enemies to the conduct of a man's life. It is therefore a matter of great prudence for man not to make enemies by behaving in an evil way towards others. Hence Tillotson furnishes a new proof of the greatness and reasonableness of the Christian religion which

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[482] Ibid, pp. 403-404. Hobbes himself cites Aristotle on sociability in *De Cive*, I.i. Cf. Helen Thornton, *State of Nature or Eden? Thomas Hobbes and His Contemporaries on the Natural Condition of Human Beings* (Rochester Studies in Philosophy), Rochester: University of Rochester Press, (2005); cf. chapter 2. Cf. also Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, p. 222. Crane compares the position of heathen philosophers with the one of Hobbes on man's nature as a social animal. The scholar wants to demonstrate the aversion of the Latitudinarians to the Hobbesian ideas.
On Aristotle and sociability and the revision of his position by Aquinas, cf. Pope, *Expressive Individualism and True Self-love*, pp. 390-93.

[483] The description of the general, with the reference to its patience and bloodless military campaign might be a reference to the newly crowned King William III. The importance of this figure and of the role he played in the building of a new, tolerant, Anglican society will be discussed in Chapter Five.

[484] Sermon 33, vol. 2, p. 406.

[485] Ibid, p. 407.

works for the mere improvement of man in order to make him partaker of "the peace and happiness of the world."[486] However, Tillotson acknowledges there is a great objection moved to religion which consists in the practice of its rules and virtues which are often neglected by men. He nevertheless declares that this lack is due to the power of these men's passions and appetites which can take control over reason and guide the mind in the opposite direction[487]. The end of the sermon nevertheless sheds a positive light on this objection, stating that God has infinite goodness and mercy in order to forgive mankind and that what men can do is to bestow forgiveness to their fellows.

IV.iii Self-preservation and divine laws: Advantages and Disadvantages

> The laws of GOD are not arbitrary constitutions; but wise rules and means to procure and advance our happiness.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 96***

After having made it clear that there is a covenant that man ought to respect, Tillotson explains how mankind gets to know its duty and understands the goodness and beauty of it in Sermon 102, *Instituted religion not intended to undermine natural*. The list of the means that God exploits is made of natural instinct and reason, consent of mankind, external revelation and the work of supernatural grace. As these expedients are of some interest to prove the capacity of man of being morally correct, it might be useful to briefly analyse what Tillotson says of all of them. An instinct is a tendency or inclination towards someone or something and it usually proceeds without rational reasoning, as it can be demonstrated in the

[486] Ibid, p. 417.
[487] This might be considered another reference to the important role played by education and by profitable examples in the building of familiar communities first and of society at large.

behaviour of animals and ignorant or rude people. This impulse comes from man's search after pleasure and avoidance of pain, taking into consideration that when man is at ease with his conscience he feels comfort and fulfilment. The contrary sensation, that of guilt, "puts the mind of man into an unnatural working and fermentation, never to be settled again but by repentance."[488] As pointed out in Chapter Three, conscience informs man if he is acting according to divine rules or against them and it is helped by the natural hopes and fears that are roused in him whenever he is doing something.

Natural reason works on two distinctive principles: the convenience of things to human nature and the tension to happiness and to fulfil one's interest. With the first aspect Tillotson refers to the capacity of reason to show man what is or is not profitable for him to do in order to live in peace with himself and his fellow creatures. The second aspect focuses the attention of the listeners on the advantages that might be derived from the exercise of piety, temperance, wisdom and mercy. All these traits form the character of a good man, a picture that leads directly to the third means, the consent of mankind to what is good. By exercising these virtues, man gains an admirable reputation that he can use in his relationships with his community. "Generally mankind is modest,"[489] says Tillotson, and though guilt is something that only man himself can perceive, shame is connected to the reaction of people to his behaviour. Indeed, if shame is aroused in a man due to his deeds, vice is universally condemned as a negative influence on the individual and on society. The fourth and fifth means are briefly mentioned with the support of the Scriptures and are concerned with God's assistance in his promise to help those who sincerely ask for it.

The *application* is a reflection on all the motives that move men: together with those mentioned before, Tillotson adds "the prospect of advantage, the apprehension of danger, and the sense of honour,"[490] proving in this way that God's requests to mankind all have a reasonable result. A third inference, connected to the English society and their degeneration of manners, steers the exhortation of

[488] Sermon 102, vol. 6, p. 1657. For the use of the word "fermentation", cf. note 97.
[489] Sermon 102, vol. 6, p. 1663.
[490] Ibid, p. 1667.

charitable works, as "GOD values this [mercy, and alms to the poor] above all our external devotion."[491] The implication in the exhortation is that everybody can profit from the increase of charitable activities, from the single executioner to the whole society[492].

The fact that God exploits these natural means in order to make people understand his laws is again a proof of the easiness of Christianity. This idea is developed in the first eight sermons of the collection that Tillotson published separately in 1671 whose content mainly stems from the contemporary fight against atheism. Sermon 1, *The Wisdom of Being Religious*, explains where happiness can be found[493]. The *confirmation* is focused on the analysis of man's condition and vanity in this world as a demonstration of the necessity of believing in God's role as human protector. Tillotson seems to address man's self-love, telling his public that if they love themselves they should look for their contentment first in God and then in the world. Tillotson does not refuse the beauties of nature and the enjoyments disposed by God, but he warns his audience to look for happiness in a superior being. Man's misery is heightened by his rational faculty and the ability he has to understand his situation and impossibility of obtaining his own happiness by himself. The absence of God means melancholy and unruliness to mankind, whereas his presence and expectations in future punishments and rewards lead man to apply moral laws to his daily transactions[494]. Tillotson also plays on the desire of man to be admired, to have a good reputation as a wise and upright man[495], pointing again at a form of self-love.

The *exhortation* ends the sermon with an appeal to the audience later modified into a refusal of appealing, with Tillotson complaining that if happiness and one's interest do not move man, he cannot spend more words on the topic.

[491] Ibid, p. 1671.
[492] The importance of the consequences of these acts, together with the necessity of avoiding natural disasters as direct punishments from God to the nation will be discussed in Chapter Five. Cf. for example Sermon 103, vol. 6, p. 1675: "Shewing mercy, or doing good in any kind is a prime instance of those moral duties, which do naturally and perpetually oblige."
[493] For an analysis of the whole sermon cf. Chapter Three.
[494] Sermon 1, vol. 1, p. 63-64.
[495] Ibid, p. 69.

Religion is a matter of free choice and there is no remedy imprinted by God to man's obstinacy where fear, hope and words do not prove effectual[496].

After having dedicated the first two sermons to atheism and its confutation, Tillotson moves the discussion to a more practical level, the advantages of religion first to societies (Sermon 3) as if to underline that man first of all is a sociable animal, then to "particular persons," i.e. man taken individually (Sermon 4). Even if the focus of the discussion is divine laws and the rewards that they allot to men in both sermons, I would rather consider Sermon 4 as a starting point for my analysis, given the individual cut that I try to give to this chapter. In asserting the excellence of the Christian religion, Tillotson sustains the reasonability of moral precepts and their capacity to improve man's condition[497] as they command "nothing that is unnecessary and burthensom [...] but what is reasonable, and useful, and substantial."[498] The laws promote order and control of the passions and inclinations which might transform men into beasts or fools if left unbridled. They must be put under control using moderation and temperance[499] otherwise man cannot profit from pleasure and from other creatures in a reasonable way. The pleasure that comes from "a clear conscience, and a mind fully satisfied with it's own actions"[500] is incomparable to any sensual pleasure. The message that the divine wants to give is that religion means freedom of the mind and body from terrors and affright, a cure that can bring man to the detachment from sensual inclinations that might control his mind[501]. Probably to appeal to his public, Tillotson begins the analysis of the benefits from those which are tangible, that is the improvement of a man's understanding, and the pleasure and peace of the mind. The basis of this advance is the increase of the ability to subdue the lusts and moderate the passions, other than directing men to the knowledge and importance of spiritual things. Tillotson seems

[496] Cf. Sermon 119, vol. 7, p. 2011: "If religion be a matter of free choice, it is not to be expected that it should necessarily and constantly have its effects upon men; for it works upon us not by way of force or natural necessity, but of moral persuasion."
Cf. also Sermon 74, vol. 5, p. 1169: "Let us also be Christians, not only by custom, but by choice; and then we shall live according to our religion."
[497] Sermon 5, vol. 1, p. 133.
[498] Ibidem.
[499] Ibid, p. 137.
[500] Sermon 6, vol. 1, p. 162.
[501] Ibid, p. 166.

to make a distinction between "positive" and "noxious" passions, those that affect the body in particular:

> Intemperance and sensuality and fleshly lusts do debase mens minds, and clog their spirits, make them gross and foul, listless and unactive; they sink us down into sense, and glew us to these low and inferior things; like birdlime they hamper and entangle our souls, and hinder their flight upwards; [...]. So likewise the exorbitant passions of wrath and malice, envy and revenge, do darken and distort the understandings of men, do tincture the mind with false colours, and fill it with prejudice and undue apprehensions of things.[502]

There is a platonic reminiscence in Tillotson's words, mixed with a tinge of shame for the impossibility of using one's reason, the key-element which distinguishes men from brutes. It is this inability that places rational creatures and animals on the same level. Every aspect in a human mind, its quickness and judgement, is modified and amplified by the power that religion can exercise on passions and lusts. Purity in the body means a fruitful gain in perceiving the objects whereas purity in the soul implies a more acute ability to understand and reason on higher things. The encouragement to man is therefore to become an active agent, fighting against his passions using religion as a weapon.

The second important advantage brought by religion regards the pleasure and peace coming from a holy life. The ultimate result of it is man's ability to contemplate God in his perfection, there being "a pleasure in admiration."[503] If man knows that he is living a holy life, following divine dictates, he will be freed from "anxieties of guilt, and the fear of divine wrath and displeasure,"[504] elements which Tillotson in other occasions uses to promote man's first adherence to religion. Evil dispositions can be cured only by religion[505], because without God man is like a

[502] Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 112.
[503] Sermon 1, vol. 1, p. 8.
[504] Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 114.
[505] Another clear reference to the power of religious education in increasing morality. Cf. Sermon 4, vol. 1, p. 115: "Religion does likewise tend to the happiness of the outward man. Now the blessings of this kind are such as either respect our health, or estate, or reputation, or relations; and in respect of all these religion is highly advantageous to us."

troubled sea[506], his uneasiness is endless and his heart instead is like wine, "in perpetual motion and agitation till it have purged itself of it's dregs and foulness."[507]

Tillotson is anxious to prove that the advantages are not only inside the single man, but are also visible to all that are near him and that establish relationships with him. He therefore appeals to common assent as I have previously shown in Sermon 102. The first advantage is to the body and its preservation. By practising the virtues of chastity and temperance encouraged by religion and approved by reason, men avoid wasting their bodies in extreme sensual pleasures. The same can be said for violent passions such as choler which once inflamed is extremely difficult if not impossible to quench. From bodily advantages Tillotson moves to economic ones, talking about the blessings received by good men in their wealth and estates together with the encouragement to industry and diligence in one's profession. However, cautious not to inflame covetous passions, the preacher does not fail to mention the Stoic idea of wealth, reminding his audience that the greatest richness of all is the one in the soul and not in the possessions.

The discussion is concluded by a reflection on reputation and relations, with a specific stress on the importance of educating children and those under one's protection. Towards the end of the text Tillotson comments on a biblical passage, 1 Timothy 5:8[508], by stating that these examples are *à fortiori*, that is they foretell future blessings in the afterlife[509]. The preacher also calls experience to the bar in order to provide common examples of the inheritance of a good reputation as well as of the physical deformities and diseases inherited from sin.

The last part of the sermon is dedicated to the advantages of religion in future life, where Tillotson is eager to affirm that the greatness of the rewards of a righteous man is the best motive to spur a layman to religion. Being infused with divine ideas, rational creatures cannot go against their nature, they need to converse with the higher spheres and address God. Religion is therefore reasonable because it

[506] A favourite expression with Tillotson from Isaiah 57:20-21: [20]But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. [21]There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.
[507] Ibid, p. 115.
[508] 1 Timothy 5:8: [8]But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.
[509] Ibid, p. 121.

leads men to happiness[510] and this is further testified by the image of a wicked man whose body and soul are horribly corrupted by sin, a portrayal which ends the sermon as a powerful, vivid admonition to the audience who could let their imagination run free to picture it as they preferred[511]. Tillotson apostrophizes those who consider religion as a yoke that man has to carry, summarising the main issues developed in the sermon, God's justness and goodness in giving his laws, combining interest and duty for man thus making these principles natural causes of happiness to him. When talking about moderation and restraint, Tillotson affirms, God wants his creatures to be first virtuous in this life in order to receive adequate recompense in the future. Men must therefore value their "temporal welfare"[512] as it mirrors their otherworldly existence. If they love themselves, Tillotson concludes, they could not but see that the laws correspond to their interest and that they should therefore follow them as any rational creature would do.

After having stated that self-denial is not so difficult to put into practice and that it is in man's interest to apply to divine laws, Tillotson dedicates a series of sermons to these precepts and their content. In Sermon 5, *The excellency of the Christian religion*, he presents a brief survey of the divine laws and he divides them into two general groups: those concerning the improvement of the individual and those regarding the peace of society. The discussion is here centred on the first category which consists of those laws which enjoin piety towards God and proper government of one's life "in respect of the enjoyments and pleasures of this life."[513] The former refers to what natural religion commands men to do[514] in accordance with religion. The latter instead refers to the promotion of sobriety and temperance in the appreciation of the beauties of the world. The principle on which these laws are based is the incitement of hopes and fears, respectively represented by heaven and hell, while the most important quality that man must demonstrate to posses

[510] Ibid, p. 125.
[511] Ibid, p. 125-26.
[512] Ibid, p. 127.
[513] Sermon 5, vol. 1, p. 135.
[514] Cf. Sermon 5, vol. 1, p. 136: "For the sum of natural religion as it refers more immediately to GOD is this, that we should inwardly reverence and love GOD, […] and that we should testify our dependence upon him, and our confidence of his goodness; […] and that we should acknowledge our obligations to him […] by continual praises and thanksgivings."

beside obedience is patience, a feature that Tillotson also employs when discussing the necessity of self-denial. The link between these laws, God's goodness and human interest is reinforced also here:

> In a word, the gospel describes GOD to us in all respects such a one as we would wish him to be, gives us such laws as every man that understands himself would chuse to live by, propounds such arguments to persuade to the obedience of these laws as no man that wisely loves himself and hath any tenderness for his own interest and happiness, either in this world or the other, can refuse to be mov'd withal.[515]

The sermon ends with a reflection on the power of the Christian religion to reform mankind and on the dangerous and vicious situation in which people instead live, being unable to follow divine laws and therefore letting corruption spread among societies. If men do not put into practice what they profess by word, they fall into the sin of hypocrisy which, coming from conscious deliberation of the will, is not pardonable by God, as stated in the sermons analysed in the preceding chapter.

The discussion of this topic continues in Sermon 6, *The precepts of Christianity not grievous*. The exordium states that the laws are reasonable, that men are endowed with all the capacity to adhere to them and that they are encouraged to observe them by corresponding rewards. The accent is again on moderation, piety and charity, all virtues that are agreeable to the understanding and that form the core of natural law. These are all inborn and conformed to people's interests, in particular those temporal ones in which men love to excel, as for example reputation:

> And as the practice of all piety and virtue is agreeable to our reason, so is it likewise for the interest of mankind; both of private persons, and of publick societies, as I have already shewn. Some virtues plainly tend to the preservation of our health, others to the improvement and security of our estates, all to the peace and quiet of our minds; and which is somewhat more strange, to the advancement of our esteem and reputation.[516]

Even those duties which are commonly considered difficult and unjust, to mention some reformation, mortification and patience are not only reasonable but

[515] Ibid, p. 148.
[516] Sermon 6, vol. 1, p. 156.

bring about advantages. Interestingly enough, Tillotson here does not talk only about future rewards, but places present pleasures at the beginning of his discussion. He calls them "serious and manly"[517] delights and he describes them in the real concrete peace of the mind and testimony of a good conscience. Nevertheless, Tillotson acknowledges that there are some difficulties, but he presents them in a mild way. He first admits that early Christians were victims of persecutions, but he soon replies that the same fate is not destined to British people and that in case it should happen they would nevertheless be sustained by grace. The second *head* regards the difficulties in entering religion and here the preacher points at the temporality of the distress, which is not only limited to the beginning, but can be later fought by custom and habit. He also remarks on the fact that a good education can avoid this problem and make the entrance to religion smooth and gradual. The third *head* regards the obligation of man in using his care and diligence to perform his duty, but Tillotson easily dismisses it by pointing to the necessity of using these virtues in all human matters. This point helps the divine to remind the audience that their role has to be active, that " 'though the commandments are not grievous,' yet it is fit to let men know that they are not thus easy."[518] The fourth *head* is concerned with the ways in which God sweetens his laws, by hopes and love. This one in particular pushes men to be fond of those pleasures that they understand to be true and it can conquer the whole soul if it is accompanied by a willing mind. The last two objections create a comparison between virtue and sin in order to prove that the latter is more troublesome than the former and to put the stress on human nature and on its adaptability to new circumstances especially when these are sustained by pleasure and reward. This juxtaposition leads Tillotson to the conclusion that it is easier to go to heaven and lead a good life rather than to live in trouble and finally go to hell. This last statement can be read as a clear incitement to conform to one's self-interest.

The overview that emerges from the Archbishop's discourses is the vision of human happiness regulated by man's relationship with God, in particular by the

[517] Ibid, p. 162.
[518] Ibid, p. 169.

covenant that the Creator asks man to subscribe and that is grounded on specific laws which lead man to a good life and in turn to happiness. This covenant is "a mutual engagement[519]" which, as I said, implies an active role on the part of man[520]. The principles that lie at its foundation are God's goodness, human interest and self-preservation. The last two are connected to self-love and to the perception that man has of these laws. Sermon 7 opens with a description of the commitment that man owes to God and Tillotson explains its function and stipulation with comparisons from the business field. Indeed, we may justly call it a contract whose design is "to direct and encourage [men] to a holy life,"[521] promoting their obedience and directing them to virtue. This in specific has to be attained through purity of body and mind and man should follow his reason and interest in order to get to a righteous life. The greatest example that man has to follow is given by Jesus who lived his life in holiness, and this idea in repeated in Sermon 66, though Tillotson acknowledges that the example of Christ should function like a stimulus to move man but that in reality God does not expect such a degree of perfection from his creatures:

> You have not yet been exercised with any trial, but what is human; what the ordinary strength and resolution of human nature is able to bear: but in case it should come to extreme suffering, and that they must either comply with the heathen idolatry, or endure extremity of torments; they had the promise of GOD's help to support them.[522]

As previously stated, the life of a good Anglican is made of continuous correction and reformation keeping Christ's pattern as a model[523]. Actions prove human loyalty to the dictates of the gospel and if man is not able to estimate their value by himself he can ask for advice to common consent. Observation has a special role also here, but Tillotson remarks the indissoluble link between knowledge and

[519] Sermon 7, vol. 1, p. 182.
[520] Cf. the end of Sermon 108, vol. 6, p. 1775: "There are more than a thousand metaphors to convince a man that we may and ought to do something towards our repentance and conversion. […] Finally, those texts which speak more clearly of the necessity of the divine grace and assistance, to our doing of any thing that is spiritually good, do suppose something to be done on our part."
[521] Sermon 7, vol. 1, p. 176.
[522] Sermon 78, vol. 5, p. 1234.
[523] "If we call our selves Christians we profess we have the life of CHRIST continually before us, and to be always correcting and reforming our lives by that pattern." Sermon 7, vol. 1, p. 179.

practice: it is not external profession alone that proves man's faith in God, but also his inward disposition:

> Wise men [...] cannot see into our hearts nor pry into our understandings to discover what it is that we inwardly believe [...]: but this they can do, they can examine our actions and behold our good or bad works, and try whether our lives be indeed answerable to our profession, and do really excel the lives of the other men who do not pretend to such great things.[524]

Religion can become that "vital principle inwardly to change and transform"[525] men. Contrary to the members of other religions, Christians can pride themselves in leading a better life, in being "more chaste and more temperate, more just and charitable, more meek and gentle, more loving and peaceable."[526]

The analysis in Sermon 4 on the advantages of a Christian life is taken up again in Sermon 12, *Of the inward peace and pleasure which attends religion*. Tillotson opens the discussion with a reflection on the importance of obtaining the peace of mind that men usually long for, especially in philosophy. This peaceful sensation is the temporal reward that man gets when he applies himself to loving, meditating and practising the laws. After having stated that Scripture gives men the proof of this tranquillity, Tillotson grounds his reasoning on the nature of religion.

Religion erases doubts about human conduct because it limits man in those things in which "it is good he should be restrained."[527] In this way, its dictates positively condition the functioning of conscience. The advantage is that a good Christian can commit mistakes, but he will not be miserable forever. Moreover, a righteous man does not experience guilt which gives him "continual disturbance to his mind" and makes "his heart heavy"[528] because the law directs him to the effectual maintenance of his innocence or, once he has lost it, pushes him to repentance, arousing fears of eternal torments. The pleasant sensations that man gets from a truly religious course come from the fact that the law lets man do what he

[524] Ibid, p. 184.
[525] Ibid, p. 187.
[526] Ibid, p. 188.
[527] Sermon 12, vol. 1, p. 285.
[528] Ibid, p. 286.

ought to do, in other words what he feels it is natural for him to perform because it is the soul that aspires to its health and knows it can find it only in God.

Another advantage is given by the possibility of establishing a solid friendship with God which is based on mutual love and provides man with a double pleasure, that of loving God and of perceiving that he loves his creatures. The willingness to keep this relationship with the governor of the world plays a central role in the sermons dedicated to the works of providence and to maintenance of God's favour, as we will see in Chapter Five. Religion also contributes to the regulation of bodily functions and to the increase of moderation and these both promote the supremacy of reason in human actions. Nevertheless, the action in which the mind seems to find more pleasure is the reflection on a virtuous life, especially at the hour of death. This can also be the first step towards building a good reputation in this world, an advantage and a pride that Tillotson does not forget to analyse in Sermon 76, *The reputation of good men, after death*.

The text opens with a reflection on the place the desire of immortality occupies in a man's heart, proving that every creature endowed with reason perceives "some presage of a life after death."[529] Having the honour of being remembered for one's good works is the most valuable of all the "material" comforts that men have when they die, thus becoming a pattern to follow because, as we have already seen in Chapter Two on education, nothing can be so profitable to human society as the disposal of positive examples. The importance of reputation can be retraced in funeral sermons, living portrayals of great men who were usually praised for their charitable activities. Tillotson gives us an example of these "short biographies" in the sermons he wrote at the funeral of his friend Thomas Gouge (1609-1681) and of his mentor Benjamin Whichcote. The importance of good works is testified by the advantages that they give men in eternity, another clear appeal to self-interest:

[529] Sermon 76, vol. 5, p. 1194.

> Whoever serves GOD faithfully, lays up so much treasure for himself, which he may take along with him into the other world; and does provide for himself lasting comforts and faithful companions, which will never leave him not forsake him; a happiness large as his desires, and durable and immortal as his soul![530]

The sum of the whole discussion on reputation is the encouragement to imitate God, especially in his love because this leads to the improvement of society at large. Sermons 130 and 131 are concerned with divine perfection[531], with how man conceives it and with the degree to which this attribute has to be imitated. Tillotson first acknowledges that man can only resemble God by maintaining his limited and fallen condition, following what his natural frame tells him he can do. The core of this imitation is represented by "moral excellencies and perfections:"[532] goodness, mercy, patience, justice, truth and faithfulness. The preacher insists on the fact that God is satisfied with the sincere endeavour of man, remarking on the leniency underlying the covenant with God. Practising religion therefore means practising morality, the right compromise that the Latitudinarians wanted to underline in their sermons: even if men do not gain their salvation automatically through their actions, they nevertheless have to care for their deeds in order to increase their advantages. Indeed, the moral code that religion promotes is "so agreeable to the best reason and wisest apprehensions of mankind, so admirably fitted for the perfecting of our natures, and the sweetening of the spirits and tempers of men, so friendly to human society, and every way so well calculated for the peace and order of the world."[533] The conclusion of the sermon is centred on those duties which are "so strongly bound upon [men]" as to be integral part of their natures, i.e. charity and mercy. They descend from love, the very essence of God, and in them men get as close as they can to their creator's perfection:

[530] Sermon 80, vol. 5, p. 1267.
[531] Sermon 130, *Concerning the perfection of GOD*, vol. 7; Sermon 131 *Concerning our imitation of the divine perfection*, vol. 8.
[532] Sermon 131, vol. 8, p. 2291.
[533] Sermon 19, vol. 1, pp. 433-34.

> It is very remarkable that in these very qualities of charity, and kindness, and compassion, which **we peculiarly call humanity**, we approach nearest to the divinity itself, and that the contrary dispositions do transform us into wild beasts and devils.[534] (emphasis added)

The text therefore leads us back to Spellman's book in which the scholar underlines that the aim of the Latitudinarians was to push British people to reassume their humanity. Doing good is also the action in which man finds the highest degree of pleasure and satisfaction because even righteous men cannot feel at peace if they have not already worked to improve the happiness of all mankind. If "to be good, and to do good, is the supreme felicity of GOD himself,"[535] it is natural for man to imitate him to increase his own personal benefit and society's one.

[534] Sermon 131, vol. 8, p. 3312.
[535] Sermon 132, vol. 8, p. 332.

PART THREE

HAPPINESS AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER FIVE
REASSUMING HUMANITY: CHARITY, POLITICS AND PROVIDENCE

V.i Depravity, Benevolence and the Construction of Society

Make you perfect in every good word and work.

Tillotson, *Sermon 63*

With the phrase reassuming humanity[536], Spellman identifies the Latitudinarian appeal for the necessity of good works and for the active participation of laymen in the life of the community[537]. This principle is based on the incitement of self-love to the promotion of human happiness which is possible only through the imitation of divine perfection. This form of self-love is, according to Glanvill, attainable only combining self-love, a passion, with reason and obligation[538]. Tillotson dedicates three sermons[539] to the necessity and profit of

[536] Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 116: "Men who expect the crown of righteousness must learn to exhibit justice and exercise charity in their own lives, reintroducing themselves to a form of humanism which had been sadly eclipsed by the more extreme forms of Reformed thought during the course of the sixteenth century."

[537] This incitement is also supported by the XXXIX Articles of Faith. Articles XI to XIV all refer to the importance of works. Nevertheless, the articles denounce the tendency people have to underline their merit, especially because this practice is common in the Church of Rome and it is one of the most debated issues when discussing the differences between the two confessions. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 115, cites Chillingworth on the issue.
Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 101, vol. 6, p. 1637: "Every man is concerned to help forward the salvation of his brother, and not let him perish if he can help it; and it is in every man's power to contribute something to this blessed work of saving others by seasonable counsel and advice, by kind and gentle reproof, but especially by a holy and exemplary conversation, by a shining virtue, which hath a silent power of persuasion, and I know not what secret charm and attraction to draw and allure other to the imitation of it."

[538] Cf. Müller, *Latitudinarians and Didacticism*, pp. 192-93.

[539] Sermons 207, 208, 209, *Of the necessity of good works*, vols. 10-11. Cf. also Sermons 106, 107, 108, 109 and 110, *Of the nature of regeneration, and its necessity, in order to justification and salvation*, vol. 6, in which Tillotson develops the idea of regeneration of the self through faith supported by charity. Tillotson insists on the active role of man in the process, even if assisted by God's grace. Cf. for example vol. 6, pp. 1758: "The grace of GOD is necessary to the conversion of a sinner, but it is not necessary that he should be only passive in this work. Experience tells us the contrary, that we can do something, that we can co-operate with the grace of GOD."; vol. 6, p. 1769: "We are not merely passive in this work, but something is expected from us, after GOD hath done his part, which if we neglect to do, 'our destruction is of our selves' "; vol. 6,

doing good, identifying the springs that move men to action in their innate desire for happiness. From this primary necessity other motives arise: the willingness to promote goodness, the advantages deriving from it and the innate obligation of man to improve the society in which he lives. The texts which best represent these needs are charity sermons. Charity is one of the elements in the tripartite form of love that Thomistic theology traces in man, i.e. neighbour-love. It stems from man's love of God as he is asked to reflect on and to obey the principle of "loving one self as one's neighbour." In pondering what God prompts him to do, man acquires the awareness of what he would like to experience for himself and of what he would like to enjoy, i.e. his temporal and eternal happiness, and he can then project them to his fellow creatures. In charity sermons, man is a mixture of depravity and goodness who is shaped, on the one side, by the necessity of control, and on the other side by the promotion of his active role as a citizen in the building of society. The actualization of this beneficial project is possible only if man considers his dependence on other creatures for his temporal welfare. This position has many parallels with St. Aquinas's explanation of the ties that compound society. Aquinas employs the part-whole biblical metaphor to prove that it is human nature itself that pushes men to establish relationships with other creatures and to work for the maintenance of them:

> The part naturally exposes itself in order to safeguard the whole; as, for instance, the hand is without deliberation exposed to the blow for the whole body's safety. And since reason copies nature, we find the same inclination among social virtues; for it behoves the virtuous citizen to expose himself to the danger of death for the public weal of the state; and if man were a natural part of the city, then such obligation would be natural to him.[540]

We can therefore affirm that the Augustinian image of man as a totally depraved creature is somehow restored in these sermons at the end of the Seventeenth-century[541]. Part of this rehabilitation is due to the promotion of charity

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p. 1775: "Those texts which speak most clearly of the necessity of the divine grace and assistance, to our doing of any thing that is spiritually good, do suppose something to be done on our part."
On the role of grace cf. Spellman, *Archbishop Tillotson and the Meaning of Moralism*, p. 418.

[540] *Summa Theologiae*, I. 60, 5, cited in Pope, *Expressive Individualism and True Self-love*, p. 391.

[541] Cf. Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, pp. 207-08: "What I would suggest, in short, is that the key to the popular triumph of "sentimentalism" toward 1750 is to be sought, not so much

among the Anglicans who went to Sunday service not only to be rebuked, but also to be motivated to improve and change their social and economic milieu. These sermons therefore reconcile human benevolence with a capacity to perfection in order to incentivise not only individual, but public happiness. According to Louis G. Locke, Tillotson sustains eudemonism because "religion not only promotes man's best interest in the next world, but even in this, for he tells us that God 'hath given us no laws but what are for our good'."[542] One, if not the most significant one of these laws is concerned with charity and self-love. In *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, probably the first sermon that Tillotson delivered, he acknowledges that the first rule that man has to put into practice is linked to charity and equality among individuals. He analyses the biblical quotation from Matthew 7:12: "All things whatsoever you would, that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," and discusses human adaptability, comprehension and toleration on a broad level. The idea on which the sermon revolves is that, though men do not all possess the same knowledge of divine laws because they might be shadowed by education and custom, all men, when asked what they would like for themselves, know how to answer this question. This is the reason why love for one's neighbour is firstly based on love for oneself:

> Many men cannot tell what is the law, or justice, or right in such a case; many cannot deduce the laws of nature one from another: but there is no man but can tell what it is, that he would have another man do to him: every man can take his own actions, and put them into the other scale, and suppose, If this, that I do now to another, were to be done to me, should I like it? Should I be pleased and contented with it?[543]

Charity sermons in the late Seventeenth-century develop the topic by underlining the active role of man in the construction of a morally upright society.

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in the teaching of individual lay moralists after 1700, as in the combined influence of numerous Anglican divines of the Latitudinarian tradition who from the Restoration onward into the eighteenth century had preached to their congregations and, through books, to the larger public essentially the same ethics of benevolence, "good nature", and "tender sentimental feelings" as was expressed in the passages from Fordyce […] quoted at the beginning of this paper."

[542] Louis G. Locke, *Tillotson. A Study in Seventeenth-Century Literature*, p. 67. Cf. Tillotson's praise of religion in Sermon 83, vol. 5, p. 1319: "Religion is certainly the highest accomplishment and perfection of human nature; [...] Religion enlightens the minds of men, and directs them in the way wherein they should go; it seasons the spirits and manners of men, and preserves them from being putrified and corrupted."

[543] *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, pp. 438-39.

They are centred on interest and fear, on divine goodness and emulation. According to Barrow, charity is "the fulfilling of God's law, the best expression of all our duty toward God, of faith in him, love and reverence of him"[544] and its commandments contain "great reasonableness and equity."[545] In Tillotson's Sermon 20, the nature of charity and its advantages are discussed, both as an obligation to the law of God and as an innate part of human nature[546]. The exhortation to do good is coupled with the importance given to self-love and interest. Thus the word humanity is tainted with ambiguity, because there is a double perspective in the evaluation of man, who is seen as a creature shifting from innate benevolence to self-love. Even if divine laws were set for the benefit of mankind and the Creator requires human obedience[547], Tillotson underlines the fact that the social attitude of human nature has predominance in man, when he feels himself disposed to charitable acts:

> The frame of our nature disposeth us to it, and our inclination to society, in which there can be no pleasure, no advantage, without mutual love and kindness. And equity also calls for it, for that which we ourselves wish and expect kindness from others is conviction enough to us that we owe it to others.[548]

In her article, Goldberg affirms that charity sermons later in the century were coloured with fictional techniques and evoked the donor's ability to "hear the voice of his own instincts."[549] In Tillotson's case this encouragement, to "move one's bowels"[550], is centred on the figure of Christ and on his example, or else is linked to the rational and emotional way in which the public could work out their interests,

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[544] Barrow, Sermon 1, vol. 1, p. 19.
[545] Ibid, p. 28.
[546] On the political elements of this sermon cf. Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, pp. 402-03.
[547] Cf. Barrow's reference to the use of laws as a regulation of society, Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 121-22: "But man is left *in manu concilii sui*, is obliged (under some penalties) not to follow blind inclinations or instinct; but to act with serious deliberation and choice, to observe explicit rules and resolutions of reason."
[548] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 13.
[549] Rita Goldberg, *Charity Sermons and the Poor: A Rhetoric of Compassion*, 'The Age of Johnson', vol. 4, (1991), pp. 171-216, p. 203.
[550] The expression comes from the Bible. Cf. 1 John 3:17: "But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels *of compassion* from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"; Colossians 3:12: "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering." Cf. also Barrow, Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 328. Cf. Tillotson, *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 451: "If any man be in misery, pity him, and help him to your power; if any be in necessity and want, contribute to his relief, without too scrupulous inquiries about him; for we would not be thus dealt with ourselves, we would not have others to harden their hearts, or shut up the bowels of compassion against us."

weighting the advantages deriving from doing good or else giving rise to their fears of punishments in hell. His sermons are more worried about the social function of compassion, and the key-words that we can distinguish in them are interest and happiness. An example is given by Sermon 213, *Of the blessedness of giving, more than that of receiving*. The sermon is focused on the happiness that man derives from doing good. After the biblical *exegesis*, Tillotson sustains his argument by citing some heathen philosophers, Aristotle, Plutarch and Seneca, in order to prove the validity and reasonability of what he is discussing, i.e. the pleasure of giving instead of receiving[551]. The *confirmation* of the sermon consists of two main *propositions*: the explanation of the reasonableness of this proposition and the persuasion to behave according to it. The first *proposition* is divided into three *heads* which have the word "happy" at their core:

> I. To be governed by this principle, is an argument of a more happy spirit and temper.
> II. "To give," is an argument of a more happy state and condition, than "to receive."
> III. "To give," that is, to be beneficial and to do good to others, hath the happiness of a great reward.[552]

To do good is the proper way of acting "of a noble, and generous, and large heart" which is free and open, "ready to do good, and willing to 'communicate,' and thinks it's own happiness increased, by making others happy."[553] Individuals with these characteristics therefore lay aside those forms of dangerous self-love that Barrow describes in Sermons 51 and 52[554] which are dangerous for the benefit of society at large. Here Tillotson also insists on the possibility that charity offers men to improve their perfectibility, because "to be good and to do good, is the excellency of virtue, because it is to resemble GOD in that which is the most amiable and glorious of all his other perfections."[555]

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[551] Cf. Sermon 213, vol. 11, p. 80: " 'It is a more virtuous thing to do than to receive good,' says Aristotle; which according to his opinion was to say, it a greater happiness, because he placed happiness in the practice and exercise of virtue. The same purpose is the saying of Plutarch, […] 'there is more pleasure in doing a kindness, than in taking one.' And that of Seneca, *Malim non recipere beneficia, quam non dare*; 'of the two, I had rather not receive benefit, than not bestow them.' " Tillotson cites heathen philosophy in order to demonstrate that these principles are innate in human nature, in his reason and wisdom.
[552] Sermon 213, vol. 11, pp. 81, 85, 87.
[553] Ibid, p. 81.
[554] Cf. Chapter Four for the discussion of the sermons.
[555] Sermon 213, vol. 11, p. 82.

This concept is supported by personal interest, because Tillotson remarks the fact that in doing good man first works for his own benefit: "though our charity should fall upon stony and barren ground, [...] yet there is a pleasure in being conscious to ourselves, that we have done well."[556] This is the same pleasure that the philosopher Seneca[557] attributed to being virtuous, and Tillotson cites him to convince the public of the truth of his position. The pleasure in the awareness of being a good person is stressed also in the second *head*, in which Tillotson explains that, assuming dependence as "the necessary imperfection of creatures", donating to others is instead a symbol of magnitude and stimulate men to "approach towards divinity."[558] Tillotson cites Aristotle[559] to give prominence to his proposition. He is willing to demonstrate that charity can influence mankind to contrast its degeneracy and spur men to apply themselves to improve their situation:

> Aristotle could say, that by narrowness and selfishness, by envy and ill-will, men degenerate into beasts, and become wolves and tigers to one another; but by goodness and kindness, by mutual compassion and helpfulness, men become gods to one another.[560]

The last *head* that Tillotson considers is the happiness in the reward arising from donating. The tripartite division that he proposes, that is the promises of happiness

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[556] Ibid, p. 84.

[557] Cf. p. 84: "As Seneca truly says, *delectat etiam sterilis beneficii conscientia*." The passage that Tillotson probably means is in *De Beneficiis*, Book IV, 11: "Discedit ill, uix satis noto salutis auctore, et nunquam amplius in conspectum nostrum reuersurus, debitores nobis deos delegat, precaturque ill pro se gratiam referant: interim nos iuuat sterilis beneficiis conscientia." In order to understand the position that Seneca is assuming, it is worth quoting the example whose message is cited in the extract quoted by Tillotson: "But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be desired for the love of it self: we succour strangers, that are upon the instant cast upon our coasts, and will presently depart for another: we must give and rig ship to such a one that hath suffered shipwrack, that it may carry him back again to his own country. He departeth suddenly, scarcely knowing him that was the author of his own safety, and making no reckoning evermore to return or revisit him again. He assigneth his payment of his debt unto the gods, and beseseheth them, that since he hath no means of satisfaction, that it will please them to be thankful in his behalf; meanwhile the conscience of a barren benefit doth content us"; Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Of Benefits*, The Temple Classics, ed. by Israel Gollancz, published by J. M. Dent and co, Aldine House, London, (1899), p. 138.

[558] Sermon 213, vol. 11, p. 86.

[559] Tillotson probably refers to Aristotle's *Politics*, I.ii.1253^{a}7: "It is clear that man is a political animal, in a higher degree than bees or other gregarious animals. Nature, according to our theory, makes nothing in vain; and man alone of the animals is furnished with the faculty of language. […] But language serves to declare what is advantageous and what is the reverse, and it is the peculiarity of man, in comparison with other animals, that he alone possesses a perception of good and evil, of the just and the unjust, and other similar qualities; and it is in association with these things which makes a family and a city." Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, Oxford World's Classics, New York: OUP, (1995), pp. 10-11.

[560] Sermon 213, vol. 11, p. 86. Cf. also Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 9: "Aristotle truly observes that upon ground of natural kindred and likeness all men are friends, and kindly disposed towards one another."

in general, in temporal affairs and after death, is typical of the description, in charity sermons, of the advantages that charity can offer men.

Incitements to charity include both the encouragement to cooperate with one's fellows for private benefit and to improve society at large. At the basis of this idea there lies the concept that man was created as a sociable being, whose compassion is innate and an integral part of his nature[561]. This concept also leads to the formulation of beliefs on human frailty and reliance on each other for survival. What is interesting to notice is that Tillotson does not remark on human dependence on God, but encourages people to work together in order to face the trials of divine providence:

> Our goodness to others like ourselves is an argument of great consideration and prudence; it is a sign that we know ourselves, and consider what we are, and what we may be; it shews that we have a due sense of the indigence and infirmity of human nature, and of the change and vicissitude of human affairs; it is a just sense and acknowledgement of our state, that we are insufficient for our own happiness, and must depend upon the kindness, and good-will, and friendship of other men.[562]

In order to introduce the idea of the inseparability of the individual to the community in which he lives and operates, it is worth quoting at length the portrayal of man as a member of society that Barrow gives in Sermon 52:

> Again; doth not nature, by implanting in our constitution a love of society and aversation from solitude, inclinations to pity and humanity, pleasant complacencies in obliging and doing courtesies to others, aptness to approve and like the practices of justice, of fidelity, of courtesy, of beneficence, capacities to yield succour and benefit to our brethren, dictate unto us, that **our good is inseparably connected and complicated with the good of others, so that it cannot without its own impairing subsists alone, or be severed from the good of others**; no more than a limb can without suffering and destruction be torn from the whole?[563] (emphasis added)

[561] Cf. Tillotson, Sermon 103, vol. 6, p. 1677: "Our first and highest obligation is to moral duties, comprehended under 'the love of GOD and our neighbour;' among which one of the chief is to do good to men, and to shew mercy and pity to those that are in misery; and the greatest good that one man can do to another, is to be instrumental to reclaim him from the evil and error of his way."
[562] Ibid, p. 83.
[563] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 126.

In his writings, Tillotson often argues this inseparability, combining two different levels, individual and collective. An example is given by Sermon 3, *The advantages of religion to societies*, in which the divine provides the portrayal of man from a single individual who cares for his own happiness to a social animal who lives to work out the benefit of his country. Tillotson's sermon opens with a description of how the human mind works when it is searching after happiness, "one of the first principles that is planted in the nature of man."[564] It is the desire to be happy that makes Tillotson state that "every man is led by interest", and "does love or hate, chuse or refuse things, according as he apprehends them to conduce to this end."[565] Man is also guided by his senses and sees in this world a present and tangible good with which he can satisfy himself. However, religion requires restraint from the pleasures of the world, and this request might lead to the formulation of prejudices against divine laws[566]. Human interest is based on the principle of self-preservation and, as a consequence, on the research of man's own benefit in society. This is the reason why God implanted in mankind the necessity of laws, not just moral ones, but also those which help the authorities to govern nations. The divine Ruler also instilled in man a natural inclination to religion, which is not simply "a thing to which men are formed by education and custom."[567] This leads the discussion to the way in which the citizen is seen as an active participant in the building of society after the Civil War, in the sustainment of the monarchy and of the status quo, behaving in a proper way according to divine laws:

> It concerns every one to live in the practice of religion and virtue, because the publick happiness and prosperity depends upon it. It is most apparent that of late years religion is very sensibly declined among us. The manners of men have almost been universally

[564] Sermon 3, vol. 1, p. 94.
[565] Ibidem.
[566] Cf. Tillotson's discussion on faith and sense in Sermon 64, vol. 5, p. 980: "Sight is the thing at hand, and faith is the thing only in hope and expectation. Sight is a clear view and apprehension of things present and near to us; faith an obscure discovery and apprehension of things at a distance."
On prejudices and religion cf. Chapter Four.
[567] Sermon 27, vol. 2, p. 250. Tillotson also cites Cicero to support his position and give proof of the validity of natural religion: "Velut in hac quaestione plerique (quod maxime veri simile est et quo omnes duce natura vehimur) (As regards the present subject, for example, most thinkers have affirmed that the gods exist, and this is the most probable view and the one to which we are led by nature's guidance) *De natura deorum*, I.2, in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum: Academia*, The Loeb Classical Library, Cicero in 28 volumes, vol. XV, with an English translation by W. C. A. Ker, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1972), p. 7.

> corrupted by a civil war. We should therefore jointly endeavour to retrieve the ancient virtue of the nation, and to bring into fashion again that solid and substantial, that plain and unaffected piety, [...] which flourished in the age of our immediate forefathers[568].

In his undertakings, the individual is buttressed by religion, "the strongest band of humane society, and so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind, as it could not have been more, if we could suppose the Being of GOD himself to have been purposely designed and contrived for the benefit and advantage of men."[569] The purpose of the divine is to demonstrate that religion "is the greatest friend to our temporal interests"[570] not only for man as a single individual, but also for the prosperity of the nation. This idea is exploited to give proof to the way in which providence blesses or punishes a people according to the way in which its members behave. This temporal state is the only period in which God can show his bounty or anger to a kingdom because the relationships that link men together will be dissolved in the afterlife. Tillotson therefore places charity and morality as the highest values that men could consider in order to promote their present welfare. The second proof is provided by the nature of religion which imposes profitable obligations on men, according to which they can follow their consciences in "all civil offices and moral duties":

> Chastity and temperance and industry do in their own nature tend to health and plenty. Truth and fidelity in all our dealings do create mutual love and good-will and confidence among men, which are the great bands of peace [571].

The good Christian is therefore a good citizen, and religion helps him in extirpating all those passions that limit and endanger his relationship with other men, promoting at the same time love and good will. The vices that the divine mentions correspond to those analysed in the preceding chapter, in particular pride,

[568] Sermon 3, vol. 1, p. 108.
[569] Sermon 27, vol. 2, p. 251.
[570] Sermon 3, vol. 1, p. 95. Cf. also Sermon 22, vol. 2, p. 63: "The necessity of religion to the support of humane society, in nothing appears more evidently that in this, that the obligation of an oath, which is so necessary for the maintenance of peace and justice among men, depends wholly upon the sense and belief of a deity."
[571] Ibid, p. 99.

covetousness and peevishness in one's opinions[572]. In the conclusion of the sermon Tillotson reaffirms that religion has to be maintained not only for fear of future punishments, but also for the temporal benefit of the nation:

> Religion hath so great an influence upon the felicity of men that it ought to be upheld, and the veneration of it maintained, not only out of a just dread of the divine vengeance in another world, but out of regard to the temporal peace and prosperity of men[573].

This quotation is particularly relevant because it combines interest, both individual and collective, with morality and good works. In this way the divine answers to the contradictory assumption that self-love and charity can coexist[574]. If charity equals self-love, it means that seeking for one's supreme interest is the base for any moral reform[575]. Charity and genuine self-love seem inseparable as religion and morality. Spellman argues that Latitudinarians believed active moral reformation was difficult to be attained by laymen[576] but their insistence on self-love and its connection with charitable love can be seen as a possible way to promote this reformation and make it effective. References and encouragements to charity are dispersed in the divines' texts as a continuous reminder of the benefits and advantages of such a practice[577].

In Barrow as well as in Tillotson[578], self-love can link fellow to fellow but also set men at war if not controlled and it can become the cause of many sins

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[572] The vices that Tillotson mentions here are similar to those discussed by Barrow in Sermon 52, vol. 4.
[573] Ibid, p. 105.
[574] The association between charity, self-love and advantages appears already in the Bible. Cf. Psalm 41:1: [1] Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the LORD will deliver him in Time of Trouble: the LORD will strengthen him upon the Bed of Languishing; Thou wilt make all his Bed in his Sickness.
[575] Cf. Barrow's discussion in Sermon 51, Chapter Four.
[576] Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England*, p. 117.
[577] Cf. for example the end of Sermons 3, 4 and 5, vol. 1, which read as a whole provide a useful comment on religion, its laws and its advantages. Obligation to divine laws means individual advantages, but these also tend to the promotion of the benefit of society, cementing relationships with love to one's neighbor and compassion. Cf. for example Sermon 5, vol. 1, p. 139: "The laws of Christianity do likewise secure both the private interests of men and the publick peace, by confirming and enforcing all the dictates of nature concerning justice and equity, and our doing to others as we would have them to do to us."
Cf. also Sermons 36 and 39, vol. 3, in which charity is respectively encouraged to sustain those fellow creatures who are tried by God's providence and to gain God's favour for the whole nation. Cf. pp. 49-50 and 129-130. In sermon 39, *How to keep a truly religious fast*, Tillotson suggests "our fastings and humiliation should be accompanied with our alms and charity to the poor and the needy […]. In times of public distress, when we are beset with cruel and powerful enemies, who if GOD were not on our side would swallow us up, the public charity of a nation hath many times provided it's best safeguard and shield." Cf. pp. 128-129.
[578] Cf. *A Sermon preach'd at the Moring-Exercise at* Cripplegate, p. 442: "Another difficulty in the practice of this rule [All things whatsoever you would, that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, Matthew

which go against the benefit of mankind. In Barrow's charity sermons the accent is posed on the connection between compassion and human nature[579]. The divine states that the only way to mitigate the negative consequences of self-love on human behaviour is in the natural regulation that charity offers[580]. Indeed, whenever men take only their benefit into consideration, they are guided by a humour or fancy, and they act against the public good, because "blind will, headstrong inclination, impetuous passion, should never guide, or draw, or drive [men] to any thing."[581] Sermon 52 makes a certain number of references to the ways in which self-love and its derivatives can ruin the balance of social intercourses. If self-confidence and self-complacence are still limited to the relationship between the single individual and God, self-will and self-interest have consequences which impair social intercommunication. Self-will consists in "pleasing one's self in his choice, and proceeding without or against reason."[582] People who are guided by this passion do not obey their reason but also their superiors, thus breaking the customs of their country, coming to the point of sacrificing "the greatest benefits of society (public order and peace, mutual love and friendship, common safety and prosperity) to their private will and humour."[583] Those who suffer from self-interest instead believe that "the good state of things is to be measured by their condition; that all is well if they prosper and thrive."[584] The worst consequence that comes from this sin is injustice which in turn gives rise to uncharitableness:

> For from hence men affect no man otherwise than he seemeth able to serve their turn; the poor therefore is ever slighted and neglected by them as unserviceable; […] they become hard-hearted toward others, not considering or commiserating their case; […] all their

7:12] ariseth from mens *partiality*, in judging of the circumstances of other mens conditions and their own. We are apt to lessen the circumstances of another man's condition, and to over-value our own."

[579]Norman S. Fiering, *Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism*, 'Journal of the History of Ideas', vol. 37, n. 2, (Apr. - Jun. 1976), p. 201.

[580]Cf. the end of Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 141: "To study the acquisition and improvement of charity toward God and our neighbor. This will employ and transfer our affections; these drawing our souls outward, and settling them upon other objects, will abolish or abate the perverse love toward ourselves."

[581] Ibid, p. 121.

[582] Barrow, Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 118.

[583] Ibid, p. 120.

[584] Ibid, p. 122.

> shows of friendship and respect are mercenary, and mere trade; they do nothing *gratis*, or for love[585].

This form of self-love is the worst one because it can reverse the order in society: it is "a great enemy to the commonweal; that which perverteth all right, which confoundeth all order, which spoileth all the convenience and comfort in society."[586] Barrow ends the sermons with a series of "general remedies of self-love" which consist in reflecting on the human condition, its vanity and dependence upon God while also meditating on the perfection of the Creator and of the blissful condition that the saints and angels live in his presence. After having obtained this self-awareness, man should "study the acquisition and improvement of charity toward God and our neighbour", because in this way he can transfer his affections on other objects and he can remind himself that all his goodness comes from God. The last suggestion, which sums up the preceding, is to follow what "rational self-love requireth us to regard and seek"[587], i.e. to search for virtue, understand one's duty and aim for eternal happiness.

Barrow's Sermon 28, *Of the love of our neighbour*, is also centred on the relationship between charity and self-love. The text opens with some questions that might be common criticism in talking about charity and answers them with a series of reasonable principles. The first one is centred on human interest in persecuting charity: this drive is a way to maintain one's soul engaged in a virtuous activity which thus keeps it away from sloth and inactivity. This and the other considerations are buttressed by reason and experience which also help man in building a true image of what self-love really is. The individual indeed should be able to distinguish between true self-love and "a spurious brood of our folly and pravity, which imply not a sober love of ourselves, but a corrupt fondness toward an idol of our fancy mistaken for ourselves."[588] Luckily enough, this form of love is not innate, but most of the time the result of "ill education and custom"[589] and it can

[585] Ibid, p. 123.
[586] Ibid, p. 125.
[587] Ibid, pp. 140-141.
[588] Barrow, Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 327. The discussion is similar to Tillotson's one on education. Cf. Chapter Two.
[589] Ibid, p. 328.

in turn be cured with proper Christian education. The most profitable way to rectify this alteration is by using charity, not only because it was God himself who first instilled it into the human soul, but because it produces a certain pleasure perceived already in the senses and it leads man to become aware of his humanity:

> The practice of the former [i.e. charity] in common language hath ever been styled humanity; and the disposition from whence it floweth is called good-nature: the practice of the latter [i.e. uncharitableness] is likewise termed inhumanity, and its source ill nature.[590]

The reasonability of the application of charity can be seen also in the increase of public good. Here the analysis shifts from the particular to the general, pointing the attention to the benefits deriving from the promotion of charitable activities under the concept of being all children of the same God, who is responsible for the distribution of wealth and of physical characteristics which generate differences among men. Charitable activities are compared to political duties: men have to be kind to each other to promote goodness as they are proper citizens and work together for the welfare of the commonwealth. By making the happiness of his neighbour his own, the single individual is able to create the perfect balance between self-love and charity, while also adding to the happiness of both donors and recipients:

> We cannot be happy without good-nature, and good-humour, and that good-nature cannot behold any sad object without pity and dolorous resentment, good-humour cannot subsist in prospect of such objects; considering that charity is an instrument, whereby we may apply all our neighbour's good to ourselves, it being ours, if we can find complacence therein[591].

The discussion ends with a reference to practical common experience that proves man that if he considers his vanity, he will be more ready to choose charity and virtue rather than be guided by pride. Man cannot be happy if he does not consider

[590] Ibidem. Cf. also Tillotson's Sermon 83, vol. 5, pp. 1313-14: "Uncharitableness naturally draws on cruelty, and hardens human nature towards those, of whom we have once conceived so ill an opinion, that they are enemies to GOD and his truth."
[591] Barrow, Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 334.

his infirmities and does not look at the others with a humble eye. Only charity can raise in him this sensation of feeling good:

> It will greatly conduce to the perfect observance of this rule, to the depression of self-love, and advancement of charity to the highest pitch, if we studiously contemplate ourselves, strictly examining our conscience, and seriously reflecting on our unworthiness and vileness; [...] When we see ourselves so deformed and ugly, how can we be amiable in our own eyes? How can we more esteem or affect ourselves than others, of those unworthiness we can hardly be conscious or sure?[592]

V.ii Preaching charity in the Eighteenth-Century

> The frame of our nature, indeed, speaketh, that we are not born for ourselves.
>
> **Isaac Barrow, *Sermon 52***

In her article[593], Donna T. Andrew explains the way in which the necessity of charity was inculcated into the heads of possible donors during the annual meetings at the various charitable associations which spread in Britain during the eighteenth-century. Andrew argues that the message that was central to these texts was the necessity of charity and the benefit that all the subjects involved in it could gain. The subjects that she lists are the recipients, the donors, who were spurred to

[592] Ibid, p. 335. Tillotson makes much the same point in Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 14: "It is a very considerable part of our duty, and almost equall'd by our SAVIOUR with the first and great commandment of the law. It is highly acceptable to GOD, most beneficial to other, and very comfortable to ourselves. It is the easiest of all duties, and it makes all others easy; the pleasure of it makes the pains to signify nothing, and the delightful reflexion upon it afterwards is a most ample reward of it."

[593] Donna T. Andrew's and Rita Goldberg's articles provide an insight into the role played by these writings in the period. The texts to which they both refer date from the beginning of the century up to its end and were presented by preachers who were famous for fund raising. The articles show that there was a continuance in the requests made to the public in order to donate to the poor but that there were also differences in the ways in which the issue was addressed. The image of man balancing self-love and interest is more evident in Latitudinarian sermons, whereas in the Eighteenth-century, especially in the second half, charity sermons are more centred on the arousal of compassion in the audience. Donna T. Andrew, *On Reading Charity Sermons: Eighteenth-Century Anglican Solicitation and Exhortation*, 'Journal of Ecclesiastical History', vol. 43 (1992), pp. 581-91.
Rita Goldberg, *Charity Sermons and the Poor: A Rhetoric of Compassion*, 'The Age of Johnson', vol. 4, (1991), pp. 171-216.

charitable activities on the base of self-interest and advantages, and the state. Donors were eventually the key-element that made the whole process work.

According to Goldberg, there are two questions that are central to the charity sermons in the Eighteenth-century: who one's neighbour is and what the concept of stewardship implies[594]. The spring that moves men to action is compassion which is defined as something innate in man, something natural as part of loving God. Barrow for example gives this description of generosity in Sermon 52:

> Is there not in all men in some measure, to some men in a higher degree, a generosity innate, most lovely and laudable to all; which disposeth men with their own pain, hazard, and detriment to succour and relive others in distress, to serve the public, and promote the benefit of society; so that inordinately to regard private interest doth thwart the reason and wisdom of nature?[595]

Compassion and charity also become associated with vigilance and control: in discerning who one's neighbour is, compassion is assisted by reason and conscience which direct him in disposing of his riches to the suitable people. A compassionate man cannot act impulsively or insincerely because God supervises human actions and discovers every fallacy in them. These references prove the role played by reason which though limited by the Fall still remains the major guide man has in his life. Late in the century compassion becomes "the cornerstone of an alliance between Christian doctrine and economic arrangements"[596] because the stress is posed on the rank of the recipients and charity appears as a matter of "national

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[594] Cf. Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of* England, p. 391. Article XXXVIII, Of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common. The article protects private property, "the right, title and possession of the same [goods]", but nevertheless encourages a good Christian to "liberally give alms to the poor, according to his ability." Burnet also makes a clear distinction between the duties and virtues which belong to both rich and poor.
Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 69 and Sermon 80 on the disposal of riches. Sermon 69, vol. 5, pp. 1070-71: "If the providence of GOD offer them [this world's goods] to us, and bring them to our hands, in the use of honest diligence and lawful means; as we are not to refuse them, nor to suffer our affections to be entangled to them. The wisest use we can make of them, will be, to do like those who traffick in foreign parts, to consign our estates into our own native country, to send our treasures before us into the other world, that we may have the benefit of them when we come there. And this we may do by alms and charity." Sermon 80, vol. 5, p. 1266: "There is one way indeed, whereby we may secure our riches, and make sure friends to ourselves of them; by laying them out in charity. By this means we send them before us, and consign them over to another world, to make way for our reception there."

[595] Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 126. Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 274: "For though a proneness to evil, and some seeds of it be in all, yet we may plainly discover in many very early and forward inclinations to some kinds of virtue and goodness."

[596] Goldberg, *Charity Sermons and the Poor: A Rhetoric of Compassion*, p. 191.

alert."[597] Thus these texts develop into a way to combine "the need to make social distinctions with the vocabulary of public good."[598] According to Andrew, the stress was on those menaces to the public order which should eventually dispose the audience in a state of fear and anxiety, while on the other side there was a detailed description of the solution that donations could provide: an increase in social stability and, consequently, in the productivity of the country and in its demographic level. The push to morality and charity which reflects the passion of self-love and self-satisfaction in Tillotson's sermons therefore changes its import into social threat. The pleasure in doing good was emphasised as well as the utility of the whole process. It is even compared to the other forms of gratification that man can derive from his senses:

> The practice of benignity, of courtesy, of clemency at first sight without any discursive reflection, doth obtain approbation and applause from us; being no less grateful and amiable to the mind, than beauty to our eyes, harmony to our ears, fragrancy to our smell, and sweetness to our palate[599].

Wealthier men could have the security of contributing not only to their own salvation, but also to the unity and peace of their nation[600], having "the best return at the lowest cost."[601] Charity sermons also give support to the importance of deeds and actions in this life in order to have future rewards[602]. These ideas are also linked

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[597] Ibid, p. 192. This aspect was marked by the revival of the Catholic menace in the 1740s and there was a recurrence in sermons of the themes of zeal and ignorance which were considered the main reasons for apostasy from the Anglican confession. The divines often insist the best way to provide charity to the poor is by means of instruction in religion and morality. Cf. for example Sterne's Sermon 5, *The case of Elijah and the widow of Zerephath*, in *The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne*, vol. 4, pp. 53-54. Cf. also M. New's comment on the extract in *The Notes to the Sermons*, vol. 5, pp. 108-09. In constructing his argument, Sterne refers to Tillotson's Sermons 51 and 53 on education. *Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne*, vols. 4-5, The Sermons; The Notes to the Sermons, ed. Melvyn New, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, (1996).

[598] Ibid, p. 194.

[599] Barrow, Sermon 28, vol. 2, pp. 328-29. Cf. Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, pp.227-28 in which he introduces the idea of the "self-approving joy" which is the pleasure that charitable actions generate in man. Barrow's sermon indeed reflects the principle analysed here by Crane. According to the scholar, this principle gives rise to the development of egoistic hedonism which is inherent to it. Greene's criticism, *Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling" Reconsidered*, is particularly strong on this point, as he claims that Crane's position is comparable to "the pleasure of a Pharisaic self-righteousness." In Greene's opinion, the idea of a self-approving joy is contrary to the insistence on human vanity in sermons. Cf. pp. 173-75.

[600] Donna T. Andrew, *On Reading Charity Sermons*, p. 583.

[601] Ibid, p. 582.

[602] Goldberg, *Charity Sermons and the Poor: A Rhetoric of Compassion*, p. 209.

to the possibility of imitating Christ in his perfection, working out human excellence as well inciting men to feel the pleasure inherent in doing good.

In her discussion Goldberg also affirms the unity of the members of the Church of England on the necessity of charitable activities: "High Church and Low, Anglican or dissenter, the ministers shared with their secular contemporaries a comfortable belief in the ultimate goodness of human beings."[603] Moreover, the whole process of having and lacking, giving and sharing was seen under the providential eye of God who had redistributed riches in order to tempt both poor and rich, the former to modesty and humility, the latter to resist covetousness. Charity was seen as an innate drive in man which was coupled with reason as a guide to provide and distribute correctly and conscientiously. The comfort and physical advantages that charitable men get are as obvious as the spiritual ones, for example in Tillotson's discussion of the peace of mind that good men enjoy. By the middle of the century divines could affirm that "to act compassionately is to invite statements about the integrity of one's internal workings. A potential donor who cannot act generously is blocking out part of his own identity rather than acting sinfully."[604]

Barrow's and Tillotson's sermons preached for the Spital in London respectively in 1671 and 1691 reflect the characteristics of the charity sermons listed by Andrew and Goldberg. These are the only sermons by these divines which were specifically preached to raise funds for a charitable organisation. Tillotson states that Isaac Barrow's sermons on charity to the poor "seem to have exhausted the whole argument, and to have left no consideration belonging to it untouched"[605], so we might start from his writings to see how passions are united with interest and rewards in discussing charitable attitudes. *The Duty of Bounty to the Poor* is

[603] Ibid, p. 197. This aspect is proved by Tillotson's insistence on the necessity of charity as tolerance among religious communions in England. Cf. for example Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 21, where Tillotson laments the present situation: "How is this great precept of our SAVIOUR [to love one's neighbour as oneself] not only shamefully neglected, but plainly violated by us? and that not only by private hatred and ill-will, quarrels and contentions in our civil conversation and intercourse with one another; but by most unchristian divisions and animosities in that common relation wherein we stand to one another, as brethren, as christians, as protestants."

[604] Ibid, p. 205. Cf. Tillotson's Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 27.

[605] *The Publisher to the Reader*, p. lxxxiv, in *The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D.*, vol. I, CUP, 1859.

Barrow's longest sermon, the first in the collection and one of his most famous ones. The preacher is eager to analyse and explain the motives which lead men to charity in detail, underlining the rewards they get from good works, both temporal and eternal. Reason can plainly show that charity guides people "to regard and pursue the common good of men; to dispense advise, and aid, where need requires; to diffuse its virtue all about in beneficial efforts."[606] Barrow states that the force that draws an individual to charity can be found in man himself, "the very constitution, frame, and temper of our nature directeth and inclineth us thereto; whence, by observing those duties, we observe our own nature, we improve it, we advance it to the best perfection it is capable of."[607] Natural sympathy leads men to feel with those who are afflicted, it "moves their bowels" and leads them to action[608]. If man therefore loves himself and looks for his ultimate perfection, he should follow his inclinations, consider what nature tells him to do, indeed he should distribute his riches to everyone who needs them. Barrow focuses on the pleasure inside benevolence[609]. When presenting the benefits that the liberal man obtains when he freely donates what he has to the needy, Barrow declares that "innumerable are the benefits, favours, and mercies, (both common and private), which God hath bestowed on us, and doth continually bestow."[610] They range from "the love and favour of God, to the pardon of our sins, to the gifts of God's Spirit, to the dignity of being the children of God and heirs to salvation; to the being freed from extreme miseries, and made capable of eternal felicity."[611]

Temporal rewards are concerned with the regulation of an individual's life operated by providence but also with the value of reputation and honour after death. The highest reward is concerned with the peace the human soul gets as opposed to

[606] Barrow, Sermon 1, vol. 1, pp. 62-63.
[607] Ibid, pp. 60-61. Cf. also Tillotson, Sermon 110, vol. 6, p. 1806: "So that it is necessary that our faith should be "made perfect by charity," and that we should become "new creatures;" not only from the arbitrary constitution and appointment of GOD, but from the nature and reason of the thing; because nothing but this can dispose us for that blessedness, which GOD hath promised to us, and prepared for us."
[608] Cf. Sermon 47, vol. 3, p. 357: "Let us, upon all occasions, be ready to open our bowels of compassion towards the poor; in a thankful imitation of his grace and goodness who for our sakes chose to be a beggar." In Sermon 85, vol. 6, p. 1362, Jesus' sacrifice is described as a voluntary and free action, because he was "moved by nothing but his own bowels, and the consideration of our misery." The same idea is developed by Barrow in Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 328.
[609] Barrow, Sermon 1, vol. 1, pp. 61-62.
[610] Ibid, p. 35.
[611] Ibid, p. 36.

the unease of the covetous man who is not able to contrast and control his passion. The reward in this life is the remembrance of the bounty in the hearts of those who benefit from it and its effects are so durable as to surpass death. The accent is posed on the comparison between the eternal duration of bounty and the temporal benefit given by riches which are like wind and can fly away[612]. Charity is here called "righteousness", a word which comprehends virtue and goodness[613], and Barrow identifies in good works the connection between being righteous and gaining God's favour[614]. This relationship appears in the Scriptures when the laws are explained to people, because good works are part of acting like a piteous and obedient man and they are a key-element in the stories of biblical, upright characters, such as for example Abraham and Job. Practising this duty is "the fulfilling of God's law, as the best expression of all our duty toward God, of faith in him, love and reverence of him."[615] Barrow proceeds by explaining in practical terms what being charitable means. Like Tillotson, he includes both material and spiritual benefits and concentrates his attention on the donors:

> All charity doth consist either of mental desire, or in verbal signification, or in effectual performance of good to our neighbour; this is the last end, the completion, and the assurance of the rest. Good-will is indeed the root of charity; [...] Good words are the best but fair leaves thereof [...]. But these good works are real fruits[616].

Eternal rewards are concerned with God's love and favour, because charitable works are highly praised by Him, and with eternal happiness. Barrow insists on man's reliability on God and on the truth of his promises to him which can be testified by experience and common sense. The last part of the sermon, dedicated to the reputation of a good charitable man, is a clear encouragement to promote these works following the prestigious examples offered by the Bible in the actions of the

[612] Ibid, p. 65, 68. Cf. Proverbs 23:5: [5] Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not? for riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven.; Ecclesiastes 5:10: [10] He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase: this is also vanity.
[613] Ibid, p. 15.
[614] Cf. also Tillotson's remark in Sermon 78, vol. 5, p. 1242: "We should abound so much the more in the active virtues of a good life; and our obedience to GOD should be so much the more cheerful, and we 'more fruitful in every good work'."
[615] Barrow, Sermon 1, vol. 1, pp. 19.
[616] Ibid, p. 20.

prophets and of the apostles, but in particular in the life of Jesus which was devoted entirely to mankind.

Tillotson's Sermon 158, *Of doing good*, was preached for the Spital in London 20 years after Barrow's one[617]. It is extremely short if compared to its predecessor, but the themes as well as the way in which the audience is addressed are the same. The issues that Tillotson develops mirror those that Goldberg and Andrew point out, i.e. the difficulty in selecting deserving recipients and the proper disposal of riches, combined with the incitement to charity through interest and advantages. The sermon opens with a description of all the activities that can be included under the name of "charity", the most important of these being the education of ignorant people and giving counsel to those who are on a dangerous path in order to assist them in working out their "eternal felicity."[618] Other ways are concerned with the supply of food and clothes and the improvement of one's comfort. Tillotson states that charity is an excellent activity because it allows man to be either like God or his Son, or like an angel[619], ready to dispense bounty to those who are in need of it[620]. After having introduced the definition and praise of charity, the analysis is shifted to the recipients that Tillotson defines thus, quoting Jesus' precept: "Our SAVIOUR [...] hath declared every one that is of the same nature with ourselves to be our neighbour, and our brother."[621] We must not forget that this idea

[617] "*A Spital Sermon*, preached at Christ Church on Easter Tuesday, April 14. 1691"; vol. 9, p. 3776. The sermon bears many points of analysis with Sermon 20, *A Sermon Preached at the First General Meeting of the Gentlemen and others born within the county of* York, vol. 2, pp. 7-28. The meeting took place on 3rd December, 1678, so the sermon probably served as a basis for Sermon 158.

[618] Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3777.

[619] On angels cf. Sermon 75, vol. 5, p. 1192, in which they are portrayed as examples of perfect charity: "You see, my brethren, what is the constant work and employment of the blessed spirits above; to do good to men, especially in order to their eternal happiness; and this is the highest degree of charity, and charity is the highest perfection of men and angels: so that to employ ourselves, with all our minds, and with all our might, to help forward the salvation of others, is to be good angels (I has almost said to be like gods) to men."

[620] In Sermon 20 Tillotson provides a list of all the properties included under the word "charity." It practically means that men are influenced in their behaviour and acting, having the encouragement to soften their personal dispositions in order to increase sympathy, which means either rejoicing or suffering for their neighbours' condition. These feelings lead them to the relief of the needy and to improve their patience and forbearance up to the point of sacrificing one's life to the love and salvation of the others. Cf. vol. 2, pp. 10-11: "I shall endeavour to declare to you the nature of this commandment, or the duty required by it. And that will best be done, by instancing in the chief acts and properties of love and charity. As, humanity and kindness in all our carriage and behaviour towards one another; for love smooths the dispositions of men so that they are not apt to grate upon one another: next, to rejoice in the good and happiness of another, and grieve at their evils and sufferings; for love unites the interests of men as to make them affected with what happens to another as if it were in some sort their own case."

[621] Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3780.

became central in the second half of the Eighteenth-century when particular attention was given to the choice of donations, and encouragements were directed to those institutions which were accredited for their results in the improvement of public benefit[622]. However, Tillotson acknowledges that doing good to all those who are in need is almost impossible to be put into practice, because the number of poor people exceeds that of the donors:

> We do not know the wants of all men, and therefore the bounds of our knowledge do of necessity limit our charity within a certain compass; and of those whom we do know, we can relive but a small part for want of ability[623].

There is therefore the necessity of stipulating a set of rules to distinguish the recipients[624]. Prevalence should be given to cases of extreme distress, as in the parable of the Good Samaritan[625], which though not expressly cited, resounds in Tillotson's words. He stresses the obligation which unites man to man, the common bond that arises from the perception of belonging to the same nature and of perpetuating the same providential design:

> For after all, he is a man, and is of the same nature with ourselves; and the consideration of humanity ought, for that time, to prevail over all objections against the man, and to prefer him to our charity, before the nearest relation and friend, who is not in the like extremity[626].

The list of the recipients proceeds with the nearest relations, with those who have dispensed charity in their lives and with the members of the same religion. After these, the donor must value the merits of those who might be objects of his charity, taking into consideration the degree of diligence that these people have demonstrated in their lives and the reasons why they are unable to work now, be it for illness or casualty. Lastly the donor must be able to qualify those who beg for

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[622] Cf. Goldberg, *Charity Sermons and the Poor*, pp. 190-91.
[623] Ibid, p. 3782.
[624] Cf. also Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 12 for a similar discussion of the criteria to differentiate recipients: "We do not know the wants of all, and therefore our knowledge of persons, and of their conditions, doth necessarily limit the effects of our charity within a certain compass; […] Whence it becomes necessary, that we set some rules to ourselves for the more discreet ordering of our charity."
[625] Luke 10:25-37.
[626] Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3783. Cf. also p. 3785, in which Tillotson identifies the origin of the necessity of helping those who are in extreme distress in God's laws: "Mankind being (as I may say) bound in justice, and for the honour of GOD's providence, to make good his promise, to preserve such from extreme necessity."

necessity and those who beg for laziness, because being charitable to undeserving recipients is "in truth and reality no charity itself."[627] Tillotson therefore advises the public to use prudence and reason in distributing their charities and he underlines the role played by the city of London in the use of riches and in the effective help to the needy. Using a biblical quotation as a resonant apostrophe, the divine does not miss the occasion to remind the audience about the advantages, happiness and satisfaction that they might enjoy: "*Euge bone serve!* 'Well done, good and faithful servant! thou hast been faithful in a little, and I will make thee ruler over much'."[628]

The discussion proceeds to the analysis of the concept of stewardship and of the proportion of donating according to what each donor has at his disposal. In Sermon 20, for example, Tillotson defines charity as "a duty in every man's power to perform, how strait and indigent soever his fortune and condition be." He also acknowledges that "the poorest man may be as charitable as a prince; he may have as much kindness in his heart, though his hand cannot be bountiful and munificent."[629] It is the sincerity of a man's heart and the awareness of his being good as provided by his conscience that count more than external manifestations of bounty. If this principle is true for charitable activities, it is also true for the practice of the service in the Church of England if compared to the Church of Rome. Providence allows economic differences among men as a way to prove human loyalty to God, therefore having a good estate "is in no other sense a blessing, that as it is an opportunity put into our hands, by the providence of GOD, of doing more good."[630]

The sermon ends with a reflection on rewards which Tillotson classifies, first concentrating on their temporal dimension, then on their eternal one[631]. He begins

[627] Ibid, p. 3786.
[628] Ibid, p. 3789. The quotation is taken from the parable of the talents, Matthew 25:14-30.
[629] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 14.
[630] Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3790.
[631] Cf. also Sermon 20, vol. 2, pp. 13-14. The first great advantage that man gets from charity is the fulfillment of his nature and the satisfaction of his soul and mind. Other more concrete benefits are moderation of dangerous passions which might be negative for man's health, the arousal of positive emotions, good humour and enjoyment. Charity helps men to make and keep true friendships, to render every situation tolerant to them, up to the point of declaring that "to love others, is the truest love to ourselves, and doth redound to our own unspeakable benefit and advantage in all respects" (p. 13). Tillotson therefore encourages charity on the basis of the practical individual benefits that every man, and society in consequence, can derive from it.

with the pleasure that arises in a man's mind when he does good to others, remarking the indelible memory that this action produces: "the reflection upon any good we have done, is a perpetual spring of peace and pleasure, to us, and no trouble and bitterness ensues upon it."[632] These advantages consist mainly in blessings from providence on one's family and estate, but also in the gaining of prayers, security in calamities and periods of public turbulence and in the making of true friendships. These blessings affect not only those who worked out charities, but also their posterity and the nation at large receive blessings according to the degree of bounty demonstrated by its subjects. To make his point have even more of an impact on the public, Tillotson presents the arrival of William of Orange as a reward from God for the goodness of the British nation[633]. The discussion of the eternal blessing and happiness of a future state is reduced to a few lines if compared to the preceding points. The sermon ends with a short exhortation to provide for the hospitals in the city, followed by the report of their actual state.

V.iii Christ's Example and Active Participation

> To employ ourselves in doing good is to imitate the highest excellency and perfection.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 18***

As the sermons analysed here demonstrate, charity sermons in the late Seventeenth-century were more centred on donors rather than recipients, and this idea of participation is connected to the role played by grace and how it changed during the century. According to Article X, Of Free-Will, man cannot do anything without the support of grace. Good works should be valued because they are necessary, but men should not be praised for their merit, otherwise they incur in the

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Cf. also Barrow, Sermon 51, vol. 4, pp. 85-86.

[632] Sermon 158, vol. 9, p. 3792. Cf. Sermon 213, vol. 11, p. 85: "So that a disposition to do good is the best and happiest temper of mind, because it is the nearest resemblance of the divine nature […]; it gives ease and satisfaction to our minds: and the reflection upon any good that we have done, is certainly the greatest contentment and pleasure in the world, and a felicity much beyond that of the greatest fortune in the world."

[633] Ibid, p. 3794.

same practice of the Church of Rome. In considering the import of good works, man should remember that "we should not value nothing here below, but as it serves for our present support and passage, or may be made a means to secure and increase our future felicity."[634]

J.A. Herdt[635] argues that this idea assumed a more anthropological valuation in the second generation of Latitudinarians, and she identifies in Barrow the figure that combines the theocentric vision of the Cambridge Platonists with that of the late Latitudinarians. Barrow is the first divine in whose writing the shift to morality and human duties becomes complete. Barrow was the first divine to reduce the power of grace on man to a more naturalised level, thus reducing its mystification and taking it to a more humane comprehension. Herdt in particular calls attention to the role played by sermons on the figure of Jesus, whose sacrifice is portrayed not only as the supreme act of salvation for mankind, but more specifically as an encouragement to move people to charitable actions and to lead a moral life. She thus argues that Barrow transforms Christ's passion into a spectacle in order to make it more appetising to the public and in this way he is able to rouse emotions which is the first passage needed to stir human beings to action. Herdt's point of view can be put in relation with Spellman's discussion of the necessity of reassuming humanity, i.e. operating good works for the edification of society. The accent in sermons is posed on inner benevolence because it is the spring that moves men to action, but divines are careful in underlining that this feeling is a gift from God. In order to reach man's heart, examples are used to transform Christ's passion

[634] Sermon 23, vol. 2, p. 118. Cf. also Sermon 80, vol. 5, p. 1266: "When we come to die, we can call nothing to our own but the good works which by the grace of GOD we have been able to do in this life."
Cf. also the discussion on good works presented by Greene, "Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling" Reconsidered," pp. 164-69. Greene insists on the import of Articles XI and XII and on their connection to St. Paul's and St. James's position. He concludes his discussion stating that "all these men [Latitudinarian divines] considered themselves Protestants and held firmly, as against what they believed to be Roman Catholic teaching, to the doctrine that we are justified by grace through our faith, and not by any "religious value" to be found in our works."

[635] Jennifer A. Herdt, "Divine Compassion and the Mystification of Power: The Latitudinarian Divines in the Secularization of Moral Thought," *The Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics*, vol. 21 (2001), pp, 253-273. Herdt's article furnishes an interesting insight into the way in which compassion was perceived, though I do not completely agree with her analysis of the autonomy that human nature acquires. Even if charity sermons insist on inner benevolence, they also underline that the primary source of this feeling is God.

into a spectacle[636]. As previously noted in Chapter 1, sermons take into consideration the efficacy of examples to elicit emulation and move the audience to action. In the case of the charity sermons written by Barrow and Tillotson, the example which best represents the charitable attitude that people should have is the one proposed by Jesus Christ.

Human beings act by imitation, so they should imitate God's goodness in their deeds. Barrow encourages the same behaviour in Sermon 27, *Of the Love of Our Neighbour*. The discourse is centred on self-love, its management and connection to charity. Having previously talked about God's love for mankind in Sermons 25 and 26, he opens the text with a discussion of the tangible proof of God's love[637], the creation and maintenance of the natural world, his providence in directing mankind and the advantages deriving from his laws. Barrow claims the supposition of the necessity of knowing what self-love is and its effects on man's judgement and actions. If charity equals self-love, as in the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"[638], each individual needs to know in what this passion consists. Barrow encourages his audience to reflect on "the motion of our own heart, and observing the course of our demeanour toward ourselves."[639] This is the only way in which man can be conscious of what he wishes for himself, of his partiality in judging his actions and of the respect that he wants from other people. Only through the knowledge of himself he can operate these principles on his fellows. In asking a series of rhetorical questions to his public, the divine arrives to a conclusion:

> Do we not sincerely and earnestly desire our own welfare and advantage in every kind? Do we not heartily wish good success to our own designs and undertakings? Are we unconcerned or coldly affected in any case touching our own safety, our estate, our credit,

[636] The necessity of combining fund raising, charity sermons and the tangible proof of the results of the education and edification of people proposed by charitable organisations is analysed in Sarah Lloyd, "Pleasing Spectacles and Elegant Dinners: Conviviality, Benevolence, and Charity Anniversaries in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies* vol. 41 no. 1 (Jan. 2002), pp. 23-57. Later in the Eighteenth-century the attention is posed more on the results and benefits for society rather than on the individual's role and interest.

[637] Barrow makes the same point in Sermon 1, vol. 1, pp. 45-46. Cf. Tillotson's sermons in volume 8, especially Sermons 136 to 138 on the wisdom of God in the creation and government of the world.

[638] Matthew 22:39.

[639] Sermon 27, vol. 2, p. 301.

> our satisfaction or pleasure? […] this doth inform us, what we should wish and covet for our neighbour.[640]

Even if man is condescending and highly values himself, Barrow's contemplation on man shows a certain positive attitude in his rational capacity for self-knowledge. Studying and understanding self-love is therefore ultimately necessary to be charitable. Barrow underlines the need for temporal and spiritual prosperity as he does in Sermon 1, insisting on the necessity of supplying one's neighbour's wants in this world as well as in the next, by instructing him in religion and changing his ignorance into profitable Christian knowledge. It is this reflection on self-love that furnishes man a rule of charity: "Thus reflecting on ourselves, and making our practice toward ourselves the pattern of our dealing with others, we shall not fail to discharge what is prescribed to us in this law: and so we have here a rule of charity."[641]

Again Barrow asserts the idea that charity can improve human nature, helping the single individual in the regulation of his practice and in the management of his whole life[642]. Indeed, he affirms that man is driven to charity by his nature, but it is religion that gives him the possibility of putting this impulse into action. It shows man the vanity of worldly things and their inconvenience for the attainment of eternal happiness while it presents mankind as it really is, weak and vile, unable to act but with the assistance of divine providence[643]. With these notions in mind, man is also able to understand that the differences between himself and his fellows are only based on appearance, on futile exterior distinctions regarding age, clothes and fortunes. However, as man is impartial in judging himself even when he is a victim of any calamity, he has to act in the same way with the people around him that might become objects of his love. Equity therefore predominates in the discourse: man must not lose sight of the balance that he has to maintain between self-love and charity, because "all charity beneath self-love is defective, and all self-

[640] Ibid, p. 302-03.
[641] Ibid, p. 306.
[642] Ibid, p. 297.
[643] Ibid, p. 312.

love above charity is excessive."[644] Towards the end of the sermon Barrow discusses again the role played by self-love. Though he admits that religion "condemneth self-love, self-pleasing, self-seeking, as great faults", yet they "do not seem absolutely bad; or otherwise culpable, than as including partiality, or detracting from that equal measure of charity which we owe to others."[645] Self-love and charity thus become profitable to each other: "[...] We do either bring down our self-love to such a moderation, or raise up our charity to such fervency, that both come to be adjusted in the same even level."[646] The former gives the rule to implement the other, the latter functions as a check to limit the drives of the passion, giving man a further possibility to deserve eternal happiness. The sermon ends with a series of encouraging examples that prove the force of virtue and charity to conquer nature and triumph over excess. Barrow's list includes saints and holy fathers, but the most illustrious example that he proposes is the one given by Jesus:

> Did not they love their neighbours as themselves, who sold their possessions, and distributed the prices of them for relief of their indigent brethren? Did not most of the ancient Saints and Fathers mount near the top of this duty, [...] that they did freely bestow all their private estate and substance on the poor [...]? did not our Lord himself in our nature exemplify this duty, yea this practice far outdo his precept […] did not in him virtue conquer nature, and charity triumph over self-love?[647]

Tillotson's Sermon 18 opens with a reflection on the importance of having a living example in order to make rules efficient. The two main *heads* that it develops are concerned with Jesus' willingness in doing good, both to man's body and soul, and with the way in which he made charity become the business of his life. The text is a clear encouragement to follow him. The first *head* begins with a definition of what doing good means, "the most pleasant and delightful, the most happy and glorious work in the world."[648] Charity is so influential that "it reacheth to the souls of men, and to their bodies"[649] and it can procure both spiritual as well as temporal

[644] Ibid, p. 310.
[645] Ibid, p. 313.
[646] Ibid, p. 306.
[647] Ibid, p. 317.
[648] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 412.
[649] Ibidem.

advantages. Tillotson reasserts that for the same reason charity can be exercised on human intellect and rational improvement or to provide food and sustainment. Tillotson explains this difference starting with the example of Jesus. Doing good to one's soul, is to promote human spiritual wellness and eternal happiness by exercising profitable education or examples. Under the first head Tillotson includes all the ways in which men can improve other people's Christian knowledge and make them participate actively in their duties towards God and other men. Two ways are taken specifically into consideration, the education of man's ignorance and the removal of prejudices. The first one can be carried out by "publick teaching, and by private conversation, and by taking occasion from the common occurrences of human life"[650] and even if man can exercise this virtue on all his fellows, specific attention should be given to "those who are under our care and charge, our children and servants and near relations."[651] This is what Tillotson calls "a private opportunity of instructing others"[652] also by suggesting books that might give directives on morality. The process of breaking prejudices is somehow more difficult and demanding because these inimical opinions are often bred in education and once they have become part of the person's character they cannot be easily eradicated. In order to release individuals from narrow-mindedness, Jesus used "a great deal of meekness" and "abundance of patience"[653], two qualities that Tillotson usually underlines when describing divine goodness and mercy. The example of Jesus should be an encouragement to apply patience to every situation in order to "unrip them [prejudices] by degrees", because "they will at last fall in pieces of themselves."[654] Once these barriers have been demolished, good men can open the way to religion "by encouraging men to repentance, and by representing to them the infinite advantages of obeying his laws, and the dreadful and dangerous consequences of breaking them."[655] Insistence is again posed on the mixture of

[650] Ibid, p. 413.
[651] Ibidem. This discussion leads us back to Tillotson's sermons on education in volumes 3 and 4 and to their analysis in Chapter Two.
[652] Ibidem. This is the same belief that Tillotson maintains in the sermons on education. Cf. Sermon 53, vol. 4, p. 510.
[653] Sermon 18, vol. 1, pp. 413-14.
[654] Ibid, p. 414.
[655] Ibidem.

benevolence and the menace of hell torments, on interest and fear[656], together with the counsel of conscience. These powerful means inside human nature, implanted by God himself, lead men to assent to the rightfulness of divine laws:

> Whenever we persuade men to their duty, how backward soever they may be to the practice of it, being strongly addicted to the contrary course, yet we have this certain advantage, that we have their consciences and the most inward sense of their minds on our side, bearing witness that what we counsel and persuade them to, is for their good[657].

Another means which usually accompanies these charitable acts is reproof, but Tillotson acknowledges the difficulty of reproving men due to the inaptitude of human beings to accomplish this task. An individual easily feels superior to his fellows but he should remember the vanity of his pretentions as he cannot know what passes into a man's heart. He therefore needs to consider thoroughly the circumstances and to choose the proper time to reprove with attention. Tillotson also mentions other ways of instructing people, this time without following Jesus' example but concentrating attention on the proper human ways of educating, i.e. the foundation of schools and of churches. His addressees are those whom the providence of God had endowed with wealth and estates that can provide money to build these institutions which will last and be profitable to society long after their funders have died. Tillotson continues his discussion with a reference to the importance of examples, without missing the opportunity of underling human frailty[658], and on the contrary the abundance of occasions to practise this virtue:

> A good example is an unspeakable benefit to mankind, and hath a secret power and influence upon these whom we converse, to form them into the same disposition and

[656] Cf. for example Sermon 35, vol. 3, p. 9, in which Tillotson once more reasserts the free choice of man in following divine rules: "It is said in the last place, that GOD hath set before men everlasting happiness and misery, and the sinner hath his choice. […] The reward that GOD promiseth to our obedience is equal to the punishment which he threatens to our obedience."

[657] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 414. The same concept is developed in Sermon 12, vol. 1, p. 291-92: "The memory of any good we have done, does refresh the soul with a strange kind of pleasure and joy, "our rejoicing is this (saith St. Paul) the testimony of our consciences, that in all simplicity and godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the world." The passage that Tillotson cites is from 2 Corinthians 1:12.

[658] Cf. also *A Sermon preach'd at the Morning-Exercise at* Cripplegate, pp. 446-47: "A disease may ruin the most happy and excellent *memory*, and make a man forget his own name; a little knock on any side of the head may level the highest *understanding* with the meanest; *beauty*, *health*, and *strength* may me blasted by a disease, or a thousand other accidents; *riches*, and *honour*, and *reputation*, are the most slippery and brittle things, that belong to us; and, when these are gone, *friends* will fall off like leaves in autumn."

> manners. It is a living rule, that teacheth men without trouble, and lets them see their faults without open reproof and upbraidings.[659]

The conclusion of the analysis of this point is the creation of a solid link between charity, education, benefit and salvation. Though charity is an inner disposition, man can be educated to the use of it in order to attain the utmost degree of perfection possible to his corrupt nature. The higher degree he is able to accomplish in resembling God's goodness, the better it is for his situation in this world, with blessings on his family and estate, and recognition in the afterlife.

After a brief hint at spiritual benefits, the discussion moves to the temporal ones with which Tillotson indicates the potential contribution to the welfare of the needy. In Jesus' case, it is a question of curing diseases and physical deformities whereas in the common man's case it has to do with the distribution of ordinary means. Tillotson insists on the power of education to transform destitute children into good citizens, providing them with education of their duties and fear of God and with little money to favour their inner diligence and industry to start a new business in their town[660]. The pride and gratification that men get from the results of their efforts in educating is not comparable to any other satisfaction coming from a monetary transaction:

> Surely it is greater and more glorious work to build up a man, to see a youth of your own planting, from the small beginnings and advantages we have given him, to grow up into a considerable fortune, to take root in the world and to shoot up to such a height and spread his branches so wide, that we who first planted him may ourselves find comfort and shelter under his shadow.[661]

As with the reference to the foundation of schools and churches and to their improvement for the community, the preacher reminds the listeners that the direct advantage that they get from these situations is a lasting reputation and the prayers

[659] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 416. Cf. also other sermons on the importance of examples: the sermons on education (49 to 53); Sermon 13 *The nature and benefit of consideration* and Sermon 14 *The folly and danger of irresolution and delaying*.

[660] Fear of the contrary is perceived in Tillotson's sermons on education. Cf. Sermon 52, vol. 4, p. 487. Sermons on the wrong application of zeal also provide a useful context for discussion. Cf. Sermon 82 *The danger of zeal without knowledge* and Sermon 83 *The best liable of the worst treatment, from mistaken zealots.*

[661] Sermon 18, vol. 1, pp. 417-18.

of the people they helped. The rest of the discussion is centred on Jesus' example and on the way in which he performed his duty, i.e. with "diligence and industry."[662] As men are worried about other people's judgement, the text underlines his willingness to do good despite his enemies' comments and malice, unmindful of his personal comfort as it was mitigated by the delight he had in doing good.

The rest of the sermon is occupied by the description of the practical instances that man can derive from the portrayal of such an illustrious example. The preacher summarises them under two heads: showing human defects in being charitable and stirring men to act charitably. The first point is used by Tillotson to attack prejudices on what religion requires of man. He underlines that divines ask men to be "charitable according to [their] power" because men "are commanded not only to abstain from evil, but to do good."[663] Tillotson also insists on the fact that faith without practice and good works is not complete[664]. He quotes James 3:17[665], the controversial passage in which good works are mentioned as an integral part of religion and a sure help for salvation. Commenting this passage the preacher is led to a powerful exclamation on the pleasure of charity and on human interest in it:

> Were men Christians indeed, they would be so much delighted and taken up with this better work, (more acceptable to God, and more profitable to men) that they could not find leisure, or if they could, they could not find in their hearts to employ all their time and zeal about things which are at so great a distance from the life and heart of religion, as most of those questions are which Christians at this day contend and languish about.[666]

The discussion is driven to the value that men attribute to the enjoyments of this life: things of this world would appear "dry and insipid and tasteless"[667] compared to the delight of doing good. This is a clear reminder of the possibility of reducing self-love with charity as Barrow stated. As in Sermon 20, Tillotson wants to

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[662] Ibid, p. 418.
[663] Ibid, p. 422.
[664] Cf. Sermons 207-209 *Of the necessity of good works*, vols. 10-11.
[665] James 3:17: [17] But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good works, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.
[666] Ibid, p. 424. Cf. Sermon 101, vol. 6, p. 1637: "Yet we are all of us concerned in it, according to the advantages and opportunities we have for it. Every man is concerned to help forward the salvation of his brother, and not let him perish if he can help it."
[667] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 425.

underline how sincere love and obedience could contrast divisions inside the Church of England and foster peace and unity:

> If the sincere love of GOD and our neighbour were but once thoroughly kindled in our heart, these pure and heavenly flames would in a great measure extinguish the unchristian heats or dispute and contention.[668]

> How is this great precept of our SAVIOUR not only shamefully neglected, but plainly violated by us? and that not only by private hatred and ill-will, quarrels and contentions in our civil conversations and intercourse with one another; but by most unchristian divisions and animosities in that common relation wherein we stand to one another, as brethren, as christians, as protestants.[669]

The second *head*, the encouragement to follow Christ's example, is, Tillotson admits, "the hardest part of my task."[670] Though he starts his application by saying that charity by itself and without further encouragement should appeal to generous and open-minded Christians, he believes that in order "to inflame [men] the more to so good works"[671] he needs to move their passions and he does so by presenting five objectives. The first one is on human nature and on the "inclination and desire in [men] to have others happy as well as [themselves]."[672] Tillotson stresses how human nature has in it "a propension and disposition to make others happy, and a readiness to do them all the good offices we can."[673] Human nature without goodness does not deserve to be called human as every action cannot be considered good as long as charity is missing:

> A being endued with knowledge and power, and yet wanting goodness, would be nothing else but an irresistible evil, and an omnipotent mischief. We admire knowledge, and are afraid of power, and suspect wisdom. But we can heartily love nothing but goodness, or such perfections as are in conjunction with it.[674]

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[668] Ibidem.
[669] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 21.
[670] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 425.
[671] Ibidem.
[672] Ibidem.
[673] Ibidem.
[674] Ibid, p. 427.

Tillotson argues the same degree of culpability typical of charity sermons as Andrew asserts in her article[675]. The second objective on which he reflects is self-satisfaction, to which he confers the title of "humanity." This virtue is "natural, and whatever is so is delightful."[676] It is for this reason that "we answer our own nature, and obey our reason, and shew our selves men, in shewing mercy to the miserable."[677] In this way man fulfils his own nature and desires, and while he is relieving others, he is also bringing relief to himself:

> We ease our own nature and bowels whenever we help and relive those who are in want and necessity. [...] There is no sensual pleasure in the world comparable to the delight and satisfaction that a good man takes in doing good.[678]

Citing Cicero and Lucretius[679], the preacher makes a comparison between the effects of sensual and of charitable pleasures on man: the former ones leave him in a melancholic and dissatisfied state of mind; the latter ones instead leave a pleasure on the mind on which he can reflect, presenting him with a bliss to be enjoyed at any time in his life. Doing good therefore draws human beings to happiness, it is their "right temper and disposition."[680] The third objective is concerned with man's fulfilment of his own divine nature. A man who is good and charitable fulfils his nature and imitates God[681], therefore he gets closer to him. The divine highlights the advantages for the single individual but he also comments on the relationship of mutual comfort between recipient and donors: "All the good we do to others is a

[675] Andrew, *On Reading Charity Sermons*, p. 587: "I wish to argue, therefore, that such a reading of charity sermons will tell us when and why sermon-givers thought exhortation was necessary: what virtues they felt their audiences lacked and what standards they must be urged to uphold and maintain."
[676] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 427.
[677] Ibidem.
[678] Ibid, pp. 427-28.
[679] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III.ix. Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum: Academia*, The Loeb Classical Library, Cicero in 28 volumes, vol. XV, with an English translation by W. C. A. Ker, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1972), pp. 308-09.
Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 4.1060. Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, The Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation by W. H. D. Rouse, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1966), p. 323.
[680] Sermon 18, vol. 1, p. 418.
[681] Cf. also the discussion on perseverance in Sermon 158, vol.9, p. 3791: "How can we be weary of that work, which is an imitation of the highest excellency and perfection, and the very essence of happiness!"

greater good done to ourselves. They indeed are beholden to us for the kindness we do to them, and we to them for the opportunity of doing it."[682]

The fourth objective is concerned with the law. In it charity is described as the third value in order of importance in divine judgement, "next to the love and honour"[683] men pay to God. Moreover, the preacher underlines the practical aspects of the commandment, stating that even if man cannot improve God's perfect situation with his love, he can change his fellows' living conditions for good. The fifth objective discusses the fear of death and of the contentment that a charitable sincere conscience could give to dying men. Tillotson affirms that good works can precede men to heaven and this assertion takes him directly to the final consideration with which he concludes the sermon, "the reward of doing good both in this world and the other."[684] He begins his list with the worldly advantages, "a lasting blessing upon our estates, deeds of settlement, prayers and blessings."[685] Charity gives men support in times of trouble because the bountiful man is remembered by those who receives his goodness and he is able to make solid and sincere friends. As it concerns the other world, it procures man "endless and unspeakable happiness"[686], the "plentiful harvest"[687] of what man has sown.[688]

In Sermon 20 Tillotson portrays to the audience the great example of Jesus[689] whose supreme charity is remembered in the institution of the sacrament. In the

[682] Ibid, p. 419.
[683] Ibid, p. 430.
[684] Ibid, p. 431.
[685] Ibidem.
[686] Ibidem.
[687] Ibid, p. 432.
[688] The metaphor is taken from the biblical passage Galatians 6:7-9: "Do not be deceived, God is not mocked; for whatever a man sows, that he will also reap. **8** For he who sows to his flesh will of the flesh reap corruption, but he who sows to the Spirit will of the Spirit reap everlasting life. **9** And let us not grow weary while doing good, for in due season we shall reap if we do not lose heart." Tillotson uses it in describing the advantages of a good education; cf. Sermon 54, vol. 4, p. 532 and 534. Cf. also Sermon 28, vol. 2, p. 275: "If the seeds of piety and virtue be but carefully sown at first, very much may be done by this means, even in the most depraved natures, towards the altering and changing of them."
[689] Tillotson only hints at Jesus' example here, but he develops this point in Sermon 18, *The example of Jesus in doing good*. Cf. also Sermons 189, 190, 191, *The life of JESUS CHRIST consider'd, as our example*, vol. 10. This is again a demonstration of the importance that examples have for Tillotson in teaching religion. In Sermon 27, vol. 2, p. 250, Tillotson also affirms that "laws are a good security to religion; but the example of governors is a living law, which secretly overrules the minds of men, and bends them to a compliance with it." The remark is followed by a quote from the Latin poet Claudian, probably the source of the citation (*Panegyricus de Quarto Consulation Honorii Augusti*, vv. 300-301). Cf. *Claudian's Panegyric on the Fourth Consulate of Honorius*, ed. W. Barr, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, (1981). Cf. pp. 46-47: "Componitur orbis regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis." (The world

confirmation, Tillotson demonstrates that charity is the virtue that unites all the members of the Christian religion because it proceeds from an insight into human nature which cannot be excluded, being "the most large and extensive, the most useful and beneficial, the most humane and divine quality of which we are capable."[690] In this way love becomes the "sum and abridgement, the accomplishment and fulfilling of the whole law"[691], "a more solid and intrinsic value"[692] if compared to the external ceremonies which were performed in ancient times. Tillotson underlines this point in order to show that it is not something peculiar to Christians but that its importance is so great that it cannot be undervalued. His discussion takes a political stance in lamenting the differences among sects that characterise the Anglican confession in the period. The parallel that Tillotson draws regards the advantages that politics has in being supported by a Church with solid foundations. He begins his analysis by talking about the Church of Rome and its uncharitable attitude towards the Anglican Confession. What he remarks is the hypocrisy with which the Catholic Church professes itself disciple of Christ and at the same time reserves a special consideration of the Protestant Reformation[693], excommunicating its members and persecuting them. Tillotson soon abandons the discussion and moves to the *application*, claiming that charity helps politics and national "pride". He rebukes his audience for the neglect of this practice reminding them that they act contrary to their own natures and benefits[694]. This issue develops into a sub-point in which Tillotson encourages his audience to think about their situation and to put love first as the best and most powerful

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conforms to the example of a king, and no edicts have such a power to influence the feelings of men as the life of their ruler).

[690] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 16.

[691] Ibid, p. 17.

[692] Ibid, p. 18.

[693] In charity sermons, Tillotson sometimes includes in his discussion references to the different ways in which the Church of Rome acts uncharitably towards other confessions but also towards its own members. Cf. for example Sermon 82, vol. 5, p. 1303; Sermon 83, vol. 5, p. 1314: "And the uncharitable conceit among Christians hath been thought a sufficient ground (even in the judgment of the infallible chair) for the justification of the several bloody massacres, and the cruel proceedings of the inquisition against persons suspected of heresy; for after men are once sentenced to eternal damnation, it seems a small thing, to torment and destroy their bodies."

[694] Cf. for example Tillotson's discussion on uncharitable zeal, Sermon 82, vol. 5, pp. 1297-98: "An uncharitable zeal, which is an enemy to peace and order, and thinks itself sufficiently warranted to separate from the communion of Christians, and to break the peace of the church, upon every scruple, and upon every fancy and conceit of unlawful impositions, though in the most indifferent things; […] This is not only a zeal without knowledge; but contrary to common sense."

weapon man has to unite the Protestant communities under a sole head, no matter what differences of opinions they have on smaller matters, such as rites. Tillotson's rebuke becomes the description of the fearful prospect which might attend England if popery comes into the country as a ruling force that every subject is compelled to accept. This menace leads the discussion directly to the conclusion of the sermon in which he reflects on providence and the weakness of the British nation due to the divisions in the country which work in favour of the Catholic conspiracy. People can learn their enemies' craftiness in coming together against the Anglican confession[695]. Tillotson cites Ovid[696] on this point to show that the precept of learning from an enemy was actual in Roman times and is still applicable today. The Church of England needs a solid foundation and the cooperation of all its members in order to face menaces from outside. Even if it is not the single individual's task to work out this unity but it is the Church governors' role, the effort of each person is praised whenever he is willing to embrace religion with "a mind free from passion and prejudice, from peevish exceptions, and groundless and endless scruples."[697]

The sermon ends with a reflection on the occasion of the meeting which, apart from being a reunion of gentlemen from Yorkshire living in London, is a way of "maintaining friendship, and promoting charity."[698] The encouragement of these "charitable customs"[699] could lead to a diminishing of the natural disasters with which God had punished England lately, as, according to Tillotson, this age seems characterised by people who are either intrinsically evil or perfectly good and therefore the middle way is lacking, compromising the balance of society:

[695] The discussion of how man can learn from his enemies is also developed in Sermon 129, vol. 7, *The children of this world wiser than the children of light*. The discussion is here centred on the loyalty that those who love things in this world demonstrate as opposed to the lack of sincerity and constancy that people who profess themselves to be religious show.
[696] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 25: "let us learn from the wisdom of our enemies, who, though they have many great differences among themselves, yet they have made a shift at this time to unite together to destroy us: and shall not we do as much to save ourselves? — *fas est & ab hoste doceri*." The quotation is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV. 428 (it is proper to learn even from an enemy). Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, The Loeb Classical Library, Ovid in 6 volumes, vol. III, with an English translation by Frank J. Miller, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1916).
[697] Ibidem.
[698] Ibid, p.26.
[699] Ibidem.

> The strange overflowing of vice and wickedness in our land, and the prodigious increase and impudence of infidelity and impiety, hath of late years boded very ill to us, and brought terrible judgments upon this city and nation, and seems still to threaten us with more and greater: and the greatest comfort I have had under these sad apprehensions of GOD's displeasure hath been this, that though bad men were perhaps never worse in any age, yet the good, who I hope are not a few, were never more truly and substantially good.[700]

V.iv The Role of Providence in the Seventeenth-Century

> We are by a secret curse of GOD insensibly decayed in our riches and strength.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 9***

The belief in divine providence and in the equal distribution of riches is a cornerstone of the Anglican faith and a pillar of the doctrine of rewards and punishments on which the Latitudinarian spur to morality was based[701]. In order to understand Tillotson's interest in providential issues, we can first have a look at John Wilkins's *A Discourse concerning the Beauty of PROVIDENCE In all the rugged passages of it*. The discourse was published in 1649 and its title page asserts that it is a discourse "very seasonable to quiet and support the heart in these times of publick confusion."[702] In the preface to the reader, Wilkins asserts the character of providence, which man can acknowledge both on a general level as well as on an individual one, making providence become a matter of universal interest. The purpose of the discourse is to encourage men in believing in providence and in relying completely on God's wisdom and design. Wilkins recognises the difficulties in trusting divine providence as "in some dispensations, this [the design of

[700] Ibid, p. 27.
[701] For a further discussion on the persistence of the belief in providence in the "secularised" Eighteenth-century cf. J. C. D. Clark, "Providence, Predestination and Progress: or, did the Enlightenment Fail?," *Albion* vol. 35 no. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 559-589.
[702] John Wilkins, *A Discourse concerning the Beauty of PROVIDENCE*, London, Printed for Sa: Gellibrand at the Brasen Serpent in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1649.

providence] doth not always fall under our reach."[703] This issue in particular is employed by Wilkins to underline man's limited reasoning faculties and ignorance, thus emphasising the unlimited power and vigilance of God. Wilkins begins his discourse with a reflection on the *Book of Ecclesiastes*[704], on which he bases his discussion, resuming the discussion on human ignorance that he presents in the Preface. God's government of the world is undeniable, and the works of nature daily prove man this truth: man has the power to understand God's presence in the natural world because God himself allowed him to be created with such a possibility of perception[705]. Nevertheless, Wilkins reminds his audience that "tis above humane ability to comprehend the reason of all divine proceedings."[706]

After this brief reflection on the topic, Wilkins begins the analysis of the exegesis of the text, drawing three *particulars* from it: everything has its time, everything is beautiful, and there is a proper season for all things which is specifically appointed by God. Wilkins explains how every action, both natural and voluntary, takes place at a specific time and occasion established by God. The beauty of the natural world, instead, is guaranteed by the correct succession of the seasons, whereas with the last *particular* Wilkins refers to the justness of everything which happens to man, and the support that God's grace furnishes him, providing mercy and patience and other virtues when needed. Indeed, Wilkins insists on a *head* that he considers the heart of his discussion: "Every particular event is most beautifull in that time, which the providence of God hath allotted to it."[707] In order to prove the validity of this *proposition*, Wilkins presents different kinds of confirmation, from divine testimony and examples of famous characters in the Bible, from human testimony in heathen literature, and from confirmation by reason. This one is discussed on the basis of two reasons: "God is exactly carefull of

[703] Wilkins, *A Discourse, The Preface to the reader*, p. A7.
[704] Ecclesiastes 3:11: [11] He hath made every thing beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.
[705] This theme was at the core of the Boyle Lectures delivered by Richard Bentley (1662-1742) on 3rd October, 7th November and 5th December, 1692. Cf. Henry Guerlac and M. C. Jacob, Bentley, "Newton, and Providence: The Boyle Lectures Once More," *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 30 no. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 1969), pp 307-318.
[706] Wilkins, *A Discourse*, p. 5.
[707] Ibid, p. 15.

every thing and he is infinitely wise for the disposall of all to the best."[708] The former is used to explain how every action and motion of a man's heart is directed by the providence of God, even if to the limited sight of man it seems voluntary, casual and free from constraints. Divine vigilance is distributed to all beings, with a special care for mankind, "that higher rank of creatures to whom these are subordinate."[709] The latter reason is applied to the explanation of the combination of providence with wisdom. Wilkins stresses the fact that God governs the world in order to make it work and appear in its utter beauty, because God is infinite and immanent.

The reasonable validation of the works of providence is followed by the answer to two objections which may derive from the observance of the events which take place in the world. The first *query* is concerned with the reason why the design of God in his providence is not manifestly shown to man, who in turn perceives the events of this world as confused. The second one regards the degree to which sinful actions can be tolerated in accordance with divine providence. To answer the first *query*, Wilkins analyses human "ignorance and short sightedness"[710], highlighting the fact that God prevents men from knowing "the treasures of wisdom"[711] on purpose, because most of them cannot be perceived by human senses and therefore cannot be comprehended:

> We cannot see *the whole frame of things*, how sundry particular events in mutuall relation do concur to make up the beauty of the whole. [...] We look upon things according to a *short succession*, and so are not able to discern that beautie which there is in their references to other matters *a farre of*.[712]

In replying to the second *query*, Wilkins places the responsibility of the sinfulness of his age to "those particular interests of gain, honour, pleasure, revenge, which sway mens desires and actions" which "are wisely contrived to the promoting of Gods decrees and glory."[713] Wilkins does not imply that God works against human

[708] Ibid, p. 32.
[709] Ibid, p. 38.
[710] Ibid, p. 50.
[711] Ibid, p. 48.
[712] Ibid, pp. 52-53.
[713] Ibid, p. 55.

salvation, but that whatever happens to a people is wisely governed and planned by divine wisdom.

The last part of the discourse is dedicated to the *application* of the discussion to practical issue. Wilkins adopts the considerations to help his public understand the present situation of political confusions. He assumes the "common" providence of God, as the direct cause of the political turmoil. With the term "common" Wilkins identifies the providential design directed to a nation or a people at large, different from the "special" providence which interests single individuals[714]. Appealing to the common, daily experience of his audience, Wilkins concludes his reflection suggesting "that all these unusuall turns and changes of things are not for nothing. There is some great designe to be accomplished by them. Tis our duty with *diligence* to observe the passages, and with *patience* to attend the issue."[715] The second practical inference that Wilkins derives from the discussion regards the ways in which man should judge his present situation. Presuming there is a design in everything that happens in the world, man should not be disappointed by following his own wishes or lusts, because these can be easily baffled by God's providence. In considering the present unstable situation, man cannot use his reason alone, but needs to look further, beyond his comprehension:

> If a man in these times shall with his reason consult onely the outward face of things, they must needs seem full of irregularities & disorder; when the spirits of men in the prosecution of the same ends, and the pretence of *publick welfare* shall be imbittered against one another, even to publick *ruine*.[716]

If therefore the design of providence is above human understanding, Wilkins does not comprehend why man is not satisfied with the certainty of having God's goodness and wisdom to his service. In order to take man back to the humble and obedient position that belongs to him, Wilkins reminds his audience that men "are but short-sighted, and cannot discern the various references, and dependencies,

[714] Cf. also Derek Hughes, "Providential Justice and English Comedy 1660-1700: A Review of the External Evidence," *Modern Language Review* vol. 81 no. 2 (Apr. 1986), pp 273-292; p. 275 in which the scholar asserts the same division between providential dealings with societies and individuals.
[715] Wilkins, *A Discourse*, pp. 65-66.
[716] Ibid, pp. 69-70.

amongst the great affairs in the world, and therefore may be easily mistaken in [their] opinion of them."[717]

The *application* also becomes an admonition to those people who do not pay attention to the extraordinary providential events that God bestows on mankind and continue to consider second causes as the only ones responsible for what befalls them in life. When people complain about the present state of things, they act contrary to what God commands them to do, i.e. to believe in his providential design and let things happen, bearing difficulties with meekness and patience. On the contrary, what they should do is "upon the occasion of any special judgment, [...] [to] search and try [their] hearts, consider [their] ways, and [their] doings, labouring to find out the cause of Gods displeasure."[718] Men's expectations are contrary to the highest design that God has planned for them and Wilkins therefore exhorts them to follow their duties. Providence teaches men patience and the respect of God's dictates without anticipating them, being impossible for men either to make predictions about their future, or to change their situation. According to Wilkins, the only thing that men should mind is their happiness, because "all things that befall us shall lead us on to the same journeys end, Happiness."[719] Men should wear the indifferent attitude of a "*travailers*" who "when he comes to doubtfull turnings, doth not desire one way should be true more then another."[720] The figure of the traveller bears comparisons with the indifference with which the Stoics used to live through life. At the same time, ignorance moves men to exclude from their decisions what is best for them, because "we are but ill contrivers of our own welfare, and therefore should without murmuring submit our selves and affairs to the government of Providence."[721] The conclusion of the discourse thus reflects on the connection between the public disorders of the period, the individual suffering of people and God's providence, and encourages faithful Anglicans to trust God and live happily letting these consideration occupy one's heart.

[717] Ibid, p. 72.
[718] Ibid, p. 82.
[719] Ibid, p. 105.
[720] Ibid, p. 106.
[721] Ibid, pp. 114-15. Cf. also Wilkins's exclamation on p. 107: "Thou foolish man (saith he [i.e. Epictetus]) doest thou not desire that which will be most convenient for thee?"

Wilkins's attitude towards providence demonstrates his willingness to explain man's relationship with it in terms of incomprehensibility and of possible anxiety generating from it. However, providence was also deeply linked not only to the life of the single individuals, but to the destiny of the nation at large, and especially to politics and governors. Though in his speeches Oliver Cromwell often evokes divine providence for support and justification, we cannot ascribe the preponderance of providence in sermons and discourses to the Seventeenth-century or to the Puritan doctrine in particular. Although it is true that a new wave of atheism and Epicureanism menaced the Church's doctrine[722], Blair Worden suggests that Protestantism itself, emphasising the direct relationship between God and the human soul, and placing the Creator at a distance from the world, but at the same time making him its governor and regulator, shed a new light on providence as the manifestation of divine power[723]. According to Worden, there was a clear distinction between what was called "general" providence, i.e. the Creator's government of the world, and "special" providence, God's care for man's life. The schaolr claims there was also a change in the perception of providential design which became more positive and benevolent after 1660 and somehow lost its punitive force[724]. The intervention of providence could be classified as pleasant or unpleasant. In the former case it usually took the name of "deliverance"; in the latter instead the variety of names was conspicuous: "judgment", affliction", "visitation", "trial" or "correction"[725]. Sins were therefore considered as an hindrance to national prosperity and victory in wars, and judgements were consequently inflicted on a single individual but also on a community or nation, according to the degree of the offence. In this way, Worden affirms, "royalists interpreted their defeat in the Civil War, and Puritans interpreted the Restoration, as a punishment for their sins."[726] Nevertheless, these manifestations of divine wisdom followed a precise pattern and

[722] Wilkins defines those who do not believe in Providence as atheists who do not look beyond secondary causes. Cf. *A Discourse*, pp. 74-77.
[723] Blair Worden, "Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England," *Past and Present* no. 109 (Nov. 1985), pp. 55-71.
[724] Cf. also Spellmann, *Archbishop Tillotson and the Meaning of Moralism*, p. 412: "Tillotson's God of goodness and reason was always reluctant to employ such stern measures against his greatest creation."
[725] Worden, *Providence and Politics*, p. 61.
[726] Ibid, p. 62.

a “divine timetable” which were partly understandable by human reason, and partly beyond its power, as Wilkins himself states in his *Discourse*.

As Wilkins concludes the sermon, the only aspect that he can consider is that God works for the benefit of man and therefore it should suffice man to accept what he receives from him. Tillotson shares the same position in arguing that, though providence rewards sincere goodness, human experience eventually tells the opposite. At the core of Tillotson’s discussion of God’s providential wisdom, there is the connection of providence with judgement and punishment:

> So that the afflicting providences of GOD are not only apt in their own nature to do us good, but which is a more express argument of the divine goodness GOD intends and aims at this end by them: he does not send judgments upon this theatre of the world for his sport and pastime, nor set on one part of his creation to bait another for his own diversion: he does not, like some of the cruel Roman emperors take pleasure to exercise men with dangers and to see them play bloody prizes before him.[727]

In his wisdom, God acts following his nature of supreme and unchangeable being, with the sole intention of promoting human happiness. Man, on the contrary, does not have the power to provide for himself, because of the innate frailty in his physical constitution. Tillotson dedicates some sermons to the analysis of the condition of mankind in relationship to God’s providence and his purpose is to assert man’s impossibility to furnish happiness by himself and his dependence on God and on what He bestows him. This obligation to God is reflected in political providential sermons in the obligation that good subjects have towards their governors for the maintenance of a peaceful society. Sermons 68 and 69, *Good men strangers and sojourners upon earth*, were preached at Whitehall before the Royal family on 1st November 1686. In them, Tillotson resumes most of the issues that have been discussed in the previous chapters: the importance of good works and their advantages, God as the only source of happiness as opposed to the vanity of the world, charity and the works of providence. He also answers some of the objections concerning the distribution of punishments in man’s temporal life.

[727] Sermon 9, vol. 1, p. 222.

The *explication* begins with a consideration on the importance of faith in a man's life, and this issue is supported by the examples given by the good men portrayed in the Bible, who all affirmed that they were "strangers and pilgrims on the earth."[728] The human condition is therefore "very troublesome and very unsettled"[729] as the condition of pilgrims and foreign people in a non-native country is. As this situation is part of man's nature, it can be perceived even by the heathens[730]. What man therefore has to take into consideration is his situation in this world and in the afterlife. The problem that Tillotson analyses is fundamental to our discussion because it is used to describe human frailty and its impossibility to provide for happiness. Tillotson insists on those aspects, health, friendship, peace of mind, that he acknowledges as extremely difficult for man to obtain, unless he addresses God's providence directly and proves his obedience. Happiness cannot be found in this world because:

> We are continually liable to all these [accidents]: and the perpetual fear and danger of them is no small trouble and uneasiness in our minds, and does in a great measure rob us of the comfort, and eat out the pleasure and sweetness of all our enjoyments; and, by degrees, the evils we fear overtake us; and as one affliction and trouble goes off, another succeeds in the place of it.[731]

Man is often baffled in his plans by a natural calamity or by a sudden loss, and all the fortunate or unfortunate events that befall him demonstrate that "what happiness soever our condition in this world is capable of, 'tis most ass uncertainty and unsettlement."[732] The solution to the problem is proposed in the reliance on God for eternal happiness and in the example of good men and of the advantages that they profited by placing their faith and hopes in divine goodness.

[728] Hebrews 11.13: [13] These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.
[729] Sermon 68, vol. 5, p. 1052.
[730] Ibid, p. 1053. Tillotson cites Plato and Cicero. He does not provide a reference for Plato, reporting his sentence, that "the life of man is a kind of pilgrimage", as a common saying. He cites Cicero's *De Senectute*, XIII.84. Cf. Cicero, *De Senectute*, The Loeb Classical Library, Cicero in 28 volumes, vol. XX, with an English translation by W. C. A. Ker, London: W. Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1971), pp. 53-57.
[731] Ibid, p. 1058.
[732] Ibid, p. 1060.

The way in which man has to live in the world is with "the most indifferent affection"[733], with patience and obedience to God's will. Tillotson offers a detailed description of this attitude in Sermon 87:

> He [man] hath no interest but to find the truth, and follow it: he is enquiring after the way to heaven, and eternal happiness, and he hath the indifferency of a traveller which is not inclined to go this way rather than another, for his concernment is to find out the right way, and to walk in it: such an indifferency of mind hath every good man, who sincerely desires to do the will of GOD.[734]

Being the continuation of Sermon 68, Sermon 69 develops the same topic, casting particular attention to the provision and use of what providence bestows on man and to where man has to place his love. Tillotson proceeds to the analysis of the influence that the two considerations developed in the preceding sermon, that man's condition in the world is troublesome and similar to the one of a pilgrim, longing to be reconciled with a superior entity. He expands on six *heads*, discussing the place of man's affections and love to the calamities typical of human life, reminding his audience about their duty and best interest. He first explains the proper use of goods in this world: he acknowledges that, if providence allows them, it is only for a charitable purpose, and man should not be drawn by the temptation of coveting for them and of placing his affection on them. The second *head* is concerned with proper behaviour and conversation, whereas the third is an incitement to patience and cheerfulness in undergoing difficulties:

> Upon a journey men use to put on all the pleasantness they can, and to make sport of all the inconveniences of the ways and weather, and little cross accidents that befall them: and thus, if we had but the art and wisdom to do it, many of the lesser inconveniences of human life might well enough be played off, and made matter rather of mirth and diversion, than of melancholy and serious trouble.[735]

In other calamities, such as for example the loss of a relative or of a member of one's family, religion is the only reliable support that man has to contrast grief

[733] Ibid, p. 1064.
[734] Sermon 87, vol. 6, p. 1396. Tillotson's discussion is similar to Wilkins's one.
[735] Sermon 69, vol. 5, p. 1072.

and renew his faith in God's goodness and providence. With the fourth *head* Tillotson once more advises his audience not to place love and affections in the things of this world, nor to fear death and to be desperate in leaving life, as the only precepts worth remembering are that God wisely governs the world, that man's life is short and that his happiness is to be found in the afterlife. Tillotson ends the sermon with the fifth and sixth *heads*, both reminding the audience about their duty and obedience to divine laws and suggesting thinking about one's end, everlasting happiness in God only.

V.v Providential Politics

> The providence of GOD doth sometimes interpose to determine the events of war, by governing the seasons and the weather.
>
> **Tillotson, *Sermon 41***

Apart from the Providential government of the world and human dependence on it, Latitudinarian divines also stressed the role of providence in England's political affairs. The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, commemorated on 5th November, together with the fasts to celebrate the Restoration of the monarchy and the Glorious Revolution were just some of the occasions in which divines were asked to preach a "political" sermon[736]. These sermons were based on the assumption that vice and virtue were not only individual matters, but influenced the

[736] For a general introduction on the importance that these sermons had in the Eighteenth-century, especially in the publication of single sermons as "political pamphlets" cf. Bob Tennant, "John Tillotson and the Voice of Anglicanism," *Religion in the Age of Reason AMC Study of the Long Eighteenth Century* vol. 53 (September 2009), pp 97-115
For further reading on political sermons cf. Weinbrot, Howard D., "The Thirtieth of January Sermon: Swift, Johnson, Sterne, and the Evolution of Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* vol. 34 no. 1 (Winter 2010), pp. 29-55.

social and political dimension of a community, so that "disorder into one sphere brought disorder on another."[737] As Reedy affirms, political sermons were focused on the defence of the Anglican Church from the attacks of the Roman Catholics or of other Protestant denominations which were perceived as a menace to stability[738]. The Church of Rome was also translated into the image of despotic power, with subjects left in ignorance, on the brink to become dangerous zealots. According to Reedy, divines used to recreate a "general theology of English history"[739] in order to prove England's special election in God's design. The Creator was depicted as having a particular attention and care for the Anglican Church and for the British monarchs.

In Barrow and Tillotson, providence assumes a strong political tint, as a judgement on the nation at large and in particular as a reflection on the calamities and blessings that God bestows on the British people. The common belief proclaims that "societies, having no immortal souls, must receive temporal justice."[740] Tillotson states this position for example in Sermon 3[741], whereas Barrow discusses the issue in Sermon 13, preached on 5th November 1673. While Barrow, Wilkins and Tillotson were rather optimistic about temporal divine rewards, the same cannot be affirmed for their contemporaries, South and Stillingfleet for example, who affirmed that not only were men baffled by providence, they also could not enjoy providential rewards as they were "rarities."[742]

Barrow's sermon *On the Gunpowder-treason* reflects the canon of the political sermons and combines providential discourse with the political blessings that England received from God. It is based on the assumption that man is able to understand when providence intervenes in human affairs. Even if in some cases he is not able to fully comprehend divine wisdom, there are some characteristics that man can recognise and that should lead him to worship and fear God more

[737] Gerard Reedy, *Robert South, 1634-1716: an introduction to his life and sermons*, Cambridge: CUP (1992), p. 53.
[738] Ibid, pp. 54-55.
[739] Ibid, p. 59.
[740] Hughes, *Providential Justice and English Comedy*, p. 275.
[741] Tillotson, Sermon 3, vol. 1, p. 96: "Publick bodies and communities of men as such can only be rewarded and punished in this world."
[742] Hughes, *Providential Justice and English Comedy*, p. 280.

intensively. The sermon is a typical example of the way in which providence was treated as a topic, building a theology of English history to show the mighty workings of God, England's blessings and to direct people in their duties towards their Benefactor. It is not fortune or chance to govern man's affairs, but the wisdom of God reflected into his providential design.

The *confirmation* of the sermon is thus dedicated to the explanation of these characteristics whereas in the *application* Barrow shows how these in turn can raise the good man's awe and reverence towards God. At the base of the process of the identification of providential works there is observation of the phenomenon. This encouragement is evident also in Wilkins's discourse and it is based on the assumption that God's will and power are manifested in the natural world and in the events that baffles human understanding for their "wonderful strangeness, [...] compared with the ordinary course of things, or the natural influence of causes."[743] The first characteristic that is discussed is the strangeness of the event which is caused by no visible means[744]. Examples of such circumstances and of the magnanimity of God can be retraced in the Bible. The second aspect that Barrow clarifies is the craftiness in God's decisions which are not taken to completion as soon as a cunning plot is discovered, but are postponed "when ill men by their perverse wiliness do notably befool and ensnare themselves, laying trains to blow up their own designs, involving themselves in that ruin and mischief into which they studied to draw others."[745] These punishments therefore appear unexpectedly, but at the same time they happen in the right place, at the right moment. This characteristic in specific demonstrates God's wisdom and power in acting on mankind, and it leads directly to the third aspect which is concerned with the utility and benefit of providential design, especially as it regards "the public state of things, and great personages, in whose welfare the public is much concerned."[746] Barrow's analysis draws from the Stoic philosophy and from the Scriptures to confirm that God's government of the world is extended to all living creatures and

[743] Barrow, Sermon 13, vol. 1, p. 455.
[744] Ibidem.
[745] Ibid, p. 459.
[746] Ibid, p. 463.

to every aspect regarding them. This short digression allows him to introduce the discussion of the providence bestowed on the state and on government. According to Barrow, every aspect within the politics of a state is taken into consideration by divine providence:

> But his more special hand of providence is chiefly employed in managing affairs of great moment and benefit to mankind; and peculiarly those which concern his people, who do profess to worship and serve him; whose welfare he tendereth with more than ordinary care and affection. He therefore hath a main stroke in all revolutions and changes of state: [...] he is peculiarly interested in the protection of princes, the chief *Ministers of his kingdom*.[747]

The fourth and the fifth characteristics are concerned respectively with the advantages that providential intervention brings to a community and to the correspondence of devout men's prayers and requests to the intercession of providence. The reverse is also acknowledged in the sixth aspect, that punishments are deserved due to men's iniquities, so that " the deserts of men shall often be legible in the recompenses conferred or inflicted on them."[748] The purpose of this seemingly harsh treatment is to abase human pride and to remind mankind of its vanity and of God's equity in the distribution of blessings and accidents. The last characteristic that Barrow investigates is the harmony with which different elements in various places and times, apparently without a connection, work together to bestow rewards or punishments on men. The highest example of this coordination is given by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, in which the "malignity of the Jews" was combined with the "easiness of Pilate" and this is paralleled with a description which reminds of the Gunpowder Plot and of the way in which it was providentially thwarted:

> So also, that a malicious traitor should conceive kindness toward any, that he should be mistaken in the object of his favour, that he should express his mind in a way subject to deliberate examination, in terms apt to breed suspicion where the plot was laid; that the counsellors should despise it, and yet not smother it; that the king instantly, by a light darted into his mind, should descry it: these things so happily meeting, may argue God

[747] Ibid, p. 464.
[748] Ibid, pp. 467-68.

> (who mouldeth the heart, who guideth the hands, who enlighteneth the minds of men) to have been engaged in the detection of this day's black conspiracy.[749]

The *confirmation* closes this a reflection on the prejudices that men have towards the intricacy of divine providence. Barrow encourages the audience to observe divine intervention with "industrious attention and care, with minds pure from vain prejudices, and corrupt affections"[750] because this is the only way in which men can acknowledge providence, even if they do not fully understand God's design. The *application* is concerned with the duty that men have in praying for God's favour, professing his glory and minding the advantages that He alone can provide for human beings:

> The benefit of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the civil state, the preservation, settlement, enlargement, advancement of God's church, the support of right, the succour of innocence, the maintenance of truth, the encouragements and furtherance of piety; the restraint of violence, the discountenance of error, the correction of vice and impiety.[751]

The sermon ends with a reflection on the providential blessings that England enjoyed in the past years. The description that Barrow provides is centred on politics and on religious matters, with particular reference to the restoration of the monarchy and the deliverance of the Anglican church from the corruption of the Roman Catholic doctrines.

Concerning the monarchy, during the reign of Charles II the attitude which was promoted was one of passive obedience towards the sovereign[752]. Indeed, the duty of bestowing punishments on the king was left to God only, as kings were

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[749]Ibid, p. 470.

[750] Ibid, p. 471. Cf. also p. 474: "We should not view such providential occurrences, like dumb beasts, with a dull or careless silence, as if we did not mind them, or were not concerned with them."

[751] Ibid, p. 477.

[752] Reedy, *Robert South*, p. 55. Cf. also D. Howard Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture 1660-1780*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, (2013), Chapter Three, p. 129. Weinbrot asserts that obedience to high power was compelled also by the Bible, in Romans 13:1-2: [1] Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. [2]Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. The sermon by John Scott that Weinbrot cites was preached in 1685 and bears many similarities with Isaac Barrow's political sermons, especially in the treatment of the representation of the king as God's vicegerent on earth.

considered God's direct "vicegerents."[753] Support to the theory of passive obedience was provided by experience, assisted by man's rational faculties and by Scriptural authority. Moreover, political sermons also had a strong emotional dimension, proving that England had God's favour on its side and that it was each subject's duty to maintain it in order to receive future blessings. The divines preached "a sense of urgency, of a need to develop a theology in the face of national crisis,"[754] usually corresponding to a present threat to be repented on fast days or to a past menace which was divinely thwarted by providence.

A sermon which clearly exemplifies the characteristic approach in political sermons is Barrow's *On the King's happy Return*, probably preached on 29th May 1676[755], the 29th being the date appointed for this celebration. Both the *exegesis* and the *application* of the sermon are brief, whereas most of the *confirmation* is devoted to the explanation of the importance of prayers for kings and governors. There are two *particulars* that can be derived from the biblical quotation, the Christian duty of praying for kings and of thanking God for his favour and bounty. Being more seasonable for the occasion, Barrow insists on prayers and explains all the reasons why man is obliged to this practice. The discussion is divided into eleven *subheads*, starting with the connection between prayers and charity. Barrow underlines the efficacy of prayers in the benefits that all people enjoy, "because all men are allied to us by cognation and similitude of nature; because all men are the objects of God's particular favour and care; [...] because all men do need prayers, and are capable of benefit from them."[756] As the love of charity regards a man's neighbour, Barrow claims that kings are "neighbours" to all their subjects, and therefore deserve the same treatment from them as if they knew them. Under the second *subhead*, Barrow asserts the power that prayers have for kings, regardless of the social and economic position of the subject that addresses his prayers to God: even if a humble and poor subject cannot provide for his sovereign's temporal welfare, he can nevertheless help him/her to obtain God's guidance.

[753] Reedy, *Robert South*, p. 56.
[754] Ibid, p. 58.
[755] Sermon 12, vol. 1, p. 442. At the end of the sermon Barrow declares that "the Lord hath granted us to continue these sixteen years in the peaceable fruition of those blessings."
[756] Ibid, pp. 406-07.

In the third *subhead*, Barrow expands on the interrelationship between subjects, state and monarch: "we are bound to pray for kings out of charity to the public; because their good is a general good, and the communities of men (both church and state) are greatly concerned in the blessings by prayer derived on them."[757] The commonwealth of a reign "lives and breathes in his king"[758] and its reputation is fortified and increased by the example given by its sovereign. The authority of the Scripture is called to testify the interdependence of king and his people, especially in "a kind of moral connection, or a communication of merit and guilt."[759] It thus follows that God bestows blessings and punishments according to the virtue and vice that both monarchs and people indulge in. If the subjects are sinful people, God withdraws his guidance from a prince, and therefore leaves him exposed to the snares and difficulties that the world offers him:

> We are apt to impute the ill management of things, and the bad success waiting on it, unto princes, being in appearance the immediate agents and instruments of it: but we commonly do therein mistake, not considering that ourselves are most guilty and blamable for it; that it is an impious people which maketh an unhappy prince.[760]

Barrow reinforces the idea of the benefit that all subjects will enjoy if they pray for their kings, and he makes his audience think about the welfare of their families and relatives, which is indissolubly connected with the welfare of the king. Thus the happiness of the country depends on the love that its subjects feel for it as well as for the benefit of its church. Prayers therefore suit that public interest and work for the improvement and stability of both the church and the state. This idea is reaffirmed in the fourth *subhead*, in which Barrow draws the parallel even further, combining personal, individual happiness with the general welfare on the state:

> Wherefore, consequently, our own interest and charity to ourselves should dispose us to pray for our prince. We being nearly concerned in his welfare, as parts of the public, and as enjoying many private advantages thereby; we cannot but partake of his good, we cannot

[757] Ibid, pp. 408-09. Cf. also p. 410: "The prosperity of a prince is inseparable from the prosperity of his people; they ever partaking of his fortunes, and thriving or suffering with him."
[758] Ibid, p. 409.
[759] Ibid, p. 412.
[760] Ibid, p. 415.

> but suffer with him. We cannot live quietly, if our prince is disturbed; we cannot live happily, if he be unfortunate; we can hardly live virtuously, if divine grace do not incline him to favour us therein, or at least restrain him from hindering us.[761]

Barrow therefore appeals to his audience's self-love and interest, in reminding them that their welfare and happiness are the goals to which their lives tend. It is therefore a promotion of their condition and a beneficial increase which should move men to pray for their governors. The influence and power that these have on the subjects' lives is explicated in *subhead* five, in which monarchs are addressed as "the parents and guardians of their country."[762] Moreover, their lives appear to be more difficult and complicated than those of common men. They are prey to a greater number of hazards and tempted by far more sins, and this aspect makes them even more entitled to be object of charity.

The sixth *subhead* describes the nature of passive obedience. Barrow defines it as an innate principle planted by God which moves men to fear and revere their superiors. The validity of this practice is proved also by heathen literature. Barrow probably refers here to the Stoic philosophy and to the idea that it promoted of the presence of "the hand of gods" in human affairs[763]. Obedience to the sovereign also equals obedience to God and his will, as *subhead* seven demonstrates. Barrow indeed points at the acceptance and rewards that the practice of praying bestows on men, identifying it as a way of honouring God's image and character in his vicegerents on earth. This concept is related to the following *subhead*, in which Barrow again insists on the interests and advantages that man could gain, with the security that "wisdom, guiding our piety and charity, will especially incline us to place our devotion there where it will be most needful and useful."[764] The description which follows can be related to *subhead* five, as Barrow presents kings in a more humane and fragile way, stressing the difficulties that they encounter in the administration of the state, often victims of evil-speaking and malice, sharing

[761] Ibid, p. 417.
[762] Ibid, p. 418.
[763] In discussing providential intervention and the arrival of William of Orange, Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture*, cites Caleb Fleming's A *Fund raising for the Italian Gentleman: or A Magazine Filling on the Scheme of Frugality* (London 1750), in which the expression "the hand of God" recurs. Cf. p. 128.
[764] Ibid, pp. 423-24.

with their subjects their condition of easily tempted creatures, often hit by mental or physical disorders:

> The world continually doth assault them with all its advantages, with all its baits of pleasure, with all its enticements to pride and vanity, to oppression and injustice, to sloth, to luxury, to exorbitant self-will and self-conceit, to every sort of vicious practice.[765]

It is specifically in case of malicious princes that prayers are most needed, in order to pray for their repentance and eventually to re-establish a state of peace and security for all the subjects. It is love for oneself and for one's country that should motivate men to act accordingly:

> If we love them, if we love our country, if we love ourselves, if we tender the interests of truth, of piety, of common good, we, considering their case, and manifold need of prayers, will not fail earnestly to sue for them.[766]

In the ninth and tenth *subheads*, Barrow draws a connection between providence, kings' role on earth and subjects' advantages. Kings are defined as "the Ministers of his kingdom", "the main instruments of his providence, whereby he conveyeth his favours, and dispenseth his justice to men."[767] This is possible only because kings are guided by the wisdom of God in every decision that they take. Barrow is willing to underline once more the connection between prayers and public benefits, relating it to the degeneracy of the age and to the way in which only an active and morally upright participation of all subjects could obtain divine favour, and consequently happiness. The benefit of prayers, even if sometimes it is not clearly perceived by the limited capacities that man has, is reasserted in the tenth *subhead*. Here Barrow affirms that prayers always result into a good advantage , if they are "offered duly, (with frequency and constancy, sincerity and zeal)."[768] The impossibility of having a full comprehension of the divine design leads the discussion to the necessity of combining reason and faith in religion, because, if God's government of the natural world is manifest to man, the same

[765] Ibid, pp. 425-26.
[766] Ibid, p. 427.
[767] Ibidem.
[768] Ibid, p. 428.

cannot be claimed for providential intervention, which often and purposely baffles human understanding. The tone that Barrow uses is rather positive: "So may we hopefully presume, and encourage ourselves, that a prince will not miscarry, for whose welfare many good people do earnestly solicit."[769] The discussion ends with a powerful exclamation on the wondrous effect that prayers can have both on the individual level and on the public one:

> If our prayers can so much avail to our personal and private advantage, if they may be very helpful to our friends; how much shall the devotions of many good men, all levelled at one mark, and aiming at a public most considerable good, be prevalent with the divine goodness![770]

The last subhead that Barrow develops is a reaffirmation of the necessity of obedience and of the faith in God's punishments to undutiful kings. Barrow states that prayers are the only weapon that man has to change the situation in which he is living, even if he is suffering the oppression of an unjust sovereign. A list of prohibitions follows which culminates in the remembrance of the regicide of Charles I and therefore in the affronts that men can do not only to the king, but to God in person. Indeed, Barrow reminds the audience that only divine providence can furnish them the assurance or feed the hope of preserving the integrity of both church and state, and it is only through hearty prayers that they can possibly expect to obtain God's favour. Moreover, the urgency of the situation gives Barrow's encouragement a more efficacious spur: if times of darkness and confusion are the most apt to ask for God's intervention, England is totally entitled to request it, considering the situation in which it is living:

> Have we not great reason to be fearful of God's just displeasure, and that heavy judgments will be poured on us for our manifold heinous provocations and crying sins; for the prodigious growth of atheism, infidelity, and profaneness; for the rife practice of all impieties, iniquities, and impurities, with most impudent boldness, or rather with outrageous insolence.[771]

[769] Ibid, pp. 429-30.
[770] Ibid, p. 431.
[771] Ibid, p. 439.

The description also includes other forms of immorality and ends with a reflection on the uncharitableness of English people, which demonstrates their ingratitude towards God and their lack of wisdom in perceiving the works of divine providence apt to chastise them. The conclusion of the discussion is the renewal of the necessity of prayers for the active support of the king. Barrow briefly mentions the second *head* of the sermon, the practice of thanksgiving, underlining both the public and the particular beneficial effect of it. The end of the sermon provides a clear theology of English history in which Barrow concisely presents the miraculous events of the Restoration and the advantages, both political and religious, that this event brought to the country at large:

> Blessed be God, who hath given to us so gracious and benign a prince [...], who hath protected him in so many encounters, hath saved him from so many dangers and snares, hath delivered him from so great troubles. [...] In so wonderful a manner, by such miraculous trains of providence, did reduce him to his country, and reinstate him in the possession of his rights; thereby [...] restore to us our ancient good constitution of government, our laws and liberties, our peace and quiet; rescuing us from lawless usurpations and tyrannical yokes, from the insulting of error and iniquity, from horrible distractions and confusions.[772]

If the providential circumstances of Charles II's restoration to the throne were recorded in political sermons across the country, another fundamental miraculous intervention was witnessed by the English people with the arrival of William of Orange and Mary. William was described as the saviour of England, who came to rescue people from James II and the Roman Catholic Church. Dissenters in particular saw in him a possibility for future integration[773]. Due to his particular relationship and support to the newly crowned monarchs, Tillotson wrote and preached four sermons in the years 1688-89 which were useful to create a political and authoritative "consensus"[774] to the Glorious Revolution. Even if they were published singly, the sermons were edited as a group in Volume 2 of Tillotson's *Works*: Sermon 31, The *parable of the Ten Virgins*, Sermon 32, *A*

[772] Ibid, pp. 441-42.
[773] Cf. Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture*, Chapter One, pp. 36-48.
[774] Bob Tennant, *John Tillotson and the Voice of Anglicanism*, p. 103.

Thanksgiving Sermon for Our Deliverance by the Prince of Orange, Sermon 33 *Of Forgiveness of Injuries, and against Revenge*, and Sermon 34 *The Care of Our Souls the One Thing Needful*. Three of these sermons, Sermon 31, 33 and 34, were preached in front of one or more members of the royal family, whereas Sermon 32 was preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel in London before the Lincoln's Inn Society of lawyers[775]. According to Müller, Tillotson shares the Latitudinarian attitude towards providential intervention in human affairs, but he also insists on the necessity of reformation and morality to hope in future stability both in the state and in the church. Indeed, special proceedings of providence are often spurred by people's degeneracy and disobedience to God's dictates. Nevertheless, as God intervenes only to promote man's good, His inference in human affairs is a proof to his goodness and becomes "a means of moral education"[776] to man. Divine interference and particular, special providence also pose problems to Tillotson because he acknowledges the difficulties in judging God's distribution of blessings and punishments due to the disparity between good and evil people and the seeming preference to evil people. Even if Tillotson traces this apparent incongruity back to the limits of human reason in understanding what God has revealed, these questions remain difficult to address, especially when regarding the king.

Tillotson dedicates to William III at least three whole sermons. He was one of the three Latitudinarian divines to preach a Thanksgiving sermon for the arrival of the new king[777]. Tillotson delivered the sermon in front of an audience that was accustomed to his way of preaching, having served as preacher to the Lincoln's Society since November 1663. The sermon opens with a very short *exegesis* which introduces the theme, i.e. the necessity of repentance that every special, public manifestation of God's goodness requires. Tillotson accordingly divides the quotation into two parts. The former affirms that sin is the only cause of human suffering and therefore deserves a proportionate punishment; that if God directs his

[775] Sermons 31, 33 and 34 are analysed in the previous chapters.
[776] Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Didacticism*, p. 149.
[777] The other two senior latitudinarians to preach a Thanksgiving sermon were Gilbert Burnet and Simon Patrick. Burnet, who was the William's Chaplain, preached the sermon in front of him and of a group of cavaliers at his camp in Exeter on the Sunday after his arrival. Patrick preached a thanksgiving sermon at St. Paul's Covent Garden on 31 January 1688/89.

punishment on man it is due to his sins and that man on the contrary should learn from his past actions, reflect on them and on the consequences that he had to suffer. The latter is a rhetorical question that stresses the continuity of God's distribution of punishment until man has learnt his duty. The last remark in specific is employed by Tillotson in the *confirmation* to analyse two *observations*: the aggravation that human recalcitrance gives to sins and the presage of ruin that this immoral behaviour towards God implies. The first *observation* deals with the unwillingness of mankind to inspect divine punishments and blessings, and to commit the same sins which were the first cause of the chastisement. This lack of correctness is also aggravated by the ingratitude that people usually manifest to God, so that He "takes it very ill at our hands, when we are ungrateful to the instruments of our deliverance."[778] The direct consequence of ingratitude is punishment: "They that will not acknowledge the mercies of GOD's providence, shall feel the strokes of his justice."[779] Tillotson proves from Biblical quotations that man is the only creature that sins against God with incorrigibility and that nothing seems to move him, not even the stories of the ingratitude of Israel and of the providential proceedings against it. The second *observation* asserts the generality with which punishments are bestowed on the whole nation, chastising both good and evil men alike. The nation is seen like the body of a man, while God is the physician who, having tried all that is in his power to contrast the illness, has to admit he does not have any means to cure his patient:

> This incorrigible temper shews the case of such persons to be desperate and incurable. [...] When GOD sees that all means which he can use do prove ineffectual and to no purpose, he will then give over a people, as physicians do their patients when they see that nature is spent, and their case past remedy. [...] GOD will then leave them to reap the fruit of their own doings, and abandon them to the demerit of their sin.[780]

Like the *exegesis*, the *confirmation* is also very brief, and the remaining part of the sermon is occupied by the *application*. In this part Tillotson delineates a clear and quite detailed history of the punishments and blessings that England received in

[778] Sermon 32, vol. 2, p. 378.
[779] Ibid, p. 379.
[780] Ibid, pp. 382-83.

the past and in the recent present. The purpose of the description is the analysis of the similarities between the situation of the British people and the condition of Ezra's people, the protagonists of the biblical quotation that Tillotson explains at the beginning of his sermon. The episodes in British history which are remembered are the invasions of the barbaric tribes, the War of the Roses and, closer in time to the present situation, "the war, and pestilence, and fire." Tillotson refers to the Civil War (1642-1651), the Great Plague of London (1665-66) and the Great Fire (1666). A description of these events follows, portraying the consequences of the Civil War on society at large, and the blessing of the Restoration of the king. However, God's favour was soon lost by the attempt of restoring Roman Catholicism in England, and this circumstance brought new evils on the British people, both the pestilence and the fire. The consequences of these events were not only material, but also spiritual. Since the Great Fire in 1666, people were bound to live in constant fear of a restoration of the Roman Catholic confession, especially since "a prince of that religion succeeded to the crown."[781] Tillotson's open remark to James II is evident here, and it is exploited to draw a parallel with the goodness of God who put patience "into the heart of our kind neighbours, and of that incomparable prince, who laid and conducted that great design with so much skill and secrecy, to have appear'd so seasonable for our rescue."[782]

Tillotson proceeds to the explanation of those sins which were the direct cause of all the mischief that happened in England. As Barrow before him, Tillotson points at the "horrible contempt of religion on the one hand, by our infidelity and profaneness; and our shameful abuse of it on the other, by our gross hypocrisy, and sheltering great wickedness and immoralities under the cloke and profession of religion."[783] However, the sin in which English people are more culpable is dissension and lack of union in religion. Under the second *head*, Tillotson acknowledges that God has shown a particular mercy regarding England, because his punishments have been milder than those described in the Bible. We can therefore recognize the stress on God's goodness and favour for England as

[781] Ibid, p. 385.
[782] Ibid, p. 386.
[783] Ibid, p. 387.

underlined in charity sermons. In the third head instead Tillotson more properly develops the providential theme by describing the "great and wonderful deliverance which GOD hath wrought for [English people]."[784] What he first affirms is that the praise of the deliverance is to be justly bestowed on God only, as all English people, while reflecting on this miraculous event, are able to certify their degeneracy and corruption of manners, and therefore are able to declare, upon thorough consideration, that they did not deserve it. Tillotson states that every Christian could detect "the finger of GOD in it [the deliverance]"[785] and he proceeds to explain what miraculous characteristics it has. It was "a great deliverance, from the greatest fears, and from the greatest dangers,"[786] where "fears" and "dangers" both refer to the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion and the possible persecutions and exiles issuing from this event. The other element that signalled God's intervention is connected to the "strangeness of the means."[787] Tillotson underlines the secrecy of the undertaking, the lack of any impediment which could not be foreseen, as for example regarding the weather and the travel by sea, and the speediness and timely exactness with which every action was performed. The explanation of these characteristics is closed by a remark on the surprise of the delivery, and on the providential intervention of God, which baffles the understanding:

> When all things were driving on furiously, and in great haste, then GOD gave an unexpected check to the designs of men, and stopp'd them in their full career. Who among us could have imagin'd, but a few months ago, so happy and so speedy an end of our fears and troubles? GOD hath at once scatter'd all our fears, and outdone all our hopes by the greatness and suddenness of our deliverance.[788]

Tillotson adds two more circumstances to be taken into consideration, the "cheapness and easiness of this deliverance"[789] and the way in which this event signals the definitive defeat of the Roman Church and of its attempts to reduce

[784] Ibid, p. 389.
[785] Ibidem.
[786] Ibid, p. 390.
[787] Ibidem.
[788] Ibid, p. 391.
[789] Ibid, p. 392.

England under its power. He particularly insists on the coincidence on 5th November between the arrival of William of Orange and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. This anniversary therefore deserves to be commemorated as the greatest delivery that God offered England in order to protect the freedom of its people.

The conclusion of the sermon includes a series of admonitions which encourage people to be moderate, tolerant and united in religious matters, separated from the ignorance and traditions proposed by the Church of Rome, and lastly to thank God for his magnanimity and to pray in order for His grace to sustain his "happy instrument"[790], the future William III. However, the sermon ends with a reflection on the degeneracy of the age and Tillotson states that the results of the abandonment of religious matters caused the destruction of English people and therefore brought the menace of papacy on them. The encouragement is to pray God's assistance to promote morality and therefore happiness in the country at large.

[790] Ibid, p. 396.

CONCLUSION
HAPPINESS AND SELF-LOVE: A LASTING LIGHT?

When a terrible storm hit London in November 1703, the city was so shocked that a Fast Day was proclaimed to be given on 19th January in order to beg for God's pity and pardon. As a reaction to such a natural phenomenon, that Queen Anne described as "a Calamity so Dreadful and Astonishing, that the like hath not been Seen or Felt, in the Memory of any Person Living in this Our Kingdom"[791], more than sixty sermons were delivered from both Anglican and Dissenters' pulpits. William Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, and Ofspring Blackall, one of the Queen's chaplains, were asked to preach in front of the Parliament in Westminster Abbey and in front of the Lord Mayor in St. Paul. In both Talbot's and Blackall's sermons we can hear Tillotson's remarks on the necessity of reforming vicious manners and working for one's happiness and for the benefit of society. They refer to individual self-interest and to the advantages that the whole country could gain from a sincere repentance:

> We should therefore, upon such days as these, retire very seriously into our selves, commune with our own hearts, call our ways to remembrance, compare them with that Law which ought to have been the Rule of them, search out in what Instances they have deviated from it, what Judgment and Miseries, by erring from it, we have exposed ourselves to, the temporal ones in this life, and the more dreadful eternal ones in that which is to come.[792]

> For the Temporal Judgments of GOD are most commonly designed for National Punishments; and when a whole Nation deserves to be rooted out for their scandalous Wickedness, it is indeed great mercy and Goodness in GOD that he is pleased to make

[791] Daniel Defoe, *The Storm*, ed. R. Hamblyn, London: Penguin Classics, (2005), p. x.
[792] William Talbot, A Sermon Preached before the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* in Parliament assembled, IN THE ABBEY-CHURCH of *Westminster*, On *Wednesday*, *Jan* . 19. 1703-4. BEING THE FAST-DAY Appointed for the Imposing of a Blessing from Almighty God upon her Majesty and her Allies engag'd in the present War: As also for the humbling ourselves before him in a deep Sense of his heavy Displeasure, shew'd forth in the late *Dreadful Tempest*, *& c*. By the Right Reverend Father in God WILLIAM Lord Bishop of Oxford. LONDON, Printed by *W.S*. for *T. Bennet* at the *Half-Moon* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, 1704; p. 26.

some few of them only Examples for a Terror to the rest.[793]

One might wonder what Tillotson himself would have written after such a devastating proof of the degeneracy of English people, especially after having spent the last years of his life exalting the wondrous favour that God had bestowed on English people with William and Mary, and underling the necessity of obedience and duty for the maintenance of the social stability and of the economic improvement of the kingdom.

In Tillotson's sermons we can find a tendency to encourage self-interests in those situations in which man can eventually perceive with his senses the tangible benefit that can be derived from a particular situation. In doing good, man has the perception of what actions he is performing and of the benefits that he will derive from them. Being a creature endowed with reason and conscience, he can understand what the import of his actions is, and how he can pursue his own good. This point id at the base of Crane's discussion of the Latitudinarians' "self-approving joy" and of a mild form of hedonism ensuing from self-satisfaction and gratification that can be retraced in their writings. This does not mean, as Tillotson's sermons demonstrate, that divines only employ pleasure to move man to obey God's laws, but it shows the necessity they had to combine Christian faith with practical issues. They had to meet their public on the same ground, not only in the themes, but also in the language. Tillotson's style became extremely popular for this reason, because he used plain, everyday expressions, often building his metaphors with medical or commercial terms. He even arrives to the point of comparing man's interest in religion with his interest in money: "We should hold fast our religion, as a man would do his money in a croud."[794]

However, taking into consideration the fact that this desire for happiness and self-fulfilment is at the base of every human action, Tillotson cannot avoid asking

[793] Ofspring Blackall, A SERMON Preach'd Before the Right Honorable the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of LONDON, AT THE CATHEDRAL-CHURCH of St. *PAUL*, JANUARY the 19th 1703-4. BEING THE FAST-DAY Appointed by HER MAJESTY'S Proclamation, upon Occasion of the Late Dreadful STORM and TEMPEST; And to implore the Blessing of GOD, upon HER MAJESTY and Her Allies, in the Present WAR. By OFSPRING BLACKALL, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to HER MAJESTY. LONDON, Printed by *F. Leake*, for *Walter Kettilby*, at the *Bishop's Head* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*. 1704; p. 24.
[794] Sermon 61, vol. 5, p. 929.

his congregations why they sin. The answer that he provides is directly connected to the story of the Fall and Article IX, in which the corruption of mankind and the weakening of the rational faculty are described. Though Tillotson does not seem to lose his optimism in human capacities in choosing between moral and immoral behaviour, he nevertheless has to come face to face with the problem of the providential calamities that somehow regularly befall England. It is in these occasions that he has to admit human depravity, as God's punishments on the whole nation come directly from the sinfulness of its subjects.

As Tillotson asserts in his sermons, English people could be divided into two categories, those who are perfectly good and those who are utterly evil[795]. Indeed, it is between these two visions of man that the analysis of human happiness in Tillotson's sermons has to begin. For this reason, both Crane's and Greene's positions are not discarded in my analysis. Crane is a staunch advocate of the Latitudinarian belief in human benevolence, and of how their influence eventually functioned as a spring for the insurgence of the wave of sensibility which characterised the second half of the Eighteenth-century, in particular its literary production. Although I agree with Crane in claiming the belief in man's compassion, I cannot but notice, as Greene does in his article, that Crane develops his discussion focusing mainly on charity sermons, and in them the necessity of underlining human goodness was dictated by the insurgence of the perception of poverty as a menace to the stability of society. In order to have a more complete Latitudinarian view of the individual, the portrayal of man as a compassionate creature in charity sermons has to be coupled with the one in Lent sermons, in which the proneness of man to sin and to disregard the practice of repentance and reflection are highlighted to the purpose of showing that man acts contrary to what his own self-love dictates him. This is one of the reasons why Tillotson focuses attention on the importance of educating people to teach them where their happiness lies, and his appeal in the *Sermons on Family Religion* that he published in 1694 corresponds to the demand for education that charity sermons made later in the Eighteenth-century. Nevertheless, even if this positive attitude to man's malleability

[795] Sermon 20, vol. 2, p. 27.

proves that Tillotson was rather optimistic in the results that could come from moral, Christian education, the very idea of custom and habit resumes in itself the image of man as a creature in need of a set of laws to limit its depravity and sustain reason and conscience in the choice of the right path to happiness, i.e. religion. This point represents, in my opinion, the idea at the core of Greene's criticism of Crane's position.

Greene remarks the Latitudinarian practice of stressing human vanity and the impossibility for man to gain salvation through his good works. However, what Greene does not take into consideration is the strong necessity that the Latitudinarians felt of encouraging Anglicans to work for the benefit of society, and this would have been possible only if they had been able to move people's interests. The most profitable means to attain their aim is to focus on advantages, and on the possible pleasure that people can derive from their contribution to the improvement of society.

It is true, as Greene points out, that while asserting the role of reason in understanding religious truths, the Latitudinarians did not stop rebuking their audiences for the degeneracy of their manners, thus following the Augustinian import of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith. Nevertheless, this way of proceeding does not exclude the possibility of exploiting human depravity for their purpose of improving morality. Degeneracy can become the actual reason to employ self-love and stir human interest in Tillotson's sermons, as the power of certain passions, such as fear and desire, is so strong that it can conquer a man's heart more successfully than rational reasoning. This is the position that Spellman assumes in his analysis of Tillotson's sermons, asserting that "self-interest is by no means the ideal, or even a desirable, argument in support of the faith, but instead simply a very practical, and regrettable, concession to frail human nature."[796] Another way of appealing the public is to remark the rewards and punishments that God bestows and that consequently shape man's degree of happiness, both in this life and in the afterlife. The practice of raising fears is, in my opinion, another "concession", as Spellman defines the appeal to self-interest, employed to stir men to action, as the

[796] Spellman, *Archbishop Tillotson and the Meaning of Moralism*, p. 410.

numerous references to worldly and otherworldly sanctions which can be traced in Tillotson's sermons demonstrate. According to Scholtz, Latitudinarian divines adduce self-gratification and self-preservation to the promotion of virtue, thus coupling self-interest and morality[797]. In criticising Thomas Hobbes's atheistic position, Tillotson and the Latitudinarians elaborated a system of moral values in which self-love, if regulated by reason and conscience, can coexist with good works, and in which human happiness can be attained following practical, easy laws, with the assuring help of God's goodness.

The import of Latitudinarian sermons on human happiness, duties and self-love can be perceived in the works of the moral philosophers in the Eighteenth-century, and in the influence they had on the works of Joseph Butler (1692-1752). Butler's *Fifteen Sermons* were published in 1726 and they are centred on the analysis of the moral faculty, discussing the role played by conscience, benevolence and self-love[798]. As for Tillotson and the Latitudinarians, conscience in Butler is implanted by God and its supremacy in defining human actions is given by man's capacity to reflection. Conscience is often associated "with the heart, inward principles, and inward feelings[799]" and it functions as the "moral approving and disapproving faculty."[800] According to Butler, conscience or the principle of reflection, as he employs both term as synonyms, works properly when sustained by the inferior appetites and affections, which if well regulated are not obnoxious.

The other, fundamental principle that intervenes in spurring man to action is self-love. Butler defines self-love as "an affection to ourselves; a regard to our own interest, happiness and private good,"[801] and he distinguishes it from the passions, as self-love is reflected on an internal object of desire, man's happiness, whereas passions are always moved by external objects. Butler's distinction is similar to the one proposed by Barrow in Sermons 51 and 52, where he draws a separation between "ordinate" and "inordinate" self-love. What Butler is trying to do can

[797] Scholtz, *Anglicanism in the Age of Johnson*, p. 203. The type of self-gratification that Scholtz alludes to can be compared to Crane's self-approving joy. Cf. Crane, *Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"*, pp. 227-30.
[798] Cf. Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, vol. 2, pp. 215-226.
[799] Ibid, p. 218.
[800] Ibid, 219.
[801] Ibid, p. 221.

eventually be compared to what Tillotson aimed at, that is to contrast egoistic positions who reduced self-love to the primary cause of the turbulence of the passions and to restore man's position as God's creature. To Butler, self-love and interest coexist and are complementary, and he asserts, as Tillotson does, the absurdity of disregarding this guiding principle:

> It is manifest that, in the common Course of Life, there is seldom any Inconsistency between our Duty and what is *called* Interest: It is much seldomer that there is an Inconsistency between Duty and what is really our present Interest; meaning by Interest, Happiness and Satisfaction. Self-love then, though confined to the Interest of the present World, does in general perfectly coincide with Virtue, and leads us to one and the same Course of Life. [...] It is a manifest Absurdity to suppose Evil prevailing finally over Good, under the Conduct and Administration of a perfect Mind.[802]

However, both Tillotson and Butler believe that there is a continuous conflict between what man perceives to be conducive to his own happiness, and what his conscience advises him to do. In the sermon *Upon Self-Deceit*, Butler expands on the problem of self-partiality, and his position resembles the one proposed by Barrow in Sermon 52, in which forms of "inordinate" self-love are presented[803]. In order to fight against this prejudice, Butler advises his audience to retire into themselves and judge their actions attentively, trying to acquire a certain knowledge of their sinful inclinations and comparing their actions to what they would have other people do to them[804]. Can man therefore reconcile his duty with his interest and happiness? The answer on both sides seems to be positive, even if Butler's conclusion of the sermon is quite discomforting:

> Either there is a Difference between Right and Wrong, or there is not: Religion is true, or it is not. If it be not, there is no Reason for any Concern about it: But if it be true, it requires real Fairness of Mind and Honesty of Heart. And if People will be wicked, they had better of the two be so form the common vitious Passions without such Refinements, than from this deep and calm Source of Delusion; which undermines the whole Principle fo Good;

[802] Joseph Butler, *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* by Joseph Butler, L. L. B. Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Stanhope in the Bishoprick of Durham. LONDON: Printed by W. Botham, for JAMES and JOHN KNAPTON, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1726; p. 54.
[803] Cf. Chapter Four.
[804] Ibid, pp. 195-99.

> darkens that Light, that Candle of the Lord within, which is to direct our Steps; and corrupts Conscience, which is the Guide of Life.[805]

Butler's writings therefore testify the triumph of the "mild scepticism"[806] that seems to suit Tillotson's *via media* between two extremes, Augustinian complete degeneracy and man's innate goodness. The merit of Tillotson was to provide his audience with a realistic possibility of working for their own salvation, while at the same time acknowledging their weakness and frailty in defining the right means to gain happiness.

[805] Ibid, p. 200.
[806] Griffin, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England*, p.60.

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Dottorato: DOTTORATO IN LINGUE, CULTURE E SOCIETA' MODERNE.

INDIRIZZO FILOLOGIA MODERNA

Ciclo: XXV CICLO

Titolo della tesi[1] : ASSESSING HUMAN HAPPINESS IN JOHN TILLOTSON'S *SERMONS*

Abstract: This thesis is an analysis of the theme of human happiness in the *Sermons* written by Archbishop John Tillotson (1630-1694). Tillotson is today considered as one of the most important and influential members of the Latitudinarian group, a movement which generated inside the Church of England after the Restoration in 1660s and was renowned for the style of the sermons and the accent posed on morality and practical issues rather than theological matters. Part One is dedicated to the Latitudinarian movement, with a brief description of the historical background, of the theology it promoted and of the sermon style it encouraged. There is also a section dedicated to Tillotson's life and style. Part Two and Three instead are devoted to the theme of happiness which is analysed in its connection to the single individual and to society. In Part Two the accent is posed on the possibility of educating men to goodness and happiness, teaching them how to use their reason and conscience in a profitable way. There is also an investigation of the ways in which Tillotson tried to encourage his audiences, focusing attention on the advantages that they might derive from doing good and living a morally upright life. This analysis leads the discussion to the use of self-love as an incitement to promote morality and reformation of manners. Part Three is centred on the relationship of happiness and society, and the accent is posed on the necessity of encouraging people to be charitable and to improve society by caring for the poor. The means used to spur men to action are advantages and interest. In talking about the necessity of charitable actions, Tillotson also questions the role played by providence in men's lives and in the government of the state.

Abstract: La candidata propone l'analisi del tema della felicità nei *Sermoni* scritti da John Tillotson (1630-1694), il quale fu eletto Arcivescovo di Canterbury nel 1691 e fu il maggiore esponente del movimento dei Latitudinari. Costoro erano un gruppo di religiosi noti per la loro sobrietà nella scrittura e per l'accento posto su questioni morali nei loro scritti. Nel primo capitolo, di carattere introduttivo, viene spiegato brevemente il ruolo dei Latitudinari, la loro dottrina e la struttura dei loro sermoni. Segue poi una parte dedicata alla vita e al pensiero di Tillotson. Nel secondo, terzo e quarto capitolo la candidata affronta il tema della felicità dal punto di vista del singolo, sondando la sua interazione con tematiche quali l'educazione della persona, la conoscenza di sé e l'uso della ragione, l'amor proprio e i vantaggi che una vita moralmente retta può portare. Il quinto capitolo invece è dedicato alla visione del tema della felicità collettiva, con riferimento alle pratiche caritatevoli in voga in Inghilterra alla fine del 1600 e al rapporto del singolo e della collettività con la provvidenza divina.

Firma dello studente_____

[1] Il titolo deve essere quello definitivo, uguale a quello che risulta stampato sulla copertina dell'elaborato consegnato.