

## Wars of Christians against Christians

### *Herbert of Cherbury's Theological Antidote to Religious Warfare*

Father Seguerend, [confessor to the King of France], made a sermon before his Majesty upon the text, "that we should forgive our enemies" (Matthew, 5:43–44). Having said many good things, he at last said, "We were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God, such as were heretics, and particularly those of the [Protestant] religion; and that his Majesty, as the most Christian King, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found."<sup>1</sup>

LIKE RAMON LULL, LORD HERBERT WAS NEITHER A MEMBER OF THE clergy nor was he, by training or career, a professional theologian. In his profession, he served the first two Stuart kings of England as a diplomat and military advisor.<sup>2</sup> He had fought in the Netherlands as a volunteer in the forces of the Prince of Orange (1608 and again in 1614). While

1. Herbert, *Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, 244–45. Hereafter cited as *Life*. In contrast with the title of this book, Lord Herbert did not conceive of this partial memoir as a genuine autobiography; it ends in 1624 with the termination of his service as English ambassador to France though he lived for another twenty-four years. His text repeatedly states the purpose of this partial memoir as an informal means for passing on advice and wisdom for the next generation: "I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity" (*Life*, 57). Sidney Lee provided "a continuation of the Life" after the end of Lord Herbert's memoir. Any citation after page 250 refers to Lee's "continuation"; all citations before that refer to Herbert's own writing.

2. Lord Herbert was an ambassador to France (1618–1624), a military advisor who drafted a plan for the reorganization of the army (1626), a member of the King's Council of War (1632), and a military historian who wrote an account of a failed English naval blockade (*The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé*). At the King's request, he also authored a paper supporting the role of the king in the life of the church ("On the King's Supremacy in the Church" in Hutcheson, *De religione laici*. Appendix B, 183–86).

in France he attempted to recruit an army of 4,000 Protestants for the Duke of Savoy.<sup>3</sup> Lord Herbert was a Renaissance man whose writings encompassed a variety of genres—poetry, autobiography, history, philosophy, theology, and the study of religions.<sup>4</sup> Although an amateur in all these fields, he was an original and proficient practitioner in many of them. My exploration of his legacy for Christian theology will draw upon a wide range of his writings.

Lord Herbert is seldom presented as a Christian theologian. In many studies, he is identified as the father of deism, the belief that an impersonal God created the world and then left it to run according to its own laws.<sup>5</sup> This absent landlord of the cosmos was not available for interaction with humans nor was he a likely object of religious devotion. Lord Herbert did not know God as impersonal and unavailable. Others claim that Lord Herbert is the founder of Natural Religion, which taught that a new religion of reason had superseded all particular religions. On the contrary, Lord Herbert was preoccupied with the question of determining the truth of the multiple religions of the world; he did not presume their obsolescence.

3. For his military service in the Netherlands, see *Life*, 142–50. For his unsuccessful venture in France, see *Life* 161–69.

4. Citations for his poetry refer to *Poems English and Latin*, edited by Smith. Hereafter cited as *Poems*. His historical writing discussed in this chapter is *The History of England under Henry VIII*. Hereafter cited as *Henry VIII*. His major philosophical work is *De veritate*, first published in 1624. Citations to the 1645 Latin edition refer to a facsimile reprint by Gawlick. Hereafter cited as *DV-L*. Citations for its English translation are from the Carré translation. Hereafter cited as *DV*. Herbert's theological reflections are interspersed in all of his writings, but his most focused discussion of Christian theology appears in two different texts with similar titles: *De religione laici*, edited by Hutcheson and "Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Religio Laici*" edited by Wright in the *Modern Language Review*. The latter text was written in English, not Latin and addresses issues of faith in the personal style of Herbert's *Life*. Hence, I refer to it as "A Layman's Faith." Lord Herbert's survey of beliefs and practices of non-biblical religions, *De religione gentilium* was first published in Amsterdam, 1663. Page citations for the Latin text refer to the facsimile edition, hereafter cited as *DRG-L*. The English translation, *The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles and Causes of Their Errors*, was published in London, 1705 and is hereafter cited as *DRG*. Lord Herbert may have written *A Dialogue between a Tutor and his Pupil* or it may be the product of one of his early disciples. Herbert scholars are divided on this issue. Within the limits of this chapter, I have chosen to ignore this scholarly debate and the text. It does not add that much to the literature of unambiguous authorship.

5. For claims concerning Lord Herbert's Deism, see Hill, *Edward, Lord Herbert*, 22–28, 94.

The attribution of deism and Natural Religion to Lord Herbert needs to be rejected as post-Enlightenment projections onto an earlier Elizabethan era. Lord Herbert's faith was formed in the Elizabethan Church. His mature theology developed in response to intra-Christian theological disputes and religious wars of the early seventeenth century. His own thought can be correctly understood only when his writings are read in his own historical context. If Lord Herbert were the father of deism and the founder of Natural Religion, he would have had to live during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> During this time, some of his disciples did indeed convert selections from his writings into basic texts of deism and Natural Religion. Lord Herbert should not be identified with these later writings by his followers.

In order to correct this confusion, I have devoted a considerable portion of this chapter to a discussion of the different Christian contexts that shaped Lord Herbert's faith and theology. The first is the Elizabethan Church of the late sixteenth century, especially its 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* and the household worship habits of young Herbert's mother, in whose home he lived for most of the first twenty-six years of his life. His mature theological writings disclose a direct continuity with the *Book of Common Prayer*, especially its service of *Morning Prayer*. In his late fifties, Lord Herbert described this early stage in the formation of his faith as follows:

I bent myself chiefly to the Christian faith contained in the Holy Bible as having in it more exact precepts for teaching a good life and repentance than any other book whatsoever that I could meet with. Besides, I found myself through God's providence born in that Church and instructed even from my infancy in the holy doctrine drawn from thence.<sup>7</sup>

A second church context was quite different from the relatively stable and peaceful Elizabethan Church. Intra-Christian theological disputes and the wars they spawned were the dominant characteristics of this second Christian context. Lord Herbert was an early participant in the Arminian/Calvinist theological disputes in the Church of England;

6. For evidence and arguments correcting the claim that Lord Herbert was the father of Deism, see Pailin, "Herbert of Cherbury and the Deists." For evidence and arguments correcting the claim that Lord Herbert was the founder of Natural Religion, see R. Johnson, "Natural Religion."

7. *A Layman's Faith*, 296.

indeed, he formulated the major themes of his mature theology in the anti-Calvinist cause. Later, during his service as the English ambassador to France, he attempted to win political and military support for the position of King James' son in law, Frederick V, then the recently installed ruler of Bohemia. Herbert was not successful in his efforts and Frederick's kingship of Bohemia became one of the first political casualties of the Thirty Years' War. During this same period of time he attempted, without success, to restrain militant French Catholics who were once again engaged in war with French Protestants.

In his later years, he recounted his disappointment in the Church of England as its theological disputes undermined his faith. As a result, he abandoned any particular church as a foundation for faith, and instead "grounded his faith on those points piously assented unto by all Christians."

I observed many things taught in the said Church which were vehemently opposed by other Christian Churches . . . For my final resolution . . . of these controversies . . . I thought the best grounds for my faith were to be taken from those points which were piously assented unto by all Christians. And to lay aside the disputes and controversies of learned men until they were agreed among themselves and in the meantime to attend a good life and repentance.<sup>8</sup>

Near the end of his life he endured the military siege of his ancestral castle, a period of imprisonment in the Tower of London, and the threatened confiscation of his library as consequences of the English Civil War, fueled in good part by the passions of conflicting Christian partisans. From his personal immersion in Christian worship and his later role in theological disputes and wars, Lord Herbert knew both the resources of Christian faith and the destructive political consequences of doctrinal conflicts in a state-supported religion.

In between the relative stability of the Elizabethan Church and the divisive Calvinist/Arminian conflict was the interlude of Herbert's visit in France. In France young Herbert, the naïve believer, first discovered reasons for suspicion of the clergy in their political role as agents of the state. During his long-term residence in France with a close ally of the French King, Henri IV, Herbert first came to know political policies that fostered peace among Christians.

8. *Ibid.*

Lord Herbert's most important theological contribution can be summarized in this way.<sup>9</sup> He was a political theologian who sought to separate God's authority from the authority of government. In his view, the clergy were not reliable supporters of political peace. Too often, they pursued the economic and political interests of their constituency or themselves. Their unwillingness to compromise on doctrinal differences made armed conflict too frequently the only means of resolving disputes. He wanted to de-politicize the role of religious communities for the sake of peace. His critique of exclusivist forms of Christian theology (both Calvinist and Catholic) then dominant in Europe was consistent with his political theology. He regarded such theologies as alien to Christ's message and a means to enhance the power of one religion over against another.

Herbert thus denied the claims of any religion to having a monopoly on God's grace. For him God also used non-biblical religions as a means of grace. He accordingly devoted the last years of his life to a quasi-empirical study of world religions. Such a position, I suspect, would make Herbert into a secularist or relativist in the eyes of some Christians today. He was neither. Unlike the secularist, he insisted upon the universal role of religion in human life. For him humanity's engagement with God was not an option, but a practical necessity. The failures of our moral life and our hopes for a fulfillment beyond our finitude required our active engagement with God. In addition Lord Herbert also perceived the necessity of religion to serve as a check upon the excessive claims of reason, just as reason served to restrain the excesses of religious passion. Such a vision of humanity, its limits and possibilities, hardly fits the narrow mold of a secularist.

He was also not a relativist who gave equal value to all religions. God's identity was made known to him in the stories, psalms, hymns, and prayers of Christian worship. For him, God is consistently the One who promises a joyous fulfillment beyond the best satisfactions of the present world. God is the One who renews the human spirit in times of tribulation, who forgives mistakes made and wrongs done, and who gives the penitent a second chance. Such a God is not a synthetic com-

9. In 1629, Edward Herbert was given the title "Lord Herbert of Cherbury." Since almost all of his essays and books were written after this date, he is still identified by this title. In this chapter, I will also refer to him as Lord Herbert, while calling attention to the many years of his life that preceded his assumption of this title.

posite of bits and pieces from all religions; it is the God made known in the ministry of Jesus and the worship life of the Christian Church. Without labeling this God as Christian, Lord Herbert simply extended this vision of God's reign into many of the world's religions, but it is the same God who became engraved upon his heart through his experience of Christian worship.

## The Elizabethan Church of England: Young Herbert's Formation in Christian Faith

Born in 1582 or 83, about halfway through the forty-five year reign of Elizabeth I, young Herbert grew up during a relatively stable period of the English Reformation. The previous generation had endured a series of extreme changes in England's state religion: from Roman Catholic to a national Catholic Church under Henry VIII (1534–1547), from the Henrician English Catholic Church to the Calvinist Church of Edward VI (1547–1553), and then back to the Roman Catholic Church under Mary (1553–1558). Those who did not follow the changing religious preference of their different rulers faced the prospects of imprisonment, execution, or both. It was not a happy time or place for Christians from any of these three traditions: Roman Catholic, Church of England Catholic, or Church of England Calvinist.

With the crowning of Elizabeth in 1558, however, England adopted a new strategy for building religious consensus. Within the Church of England a policy of patient persuasion replaced the older efforts of religious coercion. A combination of moderate Calvinists and English Catholics created a stable Protestant Church governed by bishops, worshipping according to biblically shaped liturgies, and informed by a theology that was mostly Calvinist. The 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* provided the primary means for the formation of a common faith among the English people. The young Herbert was one of the many Elizabethan Englishmen whose faith was formed by frequent worship from this source.<sup>10</sup> Those who excluded themselves from the Church of

10. "By the middle of Elizabeth's reign prayer book worship had become natural and right to many because it was the habit of the communities in which they were raised. By the 1580's the patterns of worship enforced by law in 1559 had penetrated to the grass roots" (Jones, *English Reformation*, 109). Lord Herbert's experience of prayer book worship as habitual and natural was therefore typical of his generation; only his transformation of this experience into a universal obligation and practice of humanity is unusual.

England—Roman Catholic recusants, Separatists, and Puritans—were increasingly tolerated by local practice, if not by law.<sup>11</sup> Herbert thus grew up in a church in which faith was shaped more by worship than by doctrine. Like others prominent in the Elizabethan Church, he regarded the bonds of unity between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England to be far stronger than any differences between them.<sup>12</sup> The larger society in which he lived was marked by a cluster of conflicting forms of Christianity. As a result, believers from different traditions who belonged to the same family, neighborhood, guild, or craft had to make repeated compromises and adjustments in their religious life.<sup>13</sup> An early form of religious diversity was thus a social condition indigenous to his society.

Three sorts of information flow together in my discussion of young Herbert's religious development: first, biographical information about his mother, Magdalen Herbert, especially her long relationship with her eldest son, Edward and the frequency of worship in her household; second, texts from the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, especially the service of *Morning Prayer* used in daily worship by members of Magdalen's household; and third, texts from Lord Herbert's mature writings, including his history of Henry VIII and his signature theological statement, the *Common Notions of Religion*, as developed in "A Layman's Faith."<sup>14</sup> The continuity between the worship experience of young Herbert and the mature theology of Lord Herbert become most apparent by juxtaposing these two disparate segments of his life with each other.

11. "James I observed that the law [prohibiting the practice of an illegal religion] would be better enforced if the [Catholic] recusants were not kin or friends of the judges" (Ibid., 142).

12. "I [Lord Herbert] conceived the points agreed upon on both sides [Roman Catholic and the Church of England] are greater bonds of amity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on could break them" (*Life*, 154–55). John Donne, who had himself been raised as a Roman Catholic, expressed this same ecumenical view of blurred doctrinal differences:

Rome, Wittenberg, or Geneva are all virtual beams of one Sun . . . They are not so contrary as the North and South Poles; and that [?] they are connatural pieces of one circle. (Donne, *Letters*, 25–26)

13. For examples of Roman Catholic and Puritan families in Elizabethan England negotiating their religious differences, see Jones, *English Reformation*, 50–53; for the effects of religious diversity on guilds, see *ibid.*, 110ff.

14. Lord Herbert wrote *Henry VIII* between 1634 and 1639 and "A Layman's Faith" between 1639 and 1645.



### *Worship Habits of Magdalen Herbert's Household*

As a product of Elizabethan England, Herbert's faith was formed and nourished by the Church of England, the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, and by a mother, Magdalen, who was as devoted to him as she was committed to the faith of that Church. Lord Herbert's father had died when he was only fifteen years old, shortly after he had begun his studies at Oxford.<sup>15</sup> As a result, his mother assumed the dominant role in shaping his faith and mind. Contemporary accounts of Magdalen emphasize two salient characteristics: 1) her devotion to her eldest son, Edward, and her unusually long and close relationship with him<sup>16</sup>; and 2) her devotion to God as known and worshiped in the faith and practice of the Church of England.

When Herbert was fifteen years old, Magdalen arranged for his marriage to a distant cousin, Mary Herbert. This marriage was intended to relieve the financial strains of Magdalen's husbandless family of ten children, and also to provide young Herbert with "a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined."<sup>17</sup> When young Herbert returned to Oxford with his new wife, Magdalen took a second—and even more important—step. That step was to move her household of the remaining children plus servants from the family castle in Montgomeryshire to Oxford to create a home for him.<sup>18</sup> Izaak Walton (1593–1683), English biographer and friend of John Donne, has left an account of this mother's influential relationship with her son during his teen years at Oxford.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education . . . did remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and her younger sons [and daughters] to Oxford; and . . . she continued there with him . . . for she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we

15. Herbert was only fourteen when he entered Oxford. Even in 1596, fourteen was a young age for matriculation in Oxford. Herbert's fellow matriculants were all sixteen, except for the only other fourteen year old, a brother of one of the sixteen year olds.

16. As late as 1617, when Edward was thirty-five and Magdalen had been remarried for almost a decade, she still addressed him as her "best-beloved son" (cited in Charles, *Life of George Herbert*, 60).

17. *Life*, 42.

18. "Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house and lived there for some certain time" (*ibid.*)



feed; so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company,” and would therefore as often say,” That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin and keep it burning.” For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford.<sup>19</sup>

From a reading of Lord Herbert’s advice to his posterity, it appears that he agreed with Magdalen’s program for his moral development, especially her presence with him during his Oxford days. Besides his university tutors and the companionship of his wife and mother, Magdalen also extended Herbert’s education by attracting the company “of any of eminent worth or learning,” including John Donne, the poet and later Dean of St. Paul’s; both Magdalen and Herbert subsequently became life-long friends of Donne.<sup>20</sup> Later, Magdalen’s charm as a woman of wit and beauty enabled her to introduce Herbert to a growing circle of theological and literary figures in London. After young Herbert had completed his studies at Oxford, Magdalen moved her household of nine children, and sixteen servants, Herbert and his wife Mary, to London.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, young Herbert, his wife, and their several children lived virtually continuously in Magdalen’s household until 1608 when he was about twenty-six years old.<sup>22</sup>

19. Walton, *Lives*, 275.

20. In the words of Izaak Walton, during her residence in Oxford, Magdalen “gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that university; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there.” (Walton, *Lives*, 275). For the long friendship of Magdalen and John Donne, see Bald, *John Donne*, 184. For letters from Donne to Magdalen, see *Life*, Appendix III, 316–17.

21. “When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London where we took house [along with six brothers and three sisters]” (*Life*, 80).

22. When Herbert was twenty-one, he officially moved to the family castle where he accepted the post of Sheriff of Montgomeryshire. *Life*, 86. In fact, however, he continued to reside most of the time in London at his mother’s home. As Lee observes in a footnote, “From 1605 onwards, Lord Herbert’s name appears on the roll of Montgomeryshire magistrates, but there is no evidence to show that he spent much time in the country. *Life*, 87 n. 1. Or, as reported in another source, “From about 1606 onwards Edward Herbert began to mix in literary as well as social circles in London. When in town he still resided with his mother at her house near Charing Cross (Bald, *John Donne*, 187).

Herbert's long residence in his mother's household played a very important role in his theological formation. His mother ran her household as if it were a seminary specializing in the spiritual formation of future clergy.<sup>23</sup> Each weekday began with the "Order for Morning Prayer" from the *Book of Common Prayer*; each day ended with the "Order for Evening Prayer" from the same book, and its extensive use of psalms for singing.<sup>24</sup> Besides the family members and servants, many guests and visitors knew the worship schedule of Magdalen's household. One of these long-term visitors was John Donne, who fled the London plague of 1625 and lived for six weeks in Magdalen's home in Chelsea. In his funeral sermon for Magdalen, Donne noted how she would come

to this place, God's house of prayer, daily, not only every Sabbath, but even on those weekdays as often as these doors were opened. She ever hastened her family and her company hither with that cheerful provocation, "For God's sake let's go; let's be there at the Confession."<sup>25</sup> With her whole family, [she then ended] the day with a cheerful singing of psalms.<sup>26</sup>

Through these rituals Herbert learned the habit of giving thanks and praising God, or in the language of Thomas Aquinas, he cultivated the virtue of *religio*. Like Thomas, Herbert understood the practice of worship—giving God the honor, praise, and thanks that are his due—to be an obligation for all humanity. In his mature theology Lord Herbert identified the obligation for such worship of God as something "engraved upon the heart." Indeed, after spending his youth and young adulthood in the religious discipline of his mother's household, it would be surprising if he did not find such a practice "engraved upon his heart." For him it seemed self-evident that all humanity, not only those nurtured in his Christian tradition, shared such an innate disposition to worship God.

23. Edward's youngest brother, George Herbert, did in fact become a priest in the Church of England, though he remains best known for his poetry.

24. Subsequent references to these services and their source book will use the more familiar terminology: *Morning Prayer*, *Evening Prayer*, and *Prayer Book*.

25. "The Confession" to which Magdalen referred is "a General Confession . . . said by the whole congregation" soon after the priest reads a sentence from the Scriptures and exhorts the congregation to "confess our manifold sins" at the beginning of the service. *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559). Hereafter cited as *BCP*. All references are to the 1559 edition only.

26. Donne, "Sermon of Commemoration," 188.

Worship, however, was only one aspect of religion in Magdalen's household; the regular sharing of her goods with those in need was as much a part of the day's rituals as was the worship of God. Here also John Donne provides examples of her actions. In his eulogy he described Magdalen's evening ritual of almsgiving, as he had observed it in his long acquaintance with her.

In which office [as God's steward, Magdalen] gave not at some great days or some solemn goings abroad, but as God's true almoners, the sun and moon, that pass on in a continual doing of good, as she received her daily bread from God, so daily she distributed and imparted it to others. In which office, though she never turned her face from those who, in a strict inquisition, might be called idle and vagrant beggars, yet she ever looked first upon them who laboured, and whose labours could not overcome the difficulties, nor bring in the necessities of this life; and to the sweat of their brows she contributed even her wine, and her oil, and any thing that might be useful to others, if it were not prepared for her own table.<sup>27</sup>

Magdalen's combination of daily almsgiving and worship taught Herbert that there were two forms of expression essential to religion, not one. To be sure, piety demanded daily worship and prayers, but Christian piety also required a generous heart, shown in the sharing of self and goods with others. A daily life of virtue belonged to the practice of religion, a lesson Lord Herbert had learned also from his mother.

In an abbreviated version of Lord Herbert's "Common Notions of Religion," the first Common Notion states simply, "There is a Supreme God;" the second calls attention to humanity's obligation to worship this God, while the third expands this obligation to include "virtue with piety [as] the most important part of religious practice."<sup>28</sup> In light of

27. *Ibid.*, 192.

28. Lord Herbert first published his "Common Notions of Religion" in an appendix to the 1624 edition of *De veritate*. His formulation of these Common Notions varied considerably in his later writings. The version cited here and below appears in the 1645 edition of *De veritate*, Carré translation, 291–302.

The 5 Common Notions of 1645 read as follows:

1. There is a Supreme God.
2. This Sovereign Deity ought to be worshipped.
3. The connection of virtue with piety . . . is and always has been held to be, the most important part of religious practice.
4. The minds of men have always been filled with horror for their wickedness.

the practice of worship and charity in Magdalen's household, it is not difficult to surmise how a young man might have formed such ideas about religion.

From the period of Lord Herbert's residence in Magdalen's household, a brief note expressing his religious convictions has been discovered. Written in Herbert's own hand, it was dated by him, "1602."<sup>29</sup> In this note, he expressed his strong repudiation of two positions identified in the early seventeenth century as Stoic: "the Stoics tell more fabulous things than the poets, and would take away all happiness from men by their doctrine. They hold that there is nothing true or false in its own nature, but that as they are referred to our mind, and that things appear after one fashion to men that are sober, and another fashion to those that are drunken."<sup>30</sup> As a young man of twenty, Lord Herbert was already committed to an Augustinian theology of human destiny. Human beings are destined for a happiness that exceeds any pleasures this world can offer; the soul desires a happiness that is eternal. This is a theme central to all of his writings.

The Stoic's skepticism concerning the possibility of knowledge in general and, for Lord Herbert, knowledge of God and salvation, was the second claim he repudiated. In order that people may have the confidence concerning their ultimate future destiny to live a life of piety and virtue, they need to have reliable knowledge of God and God's way. They cannot be left in the confusion and strife created by the conflicting claims of clergy that became increasingly prominent in English church life. Lord Herbert understood his five Common Notions of Religion or "universal and catholic articles of religion" to provide the knowledge

---

Their vices and crimes have been obvious to them. They must be expiated by repentance.

5. There is reward and punishment after this life.

29. I am indebted to Julia Griffin for calling my attention to this early example of Lord Herbert's reflections in her Oxford PhD thesis, "Studies in the Literary Life of Lord Herbert," 22–23. The original copy of Herbert's written notes are now in the National Library of Wales, in an envelope taken from Parcel XXVI of the 1959 Powis Bequest.

30. Ibid. In 1569, Gentian Hervet published a popular edition of the works of Sextus Empiricus. Hervet was an anti-Calvinist who used the Pyrrhonian skepticism of Sextus as an antidote to the Calvinist search for knowledge of election (Jones, *English Reformation*, 190). The stoicism and skepticism, which young Herbert attributed to the Stoics, first came into England in Hervet's 1569 edition.

adequate for attaining the soul's desired destiny of eternal happiness with God.<sup>31</sup>

While evidence for young Herbert's own religious views is limited to the few examples cited above, there is a considerably larger body of texts for the religious views that he regularly absorbed as a participant in Christian worship. The services of *Morning Prayer*, which Magdalen's family attended regularly, were held at the nearby parish church. The children, servants, guests, and relatives of Magdalen's household were only part of a congregation gathered to begin the day with God in worship led by a local minister according to the rites of the Church of England. In her faith, Magdalen was formed by that combination of Scripture and church so distinctive in the Elizabethan Church. In the words of John Donne,

For as the rule of all her civil actions was religion, so the rule of her religion was the Scripture; and her rule for her particular understanding of the Scripture was the Church. She never diverted towards the Papist in undervaluing the Scripture, nor towards the Separatist in undervaluing the Church: but in the doctrine and discipline of that Church in which God sealed her to himself in baptism, she brought up her children, she assisted her family, she dedicated her soul to God in her life, and surrendered it to him in her death.<sup>32</sup>

While Lord Herbert expanded the scope of his theology far beyond the boundaries of the Church of England, the content of his church-less theology remained remarkably expressive of the faith he learned in the liturgical worship of his mother's church. Hence, in the next section I examine Lord Herbert's mature theology in light of the *1559 Prayer Book*, with a focus on repentance, the dynamic center of both *Morning Prayer* and Lord Herbert's theology.

31. The opposite side of this same piece of paper illustrates two Christian themes prominent in the preaching of the Elizabethan Church that Lord Herbert later ignored. "Our soul wanting therefore on earth the true looking glass wherein he [sic] may frame high beauty fit to be spouse of Christ, must turn his mind to that clear mirror of inaccessible light, wherein we must not use our own light to be the medium of our sight, but for [sic] then we shall bee dazzled at the light, like as one should behold an infinite dazzling light through a clear crystal, but wee must entreat that our most merciful Savior, with the hand of his mercy so to shadow that light as it may be so as our degenerate souls, may see to restore their deformed senses, to their true luster" (Griffin, "Studies in the Literary Life," 22–23).

32. Donne, "Sermon of Commemoration," 194.