

CASES OF CONSCIENCE: Alternatives open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I, by Elliot Rose, *Cambridge University Press*, 1975. viii plus 275 pp. £7.

Mr Rose tells us that his sympathies 'lie mainly with "church papists", that is to say with those Catholics at heart who grumbled but conformed', rather than with the enthusiasts or martyrs on either wing (p. 4). In fact his treatment of recusants is both much more sympathetic and much better informed than his treatment of Puritans. To say, for instance, that the reputation of Richard Baxter as a casuist 'remained largely a matter of oral transmission' (p. 185) betrays a quite remarkable lack of acquaintance with the relevant literature. In his bibliography Mr Rose cites six unpublished theses; five are about Roman Catholic recusants, and the only one dealing with Puritans is by a pupil of Mr Rose's. His book list betrays a similar slant.

In Part I, which deals with the recusant community, Roman Catholic casuistry and equivocation, Mr Rose has some interesting things to say. His particular angle leads him to emphasise especially cases of conscience which deal with the problem of civic obedience, of the individual's relationship to the state. He points out that Anglican casuistry developed only after the English Revolution: 'the most solid work of Anglican "case-divinity" ever to be written—Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, published in 1660—was written when Anglicanism was proscribed and, at least in theory, subject to persecution. In times of adversity real thought had to be given to the moral issues which had seemed crystal-clear in the days of prosperity' (p. 93). But Elizabethan and Jacobean casuists who were Puritans were unwilling to admit that they had a problem of obedience. Their problem, as they saw

it, was to persuade the magistrate to live up to his (or her) protestant convictions, not to adjust to living under a magistrate committed to a different religion. So it was not only a good tactic—though it was that too—to pretend that the problem of political obedience did not exist.

Mr Rose assumes throughout that Puritanism is an exclusively clerical phenomenon. He seems unacquainted with recent work which shows that in many parishes the pace was set by the congregation, with the parson following. There is, astonishingly, no mention of Patrick Collinson's seminal work. A footnote shows that Mr Rose has read Dr Richardson's more recent *Puritanism in north-west England*, but its argument has not affected his text (pp. 213, 232-3). This defect vitiates the whole of his last section, 'Conclusions and Comparisons'. It is an interesting reflection that 'the Catholic resistance should be largely a resistance of lay people', but it is quite wrong to contrast Puritanism as 'hardly at all a movement of lay people' (p. 233).

On a self-regarding note, I was surprised to read that the term 'the Puritan Revolution' 'has been favoured and the importance of religion strongly reaffirmed by, esp., Christopher Hill' (p. 177). How mistaken one can be about oneself! I thought I had devoted 35 years of my life and far too many books to trying to show the inadequacy of the phrase 'the Puritan Revolution'. And my reaffirmation of the importance of religion has been in a sociological context which I suspect Mr Rose would find unacceptable.

CHRISTOPHER HILL

PALEY, Evidences for the Man, by M. L. Clarke. *SPCK*, 1974. 161 pp. £2.95.

William Paley was once the most popular of Anglican apologists, but he has not been much in the news lately, and it is pleasant to read Professor Clarke's charming tribute to this 'engaging personality'.

There is some relish in remarking that Paley in his days as a young Fellow of Christ's was talking what would have been considered treason in the

days of reaction after the Revolution, and getting mixed up in a pamphlet war about subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1774, publishing anonymously a defence of relief by 'a Friend of Religious Liberty', for his more middle-aged approach to all business was to avoid what he termed 'immoderate bustle'. He ordinarily liked to take things as quietly as may

be, saying of his marrying again as a widower with eight children that 'experience and reflection had convinced him that his happiness and that of his family would be greatly promoted by a union with a sensible and discerning woman', of the French that 'they have a right to come and we have a right to knock 'em on the head', and of his refusal to sign the 1771 petition against subscription that 'I cannot afford to keep a conscience'.

Professor Clarke tells us how his moderation prospered. Though George III refused to make 'Pigeon Paley' a bishop, the *Evidences of Christianity* brought him offers of the prebend of St Pancras from Porteus of London, the subdeanery of the cathedral from Pretymann of Lincoln, and the rectory of Bishop Wearmouth from Shute Barrington of Durham. 'I really think, Betty', he wrote to his sister, 'the bishops are bewitched'. He took all three and retained the archdeaconry of Carlisle.

To all these congregations, like Sherlock, Clarke and Hoadly, he preached plain. He preached a doctrine of obedience to order. In what he thought 'a distracted and eventful period' he offered men a cosmogony heavily dependent upon the old analogy of the watch, an immortality promised by successive states of flies and caterpillars, and a married life in which while love is 'neither general nor durable' most could appreciate 'that they must make the best of their bargain'. He preached a doctrine of quiet happiness. Of 'How happy those shrimps are', of eating well enough to establish 'a decent and dignified but by no means excessive protuberance of the belly', of *Reasons for Contentment addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*, of money as 'the sweetener of human toil', of Popery being allowed to live freely in a Protestant land until it should 'imbibe a portion of its spirit and moderation', of whist, and, above all, of fishing. To the want of such domestic contentments he imputed 'the peevishness of monks'. Obedience and Happiness added up to Virtue.

In his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* he offered a definition which had the distinction of shocking Leslie Stephen. Virtue was set down as 'the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness'. This the great critic thought, though it be announced 'as calmly as if he were

giving Euclid's definition of parallel straight lines', mere selfishness. Paley thought it ordinary sense. Christian sense.

Professor Clarke is plainly not much interested in relating such notions of order, happiness, and virtue to Paley's theological work. But the Archdeacon was a very influential gentleman. Men took what he suggested to be authorised by scripture.

In 1800 the French Revolution was thought by respectable English folk to be in great part the result of irreligious opinions being given the freedom of French society, and such men felt the need for a safe answer to every disturbing question. To such a mood Paley's work was the required complement. He gave his readers the assurance that all was ordered and well with their sensible christian faith. They read and re-read him. Paley's *Evidences*, first published in 1794, had achieved twenty-nine editions by 1830, ten of them between 1812 and 1816. His *Natural Theology* of 1802 had reached twenty-five editions by 1830, including one 'adapted for youth'. They accepted his authority. When Romilly brought forward proposals for legal reform in 1810 the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice responded with little more than a summary of Paley's view that 'the proper end of human punishment is not the satisfaction of justice but the prevention of crimes', sheep stealing, for example, being properly a capital offence 'because the property being more exposed requires the terror of capital punishment to protect it'.

Professor Clarke says little of this influence and little of Paley's scriptural work. Jowett, to whom most surprisingly Professor Clarke likens Paley as a great tutor, would certainly have thought it very odd to suggest that it is 'sufficient to say that *Horae Paulinae* is an elegant piece of New Testament criticism and one which was original in its design and execution'. Jowett knew the book 'has been, and always will be, to our own countrymen one of the greatest bulwarks of historical Christianity'. He thought it dangerous. He mounted an attack which made most of his contemporaries think him wicked. His friends worried but at his bringing out the second edition of his commentary on *Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans* in 1859, he explained to Stanley: 'I fear I cannot withdraw the Paley, because, however disagreeable, it is perfectly true, and it would be thought that I retracted if I did.'

Notwithstanding the counsels of Johnson and Temple, it seems to me that any cowardice would be very injurious to me'. Paley's importance is well judged by Jowett's estimate.

If Professor Clarke does little to explain Paley's theological and social influence he does a deal to fulfil his offer of 'evidence for the man'. He seems not to have used the biographical article in *Public Characters* of 1802, or those of Aikin, 1808, and Lynam, 1823, perhaps because Paley's biographer son dismissed them. but he has checked behind those authors he does employ. establishing, for example,

1785 as the date of his giving up the living of Appleby, against the 1782 of Meadley or the 1780 of Edmund Paley. He is not always quite accurate about peripheral matters. The Whitehall preacherships were instituted in March 1723 by Bishop Gibson rather than in 1724. And his proof-reader sometimes lets him down. Jebbs on p. 25 should be John Jebb of Peterhouse. But such things do not mar this elegant account of a man who, on asking an undergraduate for an example of a 'simple idea', was not a whit startled by the suggestion of 'the Vice-Chancellor'.

HAMISH F. G. SWANSTON

YOU HE MADE ALIVE, by Peter Hocken. *Darton, Longman & Todd*, London. 1974. 126 pp. £1.

This is an extremely good book on prayer, challenging and helpful. In spite of the publishers' determination to make it 'topical' by presenting it as being specially about prayer groups with pneumatic leanings, it is, as the author claims, a 'total Christian view of prayer', integrating prayer, in all its forms, into a whole view of life, transformed and renewed in Christ. There are many valuable insights, and it would, I think, be a very hardened reader of spiritual books who managed to emerge from this one unscathed and uninspired. To cite just two instances: the author is particularly good, it seems to me, on the importance of a true Trinitarian understanding if one's prayer life is to be whole and balanced. And I think Fr Hocken brings out

well the important distinction between seeking prayer and seeking God: it is the latter that makes for genuine prayer. The chapter on discernment of spirits is helpful, though maybe the author is a little too sanguine about the immediate applicability of what he calls the criterion of 'focus' (i.e. What are we seeking? Which is the direction we are facing?). Perhaps Cassian's distinction between *scopos* and *telos* is useful here: surely we can sometimes be aiming at the wrong thing, facing the wrong way, while still ultimately being drawn towards the right end? That is to say, discernment of focus may not always be a simple matter. But the author's insistence that discernment is not just a matter of learning to recognise evil spirits is most welcome.

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