warwick.ac.uk/lib-publications

Puritan Affective Culture: Emotional Identities and the Publications of Samuel Clarke (1599-1682)

by

Martyn R. J. Cutmore

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of Warwick
Department of History

February 2019

Table of Contents

List of tables, figures, and images

Acknowledgements

I am grateful and indebted to many people in general, and several in particular.

Firstly, I owe enormous thanks to my supervisor Professor Mark Knights who gave me the confidence to embark on this project and the reassurance to complete it. I have been very fortunate to have the guidance, support and advice of a major scholar and inspirational teacher. His patience and generosity with time, profound insight, deep knowledge and absolute professionalism, have motivated, encouraged and challenged (in a good way) the direction and scope of my work.

Within the History Department at the University of Warwick, I am grateful to Sheilagh Holmes for helping to organise the student-led Early Modern and Eighteenth Century working group, and to the stalwarts of that group, David Fletcher and Ruth Barbour. Our discussions certainly helped me to initiate ideas and develop the confidence to articulate my material. I want to thank Professor David Anderson who, as Director of Postgraduate Studies, helped me to find my feet as a mature student returning to study after many years; he provided friendly and professional support, especially during my medical crisis, shortly after I commenced, and as it developed. The History Department more generally has provided a collegiate learning and research environment. In particular, Emeritus Professor Bernard Capp has been an engaging interlocutor, and provided several pointers. The Early Modern and Eighteenth Century Seminar series and the annual postgraduate conference provided useful insights and opportunities. My thanks to the organisers and participants, and to my postgraduate colleagues for friendship and support.

I must acknowledge and thank Dr Denise Thomas who responded so quickly to my call on her expertise. Her PhD thesis on Thomas Hall of King's Norton and her insight provided me with very useful material.

I am also grateful for the help of librarians and archivists, particularly those at the Bodleian and the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The staff of the University of Warwick Library also deserve thanks for their assistance on several occasions.

Finally, but most importantly, I thank my wife, Rosemary. Quite simply, this project would not have been possible, or even imaginable, without her.

Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university. No part of this thesis has been published prior to the date of submission. Although the argument I am making is quite different, a brief reference to the history of Alcester in Warwickshire and Clarke's ministry there, contained in Chapter Two, is distilled from my unpublished master's dissertation, 'Puritanism at Alcester, 1592-1662' (University of Warwick, 1991).

Abstract

On Black Bartholomew's Day 1662, the Presbyterian Samuel Clarke was one of over two thousand ministers and teachers ejected from their positions by the Restoration government. From the outside, puritans in general, and Presbyterians in particular, were regarded as divisive and censorious. Their dissent was characterised as emanating from zealotry and unreasonable passion that placed them beyond the bounds of a moderate middle way. But for those who counted themselves as godly, intense emotional experience was the essence of rationality and an essential part of their piety.

Historians have debated the emotional impact of Calvinist theology and how feeling was central to religious experience. They have exhaustively scrutinised the place of puritanism more generally. However, the role of affect as articulated in public discourse, and the dynamics of emotion in shaping the interface between individual and collective identity has been neglected. Yet, feeling was a fundamental component of politico-religious identities that reflected cultural habituations and determined the nature of the interaction between those of different persuasions.

This thesis proposes that a concept of affective culture helps to locate Clarke's Presbyterianism within these multifarious identities as they developed in the mid-seventeenth century. It draws upon concepts and methodologies from the field of emotions history to explore the relationship between culture, published text and affect. In his published anthologies Samuel Clarke presented patterns of affect, mobilising a construction of unruly passions and rational affections to underpin his purpose of representing his confessional community as an orthodoxy at the centre of the English Church. This account begins with a macro view that establishes the place of Clarke's work in the affective context of mid-seventeenth-century politico-religious conflict. It goes on to develop an analysis of how Clarke fashioned a template of pious emotion, before considering how affective culture shaped personal and collective identities.

Note to reader

Clarke's works were abridgements and collections; he was seldom the original author. But it is in the creation of the anthologies, and in respect of the selection, edit and timings of the various publications that I attribute the work as Clarke's and consider the narratives to be in the Clarkeian style, not merely because they were published under his name.

Except in cases where confusion would otherwise arise, all quotations from contemporary manuscripts and printed works retain original punctuation, italicisation, capitalisation, and spelling. Where necessary, alterations and modern alternatives have been presented in [ ].

England did not officially adopt the Gregorian Calendar (New Style, 1582) until 1752 (Calendar Act 1750) on the grounds that it was 'Popish'. Under the Julian or Old Style calendar new year commenced on Lady Day, 25th March. This means that writers sometimes observed the custom of dual dating, giving two consecutive years where dates fell between 1st January and 25th March. In his diaries, Ralph Josselin gave dual dates, whereas Nehemiah Wallington, whilst using the Julian calendar, took January as the first month of the year.

Bible references are to the authorised King James version (1611).

Abbreviations

BL:	British Library.
Bod.:	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
EEBO-TCP:	Early English Books Texts Creation Partnership (Phase 1) (Ann Arbor, MI; Oxford, UK).
ESTC:	English Short Title Catalogue (British Library).
fol./fols:	folio/folios.
MS/MSS:	Manuscript/Manuscripts.
OED:	*Oxford English Dictionary*.
ODNB:	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
sig./sigs:	letters or figures at the foot of printed pages to indicate sequence for binding.
WCRO:	Warwickshire County Records Office.

Introduction

'If thou art a Dissenter from this established Church, but hast not lost that Christian Temper of Modesty, and Humility, read on, there is hope of thy recovery, that thou wilt not dye a Schismatick.'[1] For the conformist Robert Conold, writing in 1676, temperament went hand in glove with religious affiliation. He was appealing, somewhat disingenuously, to those nonconformists whose disposition, he felt, was closest to his own: 'If thou art a sound, and sober member of the Church of England, I know thy Temper cannot be Sullen, or Ill-natur'd.' But, he advised, 'if thou art one who hast given up thy Name, and thy Reason too to the Leader of a Conventicle; let me beseech thee to read no further: for this little Discourse will but provoke thy Passion.'[2] So, Conold claimed to speak for those of sober temperament, seeking to avoid inciting strong emotion. Despite his polemical purpose, it is evident that, for Conold, religious differences could be perceived and presented as emotional manifestations whose passions had the potential to evade reason. Indeed, John Hales, the Eton schoolmaster whose 1642 tract on schism provided the disputative focus of Conold's discourse, had asserted unequivocally that such feelings of 'pride, and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion'.[3]

Schism and its link with irrational religious intensity were established concerns, dating from the settlement of Elizabeth I, and it was puritans who were often associated with separatist gatherings or conventicles, and derided as zealous and

---

[1] Robert Conold, *The Notion of Schism...with reflections on that famous Tract of Schism, written by Mr. Hales* (London, 1676), 'To the Reader', sig. A4r. See commentary in Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford; New York, 2009), pp. 327-30.

[2] Conold, *The Notion of Schism*, sigs A3v-A4r.

[3] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon…in which is included a continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion, written by himself*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1857), vol.1, p. 50. (In *ONDB* Basil Greenslade quotes from an earlier three volume edition, 1827, vol. 1, p. 60). John Hales (1584-1656), scholar whose irenic outlook caused him to be accused of Socinianism. *A Tract Concerning Schisme and Schsmaticks* (London, 1642) adopted a liberal tone on toleration and schism and was widely criticised, not least by Conold. Basil Greenslade, 'John Hales (1584-1656)', *ODNB*. But John Coffey confirms that Hales 'is often misidentified as a firm tolerationist'. John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), p. 24.

obsessive beyond reason.[4] Such 'passion' was seen to be at the root of religious discords and, despite their dissimilar positions, both Robert Conold and John Hales appear to be acknowledging the existence of factions separated by feeling within the Protestant fold. At the same time the appearance of schism and sect was, according to the orthodox Presbyterian Thomas Hall, 'a daily vexation and heart-breaking' of itself.[5] In this context all parties laid claim to rational feeling, and objectified others as intemperate. Thus an understanding and interpretation of emotion in terms of the rationality or unruliness of passions was inevitably a matter of perspective. 'We are not of so fiery a temper', was William Hartley's response to the 'animosity' of Hall's Presbyterian attack on his Arminianism in *The Pulpit Guarded* (1651).[6] And beneath such claims to legitimate feeling, the experience of emotion conditioned and was conditioned by these respective religious and cultural identities.[7] These issues provide the theme of this dissertation.

This is a study about how the relationship between culture and affect helps to unravel some of the convolutions of seventeenth-century English puritanism. It argues that, because feeling formed part of the cultural construct of seventeenth-century religious identities, it is important to reconstruct this dimension of historical religious dissent, adding depth to historiographical perspectives of religious identities based on ideological, theological, ecclesiological, political and sociological factors. It seeks to investigate the extent to which a concept of emotional community can be applied

---

[4] The Elizabethan Religious Settlement as set down in two Acts of Parliament: The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, 1559.

[5] Thomas Hall (1610-1665), *The Pulpit Guarded with XX Arguments* (London, 1651), sig. ar.

[6] Hall, *Pulpit Guarded.* William Hartley, *The Prerogative Priest' Passing Bell. Or Amen to the Rigid Clergy* (London, 1651), pp. 1-7. For William Hartley's Arminianism and relationship with John Goodwin (c.1594-1665) see John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 228.

[7] As Kathleen Lynch says, '"Experience" raises its own definitional challenges'. Lyndal Roper refers to 'the suspect category of "experience"', raising questions about its social construction. Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford, 2012), p. 19. Lyndal Roper, *The Witch in Western Imagination* (Charlottesville, 2012), p. 90. Both of them cite Joan Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Enquiry* 17 (1991), pp. 773-97. Laura Downs argues reasonably that experience seems real to those experiencing it. Laura Downs, 'Reply to Joan Scott', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35:2 (1993), pp. 444-51, p. 448.

usefully to describe the categories of division which seemed so clear to Conold.[8] It aims to contribute to the field of emotions history by exploring the cultural ramifications of affect, thus developing a concept of affective culture.

Central to this is an investigation of the role of published text as an agent of affective culture: how did the affective language and narrative structure of religious-political publications express and shape emotion in religious culture, and puritan culture in particular? The specific focus is upon the orthodox version of Presbyterianism that Samuel Clarke (1599-1682) sought to represent as a political-religious via media in his many publications. Whether Conold might have regarded Clarke as potentially capable of a 'Christian temper' is not clear. Nonetheless, I aim to show how Clarke underpinned his particular purpose by deploying an affective vocabulary and narrative that also sought to stipulate the very terms of reference by which rationality, in these terms of passion and affections, was measured. In this context Clarke's work can be viewed as part of a culture of affect which marked and shaped collective and individual identities.

Emphasising the elusive quality of the subject, Patrick Collinson wrote that 'Historians of Puritanism sit in Plato's cave, describing not reality but those shadows of reality which are "characters" and stereotypes'.[9] And David Walker also stresses the broader complexities when he writes that 'Religion in seventeenth century England is famously a very difficult terrain to map.'[10] Underpinning this work is an assumption that by taking a look at the role of emotion in history it is possible to review the well-worked historical themes of seventeenth-century puritanism, casting light from fresh perspectives, and allowing new perceptions. According to John Corrigan, the 'returns for emotions history so far have been strongest when the context is delimited but the breadth and depth of tradition are recognized.'[11] With this in mind, this study develops around the work of a single Presbyterian divine and writer, Samuel Clarke, and the

---

[8] Barbara Rosenwein's concept of the 'emotional community' is central to this study and will be elaborated upon. See, for example B. H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling, A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge, 2016).

[9] Patrick Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (London; New York, 2006), p. 105.

[10] David Walker, 'Piety and the Politics of Anxiety on Nonconformist Writing of the Later Stuart Period', in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 144-65, p. 145.

[11] John Corrigan, 'Religion and Emotions', in S. J. Matt and P. N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana, 2014), pp. 143-62, p. 148.

affective culture to which he contributed. The body of Clarke's published output appeared between 1642 and 1683, a period which witnessed a fracturing of Reformed Protestant identity, the emergence of radical sects and the establishment of a Restoration Church defined in terms of a 'narrow Anglicanism'.[12] In these circumstances the application of a binary nomenclature of dissent and conformity did not represent the multifarious reality of religious identities, and highlighted particularly the discomfort of those Presbyterians like Clarke who found themselves outside the Church after 1662. Furthermore, the timing of Clarke's publishing career stands astride a period that has been considered to mark the beginning of a cultural shift towards civility, politeness, moderation and sincerity. Alexandra Walsham tells us that 'complex transformations in the sphere of sensibility' were accompanied by the 'rise of "rational religion" in Anglican circles', and a 'vigorous reaction against all forms of enthusiasm', including emotional display.[13] Certainly, contemporaries like Conold observed, and sought to highlight, the subjective and affective character of politico-religious identities and dissonances.

This study explores these questions, developing cross-disciplinary approaches from history, theology, literature, philosophy, psychology and anthropology to argue that an examination of the operation of a culture of affect, as typified and expressed in Clarke's texts, will provide insight into the character of a community centred upon religious belief at a time of great change.

---

[12] John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 26.

[13] See Alexandra Walsham, 'Deciphering Divine Wrath and Displaying Godly Sorrow: Providentialism and Emotion in Early Modern England', in J. Spinks and C. Zika (eds), *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700* (London, 2016), pp. 21-43, pp. 34-5. On rational religion and the reaction against enthusiasm, Walsham cites John Spurr, '"Rational Religion" in Restoration England,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), pp. 563–85, and Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable*: *The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1995). For 'politeness' see Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994). NB. Walsham also points out that historians are not as confident as they were about the rapidity of these changes. And, on civility, Brian Cowan reminds us how Titus Oates was brutally caned at the Amsterdam Coffeehouse and used his coffee dish to defend himself: 'an incident which was not uncommon in early modern coffeehouses'. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005), p. 260.

I - Puritanism and Emotions History – Orientation

Superficially, these two subjects represent contrasting historiographies. Puritanism is surely one of the most consistently crowded and disputed areas of historical discourse, whereas emotions history is a relatively inexperienced newcomer.[14] But, at the heart of the historiographies attached to both themes are complex epistemological issues and ideological debates which, at times, seem to converge. Peter Lake describes how an 'extrinsic' historical view of puritanism considered it in terms of a grand modernisation narrative linked to the supposed emergence of affective individualism and the modern 'self'.[15] Another 'intrinsic' view, that was more concerned with puritan belief and theology, also necessarily related these to the affective quality of religious experience. This was often understood in potentially anachronistic terms that relied upon the continuity of 'living traditions of thought and feeling'.[16] Notwithstanding, a recent volume (2016) edited by Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda argues compellingly that 'emotionalism was a vital component of Puritanism's religious life.'[17] Whilst eliding an extrinsic-intrinsic dichotomy, this thesis broadens the terms of this analysis by proposing that puritanism should be viewed in the context of affective culture. In this argument constructions and experiences of emotion help to rationalise the complexities of historical accounts of puritanism whilst emotions history is presented and conceptualised at its best when exemplified with reference to a particular historical culture. The discussion below contextualises this study's central concept of affective culture by offering an analysis of these themes of emotions history and puritanism before considering the historiographical debate over the nature of the emotionality of puritanism.

---

[14] New in these terms of 'emotions history', although historians have often considered mood, sentiment, affect and feeling as factors. Medick and Sabean, for example, considered how 'material interest' related to the history of sentiments, and considered the relationship between emotion, property and social structure. Hans Medick and David Sabean, *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, 1984).

[15] Peter Lake, 'The Historiography of Puritanism', in J. Coffey and P. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 347-8. Lake provides an enlightening and succinct account of the complex historiography on pp. 346-371. He explains that extrinsic histories 'used Puritanism to talk about something else'.

[16] Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 349.

[17] Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda, 'Introduction', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, pp. 1-12, p. 12.

a) The History of Emotion and Emotions History

The apparent tautology of this sub-heading aims to distinguish between the ways in which the experience of emotion has been conceptualised historically - the history of emotion - and the approaches of historians to the role of emotion as agency - emotions history. This section offers an introduction to these themes.

It is axiomatic that the ways in which people in the past understood their feelings and expressed emotion were affected by their understanding of what emotions actually were, and that these perceptions conditioned the experience. Despite the multifaceted nature of human emotion, this understanding has often been expressed in relatively simple binary terms. Writing many centuries ago, Aristotle listed some basic emotions (*pathe,* or the singular *pathos*) which he described in terms of positive and negative dimensions that cloud judgement.[18] Christian thought produced a similar duality. As Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis explain, Augustine used the Latin formulation of 'passio', connoting suffering; the passions 'lead us to sin, but they are also what made Christ human' and include 'not only the negative associations of *perturbationes,* but also the more sympathetic register of *affectiones.*'[19] 'Passio' provides the root for both 'passion' and 'passive,' and Reformed Protestants like Clarke, who were nevertheless heirs to this tradition in Christian philosophy, considered emotion in these terms of 'unruly passions' which are reactive and outside of reason, in contrast to godly 'rational affections'.[20] Thomas Hobbes, Clarke's contemporary, offered a mechanistic but nonetheless binary construction. The terrible state of nature was the arena in which passions were lived out; appetite and aversion were the basic drivers and were expressed through actions or 'motions' towards or away; rationality depended upon equilibrium between these two propensities.[21] Reaching forward to

---

[18] Aristotle, *The 'Art' of Rhetoric*, tr. John Henry Freese (Cambridge, MA, 1959), pp. 173-5. Aristotle was giving advice to those in politics and the public domain. In the city states of Classical Greece, emotions were generally thought to be reactions to factors affecting status. See Jan Plamper, tr. Keith Tribe, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 12-15.

[19] Brian Cummings, and Freya Sierhuis (eds), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Farnham, 2013), p. 3. They cite Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* IX. 4.

[20] See G. K. Paster, K. Rowe, and M. Floyd-Wilson, 'Introduction', G. K. Paster, K. Rowe, and M. Floyd-Wilson (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 2. See Chapter Five of this study.

[21] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London, 1651), Chapter VI, pp. 23-30. See Susan James, 'The Passions and the Good Life', in Donald Rutherford (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 198-220.

modern times this dualistic view remains. Norbert Elias viewed the civilising process and the triumph of reason as the ability to control and experience emotions that are appropriate to time and place.[22] And, Daniel Goleman's concept of 'emotional intelligence' implies a hierarchy of good and bad emotions which, it has been argued, also translates into the securing of a social hierarchy.[23] So, it is apparent that whilst the lexicon has adjusted as perceptions of the nature and function of emotion have developed, the simple binary remains. The early modern semantic of sinful passion juxtaposes a modern vocabulary of inappropriateness; yet, at the same time, the formulation of 'rational affections' seems to resonate with one concerning 'emotional intelligence'. Evidently, seventeenth-century terminologies of 'passions' and 'affections' are still eminently recognisable.[24]

Emotion is at the centre of human experience. Our interaction with the world is emotional and as such it is complicated and nuanced. Nevertheless, emotions history must begin with some assumptions about the nature of emotion. Helping to orientate us terminologically and conceptually, Keith Oatley offers a working description of emotion, its causes and manifestations. He writes,

> emotions are most typically caused by evaluations – psychologists also call them appraisals – of events in relation to what is important to us: our goals, our concerns, our aspirations…Emotions are based on what we know, and they include thoughts, about what has happened or what might happen next. Emotions also often create in us urges to act in an emotional way in relation to someone else…Emotions give life its urgency.[25]

---

[22] N. Elias, tr. E. Jephcott, *The Civilising Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford, 1978).

[23] D. Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ* (London, 1995). See discussion by Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 3-4.

[24] For a discussion of the relationship between historical and psychological approaches to emotions see W. Gerrod Parrott, 'Psychological Perspectives on Emotion in Groups', in Heather Kerr, David Lemmings and Robert Phiddian (eds), *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 20-44.

[25] Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Malden, MA, 2004), pp. 3-4. He notes that the term 'appraisal' was introduced by Magda Arnold. See M. B. Arnold, and J. A. Gasson, 'Feelings and Emotions as Dynamic Factors in Personality Integration', in M. B. Arnold, and J. A. Gasson (eds), *The Human Person* (New York, 1954), pp. 294–313, reprinted in M. B. Arnold (ed.) *The Nature of Emotion* (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 203–21.

And, intrinsic to these questions about the nature and definition of emotion or affect is the question of whether emotions are biologically universal, or culturally and socially constructed. Why do some things matter to us in this way, what shapes these goals and aspirations, and why do we express these concerns, feeling them in various emotional terms as prompts to action? Sara Ahmed's view is helpful here. She argues that the psychological and socio-anthropological interpretations, which she refers to as the 'inside-out' and the 'outside-in' models, are both flawed because 'emotions are crucial to the very constitution of the psychic and the social as objects, a process which suggests that the *objectivity* of the psychic and social is an effect rather than a cause.' That is to say, emotions 'produce the very surfaces and boundaries' that define the individual and the social.[26] This helps to draw together some of the threads of the argument contained in this thesis which relates the performative power of text with an assumption of the agency of social construction acting through a biological propensity to experience emotion.

How do historians accommodate the agency of these essential questions of human emotional experience? Advocating a largely constructivist approach, Barbara Rosenwein develops a formulation of emotion using the term 'emotional community' to refer to a conceptualisation of a societal grouping with common references and emotional goals. Rosenwein tells us that

> there is a biological and universal human aptitude for feeling and expressing what we now call 'emotions.' But what those emotions are, what they are called, how they are evaluated and felt, and how they are expressed (or not) – all these are shaped by 'emotional communities'.[27]

In other words, there are transhistorical affective constants in the form of capacities and components that might be described as biological, but emotions themselves are changing cultural constructs and can only be understood against an historical and societal background. To Rosenwein, in 'each time and place there are multiple emotional communities. They are not usually isolated from one another, though they

---

[26] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics*, pp. 9-10. For another perspective that focuses upon the evolutionary biology see Robert Plutchik, 'The Nature of Emotions: Human Emotions have Deep Evolutionary Roots, a Fact that may Explain their Complexity and Provide Tools for Clinical Practice', in *American Scientist*, 89:4 (2001), pp. 344-50.

[27] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 3.

may function fairly independently.'[28] Thus, it is possible for individuals to move between emotional communities in order to find a more congenial environment where the emotional norms and values that they regard as virtuous exist. Rosenwein uses the biological metaphor of cells dividing to compare 'emotional communities of any given time within any particular society (however defined) to genome mosaicism.'[29] This interpretation suggests an evolutionary concept in which 'Memories, interpretations and traditions both familial and cultural allow the bits and pieces that constitute human values, words, goals and feelings to come together and disperse in new ways depending on needs, ideologies, and predilections.'[30] Because emotional communities develop organically around, and symbiotically with, cultural norms and practices, it is possible for Rosenwein to state that 'emotional communities do not seem to struggle with the effort to control their emotions'.[31]

By contrast, William M. Reddy refers to emotion as a 'domain of effort' requiring control, mastery and moderation.[32] Also aiming to bridge the apparent gap between the universalism of cognitive psychology and constructivist anthropological approaches, but using a different structure and emphasis, Reddy discusses the idea of an 'emotional regime'. As John Corrigan explains, this is a view of 'emotion as an experience that is present through the medium of public practice (e.g., Qur'an recitation) and that…is neither strictly constructionist nor entirely the product of free agency'.[33] Emotion develops 'from the interaction between our emotional capacities and the unfolding of historical circumstances'.[34] Reddy explains how emotion and emotional expression interact, and employs the concept of 'emotive' speech-acts that describe and produce change.[35] Referencing political structures, he explains that 'Emotional control is the real site of the exercise of power: politics is just a process of determining who must repress as illegitimate, who must foreground as valuable, the

---

[28] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 314.
[29] Rosenwein, *Generations,* p. 319
[30] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 321.
[31] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 316.
[32] W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling, A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 57.
[33] Corrigan in Matt and Stearns, *Doing Emotions History*, p. 154.
[34] Reddy, *Navigation*, p. 45.
[35] Speech-act theory, as developed by J. L. Austin (1911-60) and John Searle.

feelings that come up for them in given contexts and relationships.'[36] Accordingly, 'emotional navigation' becomes 'the fundamental character of emotional life' in terms of the management of different and conflicting emotional objectives or goals.[37]

However, it may be more helpful to view the concepts of emotional community and emotional regime as complementary. As Jan Plamper states, the 'demarcation seems a little forced; for the entire conceptual vocabulary of the history of emotions is still too new to make such hard and fast distinctions, rather than creatively combining such theoretical building blocks.'[38] Reddy's construct of regime conveys government and control, and his focus upon the role of emotives proposes a dynamic and shaping force at work. Rosenwein's concept of community places greater emphasis upon traditions, values and norms. Yet, to an extent, the degree of separation between Rosenwein and Reddy, beyond their differing interpretations of the agency of constructivism, is about the aspect under consideration and the conceptual language employed.

It is clear that individuals operate within a number of environments all of which have a significant emotional dimension - family, work settings, friendship groups, among strangers and across social boundaries - and within these different contexts individuals are required to navigate and adapt to varying social norms and expectations.[39] As James Averill argues, emotions are not 'uncorrupted and spontaneous events attributable only to the self'.[40] It follows that so-called 'authentic' emotional responses, based upon 'judgment about experience', may be determined and legitimated according to a range of circumstances which contribute to the shape of multiple emotional communities.[41] And some of these are more prescriptive than

---

[36] W. M. Reddy, *Against Constructivism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotion* in *Current Anthropology*, 38:3 (1997), pp. 327-351, p. 335.

[37] Reddy, *Navigation,* p.129. He provides a list of definitions of these terms on pp.128-9.

[38] Plamper, *History of Emotions*, p. 70. For further discussion, see Jan Plamper, William Reddy, Barabara Rosenwein, Peter Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barabara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns', in *History and Theory* 49:2 (2010), pp. 237-265.

[39] For cross-disciplinary discussion of ideas about collective emotions see C. von Scheve and M. Salmela, *Collective Emotions: Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology* (Oxford, 2014).

[40] James Averill, Reading 21: 'Studies on Anger and Aggression: Implication for Theories of Emotion', in W. Gerrod Parrott (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology: Essential Readings* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 337-52, p. 351.

[41] Averill, 'Anger', in Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 350.

others, impacting across the various interfaces of individual lives. Religious groups, and in particular the dissenting and puritan communities which are the focus of this study, fashioned and adhered to contemporaneous values and conceptualisations that were applied to all aspects of life. At times the religious emotional community was emotionally controlling. Therefore, it should be possible, and indeed helpful, to use both terms - the emotional community and the emotional regime - judiciously to describe and analyse different aspects of a complex historical phenomenon such as seventeenth-century English puritanism within the frame of emotions history.[42]

b) Puritanism – Questions of Definition

Samuel Clarke, whose texts provide the focus of this study, may be described as a mainstream seventeenth-century puritan. However, our understanding of the term puritan, or puritanism, is problematic enough to test Jürgen Habermas's assertion that a name can be replaced with a description.[43] Historians seem to agree that, in the words of S. Bryn Roberts, that any 'narrow definition of "puritan" is misleading and quite simply inadequate to summarise such a diverse grouping of individuals.'[44] Patrick Collinson emphasised the importance of context when he pointed out that 'there is little point in constructing elaborate statements defining what, in ontological terms, Puritanism was and was not, when it was not a thing definable in itself but only one half of a stressful relationship'.[45] And Peter Lake's parenthetical assessment of the various historiographical approaches to puritanism, as 'both name and thing, movement and polemically inflected construct, ascribed and internalised identity', neatly summarises the intricacies of the subject.[46] So, the brief synopsis outlined here is intended to provide an introduction to some of the difficulties attached to the historical understanding of puritanism, not least the question of definition, and to point the way to an alternative focus upon a culture of affect.

---

[42] See appendix two for a summary of the key emotions history concepts used in this study.

[43] Jürgen Habermas, tr. Barbara Fultner, *On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction: Preliminary Studies in the Theory of Communicative Action* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 80.

[44] S. Bryn Roberts, *Puritanism and the Pursuit of Happiness: The Ministry and Theology of Ralph Venning, c.1621–1674* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 9,

[45] P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 143.

[46] Lake, 'Historiography', Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 364.

The term 'puritan' was originally intended, from the 1560s, as a term of abuse to insult those amongst the clergy who opposed the Church's hierarchy and failed to conform to the Elizabethan requirements prescribing liturgical vestments. Puritan - the word itself - was thus highly emotive; it was meant to produce a reaction. It developed into a durable soubriquet used by anti-puritans to emotively objectify those they regarded as censorious, canting, hypocrites, killjoys and schismatics.[47] However, according to Patrick Collinson, 'even if "Puritan" was a stereotypical stigma, a matter of construction as much as of simple observation and description, it was a badge soon accepted by the so-called Puritans themselves.'[48] English puritanism, as it developed in the seventeenth century, was multi-faceted, constantly evolving and dividing whilst helping to shape historical developments and contemporary environments. It was not a formal movement and thus the term puritan is more safely used as a broad and adaptable adjective rather than when deployed as a noun.[49] Clearly puritanism existed, but it was a complex cultural identity, predicated upon profound religious conviction, but also located in terms of social and political orientation, as well as in attitude, lifestyle and, indeed, temperament.

The assertion that puritanism describes features of a powerful religious phenomenon provides a good place to start, but it is difficult to detach puritanism from Protestantism more generally. As Ann Hughes points out, 'Before the rise of the Laudian, or Arminian party in the early years of Charles's reign it is not easy to distinguish between "puritan" beliefs and those of English Protestants in general.'[50] Thus, the relationship of puritanism to Protestantism was nuanced and subject to change with circumstances. Debate over the precise implications of the initial Lutheran insights of the Reformation - 'sola fide, sola gratia, sola scriptura' - ultimately proved divisive, but essentially all Protestants shared a basic rejection of Roman Catholic intercessory beliefs.[51] However, it was the Reformed Protestantism modelled in Geneva by Calvin and Beza that dominated the direction taken by English

---

[47] J. Coffey, and P. Lim, 'Introduction', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 1. See for example Oliver Ormerod, *The Picture of a Puritane* (London, 1605), discussed by Patrick Collinson in 'Antipuritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism,* pp. 27-8.

[48] P. Collinson, *From Cranmer*, xiii-xiv.

[49] NB. In the same way, the word 'godly' is often preferred in this study as a substitute more readily acceptable, and frequently employed by puritans to refer to themselves.

[50] Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 66.

[51] Martin Luther (1483-1546). 'Faith alone, grace alone, scripture alone'.

Protestantism from the mid-sixteenth century.[52] Principally there were three distinctive strands to this. Firstly, Reformed Protestants reviled any suggestions of 'popish' practice in terms of images, ritualistic liturgy and clerical vestments, favouring simplicity in worship. Secondly, they distanced themselves from Luther by linking God's law, Christian living and local community; this was a legalism that imagined an ideal godly 'city on a hill' with magistracy and ministry in harmony. Thirdly, they accepted the logic of unconditional predestination as an inevitable corollary to the existence of an omnipotent and omniscient God. Each of these strands was capable of varying extremes of interpretation and construction. For example, concessions were conceivable, for some, where certain rituals and practices could be regarded as adiaphora, or 'things indifferent': matters of private conscience.[53] And the boundaries of Church discipline with state institutions were variously defined and intensely contested, even among those who subscribed to forms of Erastianism. But a belief in predestination was egregiously unavailable to compromise (despite varying interpretations) and for John Stachniewski it is a defining aspect. 'Puritans', he writes, 'were people whose minds appear to have been captured by the questions whether or not they were members of the elect, and how the life of the elect...in contradistinction to that of a reprobate, should be ordered'.[54] Assurance of an exclusive membership of the elect when combined with theocratic idealism also presumed a social agenda to achieve a 'reformation of manners': an imperative to create a godly order among the reprobate majority.

Thus, any attempt to discuss puritanism within religious, liturgical and doctrinal boundaries inevitably becomes entangled with politics and society at large because puritans disputed the ecclesiology and practice of the state Church, and asserted an active engagement with moral behaviour. The Church established by

---

[52] Jean Calvin (1509-64) and Theodore Beza (1519-1603), regarded as Calvin's disciple. NB. Calvinism is certainly not adequate as a definition in relation to puritanism. Nevertheless, it seems an appropriate term to use in several contexts in this study.

[53] Patrick Collinson suggested that this was 'where the geological fault-line between Anglicanism and Nonconformity, Church and Chapel, began'. Patrick Collinson, 'English Puritanism', *Historical Association General Series*, 106 (1983). See Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 17.

[54] John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford, 1991), p. 11.

Elizabeth I was a deliberate political realisation and maintained many pre-Reformation aspects, such as formal liturgy, clerical vestments, and an elaborate episcopal establishment, which appeared to many as 'popish', requiring further reformation. A lobby developed in the mid to late sixteenth century as a response to this Elizabethan conception and it was during this struggle that the 'stigma of "Puritan" acquired meaning'.[55] As Christopher Hill pointed out, 'Control of the pulpit was a matter of political power, and was recognized as such.'[56] Moreover, as a political entity puritanism was reactive to the shifts and turns of state policy and to dramatic political and constitutional developments as the events of the seventeenth century unfolded, which inevitably produced another range of opinion and conflict. Indeed, as Andrew Cambers explains, 'the politics of puritanism...manifested itself in both conservatism and political radicalism'.[57] This, in turn, connects with questions concerning the social composition of puritan communities that, as Patrick Collinson tells us, were as 'various as their statuses and interests'.[58] This aspect, in which parochial congregations were 'liable to contain…such contradictions as landlords and tenants, wealthy clothiers and struggling weavers, those who paid tithe and the clergyman to whom they paid it', may be described as a 'social miracle', even if 'the social cord did not always hold'.[59]

Such a fusion of passionate religiosity, combining contentious doctrinal matters of the nature of salvation, free will, and the Holy Spirit, with charged political positions, in which Church governance touched existential matters of state, local government, moral behaviour and diverse socio-economic inclusivity, partly explains the difficulty of establishing the boundaries of puritanism, and the relative location of a mainstream. During the late Elizabethan and Jacobean period 'moderate' puritans seemed to have achieved a working relationship with the established Church. As Collinson explains, they were 'not so much an insurgency against the Reformed Church of England as a vigorous and growing tendency within it'.[60] However, more radical puritans, like the Pilgrims who founded the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts

---

[55] Collinson, *The Birthpangs,* p. 143.

[56] Christopher Hill, 'Religion and Democracy in the Puritan Revolution', *Democracy*, 2:2 (1983), pp. 39-45, p. 40.

[57] Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge; New York, 2011), p. 15.

[58] Collinson, *From Cranmer,* p. 39.

[59] Collinson, *From Cranmer,* pp. 39-40. Collinson is specifically referring to mid-seventeenth-century East Anglia.

[60] Collinson, 'Antipuritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 22.

in 1620, continued to attack bishops and separate away from the established Church, demonstrating a persistent schismatic propensity within puritanism.[61] And as the dramatic events of the mid-seventeenth century unfolded, and 'the Church of England evolved', even those who attempted to lead reform from within the Church, distinct but not separate from conformists, experienced increasing conflict, and eventually found themselves in a position of absolute nonconformity.[62] Clarke, as a senior orthodox Presbyterian cleric, was determined to endeavour to shape the national Church from within, at least until ejected in 1662, and thus seems to belong firmly to this mainstream of puritanism. Congregationalists and Independents did not necessarily differ in their theology (although some did) but were prepared to accept the inevitability of separation in a context of toleration.

But critically there is also a cultural dimension to consider.[63] Andrew Cambers helpfully articulates an explanation of culture as 'a series of unrelated signs and sets of assumptions with which people understood their place in the world.'[64] He explains further that English puritanism exemplifies 'a stratified definition of culture...a broad religious culture within which there were a range of subcultures'.[65] The characteristics and practices of this plurality took many forms that often went beyond those of Reformed Protestants on the continent. The half-reformed English Church played its part in the development of this cultural configuration by reinforcing the requirement upon the godly to evolve a conspicuous and self-conscious devoutness, and to seek assurance of salvation. Peter Lake describes 'a style of piety, a mode of behaviour, a set of priorities, which contemporaries…were quite capable of recognizing when they

---

[61] These separatists took the Gospel text, 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matthew 18:20) quite literally, and rejected the structures of the state Church. NB. The Atlantic and colonial context provided a different set of circumstances in which these issues of emotional community and the emotional experience of godly people could be considered. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient space in this dissertation.

[62] Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 7.

[63] For a fuller discussion of puritan culture see Durston and Eales, *Culture,* particularly their introduction, pp. 1-31.

[64] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p.14. Cambers makes the point that 'it would be as foolish to assume that anthropologists share a uniform definition of culture as it would be to imagine that historians agree upon the definition of puritanism'. Peter Burke provides an alternative definition of culture as 'a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms...in which they are expressed or embodied'. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture and Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), 'Prologue', xiii.

[65] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 15.

saw them'.[66] For example, strict Sabbatarianism was linked to sermon attendance.[67] The practice of 'gadding' to hear other famous preachers, and taking notes to read and repeat at home were common; godly exercises involving communal scripture, psalm-singing and sermon reading took place within the family. These were social events that helped develop a puritan sense of distinctiveness and community. But this was also a private religion with a routine of introspection and intimate devotions whose purpose was personal sanctification. These included private prayer, meditation, fasting and the maintenance of a spiritual diary, and constituted a rigorous regime of self-discipline.[68] Puritans were identifiable to themselves and to others by their evangelical fervour and by these cultural signs. As John Coffey and Paul Lim explain, the 'sheer intensity of this spiritual praxis set the godly apart.'[69]

A godly culture, exhibiting characteristic features despite social, political, doctrinal and ecclesiological differences, extended to the porous borders of zealous religious practice, disposition and behaviour.[70] The margins came to be occupied by a plethora of sects who extended the logic of Luther's liberating concept of 'faith alone'. Most puritans may have regarded these Quakers, Familists, Ranters and the like, as radicals and heretics.[71] However, there were still many grey areas between the centre and the periphery where debate and confusion over the whole scope of religious-political issues raged amongst those who still recognised each other as godly.[72] This is why John Stachniewski's preference for 'a cultural and psychological rather than an institutional or political definition of puritanism' is helpful. Unfortunately, as he goes on to say, 'the cultural *Geist* does not respect fixed boundaries,' but it may provide a context.[73]

---

[66] Peter Lake, 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', *JBS*, 27:2 (1988), pp. 81-116, p. 115.

[67] P. Collinson, 'The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism'*, Studies in Church History*, 1 (1964).

[68] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 10-16.

[69] J. Coffey and P. Lim 'Introduction', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 4.

[70] For role of radical religion see J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984).

[71] For Familists see Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 1994).

[72] See, for example, John Goodwin (1594–1665) as described in Coffey, *Goodwin*. Another example is provided by the 'Fifth Monarchists', men like Thomas Harrison, and Thomas Venner.

[73] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 12.

c) A Culture of Affect

i. Historiographical Contentions

An interpretation of puritanism in terms of culture invites a perspective that emphasises an emotional dimension where those who saw themselves as zealous, sober and righteous were regarded by others as fanatical, canting, killjoys. Puritanism conjured intensely emotional responses and experiences. Indeed, puritanism is a particularly good example of what might be described as a culture of affect: an umbrella cultural identity typified, on the inside, by potently affecting constructions of godliness and, on the outside, by hostile feeling.[74]

However, the nature of the emotional experience of godly people is a matter of historiographical contention. To an extent an 'old stereotype of Puritan emotionlessness' has been superseded by a view that emphasises 'the intensity and dynamism of the emotional culture'.[75] But, was this intensity characterised more by despair than joy? How did the competing tensions between emotional restraint (in terms of the management of worldly passions) and religious zeal resolve themselves in the lives of the godly? What was the relationship between the social domain of affect and the internal experience of emotion? This section considers the nature of historiographical debate on the emotionality of puritanism.

Historians of puritanism have considered how affecting language played an essential role. For example, in his study of puritan piety, Charles Lloyd Cohen explains how 'the simplicity of Puritan language - the unadorned English of the preachers' plain style mingling with the diction of common speech - disguises its ancient nuances beneath the patina of familiarity' and contributed to an emotional complex composed of love, anger and fear.[76] The written and spoken expressions used, especially terms such as 'fear of God', 'described and elicited emotional states,' and were thus emotives, as Reddy would conceive them.[77] John Stachniewski takes this theme further arguing that the language of Calvinist discourse shaped the subjectivities of puritans. He says

---

[74] See Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 15. He uses the concept of an 'umbrella' culture to facilitate 'an understanding of transformation and an analysis of change over time.'

[75] Ryrie and Schwanda, 'Introduction', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 4, p. 6,

[76] Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York, 1986), p. 20.

[77] Corrigan in Matt and Stearns, *Doing Emotions History*, p. 153. He cites Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 20.

that the 'Calvinist God' was a 'communal construct, whose presence was not solicited by any individual but nevertheless had potent effects inside the psyche'.[78] The impress of puritan vocabulary is so intense as to be unavailable to modern translation, 'because the experience is generated by the words themselves, inheres in them, and is not a detachable entity receptive to alternative explanation'.[79] God seemed to move through and within the very language of puritan literary piety, which was produced under the 'press and screw of the persecutory imagination'.[80]

Stachniewski goes on to stress the importance of Calvinist soteriology, emphasising the role and influence of William Perkins (1558-1602, often regarded as one of the founders of the English puritan tradition) who accentuated the concept of double predestination.[81] Stachniewski offers, as the central tenet of Calvinism, a capricious, omniscient God who has divided people into the elect and the reprobate. The journal of Thomas Shepard expressed a contemporary assessment of the odds against election: 'It is a thousand to one if ever thou be one of that small number whom God hath picked out to escape this wrath to come.'[82] With the majority already condemned to hell, the essential question was an all-consuming, meditative quest for the assurance of salvation. But here, according to Stachniewski, Calvin's God seemed to set a snare: 'If thou consider thy self, there is certaine damnation'.[83] If you became convinced of your own salvation you fell into self-righteous antinomianism or security. On the other hand, if you had doubts then there was a good reason for them. Stachniewski draws the conclusion that these beliefs were embedded viscerally deep into the psyche through the language of piety and induced profound anxiety.[84] In this he echoes the assessment of Max Weber in whose desolate view Calvinism was

---

[78] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 7.

[79] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 8.

[80] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 9.

[81] That both elect and reprobate were predestined. This was linked to a radical Calvinist view of supralapsarianism. NB. In *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford, 2014) W.B. Patterson argues that Perkins was more mainstream, and more of an apologist for the Church of England than an opponent.

[82] H. McGiffert (ed.), *God's Plot: Puritan Spirituality in Thomas Shepard's Cambridge* (Thomas Shepard, 'Autobiography'), revised edn (Amherst, 1994), p. 45. Shepard was converted at Cambridge by John Preston and entered the ministry; he was silenced by Laud, migrated to New England in 1635, and was instrumental in the founding of Harvard. See Michael Jinkins, 'Thomas Shepard (1605-1649)', *ODNB*.

[83] John Calvin, tr. T. Norton, *The Institution of the Christian Religion* (1561), 3.2.24.

[84] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 20.

characterised by 'its extreme inhumanity' and 'a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual'.[85]

But, Stachniewski overstates this case when he asserts that 'the majority of those who took their religion seriously…were consumed by despair'.[86] Indeed, Alec Ryrie refers to *The Persecutory Imagination* as 'polemical' and questions Stachniewski's assertion 'that the brighter side of Protestantism has attracted disproportionate attention'.[87] The subjects who provide much of the evidential support for Stachniewski's thesis, for example the work of literary stars, John Bunyan, John Milton, and John Donne, might not necessarily be deemed as typical.[88] Stachniewski also discusses Richard Baxter (1615-91), whom he quotes as evidence of the pervasiveness of despair: 'if none should have *Comfort*, but those who have *Assurance*, of their *Sincerity* and *Salvation*, Despair would swallow up the souls of most, even of true Believers'.[89] However, it is possible to interpret Baxter's view several ways; at the least, Baxter's comments, and the tone of the publication in which they were included, suggest a puritan sensitivity to these concerns, and the possibility of a less demanding interpretation of soteriology.[90]

Indeed, Alec Ryrie proposes that the puritan emotional range was not limited to angst and despair. Eschewing a rigid distinction between puritans and Protestants in general, and opening up the whole discussion, Ryrie states that

> early modern Protestants…believed that the emotions - or 'affectations', 'feelings', or 'passions', to use their preferred terms - could be guides on the road

---

[85] Max Weber, tr. Talcott Parsons, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London; New York, 1992), p. 104.

[86] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 61.

[87] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 27, fn. 1, citing Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 2.

[88] Stachniewski says that his interpretation of Donne's 'Holy Sonnets' is 'controversial'. Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 9. Bunyan, Donne and Milton were, nevertheless, part of the emotional community mosaic and contributors of emotive literature.

[89] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 61, quoting from Richard Baxter, *Preservatives Against Melancholy and Overmuch Sorrow: Or the Cure of Both by Faith and Physick* (written about 1683, printed 1713), p. 27.

[90] NB. Clarke disagreed with Baxter on this, pursuing an orthodox line. See Chapter Six of this study, p. 175, and Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ,* p. 127.

to godliness, supports when that road became hard and invaluable testimonies
that the destination was within reach.[91]

The real problem was not too much feeling in the shape of anxiety or hopelessness, but too little. For example, the autobiographical account of Thomas Shepard, which was certainly characterised by an inner sense of hypocrisy, insecurity and anguish, nevertheless expressed a greater unease that he was not more affected: 'I did see my frame and my hypocrisy and self and secret sins, although I found a hard heart and could not be affected with them.'[92] Spiritual life for Reformed Protestants required a responsive heart and a sensitive soul. Thus the 'bane of the earnest Protestant's spiritual life was a condition variously described as dullness, hardness, heaviness, dryness, coldness, drowsiness or deadness.'[93] Spiritual malaise, as opposed to predestinarian anxiety, was the real concern and the chief object of edifying literature and religious practices which aimed to suppress listlessness of heart and arouse zealousness and spiritual passion. The belief in predestination was a critical factor shaping the emotional topography of puritans, but it was not quite the catch-22 despair producing trap conceived by Stachniewski. Instead the problem arose out of a false sense of security, an ill-grounded conviction that the believer was safely among the elect, as opposed to an actual assurance of the same. Security was a problem because it produced spiritual lethargy and dullness, which in turn produced an insincere, hypocritical and routine approach to godly practice and duty. The emotions consequential from struggling to soften a hard heart may have included despair at times for some, but at one end a range of other feelings; at the other end of the scale, 'When it came, the experience of…grace was overwhelming.'[94] According to Ryrie, this 'is a religion of striving, yearning, sorrowing, intense self-observation, and self-reproach, which aspires to burning desire and zeal, and which fears stagnation, *security* and back-sliding.'[95] Ryrie's is a conceptualisation of a more fulsome

---

[91] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 17. He cites, for their 'preferred terms', Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, *Passions*, p. 2. It is Ryrie's view that 'Predestinarian Reformed Protestantism was normative both for puritan agitators and for their establishment opponents.' Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 7. For a succinct summary of the historiographical debate about the idea of a Calvinist consensus in post-Reformation England, see Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 346-71.
[92] McGiffert, *God's Plot* (Shepard, 'Autobiography'), p. 44.
[93] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 20.
[94] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 25.
[95] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 80.

emotional community, in contrast to the controlling, despair ridden, emotional regime offered by Stachniewski.

However, it seems inevitable that a focus upon the nature and effect of Calvinist theology on literary texts will produce an interpretation at variance from one concerned with a broader conceptualisation of the spiritual experiences of Protestants. Both interpretations are nonetheless valuable because they serve to highlight a requirement of moderation. An emotional religious experience, even one involving a passionate striving for grace as opposed to a desolate state of desperation, might run the risk of intemperance. In 1670 Samuel Clarke revised and published the Twelfth Edition of *Henry Cockeram's The English Dictionary*.[96] He defined the noun 'moderation' as 'temperance, discretion, government' and 'moderatour' as 'a discreet governor; a decider of controversies.' This definition, which reflected the standard dictionary definition of the age, relates moderation to government. For Ethan H. Shagan, in the early modern age, 'governance was moderation'.[97] He argues, therefore, that a via media in the English Church should not be understood as a reasonable compromise but in these terms of governance: 'It was moderate not only in its restraint but insofar as it restrained.'[98] The seventeenth century was an age of political, cultural, religious and social conflict and puritans have often been regarded in these contexts as radical and extreme. Puritanism was characterised by intense feeling that shaped outlook and action, politically and socially. Yet the role of moderate puritans, and the position of mainstream puritanism as representing continuity and a middle way within the Church and State, a genuinely irenic centre ground under threat from a minority of extremists on both sides, has also been observed.[99] At the same time, as Patrick

---

[96] *Henry Cockeram's: The English Dictionary; or, An Expositor of Hard English Words, The Twelfth Edition Revised and Enlarged by S.C.* [Samuel Clarke] (London, 1670). Clarke claims this publication as his own work rather obliquely: 'Anno 1670. I printed my English Dictionary, though under another Name', in Clarke, 'Preface with the Life of the Author', in *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London, 1683), p. 10.

[97] Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation, Violence, Religion, and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 10.

[98] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 9.

[99] The location of a moderate mainstream in the post-Reformation English Church has been much debated. In *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), Peter Lake discusses several examples of 'moderate' Elizabethan puritans, and stresses a common Protestant identity in the face of the perceived threat from Rome. But Judith Maltby, for example, writes in terms of 'moderate conformists' and 'hotter protestants', and, according to Lake, her view means that 'there can be no "moderate

Collinson comments, 'there were two sides, both given to the language of moderation and consensus, both deeply dyed in the mentality of divisive faction.'[100] But Shagan offers another context by questioning the very concept of moderation: 'Within a Renaissance mentality that presumed interconnections and dependencies between human beings and their environments, moderation meant government with no clear boundary between inward and outward.'[101] In terms of the godly, this rule of moderation seems to resonate with a conceptualisation of an emotional regime, where interior feeling navigated social affect, and to apply particularly well to those who, like Clarke, wanted to establish Church discipline around a Presbyterian version of a middle way and enact a reformation of manners.

ii. Affective Complexities

A contemporary expression of the ambiguities of this culture of affect can be read in John Geree's sympathetic account of *An Old English Puritan, or Non-conformist* (1646).[102] Geree portrayed an aspirational Theophrastan paradigm of puritanism, referring somewhat nostalgically to the character of an 'old puritan' of a previous generation. Whether or not Geree believed that such paragons had actually existed in an earlier halcyon period, his main concern was with the emergence of radical sectarianism in the 1640s, and to summon a consciousness of heritage and duty. The result, however, reveals both the dynamic and the paradoxical qualities of the puritan mentality: 'he studied for cheerfulness,' whilst 'accounting his whole life a warfare'.[103] It confirms a view of puritanism as a culture characterised by a semantic of strong yet

---

puritans"'. J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge; New York, 2000), p. 117, and Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 360. See also Peter Lake, 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England, Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 1-15, p. 13, fn. 40.

[100] Collinson, *From Cranmer*, p. 98. He cites Peter Lake's article 'Calvinism in the English Church, 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), pp. 32-76. Collinson is referring specifically to the period of Laudian reform, but the comment could apply more generally.

[101] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 8.

[102] John Geree, *The Character of an Old English Puritan, or Non-Conformist* (London 1646), republished 1659 and 1672, pp. 1-7. Geree was an orthodox Presbyterian minister, member of the London Provincial Assembly and moderator of the First Classis. See Kenneth Gibson, 'John Geree (c.1600-49)', *ODNB*.

[103] Geree, *Character*, pp. 1-6.

potentially conflicting emotions that seemed to emphasise as aspirational the Christian experience of struggle and suffering – 'Vincent qui patitur'.[104]

The signs and assumptions, which may be said to be indicative of a culture of puritanism, existed within emotionally charged and variegated milieus, where conceptions of 'unruly passions', requiring the moderation of 'rational affections', often marked contested political and social boundaries, and challenging personal and spiritual demands. Within this context, with its communal and personal forms of devotion, individual and collective emotional pathologies were constructively affected by righteous religious beliefs, practices, values and outlook that allow us to seek to discern the existence of emotional communities. At the same time, puritanism might also be said to provide examples of the emotional regime in action in so far as godly people subscribed to 'an ensemble of prescribed *emotives* together with their related rituals and other symbolic practices,' and a 'normative style of emotional management', as Reddy explains the concept.[105] In particular, orthodox Presbyterians like Clarke endorsed a potent system of theological and spiritual vitality, within a context of social moderation and governance of self, that was capable of stirring profound feelings, whilst creating emotional goal conflict and psychological angst.

Puritanism generally, and Presbyterianism in particular, were deeply intellectual ideologies, which may also, in part, explain the antipathy of many contemporaries. This was a literate religion based upon the Word, proselytised by university educated clerics (including Clarke) that involved communal and private study. Calvinism was not easy, particularly because of its challenging soteriological affirmation of predestination, justification and sanctification. Its godly adherents sought order and uniformity within the Church and felt an imperative to correct the abuses of the damned, 'many-headed multitude'.[106] However, this was a powerful religion which made its fundamental appeal not the intellect but to the heart. Profound religious experience created an agenda of emotional responses. As Alec Ryrie tells us, 'emotion was a form of revelation.'[107] Being called and being in receipt of divine grace were joyous, but could also be intense experiences. There was comfort in religious practices even if, and perhaps because, they were more austere than the alternatives.

---

[104] Geree, *Character*, p. 6. 'Who suffers conquers'.
[105] Plamper, *History of Emotions*, p. 257. Reddy, *Navigation*, p. 121.
[106] Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 5.
[107] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 40.

Predestination as a belief produced, at different times, profound anxiety and spiritual comfort. Puritans were people who, like most people, experienced joy, fear, anger, sadness and love. But they cultivated a particular sense of these emotions, and their religion taught them how to interpret and, indeed, shape and engage with sometimes seemingly contrary feelings. And, the need to conform within the boundaries of rational affections, avoiding dullness of heart, zealously seeking intense religious feeling, whilst simultaneously moderating emotion, would seem likely to produce a stressful conflict of goals - circumstances in which we might expect to find evidence of mutations of the emotional community 'genome'.[108] So, perhaps the diverging historiographical views discussed above are indicative of the degree of plurality that existed. They suggest the existence of a variegated culture of affect within the Protestant fold in which diversity and discord were invested with a judgemental sense of the intemperance and immoderate passion of others.

II - Approaches

The approach adopted here to these broad problems of puritanism and emotion is by way of a focus upon the defining historical example of a particular Presbyterian cleric and writer, Samuel Clarke, and the deployment of a conceptual methodology introduced above and described as 'affective culture'.

a) Historical Focus - Clarke's Texts

This study argues that Clarke's fairly overt attempt to define and present a religious and political via media through his various publications in different genres was underpinned by the manifestation and elaboration of an 'affective design'.[109] This shaped, and was shaped by, the emotional community to which he belonged.

In an age of religious, political and social upheaval Samuel Clarke published, or re-published, many anthologies of lives, histories, martyrologies and edifying

---

[108] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 319.

[109] In present day computing science, the concept of 'affective design' indicates a twenty-first century potentiality to design computers around a human emotional response by writing digital code. See, for example, Rosalind W. Picard, *Affective Computing* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).

tracts, culled largely from a collective Protestant experience.[110] Clarke's various texts were intended to represent the experience of a broad Protestant community, but it is also clear that Clarke was expressing the comprehension of his own Presbyterian orthodoxy. He was concerned, as Peter Lake says, 'to construct and justify a particular version of the puritan tradition: "moderate", learned, respectable, Presbyterian.'[111] His work was usually derivative; he was a compiler and editor rather than an original writer. As Jacqueline Eales explains, Clarke's *Lives* were mostly 'lifted directly from sermons that had already appeared in print'.[112] And, 'Clarke's Martyrology' was, as David Wykes says, 'almost entirely derived from Foxe's much larger work.'[113] Indeed, Patrick Collinson called it 'Foxe redivivus'.[114] Clarke himself acknowledged that 'Some may think this labour of mine superfluous, because these things have been so largely and fully handled by that faithfull, and laborious servant of Christ, Master Fox'. However, he claimed to have 'gathered together that which lieth dispersed', and 'turned over many other authors', aiming to make 'this History of the Persecutions of the English Church more complete then ever it was before.'[115]

Unsurprisingly perhaps, Clarke's efforts at collation and recycling have been disparaged, sometimes with faint praise. William Haller described Clarke as 'earnest, industrious, uninspired, but not incompetent'.[116] Even Richard Baxter, writing a preface to Clarke's posthumously published biographical anthology, commented, 'Some enemies deride him for writing lives with no more art'.[117] Anthony Wood's (1632-95) description of Clarke as 'a severe Calvinist, and a scribling Plagiary' whose

---

[110] See complete list of Clarke's published work in bibliography and timeline in appendix one.

[111] P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives in Political and Polemical Context', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 293-318, p. 295.

[112] J. Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the Lives of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), pp. 365-376, p. 368.

[113] David Wykes, 'Dissenters and the Writing of History: Ralph Thoresby's "Lives and Characters"', Jason McElligott (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 18.

[114] Patrick Collinson, 'Foxe and the National Consciousness', in Christopher Highley and John N. King (eds), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 10-36, p. 31.

[115] Clarke, 'To the Candid, and Christian Reader', *A Martyrologie* (1652), sigs A1v-A2r. See Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 339.

[116] William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), pp. 102-3.

[117] Richard Baxter, 'To the Reader', in Clarke, *Lives of Sundry*.

works were mostly the 'lives of Presbyterian Divines', confirmed both Wood's anti-puritan prejudices and Clarke's own Presbyterian orthodoxy.[118] However, the focus of such criticism serves the aims of this study because Clarke's texts were intended to reflect and embody an interpretation and a perception of the experience of the religious community imagined and addressed in his accounts. And, as Jaqueline Eales points out, 'in the mid-seventeenth century, before the advent of the copyright laws, they were widely appreciated'.[119] For Clarke, plagiarism was not an accusation but an endorsement of legitimacy and continuity.

Patrick Collinson's observation that 'there is less than total authenticity and something other than descriptive realism in the many "lives" of Puritan saints and worthies gathered…by that English Plutarch, Samuel Clarke…closer to characters than to biographies', succinctly admits Clarke's purpose.[120] Clarke's intention was to present timely paradigms of piety and prototypes of feeling, and he did this by selection of subject and with editorial skill. The formulaic style of much this work cloaked a cultural agenda that used familiar rhetoric and description to register an affective impact ranging from disturbingly shocking accounts of persecution to more nuanced discourses on the perils of toleration and the necessity of emotional regulation. The various collections of lives and martyrs, notwithstanding a political sub-text, are centred around religious elucidations of emotional responses.[121] In these collections Clarke presented the wonder of conversion and salvation as documentary history and therein lay part of their potency and contemporary appeal. Persecution and providence are common themes in Clarke's work figuring sentiment, vindication, courage and assurance. And the various histories he produced in his later career were intended to carry a profound emotional impression against a background of Protestantism under apparent threat in the 1670s and 1680s.[122]

---

[118]Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (London, 1691-2), p. 823. See Allan Pritchard, *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century: A Critical Survey* (Toronto, 2005), p. 156.

[119] J. Eales, 'Godly Women', p. 365.

[120] P. Collinson, *From Cranmer*, p. 103.

[121] For the political sub-text see Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, especially pp. 303-8.

[122] For example, the fourth edition of *England's Remembrancer* included an account supporting the veracity of the 'Popish Plot'. S. Clarke, *England's Remembrancer...The fourth edition, to which is newly added a brief account of the late horrid plot discovered, 1678* (London, 1679).

But Clarke's publications were not merely representational; they also had a dynamic and formative quality whose highly stylised forms of emotional expression provided a template that intended to condition, shape and regulate affective expression and experience. This was an essential element of his broader political-religious purpose. Thus, Clarke's work was subtler than is often thought. Although, as Walsham reminds us, 'we cannot access the feelings of people in the past in an unmediated fashion', Clarke's narratives were intended to touch ingrained religious and cultural sensibilities.[123] But, surprisingly, even the modern reader might be moved by some accounts and Clarke occasionally may be observed to betray his own emotional susceptibilities.[124] The various works of biography, martyrdom, and spiritual edification are self-consciously affecting, and in *Medulla Theologiæ* Clarke devotes a great deal of effort to godly instruction in the management of emotion.[125] Clarke's publications provide a number of opportunities to explore the construction of affect in puritan culture.

b) Conceptual Methodology

It will be objected that the intention to use published texts as sources to reveal a relationship between culture and affect, and to uncover some part of the emotional cognition of people in the past, poses many epistemological problems. But, as Alexandra Walsham tells us, 'It is easy to dismiss the linguistic traces of early modern "affections" and "passions" as merely formulaic, but generic and rhetorical convention is less an obstacle to understanding emotion than a critical tool by which it can be investigated.'[126] What is proposed here is a methodology that views text as a performance of cultural values that is inclusive of emotional norms. As Katie Barclay explains,

> this is a method that challenges the distinction between representation and experience in the historical source. All sources, even fictional accounts, are a product of the experience of the author, for the creation of all textual forms are

---

[123] Walsham, 'Providentialism and Emotion', in Spinks and Zika, *Disaster*, p. 22.
[124] See, for example, the account of his wife Katherine's struggle with depression and bereavement in S. Clarke, 'The Life and Death of Mrs Katherine Clarke who Died, Anno Domini 1675', in *Lives of Sundry*, 2, pp. 152-67. (NB. p. 167 is numbered incorrectly as p. 159).
[125] Samuel Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ, or, The Marrow of Divinity* (London, 1659).
[126] Walsham, 'Providentialism and Emotion', in Spinks and Zika, *Disaster*, p. 22.

a form of performance.[127]

The term affective culture is intended encompass this conception of a performative and constructionist relationship between text, culture and affect.

There are several dimensions to this relationship. In this proposed construct of affective culture, the concept of speech-acts is invoked to signify the active and formative (or performative) influence of text operating upon and between culture and affect. This indicates a contextualist approach which, as Kenneth Sheppard writes, 'situates historical texts within their linguistic contexts by constructing the political vocabularies which such texts receive, employ and modify, into identifiable discourses and paradigms.'[128] This methodology, particularly as developed by J. G. A. Pocock, allows us to view texts, such as Clarke's, as performative, shaping the language structures in which contemporary debate occurred, and affecting the context. Textual sources, considered with regard to their linguistic patterns and in their original contexts, are indicative of the construction and development of contemporary values and cognitions. Extending this argument, Sarah Maza explains that 'cultural products and practices are performative as well as reflective (a novel or ritual does not just reflect social experience, it also constructs it)'.[129] Where culture relates to and includes affect, it is possible to propose that, in the qualitative terms of subject matter, narrative style, and vocabulary, Samuel Clarke's texts were performative emotionally: they passively reflected and actively gave shape to the affective cognizance of the author and the culture to which they belonged.

The idea that text operates as part of a culture of affect also assumes a nuanced social constructivist view of emotion which, according to W. Gerrod Parrott, holds that whilst 'not all emotions are necessarily social…many emotions seem intrinsically social, and the rest are frequently social because of the social nature of most of our

---

[127] Katie Barclay, 'Performance and Performativity', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, pp. 14-17, p. 16.

[128] Kenneth Sheppard, 'J. G. A. Pocock as an Intellectual Historian', in R. Whatmore, and B. Young, *A Companion to Intellectual History* (Chichester, 2016), pp. 113-26, p. 114. See J. G. A. Pocock, *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 67-8, p. 133.

[129] Sarah C. Maza, 'Stories in History: Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History', *American Historical Review*, 101:5 (1996), pp. 1493–1515, p. 1495. Quoted in Reddy, *Navigation*, p. 99 (where referenced as p. 1494).

goals, concerns and self-conceptions.'[130] Barbara Rosenwein's concept of emotional community also emphasises the social nature of emotion. The social psychologist James Averill argues that emotions 'help to sustain and validate the norms and expectancies, the beliefs and values, that provide the blueprint for their construction.'[131] Furthermore, in terms that relate directly to the purposes of this study, he says that 'one of the surest ways for a religious or political convert to affirm the validity of a new system of beliefs is by experiencing the emotions considered authentic by the group. This self-validating process is somewhat circular.'[132] I am arguing that the construction of an 'authentic' emotional register was central to Clarke's purpose.

These arguments of the relationship between text, culture and affect are underpinned further by a conception of 'emotional practice', where routine practices generate emotions, and emotions themselves are practical engagements with the world. Citing the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Monique Scheer discusses the 'habitus' as a system of 'cognitive and motivating structures' conditioned and responsive to social and cultural constructs.[133] Expanding, she states that 'Conceiving of emotions as practices means understanding them as emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has historical and cultural specificity.' Emotional practices use 'the capacities of the body, trained by specific social settings and power relations', and these emotional practices include 'mobilizing, naming, communicating and regulating emotion'.[134] By establishing consciousness as the joint operation of mind, body and world, as opposed to a Cartesian conception of mind and body dualism, emotion becomes part of 'situated cognition', 'the automated and habitual processes of everyday assessing, deciding and motivating; these are practiced, skilful interactions with people and the environment'.[135] Emotions, as automatic behaviours

---

[130] W. Gerrod Parrott, 'Emotions in Social Psychology: Volume Overview', in W. Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 2.

[131] Averill, 'Reading 21', in Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 351.

[132] Averill, 'Reading 21', in Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 351.

[133] Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, 51:3 (2012), pp. 193-220. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, tr. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 53-6, and a critical discussion of Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' as the physical embodiment of 'cultural capital', in David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago; London, 1997).

[134] Scheer, 'Emotions', *History and Theory*, p. 193.

[135] Scheer, 'Emotions', *History and Theory*, p. 197. NB. The concept of the 'mindful

or reflexes, are not purely biological but emerge where bodily capacities and cultural requirements meet. From a different perspective, but with much the same outcome, Nico H. Frijda argues that emotions can be described in terms of a set of laws through which the mechanism of emotion operates largely independently of intentional control.[136] He proposes that the elicitation of emotion is subject to 'empirical regularities' over which people have little voluntary control. In simple terms, the manifestation of emotions, and the intensity with which they are experienced, depends upon the extent to which events touch upon the issues, things and people that matter to us. For the godly, the profound issues of salvation and religious toleration that Clarke addressed could not have mattered more. I will argue that Clarke's cultural narratives of godly lives, martyrs and the work of providence, could operate as cultural triggers; they became part of a cultural habitus whose regular practices of piety were able to shape the emotional experience of people.

By drawing upon these themes of the performativity of text, the social construction of emotion, emotion-as-practice and laws of emotion, this study proposes a reciprocating, three-point relationship between the texts associated with Samuel Clarke, the layered cultural patterns of the seventeenth century and puritanism in particular, and the emotional cognizance of godly people.

However, this tripartite approach of performativity, social construction and emotion-as-practice (and emotion laws) may tend to subsume the individual within their social and cultural environs. Yet, as noted above, some modernity theorists have assigned a large role to puritanism in the development of a conception of individualism.[137] And, according to Charles Taylor, 'individualism...names what many people consider the finest achievement of civilization.'[138] So, for example, in the context of New England, Adam Seligman argued that the modern idea of the 'ethically autonomous individual' arose out of the 'historical circumstances connected with the

---

body' is associated with anthropologists Margaret Lock and Nancy Scheper-Hughes. See 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1:1 (1987), pp. 6-41.

[136] Nico H. Frijda, 'Reading 2: The Laws of Emotion', in Parrott, *Emotions*, pp. 57-69. See also Nico H. Frijda, *The Laws of Emotion* (Mahwah; London, 2007); M. B. Arnold, *Emotion and Personality* (New York, 1960); and R. S. Lazarus, *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* (New York, 1966).

[137] See John Coffey, 'Puritan Legacies', and Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 327-45 and p. 349.

[138] Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA; London, 1991), p. 2.

transformation of Puritanism in the late seventeenth century.'[139] However, the question of individualism presents a danger of projecting modern preoccupations anachronistically on to the experiences of people in the past. Protestantism is often regarded as emphasising the individual's relationship with God, and puritan religious piety required a continuous internal dialogue (or monologue) and the maintenance of an intimate spiritual log, a focus for a conceptualisation of self-identity. Furthermore, the production of biographies, Clarke's staple, might also seem to stress the significance of individual lives and experience. On the other hand, such practices represented both the expression and the inculcation of doctrine: the comprehension of the religious and cultural community in which individuality was incorporated into a godly formula. By exploring the interface between social and individual affect, a study of puritan affective culture will help to shed light on the nature of this relationship between individuality and the social and cultural milieu.

In this context we can observe a tension between the emotions of the self and the prescription of the affective community. Making allowance for human nature, Michael Mascuch tells us that 'self-consciousness is…a transcultural and transhistorical phenomenon' and that 'in their capacity as persons all humans bear a particular concept of self or, more precisely, a "self-identity".'[140] But, he tells us, 'At the same time, a personal self-identity is an effect of human activity in the landscape of society and culture.'[141] Personal and cultural identities are overlapping to a point whose location is mobile between individuals, and the societies and cultures they inhabit. In terms of emotion, responses to conditioning cultural norms vary as individuals regulate, both deliberately and at a more sub-conscious level, what and how they might feel. In godly culture, social pressures to internalise powerful feelings and morph them into something godlier, or to perform counter-intuitively, embracing rather than evading social emotions such as guilt and shame, inevitably placed some individuals under great emotional strain. This is a process of internalisation that relates emotional experience to self-consciousness and self-identity. It occurs at the margin

---

[139] Adam Seligman, 'Inner-Worldly Individualism and the Institutionalization of Puritanism in Late Seventeenth-Century New England', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 41:4 (1990), pp. 537-57, p. 537.

[140] Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 18.

[141] Mascuch, *Individualist*, p. 18. NB. He holds to a view that autobiography did not emerge as a genre until the eighteenth century.

between the experiential self-realisation of the individual and the social construction of affect: a locus sometimes conducive of emotional stress.

The culture of affect therefore needs to be assessed from the broader social perspective of the emotional community and the narrower viewpoint of the individual feeling and coping under the aegis of an emotional regime.[142] Within their culturally constructed norms and values, Clarke's texts represented and reflected the broad experience - the beliefs, cognitions and perceptions - of a particular community. The argument proposed here suggests that for Clarke's community constructs of godliness supplied normative emotional triggers and emotion prototypes. This part of the culture of affect can be observed by analysing Clarke's texts. However, their performativity at the level of the experience of individuals also needs to be assessed. In this respect the evidence of personal spiritual journals can also be interrogated for indications that cultural affect shaped the feelings of godly individuals; here the performativity of affect rings out as a function of the formulaic quality of these sources. Necessarily contextualising such expressions of feeling, and being 'fully conscious of the complexity of historical knowledge', it is nevertheless helpful to assume, as Georg G. Iggers put it, 'that real people had real thoughts and feelings that led to real actions that, within limits, can be known and reconstructed.'[143]

Furthermore, this godly affective culture did not, and could not, exist in isolation. Indeed, those qualities which may describe a discrete identity can only be recognised within the context of a study which also seeks to establish the nature, commonalities and precincts of other competing and, in places, coterminous emotional communities, and the means by which they were developed and sustained. Clarke's work touched both a broad Protestant base and a more narrowly orthodox Presbyterian constituency. Emotion was a formative element of identities that were shaped around experience interpreted in 'aggregating terms': 'the broadly inclusive Puritan, Dissenting or Nonconformist, or the narrowly specific Independent, Anabaptist, Congregationalist, Fifth Monarchist, Muggletonian, or Quaker.'[144] Therefore, this study will address how far Clarke's Presbyterians existed as an emotional community

---

[142] See W. M. Reddy, 'Historical Research on the Self and Emotions', *Emotion Review*, 1:4 (2009), pp. 302-315.

[143] Georg. G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown, 1997), p. 119.

[144] Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford, 2012), p. 20.

in relation both to conformity and to other dissenters. So, this study of affective culture will apply a range of emotions history concepts.[145] It will consider the extent of overlap, separateness and hostility that can be observed in terms of the emotional style of vocabulary, narrative and discourse. By examining the rationale that supported a conception of pious emotion, it will explain the limits and interfaces of the Presbyterian emotional community, and it will explore the emotional character of denominational and sectarian division that Robert Conold had stressed in his tract *The Notion of Schism* in 1676.

III - Chapter Outline

The structure of this project reflects these necessary variations in focus from the broadest perspective of community, in terms of its relationship with other communities, through the medium of Clarke's literature to the emotional experience of the individual. It is organised into four parts.

Part One, 'Communities', takes a macro view to consider how Clarke's religious, orthodox Presbyterian community may be understood as an emotional community by examining perspectives from without and within. Chapter One aims to provide a context in which a concept of emotional community can be applied by examining a particular perspective at a specific historical moment. It centres upon the public attack in printed literature against Presbyterianism at the moment of the Restoration and during the Savoy Conference of 1661. It argues that the rhetoric of anti-Presbyterian polemic produced during this period, whilst representing a rational position on the political and religious settlement of affairs, also reflected profound and bitter sentiment that evidences deep dissonances of feeling. Indeed, 1661 was an emotional moment in which it is possible to observe how affect did not only characterise how differences of outlook were expressed, but fashioned and insisted upon such differences. Chapter Two outlines the story of Clarke's background and career, placing it in the context of a religious community of shared values and cultural norms. It juxtaposes the perspective of Chapter One by taking a view of Clarke's outlook and networks across the span of his career. It aims to identify aspects of Clarke's religious constituency in terms of attitudes, relationships and positions taken

---

[145] See appendix two for summary of key emotions history concepts used in this study.

concerning the course of events. It argues that in aggregate these factors constituted a community characterised, on the inside, by mutual feeling resulting from shared appraisals in relation to goals, concerns and aspirations, and from the outside by the antipathy of others. In this way, the chapter suggests that Clarke's religious community may be described as an emotional community.

The identity of separate emotional communities was often expressed through the medium of print. Part Two, 'Constructions', considers how Clarke's staples of biography and martyrology contributed to this process. The purpose of Chapter Three is to introduce the discussion of the relationship between printed text and affective culture by considering how the range and usage of conceptual and emotive vocabulary constituted a cultural lexicon, and to explore how the vocabulary of printed discourse reflected the different cognitions and values that conditioned the emotional goals of different religious identities. Chapter Four examines how narratives of the operation of divine providence and persecution were central to Clarke's account of Church history. Clarke's aim was to legitimise a Presbyterian version of orthodoxy against a context of rising sectarianism and demands for religious toleration. It argues that Clarke's narratives were cultural scripts that worked to give form and shape to events; they offered an account of rationality that encompassed and directed a concept of rational affections and helped to establish the norms and values of an emotional community. This chapter considers how the emotional dimension of these narratives was fundamental to Clarke's particular Presbyterian cultural purpose.

Part Three, 'Typology', explores the presentation and understanding of emotional paradigms in Clarkeian affective culture. In Chapter Five the aim is to examine the ideas underpinning the Clarkeian landscape of the emotions as modelled in his narratives. This chapter considers Clarke's doctrinal exposition as set out in *Medulla Theologiæ* (1659), and reveals the extent of Clarke's uncompromising Presbyterian orthodoxy. The rationale is dominated by the binary of rational affections and unruly passions which compete for mastery in the soul of the individual. Clarke's analysis was intended to aid the godly aspirant to understand the true nature of their feelings in relation to assurance, and to set boundaries that defined the orthodoxy of Clarke's Presbyterianism in terms of rational affections. Chapter Six explores the duality at the heart of the construction of emotion by taking a closer look at how Clarke presented basic emotion types. Primary emotions like joy, love, fear, anger, sorrow and shame were described in terms that demonstrated the critical distinction between

a rational experience that pointed the way to sanctification, and the unruly passions that required mortification. For the pious, authentic emotions were spiritual witnesses to be interrogated and examined as guides to godliness. But they also had a public dimension that set standards for appropriate display. So their internal spiritual functionality existed within a framework of appropriateness in which the experience of emotion was prescribed by the values of godly community.

Part Four, 'Social Affect and Individuality', takes this discussion forward by considering the interface between the dimensions of social affect and individuality as confirming a concept of affective culture. Chapter Seven studies the consumption of Clarke's texts in terms of social affect and the extent to which the emotional repertoire described and prescribed in Clarke's narratives of godly lives and martyrs reached and moved individuals. The aim is to test the assertion that these texts were part of the emotional practice of a religious culture in which culturally normative paradigms of affect shaped individual experience. The nature of the public discourse around Clarke's texts is surveyed as suggestive of a context in which social affect was often indistinguishable from personal feeling, and helped to give form to emotional expression. The chapter considers individualities of feeling in their cultural context by discussing the connection between the pious practice of maintaining a spiritual log and the godly lives formalised in Clarke's work. It is possible to see the affective performativity of Clarke's work in the lives of individuals like Ralph Thoresby and John Rastrick, and particularly in the example of Thomas Hall of King's Norton. Chapter Eight aims to explore the interface between the emotional community and the individual. It considers questions of how far the emotional identity of individuals conformed to the cultural prototype of emotion and the extent to which the emotional expression of individuals confirms the presence of an emotional community. Godly adherents like those discussed in this chapter maintained personal spiritual journals that reveal their attempts to monitor their spiritual progress as they attempted to reconstruct themselves as assured believers. The similarities between the emotional representation in the accounts discussed here speak to the existence of an emotional community. However, we can also glimpse, through the cover of a formulaic style, the

individualities of temperament of people struggling to manage powerful feelings under the constraints of cultural expectations.[146]

---

[146] See appendix two for a brief explanation of the relationship between affect and emotion.

PART ONE

Communities

Part One argues that emotion was a central factor in shaping the internal cohesions and external interfaces of politico-religious communities in the mid-seventeenth century. The aim of these two chapters is to provide perspectives by which the Presbyterian orthodoxy represented by Samuel Clarke can be viewed in the context of a concept of emotional community. They consider the extent to which emotion helped to define and prescribe the boundaries of seventeenth-century religious communities. The first chapter explores the affective nature of the bitter binary relationship between Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism at a particular historical moment, in the aftermath of the Restoration. The second chapter locates Clarke's orthodoxy in the variegated landscape of mid-seventeenth century puritanism, and considers how far Clarke's religious identity, social connections and published output are indicative of a community that may be described in terms of the mutations and evolution of an emotional community.

Chapter One: The Odious Name of Presbyterian

'Truly Sir he said very little...but told me he must chastise me for the good of my soul...while he was strugling to get up my Coates, he would often thrust up his hand------I am ashamed to tell you where.'[1] The maidservant Jone went on to make further astonishing revelations about her treatment at the hands of her master, Mr. Noctroffe. She explained to the churchwardens that 'he called me into his private Closet, and there by main force used me'. Expanding upon the details of the attack, she alleged that 'he had a great Birchen Rod as big as a broom almost; and yet gave me two or three claps with his hand'. On the critical question of rape, Jone replied innocently, 'I don't know, I can't tell; yet sometimes when he put his hand between my Thighs to keep me upon the Form, he tickled me so, that I think I was almost ravished with it.' It was then observed, understandably in the circumstances, that this was 'a fine piece of Baudery to be acted by a parson'.[2]

Of course, the *double entendre* and deliberate ambiguity of the discourse quoted above reveals, hopefully, that it was not judicial evidence but rather a somewhat contrived and ribald satire, that drew upon an established stereotype of the lustful dissenter.[3] Indeed, this vicious and defamatory attack upon an individual Presbyterian minister emerged, in 1661, from the imaginative pen of a London bookseller Francis Kirkman.[4] *The Presbyterian Lash*[,] *Or, Noctroff's Maid Whipt*, presented a theatrical review that extended the Presbyterian hot-headed and hypocritical stereotype to the extremes of sado-sexual deviancy.[5] The real-life Zachary Crofton (1626–1672), thinly aliased as Noctroffe 'the Presbyterian Priest', is accused in terms that were deliberately meant to be grossly disgusting to Calvinist sensibilities:

---

[1] Francis Kirkman, *The Presbyterian Lash. Or, Noctroff's Maid Whipt* (London, 1661), sig. B2v. NB. Noctroff is spelled variously both with and without an 'e'.

[2] Kirkman, *Lash*, sigs B2v-B3v.

[3] In the 1640s attacks on Ranters and other sectarians portrayed them as deviant, libertine and promiscuous. Orthodox Presbyterians were among those most outraged by such perceived challenges to standards of moral decency, as Kirkman well understood. See, for example, Anon., *A Nest of Serpents Discovered. Or a Knot of Old Heretiques Revived, Called the Adamites* (London, 1641), Daniel Featley, *The Dippers Dipt* (London, 1646), Samuel Tilbury, *Bloudy Newse from the North, and the Ranting Adamites Declaration* (London, 1650) and John Reading, *The Ranters Ranting* (London, 1650).

[4] See L. H. Newcomb, 'Francis Kirkman (b. 1632, d. in or after 1680)', *ODNB*.

[5] Kirkman, *Lash*.

a bawdy, ridiculous scenario intended to deflate haughty Presbyterian self-righteousness and cast them as no better than promiscuous Ranters and Adamites.[6] Zachary Crofton was the tactical focus of this character assassination, but *The Presbyterian Lash* was intended and timed as a part of broader attack against orthodox Presbyterianism in general, just as the Restoration settlement was evolving.

Crofton was an easy target, a living caricature of the obsessive and intransigent Presbyterian. He had fled from Ireland in 1641 to escape the rebellion and massacre of Protestants, and in 1644 he served in the Parliamentary army. As a minister, he was unable to settle for long in any parish proving himself disputatious and confrontational. Even Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) highlighted the 'warm and hasty temper' which drew him into conflict.[7] He aggressively opposed prominent Independents, including John Rogers and John Simpson, to the point where in 1657 he had to be ordered by Cromwell to stop obstructing Simpson from preaching in St Botolph, Aldgate, the parish in which Crofton had been placed on the Protector's orders in 1655.[8] In this example, Crofton's Presbyterian dogmatism and obduracy was responsible for driving together an unlikely alliance of moderates and radicals in support of the wayward and heretical Simpson.[9] During this time Crofton served as delegate of the eighth London classis to the London Provincial Assembly. He demanded strict parochial discipline and produced a long pamphlet supporting the London Assembly's call for rigorous catechising as the first step before admission to holy communion.[10] In the immediate context of the Restoration he stood out as one of only two Presbyterian ministers who refused to support the address of gratitude for the Declaration of Breda in 1660.[11] In March 1661 Crofton was arrested on a charge of high treason and imprisoned in the Tower where he remained until July 1662. Later

---

[6] E. C. Vernon, 'Zachary Crofton (1626–1672)', *ODNB*.

[7] Samuel Palmer (ed.), *The Nonconformist's Memorial…originally written by…Edmund Calamy* (3rd edn, 3 vols, London, 1802–3), I, p. 103. NB. This Edmund Calamy was the grandson of Clarke's contemporary, Edmund Calamy (1600-66).

[8] Vernon, 'Crofton', *ONDB*. John Rogers (b. 1627), who spiritual odyssey took him from Presbyterianism, through Independency to Fifth Monarchism. See Richard L. Greaves, 'John Rogers (b. 1627)', *ODNB*. John Simpson, a powerful preacher, Independent and antinomian who was associated with Christopher Feake and the Fifth Monarchists. See Bernard Capp, 'John Simpson (1614/15–1662)', *ODNB*.

[9] Capp, 'Simpson', *ONDB*.

[10] Zachary Crofton, *Catechizing Gods Ordinance* (London, 1657).

[11] The other was Arthur Jackson (c.1593–1666). Tai Liu, 'Arthur Jackson (c.1593–1666)', *ODNB*.

that year he was, again, briefly imprisoned in Chester Castle for sedition. 'Extreme even by presbyterian standards', as Elliot Vernon tells us, Crofton was the epitome of a puritan zealot.[12]

Zachary Crofton may have been an egregious example, but his portrayal in the form of this printed ad hominem was totally uninhibited. Quite apart from the pornographic elaboration of the plot, which had no basis in actuality, *The Presbyterian Lash* exposed the zealot's apparent wickedness in pathological detail. Indeed, in a number of Richard III-style monologues we are given a disturbing insight into the mindset of the fanatic. The anti-hero condemns himself in his own words, blithely revealing his hypocrisy, cunning, and deliberate intention to sow division. Earlier, in a faux dedication, Kirkman had sardonically invited Noctroffe to 'patronize' this attack upon himself on the basis that it would appeal to the vanity of one for whom barely 'a week should passe' without his name appearing in print. Noting that 'it is your intent to raise your self as high as your late Patron Hugh Peters', Kirkman linked Crofton (alias Noctroffe) to one of the most hated figures among the puritan clergy: the man alleged to have been the late King's masked executioner, who was himself executed in 1660.[13]

It is possible that Zachary Crofton's cruel treatment in parody was to some extent deserved and, given his choleric temperament and his undoubted religious zeal, it scarcely seems to have deflected him from his courses. Fellow Presbyterians and clerical colleagues, like Samuel Clarke and Richard Baxter, may have agreed in essence with Crofton's views on doctrine, ecclesiology and godly practice, but their style and comportment differed. Though zealous in the prosecution of their dogmas, and not above controversy, they shared an instinct towards reconciliation that Crofton apparently did not, welcoming the Restoration and seeking agreement. Men like these would have been appalled to have been tainted as associates of radicals and regicides like Hugh Peter.

However, from another point of view these puritans were all as bad as each other and the Restoration of 1660 provided the opportunity to express such feelings. The display of animosity contained in the tragi-comedy aimed at Crofton was just one

---

[12] Vernon, 'Crofton', *ODNB*.

[13] Kirkman, *Lash*, p.1. Carla Gardina Pestana, 'Hugh Peter [Peters] (bap. 1598, d. 1660)', *ODNB*. For an account of the regicides see Jason Peacey (ed.), *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I* (Basingstoke, 2001).

example. In the wake of the Restoration, Presbyterianism in general became the focus of a sustained series of vitriolic attacks in print which observed no subtle distinctions or variations between individuals or on questions of doctrine and ecclesiology. Puritan zeal, hypocrisy, stubbornness, duplicity, vanity, arrogance and downright wickedness were universal markers which identified and objectified the Presbyterian community in terms of hatred.

From different perspectives, these malicious revelations were both hilarious and downright offensive; they were certainly scandalous. Stories like this, of sexual misconduct and the abuse of positions of trust, entail complex potentialities, then as now. It is a context in which it is not difficult to imagine the range of emotional reactions that would attach to different identities, from amusement, delight and scorn through to shame, anger and resentment. This chapter offers a means of navigating the context in which this story emerged by arguing that expressions of deep antipathy, calculated to produce a reaction, reflected profound emotional dissonances. *The Presbyterian Lash* was meant to simplify, define and contrast the outline of two identities. That there were great divisions on the tortuous and emotive issues of religion and politics is, of course, abundantly clear. But, the extreme stereotyping and deliberate offence intended by Kirkman reflected an intense antipathy on his part and demanded an emotional response from those who perceived themselves to be under attack. This kind of polemic allowed the difficult political and religious permutations of the period to be condensed into matters of feeling. Convoluted issues were reduced to the emotional propensities that underpinned political and religious orientation, and shaped action. Kirkman was expressing identities that were fundamentally emotional.

Indeed, *The Presbyterian Lash*, and the rest of the discourse discussed in this chapter, are examples of a process by which the written word can convey affect as a means of emotional contagion. According to W. Gerrod Parrott, 'Psychologists have proposed a number of ways by which emotions spread from one person to another.'[14] Such contagion will typically involve face-to-face contact but, as Parrott continues,

> Emotions can be displayed via language – quite vividly so if the writer is skilled. Language can directly supply appraisal information without its needing to be inferred from non-verbal expressions, and can also supply information that

---

[14] Parrot, 'Psychological Perspectives', in Kerr, Lemmings and Phiddian, *Passions*, p. 33.

affects the intensity of readers' emotional responses; the centuries-long study and practice of rhetoric has codified the theory and methods of doing so.[15]

Thus, by using their writing to express tone of voice and rhythmic content, capable satirists and rhetoricians like Francis Kirkman, and the others discussed below (including Roger L'Estrange and Marchamont Nedham) were perfectly able, as Parrott explains, to 'induce readers to recreate in their imaginations the non-verbal signals that evoke emotions when face-to-face.'[16] So output like this does not merely manifest the feeling that attached to the political and religious questions of the day; it was intended to perform. As Sara Ahmed explains, 'Political discourse transforms feeling by giving that feeling an object or target.'[17] Satire like this projected and stipulated the conditions in which religious-political groups were actualised as objects of negative feeling.[18]

And we can see the effect. In his written account of the Savoy Conference of 1661 Richard Baxter, the leading Presbyterian spokesman, despaired that Presbyterian had become an 'odious name'.[19] That such a formidably emotive term, connoting feelings of revulsion, hatred and disgust, should be used to express his concern at how his community was regarded by clerical colleagues is revealing. Clarke had used the same terminology when he explained in the epistolary preface to the 1662 publication of the *Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, that

> I am not ignorant how some of late have endeavoured to bespatter, and to bring an *Odium* upon the Names of some of our former Worthies...Its an old trick of the devil to belye God's children and to represent them in the ugliest hue they can devise, thereby to make them the more odious.[20]

Presbyterianism was, it can be stated, a rational system of views about how a state Church should order and practice a Protestant form of Christianity; objectively it does not appear very different from Episcopalianism.[21] Certainly there were substantive but largely technical issues of disagreement about the nature of episcopacy, theology and

---

[15] Parrot, 'Perspectives', in Kerr, Lemmings and Phiddian, *Passions*, p. 35.

[16] Parrot, 'Perspectives', in Kerr, Lemmings and Phiddian, *Passions*, p. 35.

[17] Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, p. 227.

[18] See discussion of 'Emotion and Rhetoric', in Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, pp. 225-9.

[19] Richard Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* (London, 1696), I. II, p. 373 (242).

[20] Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662), 'To the Candid Reader', sig. A4r.

[21] See Paul Lim, 'Puritans and the Church of England: Historiography and Ecclesiology', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 223-40, for an account of the origins, nature and historical interpretation of this divide.

liturgical practice. These reflected a broader tension between a sense of the necessity of order and stability within Church and state, as opposed to a focus upon the effectiveness and Reformation of the English Church. Yet the scale and intensity of attacks like those on Crofton seem to transcend these differences. Presbyterianism conjured highly emotional hostile responses. Although it served their purposes to present opponents as unreasonably antagonistic, it is not really surprising that people like Clarke and Baxter genuinely felt that they were regarded with odium.

Explaining the value of an emotions history approach, Lyndal Roper suggests that it will help to explain why 'some discourses should prove particularly powerful at certain historical moments'.[22] This chapter aims to do just this. It focuses upon some of the array of printed pamphlets and broadsides produced in 1661, during and around the Savoy Conference, and considers what these sources disclose about the emotional nature of the enmity of those who counted themselves as Episcopalians against their Presbyterian co-religionists. The chapter directs a narrow focus upon the period immediately following the Restoration during which extreme anti-Presbyterian sentiment was expressed in an intense campaign of published polemic. It provides a perspective that allows us to mark how cultural differences between dissenters and others encompassed feeling, and how this culture of affect was effective in shaping the identities which may be described as emotional communities. This is, therefore, a study of the relationship between rhetoric and emotion. It considers the proposition that groups of long standing opposing opinion, whose mutual antipathy was expressed using a vocabulary of insult, vituperation and odium may be regarded as separate emotional communities, and it poses the question of how far the language of anti-Presbyterian polemic expressed in print was both constitutive and reflective of such divisions. In these sources, hatred can be observed as a defining emotion which governed essentially political decisions on the settlement of the Church.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Despite the general mood of celebration that accompanied the return of the King in May 1660, the Restoration government faced many problems. Indeed, as Tim Harris points out, 'With the vantage of hindsight, we can see that the Restoration period was

---

[22] Roper, *The Witch*, p. 87.

the last gasp for the Stuart monarchy,' although 'It would not have appeared that way to people at the time.'[23] In passing the Indemnity and Oblivion Act in 1660, Parliament granted amnesty to those who had sided against the King. But the profound impression is that, following the Restoration, many would like to have seen the retributive net cast more widely. The execution of a small core of thirteen regicides, three of whom were already dead (Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton), was politically expedient, but it did not completely mitigate the anger, bitterness and hostility of many Royalists and Episcopalians.[24] Clearly, many points of departure, in terms of political and religious alignment, continued to exist, and Mark Kishlansky confirms that the 'religious settlement proved the most difficult of all'.[25] The contention here is that these differences of principle, outlook and orientation also related to the evolution of affective cultures. Far from curing all the lesions afflicting the English body politic, the Restoration in 1660 exposed further the separateness of communities that had developed through the years of mid-century turmoil. The potency of religious belief, combined with decades of bitter antagonism, had produced a disconnection in English society that was viscerally deep and felt in terms of passion as opposed to reason - as much somatic as spiritual and intellectual. Thus, the Savoy Conference in 1661 (April to July), a pivotal event in the religious history of the period that seemed to offer the opportunity for a religious settlement, also provides an example of an historical emotional moment where it is possible to perceive the divide between religious-political communities in terms of feeling. A deeply felt emotional separation was revealed in a highly antagonistic public discourse that speaks to the formation and existence of alienated communities of feeling.

Clarke wrote about his involvement in the crucial developments that followed the Restoration in his autobiography:

> The King's Majesty having published a Declaration concerning ecclesiastical
> affairs; the London Ministers drew up a congratulatory Address to His Majesty
> for the same, adding a prayer for the removal of Re-ordination, and Surplices in

---

[23] Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London; New York, 2005), p. 6.

[24] See Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 47-8. See Charles Spencer, *Killers of the King: The Men Who Dared to Execute Charles I* (London, 2014) for an account of the hunt for the regicides.

[25] Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed, Britain 1603-1714* (London, 1996), p. 225.

> Colledges, and chose me to present it; which I did at Whitehall, November 16. 1660...The King took my Paper, and returned this answer: Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as my self: and something more like to the purpose.[26]

The Worcester House Declaration of October 1660, described from Clarke's perspective as an active participant in events, marked an earlier moment of apparent accord. The restored monarch, recognising his government's need for a broad base of support, seemed to be making good on his promise in the Declaration of Breda of April 1660, that 'because the passion and charitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other...We do declare a liberty to Tender Consciences'.[27] Presbyterians had supported the Restoration, and the King's Privy Council was controlled by men like George Monck who, as John Coffey points out, 'wished to see both Presbyterians and Episcopalians accommodated within a broad national church.'[28] However, the very suggestion that Presbyterians had been instrumental in the King's reinstatement was enough to summon an emotional response from Royalists and Episcopalians. For example, the author of the ironically entitled tract *A Lively Pourtraict of our New-Cavaliers, Commonly Called Presbyterian*, introduced his short treatise in heated terms:

> That the Presbyterians were the Principal Instruments of his Majesties Restauration, From the jealousie and distain, which, (as a passionate Lover of his Majesty,) I conceive at the very mention of such a Rival, And for the Vindication of that Cause and Party, which is dearer to me than my life, I shall undertake to disprove it.[29]

And, by the end of 1661 the newly assembled Cavalier Parliament had begun to construct the draconian package of laws against dissent, later known as the Clarendon

---

[26] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 10. NB. The address given by Clarke was published as Samuel Clarke, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* (London, 1660). Clarke's autobiography was originally written in 1660. See Ann Hughes, 'Samuel Clarke (1599-1682)', *ODNB*.

[27] Charles II (and George Monck, Duke of Albemarle), *King Charles II. His Declaration to all his Loving Subjects of the Kingdom of England. Dated from his Court at Breda in Holland, the 4/14 of April 1660* (Edinburgh, 1660).

[28] Coffey, *Persecution,* p. 167.

[29] Anon., *A Lively Pourtraict of our New-Cavaliers, Commonly Called Presbyterians* (London, 1661), p. 3.

Code, which would enable what John Coffey describes as 'a persecution of Protestants by Protestants without parallel in seventeenth-century Europe.'[30] The explanation for this direction of policy, which in other respects seems to deny the logic of a Restoration that required consensus and compromise, can be located, partly at least, in terms of emotion – a reactive urge for retribution engendered by the release of repressed feelings of resentment, aversion and anger.[31]

The Savoy Conference, at which Clarke was one of twelve ministers representing the Presbyterian position, assembled in April 1661. In *Terms of Accommodation, between those of the Episcopall, and their Brethren of the Presbyterian Perswasions* (1661) an anonymous 'Countrey Minister' explained that very little actually separated Presbyterians from Episcopalians, and that compromise should have been achievable.[32] This view seems to resonate with a modern and secular perspective from which it appears that the two 'persuasions' seem to have been in substantial agreement on most of the salient matters. After all, they were English Protestants, influenced more or less by Calvinist teaching, supporters of a form of Erastian settlement, opposed to schism, sectarianism and Catholicism. Their leaders were serious men, educated in the same schools and philosophical traditions. Indeed, Edward Reynolds (1599-1676), though acknowledged as a member of the Presbyterian delegation at the Savoy Conference, accepted the Bishopric of Norwich on the grounds, as reported by Richard Baxter, that 'he professed that he took a Bishop and Presbyter to differ not…a Bishop was but the Chief Presbyter'.[33] According to *Terms of Accommodation*, the essential points separating the two sides required relatively simple terms of compromise: firstly between different emphases on 'Antiquity' and 'Scripture' as guides to religious practice; secondly between 'The Constitutions of the Church' and 'The Solemn League and Covenant' in terms of ecclesiastical arrangements.[34] The author argued that the distance between the two parties was not so great because

---

[30] Coffey, *Persecution*, p. 169.

[31] NB. This is not meant to deny that there was also a political logic to excluding puritans so that their grip on urban life was loosened (and hence their electoral muscle) at a time when four out of five MPs were returned by towns.

[32] A Countrey Minister, *Terms of Accommodation, between those of the Episcopall, and their Brethren of the Presbyterian Perswasions* (London, 1661).

[33] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, I. II, p. 283 (125).

[34] Countrey Minister, *Terms*, p. 2.

what is here supposed rational to be yielded by the episcopalian, be neither

contrary to the current of Antiquity, or Scripture, nor repugnant to the legal

constitutions of this Church: And what is expected from the Presbyterian, be

neither contrary to the scripture, nor aliene from Antiquity, nor repugnant to the

Solemn League and Covenant.[35]

It was important, he indicates, to acknowledge that both parties adhered to 'principles swaying...conscience'.[36] In other words, for such accommodation to be achieved each needed to recognise the sincere godliness and rationality of the other.

However, by describing himself in the title as 'a Friend to Both, a Stickler for Neither, but a Zealot for the Peace of the Church', the anonymous author exposes the kernel of the matter.[37] Religious leaders and their lay congregations did not view each other as 'friends', instead preferring a terminology of 'stickler' and 'zealot' to describe and classify each other. Words mattered and name-calling was emotive. What separated the two sides at the Savoy Conference in 1661 certainly encompassed the technicalities of ecclesiastical government and doctrine, but the essential issues concerned tribal passions. By deliberately eschewing it, our 'Countrey Minister' acknowledges that verbal abuse actually characterised much of the rhetoric that both represented and helped to shape emotional reaction on both sides of the argument. This was a clash of affective cultures.

Furthermore, these negotiations occurred in the context of an apparent hardening of positions against puritanism in general, partly stirred by the Fifth Monarchist rising in London in the January which had revived quite recent memories and fears concerning religious fanaticism. Coincidently, perhaps, 1660 may also be said to have marked the beginning of the 'great period' of English satire, and religious zeal provided an easy target.[38] One example of a satirical sheet published in 1661 reveals the hostile mood, articulating both anxiety and bitterness, and undermining the Presbyterian position. *The Execution of the Covenant* describes how the 'common hangman', Edward Dun, was said to have publically burned a copy of the Solemn

---

[35] Countrey Minister, *Terms*, pp. 2-3.

[36] Countrey Minister, *Terms*, p. 2.

[37] Countrey Minister, *Terms*, title page.

[38] Ian Higgins, entry for 'Satire', in Steven R. Serafin, and Valerie Grosvenor Myer (eds), *The Continuum Encyclopedia of British Literature* (New York; London, 2003), p. 866.

Covenant on 22 May.[39] In a sneering mockery of the Presbyterian narrative of conversion and salvation the author suggests that, because he had taken the Covenant in his hand in order to cast it into the flames, 'Dun is turn'd Presbyter'. The anonymous author strikes at the core of Presbyterian sensitivities by conflating puritanism with radical sectarianism:

> Bark then Phanaticks, who like Demophon,
>
> Glow in the shade, and freeze still in the Sun.
>
> Howle Millenaries, Independents too,
>
> And Anabaptist, that Heretick Crew
>
> Of Presbyterian By-blowes.[40]

And proceeds to lay the culpability for the recent wars squarely upon them:

> This Mouth-Granado, from that Scotch-witch came
>
> To set three Glorious Kingdomes in a flame.
>
> A Covenant? No, 'twas a Conspiracy,
>
> Plotted by Brethren in Iniquity.[41]

However, the main rhetorical attack in this short verse, contained on a single broadsheet, is a play upon heat and fire – a critical allusion to puritan 'zeal'.[42] Demophon does not survive Demeter's attempt to make him immortal by burning him in the hearth. Thus, the Covenant, and by implication Presbyterianism in general, should also burn 'in the fire'. But the assessment is that 'ye'l rather turn, Than follow your black Junto to the Urn'.[43] This was a conflagration of their own making and 'who would desire, (Were it to Roast a *Rump*) a fitter fire?'[44] It is hard to imagine how the imagery of Presbyterian ideology embodied in the burning of the Covenant could be other than emotive in the context of 1661. An allegory of puritans consumed by their own zeal was both vindicating and hateful.

John Spurr tells us that the Presbyterians 'made a disunited and inept showing at the conference with the bishops in the Savoy chapel', but that they 'had already lost

---

[39] Anon., *The Execution of the Covenant, Burnt by the Common-Hang-Man Edw. Dun, Presbyter, May 22. 1661* (London, 1661).

[40] Anon., *Execution.* NB. In Greek mythology Demeter attempts to make Demophon of Eleusis immortal by burning away his mortal spirit each night in a fire. The attempt fails.

[41] Anon., *Execution.*

[42] See Chapter Three for further discussion of zeal.

[43] Anon., *Execution.*

[44] Anon., *Execution.*

the political initiative' to returned Episcopalian exiles, now confidently in the ascendant after the Cavalier Parliament had restored the bishops to the House of Lords and reinstated diocesan courts.[45] Richard Baxter's account, whilst explaining the minutiae of the proceedings, reveals that emotions ran high on both sides of the issue and dominated the outcome. Baxter describes the Bishops' response to one of his arguments:

> This Speech they were offended at, and said, that I sought to make them odious, by representing them as cruel, and Persecutors, as if they intended to silence and cast out so many. And it was one of the greatest matters of Offence against me, that I foreknew and foretold them what they were about to do. They said, that this was but to stir up the Fears of the People, and cause them to disaffect the Government, by talking of silencing us, and casting out the People from Communion.[46]

Thus, according to Baxter, name-calling, fear-mongering and invective were both constitutive and reflective aspects of the mutually antagonistic feeling evident between senior divines on both sides, and these sentiments reverberated beyond the walls of the Savoy chapel. Baxter expressed his frustration and anguish at the injustice of it all, and his sense of losing control of the rhetoric of public discourse:

> And now our Calamities began to be much greater than before: We were called all by the Name of Presbyterians (the odious Name): though we never put up one Petition for Presbytery, but pleaded for Primitive Episcopacy...We could not go abroad but we met with daily Reproaches and false Stories of us: Either we were feigned to be Plotting, or to be Disaffecting the People, &c. And no Sermon that I preached, scarce escaped the Censure of being Seditious, though I preached only for Repentance and Faith, and Morality and Common Vertue...and many Gentlemen that aimed at their Rising in the World, who found out quickly what was most pleasing to those whose Favour they must rise by, and so set themselves industriously to Reviling, Calumniating and Cruelty, against all those whom they perceived to be odious![47]

---

[45] See Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 129.
[46] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, I. II, pp. 345-6 (212).
[47] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, I. II, p. 373 (242).

Baxter had noted earlier how the nomenclature of 'Presbyterian' had come to replace 'puritan' as a general slur on anyone seeking reform, or even compromise, connoting such with fanaticism:

> And here you may note by the way, the fashion of these Times, and the state of the Presbyterians: Any Man that was for a Spiritual serious way of Worship (though he were for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his Profession, was called commonly a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joyned himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other Sect which might afford him a more odious Name.[48]

Feeling mattered more than fact; 'Presbyterian' was an emotive and controlling term of abuse.

Indeed, the London presses produced a flurry of anti-Presbyterian tracts in 1661 which underscore Baxter's concerns. Whilst confirming the continuing importance 'of rhetorical strategy to political outcome', as Kevin Sharpe put it, the intensity of the propaganda produced in this short period is also suggestive of an emotionally cathartic communal experience.[49] Feelings necessarily bottled-up during the period of puritan ascendancy found various ways of expressing themselves in print, and the main target were the Presbyterians who at that moment were seeking to find compromise or accommodation within the Church of England. For example, in *State-Divinity, Or, A Supplement to The Relaps'd Apostate* (1661), and without naming him as such, Roger L'Estrange attacked Richard Baxter personally as 'one of the Eminent Sticklers against Bishops'.[50] Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch explain L'Estrange's style:

> the open and extreme reactiveness of his own animadversions does not attempt to mask its own hypocrisy; rather it makes the very notion of hypocrisy irrelevant. Any inconsistency, within or between L'Estrange's texts, is obliterated by the immediacy and intensity of his rhetoric and his animus.[51]

---

[48] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, I. II, p. 278 (112).

[49] See Kevin Sharpe, 'Religion, Rhetoric, and Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 57:3 (1994), pp. 255-299, p. 278.

[50] Roger L'Estrange, *State-Divinity, Or, A Supplement to The Relaps'd Apostate* (London, 1661), p. 24. Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704) became the official censor in 1663 and despite his role in the development of journalism he never accepted the need for a free press. He 'was to remain the civil war warrior all his life'. Harold Love, 'Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704)', *ODNB*.

[51] Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds), *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of*

He accused the Presbyterians of being responsible for killing the King because they had supported the Solemn League and Covenant. He wrote, 'They that first Voted War against the King were every whit as criminal, as that Mock Court of Justice that condemn'd him.'[52] Such one-dimensional and populist lines of argument greatly over-simplified the complex reality of events, and did so deliberately. It was a style that relied upon the 'sheer force of iteration and reiteration', evidenced by the frequent pejorative deployment of 'faction' to describe Presbyterians.[53] For example, in the 'Preface' L'Estrange referred to 'The Presbyterian Faction (under the Notion of the Commission'd Divines)' to describe the representatives at the Savoy.[54] He also accused his adversaries of perverting the meaning of language in order to invert morality, manipulating a rhetoric of anthorism. Thus, he continued,

> I was never taught in the Presbyterian School; where they call foul things by fine names. Sometimes perhaps I call their Combination...Treason: Spilling of innocent Bloud; Murther. Taking away an honest mans Estate, Robbery. Rifling of Churches, Sacrilege...They have indeed a cleanlier Idiome for these matters. A Treacherous Confederacy they call a Holy Covenant. Murther forsooth, is Justice upon Delinquents. Notorious Robbery, passes for Sequestration. Rifling of Churches, is but demolishing of the high-Places.[55]

This is a type of populist editorial journalism that aims to censure and smear, and, by so doing, direct the emotional responses of its readers, inviting them to perceive themselves as belonging to a community capable of apprehending a rational conception of meaning, as opposed to the wildly distorted images that shaped the delusions of others. L'Estrange manages to convey a sense that he is providing an investigative examination of the progress of events, whilst suggesting that the Presbyterian position was both shambolic and extreme, thus confirming the bias of his readers and validating their emotional involvement. But these comments suggest more than differences of outlook and interpretation. Calling 'foul things by fine names', or understanding the world in contradictory terms, indicates the existence of separate

---

Restoration Culture (Aldershot; Burlington, 2008), p. 20.
[52] L'Estrange, *State-Divinity*, p. 21.
[53] Dunan-Page and Lynch, *Roger L'Estrange*, p. 20.
[54] L'Estrange, *State-Divinity*, 'Preface', sig. A2r.
[55] L'Estrange, *State-Divinity*, sigs A3v-A4r.

experiences of idiom and meaning. Cultural norms, values and practices relating to emotional goals ultimately depend upon these contexts.

In similar vein Marchamont Nedham, a propagandist for both sides in the Civil War, castigated Presbyterians with the familiar taunts of irrational zeal and hypocrisy, joining the character assassination of Zachary Crofton by facetiously claiming John Calvin as his publisher and Crofton as his bookseller.[56] Blair Worden writes of Nedham that

> The party for which he never wrote were the Presbyterians...For Presbyterianism, "that malignant ulcer", that "monstrous babe", he reserved a venom that even his most savage attacks on royalism in his roundhead prose, and on Independents and sectaries and regicides in his Cavalier writing, never quite match.[57]

For example, in *The True Character of a Rigid Presbyter* (1661), he introduced his tract by writing 'Tis not unknown to the meanest Capacity...that presbyterianism has ever been a Faction of a very hot and fiery Constitution...this later Age has produc'd so many of these Hotspurs and Pulpit Firebrands'.[58] Referring to 'the Martyr Charles I', he says 'at your doors, O ye Presbyterian Hypocrites, his innocent Blood is lay'd'.[59] The Presbyterian is the 'Modern Pharisee, the Conscientious Pretender'; they are 'pious frauds' and 'religious Deceits'.[60] Nedham traces an outline of the narrative of Presbyterianism in England and adduces its successes to 'the blinde zeal of those that are misled, and the Deceitfulness of the Leaders'.[61] Having deployed this excoriating and emotive hyperbole he proceeds to explain essential differences between the Presbyterian and Episcopalian forms in terms of the power of vocabulary:

> they soon became Proselytes; and returning home with new affections, look'd with an Eye of Distain upon the Bishops, as if themselves had indeed found out the Pattern in the Mount, because...the words, 'Presbytery', 'Elder', 'Deacon', and 'Assembly', etc. sound more Gospel-like, than 'Diocess', 'Church-warden', 'Arch-

---

[56] Marchamont Nedham (1620-1678), *The True Character of a Rigid Presbyter* (the Assignes of J. Calvin, and are to be sold by Z. Crofton, Presbyter, London, 1661).
[57] Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England* (Oxford; New York, 2007), p. 29.
[58] Marchamont Nedham, *The True Character*, sig. A3r.
[59] Nedham, *Character*, p. 6.
[60] Nedham, *Character*, sig. A4r, pp. 6-7.
[61] Nedham, *Character*, p. 24.

deacon' and 'High-Commission'...With these Terms the ordinary sort of Religious Persons, not able to see through the Shell of words, into the Kernall or substance of the business, were easily led to a belief of high matters: whereas this new form, like the Trojan Horse, brought an Army of Mischiefs in the belly of it.[62]

Rather like L'Estrange, Nedham's discourse offers a rationalisation that claims to be lifting a veil on the deceits made possible by a mendacious use of language. He seeks to undermine the 'more Gospel-like' appeal of Presbyterian terminology by the insertion of a modifying semantic. Thus he refers to 'this *mad* Presbyterian form' that 'destroys Bishops, and clips the wings of Regality', and Presbyterian synods become '*Arbitrary* Assemblies'.[63] He denounces their ministers as 'Presbyterian *Priests*', and advances an argument that identifies Presbyterians with tyrannical forms of government by accusing them of a 'Popish Trick...in drawing all secular Affairs, within the compass of their spiritual Jurisdiction'.[64] Nedham's rhetorical invective is deliberate, but it is nonetheless reflective of profound contemporaneous cognitive dissonances. Furthermore, it can be regarded as a constitutive element of these discords because of its attempt to use emotive language to prescribe affective norms.

Turning from prose to verse, John Denham's six-page opus *The True Presbyterian Without Disguise* was similarly scathing.[65] Denham invokes an economy of words which combines ridicule of those qualities puritans most revered, with incisive satirical wit, as for example in these two couplets:

Yet 'tis most strange, when he is most Zeal-sick

Nothing can cure him but a Bishoprick...

The name of Sabbath still he keeps ('tis true)

But so he is lesse Christian, more a Jew.[66]

But despite the comedic veneer, the substantive ambience of the piece evokes an emotive of hate and bitterness:

A Prebyter is a Monstrous thing

That loves Democracy, and hates a King...

---

[62] Nedham, *Character*, p. 25.

[63] Nedham, *Character*, p. 28.

[64] Nedham, *Character*, p. 29.

[65] John Denham (1615-1669), *The True Presbyterian Without Disguise or, a Character of a Presbyterians Wayes and Actions, in Verse* (London, 1661).

[66] Denham, *True Presbyterian*, p. 3.

> A Presbyter is he, whose heart doth hate
>
> The man (how good so e're) advanc'd in State.[67]

And the animadversion at the conclusion of the eighth verse juxtaposes good and evil, presenting Presbyterianism as the antithesis of godliness:

> He spews his frantick Venome in the Streets:
>
> And though he says the Spirit moves him to it,
>
> The Devil is the Spirit made him do it.[68]

As part of an underlying political agenda to demoralise Presbyterianism this rhetoric nevertheless expresses deeply felt religious sentiment and is designed for its emotional impact.

Another who took to verse was John Phillips (1631-1706), whose *A Satyr Against Hypocrites*, *or The Religion of the Hypocritical Presbyterians, in Meter,* was republished in 1661. He expressed parallel sentiment in bitingly crude terms, deliberately intended to cause offence.[69] Phillips attacked puritan religious practice, providing a vicious representation of Sabbatarian piety, fasting and church-going:

> Tedious have been our Fasts, and long our Prayers;
>
> To keep the Sabbath such have been our cares.[70]

But such godliness was all hypocrisy, and these pieties disguised somewhat worldly inclinations. For example, he suggests that godly magistrates were really motivated by venality:

> And though on Sundayes Ale-houses must down,
>
> Yet wisely all the week lets them alone,
>
> For well his Worship knows that Ale-house sins
>
> Maintain himself in gloves, his wife in pins.[71]

Far from being assemblies of saints, godly congregations were in fact vulgar and promiscuous:

> There sit True-blew the honest Parish-masters.
>
> With Sattin Caps, and Ruffs, and Demi-casters,

---

[67] Denham, *True Presbyterian*, pp. 1-2.
[68] Denham, *True Presbyterian*, p. 5.
[69] John Phillips, *A Satyr Against Hypocrites* (London, 1661), also published as *The Religion of the Hypocritical Presbyterians, in Meter* (London, 1661). NB. This work was originally published in 1655.
[70] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 1.
[71] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 3.

...There sits a Lady fine, painted by Art,

And there sits curious Mistris Fiddle-cum-fart:

There sits a Chamber-maid upon a Hassock,

Whom th' Chaplain oft instructs without his Cassock.[72]

Phillips describes sermonising as a form of group delusion led by 'a man stark revelation mad', whose effect was most bizarre:

At every period they sigh and grone,

Though he speak sometimes sense, and sometimes none:

Their zeal doth never let them mind that matter,

It is enough to hear the Magpy chatter.[73]

Again, these are the common insults and censures that had been levelled at puritans in general for decades and now targeted specifically a category described as 'Presbyterian'. In other words, in the context of the Restoration and the Savoy Conference in which Presbyterians were claiming legitimacy within Church and state, affect was being deployed to sharpen and define the cultural divide still further. It is a language of abuse that intended to circumscribe two different communities of persuasion, belief, lifestyle and social inclusion, making Presbyterians politically, behaviourally, spiritually, and indeed, culturally odious to others. Affect was being used to name and shame dissent as the binary other of conformity as it emerged after 1661.

Phillips warmed to his task, producing a dissection of godly culture that was ruthless and uninhibited. Quite lengthy passages are devoted to describing the smell of Presbyterians. For example,

And in a row to Church went all the People.

First came poor Matrons stuck with Lice like Cloves,

Devoutly came to worship their white loaves;

And may be smelt above a German mile,

---

[72] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 4. NB. 'True-blew' is intended here to denote the blue badge worn by supporters of the Covenant and 'true-blue' remained a nickname for the Reformed Presbyterian Church, whose banner is blue. Samuel Butler (1612-1680) used the phrase 'Presbyterian true blew', in his satirical poem *Hudibras*. See Samuel Butler (attributed), *Hudibras, The First Part Written in the Time of the Late Wars* (London, 1663), p. 8. 'Demi-casters' were fur hats made from cheaper rabbit fur.

[73] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 7.

Well let them go to fume the Middle-Ile.[74]

Whilst exposing, perhaps, some part of the unpleasant reality of seventeenth-century existence for many, Phillips also seems to reveal his own sensitivities and sense of social superiority. These Presbyterians, for all their pretentions to godliness, actually stink.

They throng to Church just as they sell their ware,

In greasie hats, and old gowns worn thread bare,

Where, though th'whole body suffered tedious pain,

No member yet had more cause to complain

Than the poor nose, when little to its ease,

A Chandlers cloak perfum'd with candle-grease,

Commixing sents with a Sope-boylers breeches,

Did raise a stink beyond the skill of Witches.

Now steams of Garlick through the nostrils passage

Made thorough-fairs, hell take their bold embassage,

With these mundungus and a breath that smells

Like standing-pools in subterraneal cells.

Compos'd Pomanders to out-stink the Devil,

Yet strange to tell, they sufferd all this evil,

Nor to make water all the while would rise,

The women sure had spunges 'twixt their thighs.[75]

The foul odour is both real and figurative, and the writer's attention to it may be described as an emotional or gut reaction. Their smell is as offensive as their hypocrisy; Presbyterians were physically odious.

Smell provided a rich vein for metaphorical usage, but it expressed more than a rhetorical significance. Elsewhere we find Samuel Butler's mock Presbyterian hero Hudibras is described as recoiling from the smell as he is pelted with rotten eggs and he reacts to the foul-smelling breath of his persecutors carried on their case-shot.[76]

For though the Law of Arms does bar

The use of venom'd shot in War,

Yet by the nauseous smell, and noisom,

---

[74] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 1.

[75] Phillips, *Satyr*, p. 10.

[76] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras in Three Parts* (London, 1684), p. 321.

> Their Case-shot favours strong of poison;
>
> And doubtless have been chew'd with teeth
>
> Of some that had a stinking breath.[77]

In this example, the hilarity of pongs and stinks is turned against the 'true blue' hero and he is on the receiving end. Beneath the merriment, the revulsion to alien odours and the conditioned ability to suffer 'all this evil', as Phillips puts it, is also suggestive of an emotional context. Perhaps the Godly would have been more likely to subscribe to Sir Richard Barckley's view on the subject. Writing in 1598 he had maintained that living well was more important than smelling sweet; moral corruption was fouler.

> But now wives and maides will not onely accompany men in their carowsing, but men in perfumes labour to exceede women, and be more carefull to smell sweet than to live well: And what can be more lothsome than for a man to have his garments perfumed with sweete favours, and himselfe polluted with stinking vices and foule conditions?[78]

Nonetheless, smell is a physical sensation which can evoke profound experience. The Proustian scenario, in which the aroma of a madeleine cake dunked in tea transports the author into an intense emotional reverie of childhood, provides an example of a phenomenon which is well supported by empirical research.[79] Indeed, according to Sylvain Delplanque and David Sander, 'odour-evoked memories are...particularly emotional, vivid, specific and relatively old compared with memories cued by verbal, visual or auditory stimuli.'[80] Individuals are able to respond differently to similar fragrances, and 'affective reactions to odours are often dependent on the familiarity of the odour'.[81] Furthermore, 'the scientific literature confirms the popular view that olfaction is a very "emotional" sense.'[82] By evoking smell John Phillips'

---

[77] Butler, *Hudibras*, p. 323.

[78] Sir Richard Barckley (1578?-1661), *The Felicitie of Man, or, His Summum Bonum* (London, 1598), p. 343.

[79] Marcel Proust (1913-27), tr. C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, *Remembrance of Things Past, vol. 1, Swann's Way: Within a Budding Grove* (London, 1989), pp. 48-51. NB. This connection between smell, memory and emotion is known as the 'Proust Phenomenon'.

[80] Sylvain Delplanque and David Sander, 'Odour and Emotion', in D. Sander and K. Scherer (eds), The *Oxford Companion to Emotion and the Affective Sciences* (Oxford, 2014), p. 288.

[81] Delplanque and Sander, 'Odour', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotions*, p. 288.

[82] Delplanque and Sander, 'Odour', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotions*, p. 288.

Satyr manages to convey a deeply felt repugnance which may be understood in terms of alienated emotional communities.

The anonymous author of *Semper Eadem* (1661) sought to compare the discussions of the Savoy Conference with those held at Hampton Court nearly sixty years before, by which James I had endeavoured to establish his religious settlement in 1604.[83] He accuses 'those champions of Presbytery' of 'Arrogant confidence' and of being 'a faction in their peevish perversnesse'.[84] Referring to 'the saucy dictates of Raw Presbytery' which had established 'Castles in the Air' in Scotland, but 'which soon disappeared in the serener and august lustre of the English Soveraignty', he provides the familiar jibe that Presbyterianism was an outlandish Scottish cult of 'Kirkmen', both naive and sacrilegious.[85] By presenting the proceedings at Hampton Court as a direct comparator for the contemporary debate, the writer is claiming a moral, parental-like authority over those whose behaviour seems stubbornly childlike: 'no doubt their answer will be the same...for turn but over these sheets...and see the unreasonableness and absurdity thereof.'[86] The tone of long-suffering, patronising authority suggests a sense of advantage in terms of emotional development, and the awareness of a differential in terms of emotional intelligence, as between adult and child.

Several of these themes are echoed in *The Presbyterian Bramble* (1661), although the enigmatic 'L.G.' appears to strike a note of conciliation when he writes,

> By the word Presbyterian, I do not mean all that are so called, far be it from to go about to stain the reputation of any Godly and Learned Ministers, as Baxter, Calamy and others, whose piety and pains in the Church of God have deserved the praise of all good men.[87]

But really this is a mischievous, fake sincerity appearing towards the end of a tract overloaded with ridicule. Not all Presbyterians are necessarily bad people, rather they are infantile or deluded. For example,

> There are in the Kingdom some Children in understanding (I dare not say innocence) who cry out they will play no more at Bishops, neither will they

---

[83] Anon., *Semper Eadem* (London, 1662). NB. 'Semper eadem' - always the same.
[84] Anon., *Semper*, sig. A2r.
[85] Anon., *Semper*, sigs A2v-A4r.
[86] Anon., *Semper*, sigs A3v-A4r.
[87] L.G., *The Presbyterian Bramble, or, A Short Discourse of Church Government* (London, 1661), p. 8.

indure the musick of organs' but rather dance an other Scotch jig after the Presbyterian Bag-pipes...Your musick was like the musick of Nero who played upon his harp when he had set Rome on fire.[88]

Again, like Roger L'Estrange, 'L.G.' makes rhetorical play with the meaning of words. He explains that the etymology of the word 'presbyter' had changed in the way that 'Tyrant anciently did figure a King, but now it signifies an Oliver; Magick formerly signified Philosophy, but now is taken for Witchcraft; and the name Presbyter was once an Elder, but now it is used for a Scotch Rebell, or an English Traitour.'[89] The name had been tainted and now it represented something odious. His elaboration on this point managed to connect Presbyterianism with witchcraft, austerity and regicide.

It is observed that once a great fashion in this Nation, was, to wear yellow starched Ruffes. But after one Mrs Turnar a notorious Witch, and strumpet, was hanged with one of them about her neck, the mode became odious and was quite truly left off...it is high time for us to lay aside the name Presbyterian which is nothing but a starched piece of Austerity, because Hugh Peters (who poysoned more with his doctrine than Mrs Turner with her potions) wore it (as a livery) when he went to the gallows.[90]

The Presbyterian Bramble extends the familiar jibes of 'faction', 'hippocrites' and 'zealots' to encompass comparisons between Presbyterians and Idolatry - 'Baals Prophets were bauling Prophets, they cryed out and prophesied from morning to evening. So were the Presbyterians, witness their Fasts and tedious lectures'.[91]

As indicated in the sources discussed above, the attack directed at Presbyterianism, as opposed to puritanism, permitted an exhibition of 'Scotophobia' that invoked somewhat less than reverent religiosity and loyalist sympathy by frequent reference to 'jigs' and 'bagpipes'. This association of Presbyterianism with the Scots, connoting both rebellion and lack of refinement, inevitably runs through all this literature because in the wake of the Solemn League and Covenant it was easy to present Presbyterianism as a suspect Scottish import. Marchamont Nedham, for example, refers to the 'Presbyter' as 'one that has as little mind to do the Kingdom good' and 'uses to give the congregation a Scottish Jigg, and to so tune his nose with

---

[88] L.G., *Bramble*, p. 2.
[89] L.G., *Bramble*, p. 9.
[90] L.G., *Bramble*, p. 9.
[91] L.G., *Bramble*, p. 6.

hymns and Songs for the destruction of the Nobility of our English Nation'.[92] Later he entreats 'the Northern Fraternity, whose brotherly zeal transported them heretofore on this side Jordon', to stay in Scotland and 'suffer Presbytery and Bag-pipes to flourish beyond Berwick, and keep them (for the future) from making a Mouse-trap of the Covenant to catch Englishmen'.[93] Such nationalistic appeal and mocking xenophobia invites an emotional interpretation, especially against the context of the calamitous wars that had rent the kingdoms in the preceding two decades.

This sense of foreign estrangement is even more apparent in Edward Chamberlayne's imagined dialogism, published just a few years later in 1668. *The Converted Presbyterian, or, The Church of England Justified*, presents the archetypal Presbyterian as a 'Zealous' Scot, inevitably called 'Andrew'.[94] The persuasive mentor, in this fairly ridiculous imagined encounter, 'George', is described as 'a Devout English Protestant' - by 1668 it seemed no longer necessary to employ the distinction 'Episcopalian'. After hearing George's patient explanations, Andrew exclaims 'Verily George, Thou hast almost (as King Agrippa said to Paul) persuaded me to become a Protestant.'[95] Chamberlayne's basic premise suggests that Presbyterianism is so foreign to English sensibilities that it is not even recognised as a form of Protestantism. So, the formal dialogue between the two seems to represent an encounter between communities of strangers, and it is Andrew who is presented as summoning an emotional response. 'I believe I could easily indure the English Lyturgy, but to hear always the same thing is tedious, and me-thinks I am more affected with those you call Pulpit-conceptions.' To which George replies, 'That is your own fault Andrew; The Jews you know were weary with Manna...you should therefore sadly consider that such wantonness, such carnality, such corruption ought to be mortified within you, and not cherished and allowed'.[96] We can only imagine the likely reaction in the real world to the suggestion that pulpit preaching excited such 'unruly' passions. But, despite the artificiality of the scene imagined by Chamberlayne, Andrew and George do manage to express some part of emotional character that formed the divide between these communities; Presbyterian pious emotion was criticised as 'corruption' which

---

[92] Nedham, *Character*, p. 12.
[93] Nedham, *Character*, p. 34.
[94] Edward Chamberlayne (1616-1703), *The Converted Presbyterian, or, The Church of England Justified* (London, 1668).
[95] Chamberlayne, *Converted*, p. 8.
[96] Chamberlayne, *Converted*, p. 8.

'ought to be mortified'.

<div align="center">***</div>

The address presented to Charles II by Samuel Clarke at Whitehall on November 16th 1660, on behalf of his godly colleagues, had seemed to assume a shared community of religious feeling:

> We cannot but adore Divine Goodness for your Majesties stedfast adherence to the Protestant Religion...and your professed zeal for the advancement and propagation thereof...That your resolution is, and shall be, to promote the power of Godliness.[97]

This address went on to list many of the issues that concerned these Presbyterian ministers and appears to have been expressed directly to the person of the King with a degree of confidence about the future. The change in fortune, confirmed in law by 1662, was dramatic and the dismantling of the Presbyterian position took place within the arena of politics. But, as these published sources show, these events also occurred within the context of an intense and passionate discourse which represented the newly liberated self-expression of an increasingly assertive, proto-Anglican emotional community. Richard Baxter was right in his assessment that Presbyterian had become an odious name.

These attacks in the post-Restoration period were well aimed. Like all effective satire, they targeted the very differences embraced by those on the receiving end, confirming cultural identities and highlighting separateness. As such this polemic was highly emotive. It sprang from deep feeling and it intended to provoke emotional reaction. In the aftermath, and following the Act of Uniformity, as Mark Kishlansky tells us, the 'Presbyterian polemic' that 'poured from the presses...was scathing and embittered, the wail of an ensnared animal forced to desperate acts of self-preservation.'[98] In this, and in the sources discussed above, a culture of difference can be observed as a culture of affect. The religious settlement of 1662 cast complex religious identities into a binary of conformity and dissent. The affective polemic of 1661 lent itself to this outcome by simplifying complicated issues into extreme

---

[97] Clarke, *To The Kings Most Excellent Majesty.*
[98] Kishlansky, *Monarchy*, p. 235.

stereotypes, and by in-grouping and out-grouping. In the context of the Restoration Settlement, 1661 was a highly emotional moment, but the resentment aroused did not dissipate quickly - the Settlement settled nothing.

Chapter Two: Clarke and his Community

Who were these 'Presbyterians' that attracted such venom? Zachary Crofton has been identified as an egregious example. But Richard Baxter rejected the nomenclature as a slur, not even representative of an ecclesiological position; he claimed, somewhat defensively, to plead instead for 'primitive episcopacy'.[1] Notwithstanding several degrees of divergence with Independents or Congregationalists, even among orthodox Presbyterians and the leading clerics who lined up on the same side of the issue as Baxter at the Savoy Conference in 1661 there were variations of position and opinion. Unlike Baxter, Edward Reynolds had accepted a bishopric, and Samuel Clarke expressed disagreement with his friend Baxter on the critical doctrinal question of assurance.[2] Nevertheless, those tainted as Presbyterians, including these leading clerical figures, each of whom may be described as moderate by comparison with Crofton, attracted loathing as a collective along with those they represented and, most gallingly, with those sectarians and Independents they despised. Questions arise about how far the hostile objectification discussed above was reflected and confirmed as an in-group self-identity, and concerning the role of affect in shaping, defining and differentiating these religious and cultural cohesions and dissonances.

This chapter makes the case that Clarke' orthodox Presbyterianism was a collective identity that may be described in terms of community, and that Clarke's career as a minister, leading orthodox cleric and author offers a view of its various dimensions. It has been argued that the terminology of community should not be applied in the early modern context.[3] However, Alexandra Shepard and Paul

---

[1] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, I. II, p. 373 (242).
[2] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ,* p. 127.
[3] In *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971), Keith Thomas discussed witchcraft accusations in terms of an 'unresolved conflict' between the medieval 'ethical code' of 'old cooperative village communities' and 'the increasingly individualistic forms of behaviour which accompanied social and economic change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.' Thomas, *Religion*, pp. 670-1. Charles Pythian-Adams went much further arguing that the idea of community should not be part of the vocabulary of early modern historians. Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580–1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History* (Leicester, 1996). See Naomi Pullin, 'Female Friends and the Transatlantic Quaker Community: "the whole Family and Household of faith", c.1650-c.1750' (Doctoral Thesis, University

Withington have reasserted the utility of 'community' as encompassing 'many different types of association and modes of communication in which people participated.'[4] It is helpful in many historical contexts as a means by which to express collective identities. Indeed, 'the power of the concept is in the attention it draws to the overlap in representations, practices and identities', like those that developed under the umbrella of puritanism.[5] In these terms, we can trace the outline and interfaces of the community to which Clarke belonged. The discussion below will demonstrate an idea of godly community as existing and evolving in the form of social networks and in-grouping based on common beliefs and practices, as well as moral and political attitudes that were expressed and given form in published literature, as exemplified by Clarke's accounts. This chapter juxtaposes the narrow, binary perspective viewed above to examine Clarke's life in terms of his religious habituation, his connections and his clerical and authorial career.

The argument proposed here, and developed in subsequent chapters, is that the identity and cohesiveness of community, in these terms of 'representations, practices and identities', also had an affective dimension. Indeed, emotionality was central to its formation, its endurance and its interaction with the rest of society. Chapter One has demonstrated how 'starkly antagonistic terms of debate' characterised by what Kathleen Lynch describes as the 'right to control the definition of orthodoxy' in the period after the Restoration, in the context of a 'fight...about Toleration versus Comprehension.'[6] This chapter broadens the time frame to identify the orthodox Presbyterianism represented by Clarke as a community defined in terms of its relationship to 'resurgent episcopalianism' and the 'proliferation of sects', and the polemics of 'Truth and Heresy'.[7] Of course, sectarian identities were fluid in the period.[8] Indeed, it is in this sense, in which 'too determinative a taxonomy of religious

---

of Warwick, 2014), pp. 21-5, for an introduction to these ideas about early modern community in relation to the transatlantic Quaker community.

[4] Alexandra Shepard and Paul Withington, 'Introduction: Communities in Early Modern England', in Alexandra Shepard and Paul Withington (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 1-17, p. 1, p. 5.

[5] Shepard and Withington, *Communities*, p. 12.

[6] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 20.

[7] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 20.

[8] See for example the career of Laurence Clarkson, who, like John Rogers migrated from the Church of England, through Presbyterianism, sectarianism to the

identities' is misleading, that the exposition of affective culture is valuable.[9] Communities, particularly those based upon collective religious conviction, appraised and reacted to situations and events in terms of common goals, concerns and aspirations: they shared values, norms and cognitions which reflected and constructively shaped feeling. The outline of the stages of Clarke's career as a young minister, senior cleric, elder statesman and literary propagandist allows us to register these patterns and to view the affective traces.

This chapter aims to explore the nature and affective quality of Clarke's religious community across the trajectory of Clarke's career. Firstly, it provides a brief orientation that locates Clarke's Presbyterian orthodoxy in the politico-religious context of the mid-seventeenth century. Section two considers the agency of religious community in Clarke's early career in the 1620s and 1630s. Section three discusses Clarke's ministry in London and the challenges to communal identity posed by doctrinal disunity and sectarianism in the context of the Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration. Finally, section four considers the import of Clarke's authorial career, in part as a response to these challenges, ministering to his godly community by other means.

I - Samuel Clarke and Presbyterian Orthodoxy: Orientation

Samuel Clarke was an orthodox Reformed Presbyterian, university educated, cleric: a second-generation insider, who achieved senior status in the Sion College Conclave in the 1650s. His mainstream Presbyterian orthodoxy was unambiguous and unwavering. His life coincided with the great period of struggle within the Church and the nation as a whole, and his career shadowed the fluctuating fortunes of the Presbyterian religious and political position. He was an exact contemporary of Cromwell, though outliving him, to be witness to the Restoration and the events that followed. He dedicated his ministerial career to the practice and dissemination of Reformed theological orthodoxy and the social campaign for the reformation of manners. He was devoted to the Presbyterian concept of Church government and played an active role in the campaign in London in the 1640s to achieve the promise

---

Mugggletonians. William Lamont, 'Laurence Clarkson [pseud. Laurence Claxton] (1615-1667), *ODNB*.
[9] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 20.

of the Solemn League and Covenant. He vehemently opposed the toleration of sects and regarded the gathering of independent congregations as an error. He was close to other Presbyterian divines including Richard Baxter, Edmund Calamy (the elder, 1600-66), Thomas Manton (1620-77) and the Scot, Robert Baillie (1602-62). At times, he stood opposed to Independents like John Goodwin (1594-1665) on matters of church governance and doctrine, whilst at other times he was able to reach out to Independents like Jeremiah Burroughs (bap.1601-46) on matters of toleration.[10] In political terms, like other orthodox Presbyterian colleagues, Clarke was distressed by the military coup (Pride's Purge) and the execution of the King. He was, nevertheless, prepared to seek compromise with the Cromwellian regime. He welcomed the Restoration and sought a religious accommodation for the sake of peace. He was unable to accept conformity under the Clarendon Code and was ejected from his living on Black Bartholomew's Day in 1662. However, he continued to regard the state Church as the true Church and in 1666 subscribed to the Oxford Oath and the Five Mile Act.

Despite their portrayal as 'odious', loathsome and schismatical, Presbyterians like Clarke can be viewed as moderates seeking unity and accommodation around decent values of behaviour and religious observance. This is why the attacks discussed above were so well honed; they struck at the most cherished, or emotionally invested, cultural distinctions. As the discussion of Clarke's career below illustrates, the godly saw themselves as caught in the middle, embattled on all sides: against 'papist' tendencies in the Church, linked to paganism, ignorance and superstition in society and arbitrary government; against sectarians practicing heresies, who caused disunity and confusion and threatened to undermine the Protestant Reformation from within; and against irreligion, religious indifference and sinful behaviour in society more generally.[11] But, they sought unity and conformity on their terms and possessed a disposition to view the world in terms of 'us' and 'them' - godly and ungodly - inclusive and exclusive. Thus, their understanding of 'moderation' also encompassed

---

[10] Clarke uses the arguments of Burroughs and William Ames (1576-1633) against toleration in *Golden Apples* (London, 1659). Burroughs was one of the five dissenting ministers who supported the *Apologeticall Narration*, which divided the Westminster Assembly in 1644. Tom Webster, 'Jeremiah Burroughs (bap.1601-46)', *ODNB*.
[11] For this cultural struggle see David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985).

governance of others and of themselves, in terms of both social conduct and personal, interior cognition and feeling.

II - Ministry and the Godly Community

Clarke's description of his own career suggests an early conceptualisation of this formula. It was a habituation cultivated in childhood by his zealous Presbyterian father: 'a Godly, Able, Faithful and Painful Minister…under whose wing I was trained up Religiously till I was about thirteen years old'.[12] Samuel Clarke was the son of Hugh Clarke (1563-1634) vicar of Wolston, Warwickshire, and Alice Wilson of Coventry.[13] His father had briefly been imprisoned in the reign of Elizabeth for daring to pray that the Queen's sins be forgiven, and Wolston was a known centre for the Presbyterian campaign in the Midlands and linked to the production of the Martin Marprelate tracts.[14] Expressing a common and formulaic theme in puritan biography, he describes confronting alternative orientations in his early life. At school in Coventry, which 'at that time flourished exceedingly with religious Ministers and People', he fell 'into the company of dissolute Lads' and 'began to degenerate from the Principles of [his] first Education, though not without much reluctancy, and frequent checks of conscience for the same.'[15] These 'dissolute Lads' are depicted as somehow separate from Clarke himself. He does not identify himself as one of a group of boys, behaving as boys sometimes do, but projects *their* company as 'dissolute', providing ungodly influence that troubled his conscience and his sense of identity. He graduated from the puritan production line at Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1620, having been tutored by the eminent puritan Thomas Hooker.[16] After university, having

---

[12] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 3.

[13] Biographical details of Clarke from Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*, and Clarke's own account in Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, pp. 3-11.

[14] A series of illegal and anonymous tracts circulating 1588-9 attacking the episcopacy. See J. L. Black (ed.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge, 2011) and P. Collinson, 'Martin Marprelate', in *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 60-82.

[15] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 3.

[16] Patrick Collinson refers to Emmanuel College, Cambridge as 'a byword for puritanism'. Collinson, Antipuritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 27. Thomas Hooker (1586-1647) later fled to the Netherlands and thence to Massachusetts where he fell into conflict with John Cotton. He shared in the founding of the Connecticut

survived smallpox as a result of the 'special' dispensation of providence, he again registers his disdain for others - those on the outside. He tells us that 'the family wherein I lived was very prophane; not agreeing with my former Education'.[17] These reflective observations upon his formative years are clues to Clarke's self-perception and those who shared this sense of identity; he saw himself as one of the special people, sharing an inclusivity of feeling and being tested among the heathen.

From 1624, as a curate at Shotwick in the Wirral, he served a conventicle. In his autobiography Clarke describes how he perceived the nature of this congregation in terms that are intended to be poignant. Clarke writes of a community of 'divers godly and understanding Christians'.[18] His 'maintenance came from a voluntary contribution out of all those Christian purses…both Young and Old, Men and Women'.[19] He describes three-weekly conferences 'unto which repaired all the Professors, both Men and Women, out of all the Country; and this meeting was held by turns at all the richer mens Houses'.[20] These meetings of prayer and scriptural study were inclusive affairs: 'the younger Christians first gave in their answers…and then more experienced Christians gathered up the other answers…until dinner time, when…they dined together with much cheerfulness'.[21] According to Clarke's account this was a community that spanned social boundaries, united by common bonds of religion and feeling:

> I was never acquainted with more understanding Christians in all my Life, though the best of them went but in Russet Coats, and followed Husbandry...Love, by frequent Society, was nourished and increased; so that all the Professors, though living ten or twelve miles asunder, were as intimate and familiar, as if they had been all of one household...The necessities of the poorer sort being made known, there was plentiful provision made for them...The weak were strengthened, the mourning comforted, the erring reclaimed, the dejected

---

Colony. Sargent Bush junior, 'Thomas Hooker (1586-1647)', *ODNB*, and http://digitalpuritan.net/thomas-hooker/. (Accessed 15.11.18).

[17] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 3. 'It pleased my heavenly Father to restore me'.

[18] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 4.

[19] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 4.

[20] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 4.

[21] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 4. NB. the terms 'younger' and 'more experienced Christians' do not necessarily refer to age; rather these terms refer to the experience of godliness.

raised up, and all of them mutually edified in their most holy Faith...Under the pretence of these meetings, we enjoyed the opportunities...of private Fasts, and days of Thanksgiving, which otherwise would quickly have been taken notice of and suppressed.[22]

This is a description of an affective community whose pious sociability has resonance with the 'neighbourly conduct' Keith Thomas described as 'required by the ethical code of the old village community'.[23] No doubt it is the depiction of an ideal, some part of which existed more in Clarke's imagination and memory than in reality.[24] Nevertheless, we can see the significance of conventicles such as this in puritan culture as providing substance and shape to the formation of communal identity. Although we have no direct access to their experiences, Clarke is describing regular godly meetings like those in which, as Kate Narveson puts it, 'people had ways of narrating and thus fixing their identities through oral witness in a community of the like-minded.'[25] Here is an example of what Durkheim described as a 'moral community', where religion is 'an eminently collective thing.'[26] Clarke describes his community in the Wirral as centred upon religion but, more than this, the description also evinces an inclusive empathy that figured sentiments of affection, love, solidarity, comfort, and intimacy across social and geographical distance: an affective identity.

---

[22] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, pp. 4-5.

[23] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p. 670. (See fn. 3 in this chapter).

[24] Writing in 1847, the local historian and antiquarian William Mortimer records that Clarke 'drew enormous crowds by his preachings and conferences' in the Wirral. Citing a local history by Lavina Whitfield, the website of the parish of Shotwick records that Clarke's ministry was 'a resounding success. His preaching brought people from miles around flocking to hear him.' Clarke's own account seems to be the only source, and even he did not claim 'enormous crowds'. See William Williams Mortimer, *The History of the Hundred of the Wirral* (London, 1847), p. 251, Lavina Whitfield, *The Church at the Ford* (1976), and
http://www.shotwick.org.uk/church.html. (Accessed 3.01.19).

[25] Kate Narveson, 'Resting Assured in Puritan Piety: The Lay Experience', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, pp. 166-92, p. 176, fn. 36.

[26] Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), tr. and introduction by Karen E. Fields, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) (New York, 1995), p. 44. This discussion connects with another about the definition of 'religion'. Taking a reductive position that sees religion as a social and human construct, Emile Durkheim defined 'religion' as 'a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things'. This position stands opposed to a view of religion as 'an autonomous, irreducible element in human experience'. Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 357. For discussion of approaches to the definition and nature of religion see Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Hoboken, 2016), pp. 407-24.

Confrontation helped to define this identity. Clarke writes that his five years at Shotwick were brought to an end by the 'Devil' who 'envying the same, raised up some of his instruments to complain of, and to prosecute me…for omission of Ceremonies'.[27] Through his father's connections he was able to take up a lectureship in Coventry but his non-conformity soon brought conflict with Dr Samuel Buggs, the incumbent of both Coventry parishes and Bishop Thomas Morton, who 'by persuasions and after by menaces laboured to have me relinquish the place'.[28] Later, at Warwick, Clarke was opposed by the vicar Thomas Hall who complained about him to the Bishop of Worcester, John Thornborough, and to Archbishop Laud.[29] Hall was so outraged by Clarke that at one stage, so Clarke tells us, 'he came to pull me out of the Pulpit, and by his clamours and noise, so interrupted me, that I was forced to give over'.[30] It is an account of puritan preaching that encapsulates the emotions and hostility that could be generated: Clarke presents his clerical enemy as openly displaying a physical manifestation of hatred and anger, and by so-doing reveals his own resentment and sense of vindication.[31]

A perception of the moral distance between godly and ungodly parishioners also shaped these in-group and out-group identities. In 1633 Clarke acquired the living at Alcester, Warwickshire. His account tells us that he set about a reformation of manners and strict Sabbatarianism in the town between 1633 and 1642. As a result, he says, the town 'which before was called drunken Alcester, was now Exemplary and

---

[27] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 5.

[28] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 5. Morton was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1619-1632. A 'moderate Calvinist, he opposed Presbyterian views of church government, but was not a Laudian'. Brian Quintrell, 'Thomas Morton (bap. 1564, d. 1659)', *ODNB*.

[29] NB. Not Thomas Hall (1610-1665) of King's Norton, ejected minister. In his introduction to Thomas Spencer's account of Lord Brooke, Philip Styles notes that Spencer became curate to Thomas Hall in 1633. No animosity is mentioned in this relationship. See Philip Styles (ed.), Thomas Spencer, 'The Genealogie, Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke', *The Dugdale Society,* 31:1 (1977), p. 160.

[30] Clarke 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 6.

[31] For background to puritan ministries like Clarke's see Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford; London, 1970). For a detailed account of the progress of the puritan ministry in Warwickshire between 1620 and 1639 see Hughes, *Politics*, pp. 62-87.

eminent for Religion'.[32] His description of the town illustrates what Clarke's community of manners found offensive:

> And whereas the Town was placed in the midst of many great Papists, which made it their Rendezvous: and for want of a powerful Ministry, the inhabitants of the Town were much given to Swearing, Drunkenness, and Prophanation of the Sabbath, opening their shops and selling wares (especially meat) publickly, it pleased God to bless my Ministry, and private Labours for the Reforming of those things.[33]

These were hardly new issues in the town. The court leet records for Alcester reveal that since 1592 godly reformers had conducted a campaign for the reformation of manners and Sabbatarianism in the town, and had clearly met some resistance over the decades before Clarke's appointment.[34] Indeed, Darren Oldridge doubts whether Clarke had the support of more than the small group running the town and the court leet.[35] But, it was this exclusivity that confirmed their identity and sense of election. These were Clarke's natural pastoral constituency, part of the congregation which approved his test of preaching when he was 'freely and unanimously chosen by them for their pastor' in 1633.[36]

The godly community was socially diverse and it included some of the highest in the Kingdom. Throughout the first phase of his career Clarke was protected by puritan nobility whose patronage supported extensive networks of clerics and godly adherents. The complaints against Clarke in Warwick come to nothing because of the support of Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick.[37] The leading puritan townsmen of Alcester, represented in the court leet, ultimately depended for their authority on their

---

[32] Clarke 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 7. For Sabbatarianism see Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath*: *A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 8–40.

[33] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 6.

[34] See Martyn Cutmore, 'Puritanism at Alcester, 1592-1662' (unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of Warwick, 1991). The court leet was the manorial court, whose normal function was to regulate agriculture and commerce, under the nominal aegis of the lord of the manor. See particularly the 'Paynes' of 1592 (WCRO CR1886/1323). See 'paynes' 3, 10, 18, 24 and 37 establishing Sabbatarian ordinances. For Alcester see G.E. Saville, (ed.), Alcester and District Local History Society, *Alcester- A History* (Studley, 1986).

[35] Darren Oldridge, '"The heavenly heart of zeal": A Puritan Minister in 1630s Warwickshire', *Warwickshire History*, 9:3 (1994), pp. 105-112.

[36] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 6.

[37] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 6.

lord of the manor, Robert Greville (1607-1643, Second Lord Brooke) who had inherited his title and estates in 1628.[38] It was Brooke who had presented Clarke to the living in 1633.[39] John Adamson identifies Warwick and Brooke, along with Saye and Mandeville, as a 'close quartet' of English puritan peers for whom 'the experiences of the political world were inseparable from the workings of Providence'.[40] Lord Brooke's possessions included Warwick Castle which became a hub for radical clergy and regular gatherings.[41] For example, in his diary Thomas Dugard tells us how, in July 1638, he dined at Warwick Castle with Samuel Clarke, William Overton, and Peter Sterry (1613-72).[42] Brooke offered patronage and shelter to a number of puritan clergy under threat from Archbishop Laud, including George Hughes (1603-67) and John Dod (1550-1645).[43] Simeon Ashe (d. 1662), who had been ejected from a living in Staffordshire for refusing to read the 'Book of Sports', became a regular chaplain.[44] John Poynter (1600-84), expelled from London by William Laud's first episcopal visitation in 1628, preached in Warwick and John Ball (1585-1640), who according to Clarke's account suffered 'prelatical persecution', also attended 'a conference of puritan

---

[38] Brooke inherited from his cousin and adopted father Fulke Greville III (1554-1628). He became a highly thought of Parliamentary general and was killed whilst besieging Lichfield in 1643. See Ann Hughes, 'Greville, Robert, second Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court (1607–1643)', *ONDB*, and Robert. E. L. Strider, *Robert Greville Lord Brooke* (Cambridge, MA, 1958).

[39] Ann Hughes tells us that Clarke served as Brooke's clerical aide. Hughes, *Politics*, p. 72, fn. 84.

[40] John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007), p. 27. The other three were Edward Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, 2nd Earl of Manchester (1602-71), Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick (1587–1658) and William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662).

[41] Hughes, *Politics*, pp. 72-3. Thomas E. Brigden, *Stray Notes on some Warwick Worthies* (Warwick, c. 1895), p. 35.

[42] Hughes, *Politics*, p. 73. The Diary of Thomas Dugard, Add. MSS 23146, 77r. NB. this William Overton was Samuel Clarke's brother-in-law, minister of Budbrooke until 1635. See Hughes, Politics, p. 73, fn. 90 and A. G. Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised; Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934), p. 376.

[43] George Hughes, suspended by Laud in 1636, became chaplain to Brooke at the Castle and was later active in organising Presbyterian ministers in Devon. Mary Wolffe, 'George Hughes (1603/4-1667)', *ODNB*.

[44] Ann Hughes, 'Simeon Ashe (d.1662)', *ODNB*. Ashe carried on a correspondence with Robert Baillie. Richard Baxter described Ashe as 'doubtless a godly man, though tenacious in his mistakes' on justification. See D. Laing (ed.), *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1841-2), pp. 302–7.

clergy in Warwick Castle'.[45] Another puritan preacher, John Bryan (d. 1676), attended meetings at the Castle.[46] According to Ann Hughes, 'It is likely that Brooke was already in close, treasonable contact with the Scots', and John Coffey's account of Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661), the Scottish Presbyterian and Covenanter, confirms that 'he paid a brief visit to preach for Lord Brooke at Warwick at the end of December 1639'.[47] These clerics helped to shape activist networks and, as Paul Seaver explains, forge 'links across parish boundaries and social cleavages'.[48] For example, John Dod was a figure with a national reputation, and also had ties of patronage to Richard Knightley of Fawsley. 'In 1637', as John Fielding tells us, 'Dod led a gathering of midlands clergy including his son Timothy, [Robert] Cleaver, and [John] Winston, Julines Herring, Simeon Ashe, Ephraim Huitt, and John Ball.'[49] Visiting Warwick, James Cole, a close friend of the London turner Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658), 'wrote to his London friends with amazement about the godly congregations he found there under the protection of two *great men'*, a probable reference to Lord Brooke and Lord Saye.[50] These connections are, as Ann Hughes explains, indicative of the success of the godly in maintaining 'the structures and resources necessary to commence the religious and political reformation of the 1640s.'[51]

However, they are also suggestive of a community whose inclusivity and identity successfully ranged regional and social space, connecting Lord Brooke and his circle of clerical protégés with the humble artisan Nehemiah Wallington. Lord Brooke's contemporary biographer, Thomas Spencer, noted the virtual familial relationship of patronage that seems to transcend the bonds of a shared religious identity. 'A Deare Foster-Father he was to manie Ministers…allowing them yeerlie pensions or salaries…They that had small means, and were laborious in their places,

---

[45] Paul Seaver, 'John Poynter (1600-84)', *ODNB*. John Sutton, 'John Ball (1585-1640)', *ODNB*. Clarke's account of 'The Life of Master *John Ball,* who died October 20. 1640', in *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines Eminent in their Generations* (London, 1660), p. 175. (NB. p. 175 is wrongly numbered as 171 in this edition).

[46] C.D. Gilbert, 'John Bryan (d. 1676)', *ODNB*.

[47] Hughes, 'Brooke'*, ODNB*. John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford,* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 50.

[48] Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (London, 1985), p. 190.

[49] J. Fielding, 'John Dod (1550-1645)', *ODNB*.

[50] Seaver, *Wallington's*, p. 191.

[51] Hughes, *Politics*, p. 87.

were the objects of his love and bountie, without exception.'[52] Through his own writing Lord Brooke articulated his emotional identity as part of the godly community. In *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie* (1641) he expressed this commitment: 'For we never Prove our selves true members of Christ more, then when we embrace his members with most enlarged, yet straitest Affections...yet my prayer still shall be, to keepe the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.'[53] With the nation on the brink of war he wrote, 'Unity is Gods Essence. Unity is all what we are.'[54] In the context of mid-seventeenth-century cultural, political and religious conflict, such attachments were felt intensely. It can therefore be ventured that the term emotional community describes an aspect of these associations: a community of embattled and beleaguered puritan clerics, leading townsmen and congregations, supported and protected by grandees with whom they shared common feeling, appraisals and cognitions that were governed by a mutual cultural-religious habituation

Another who seems to have identified with this community in emotional terms at this time was John Milton, who eulogised Brooke in his *Areopagitica*.[55] But Lord Brooke's emotive conception of the unity of 'Church and Commonwealth' was exclusive to the elect: a godly Presbyterian conception of magistracy and ministry in harmony.

III - Community and Dissention

Indeed, conceptions of 'unity' were subjective, underpinned as they were by emotional propensities. John Milton went on to demand the King's execution, and to laud the regicides as 'the valiant deliverers of my Native-Countrey'.[56] In contrast, Samuel Clarke was no hot-headed republican. An analysis of his involvement as a leading figure within the circles of the puritan ministry in the capital, reveals complex

---

[52] Spencer, 'Brooke', *Dugdale*, p. 173. Thomas Spencer (c. 1587/8-1667), vicar of Budbrook, Warwickshire, 1635-67. See Philip Styles', introduction in Spencer, 'Brooke', *Dugdale*, pp. 159-163. Styles notes an Alcester connection.
[53] Robert Greville Baron Brooke, *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie Which is Exercised in England* (London, 1641), pp. 123-4.
[54] Robert Greville Baron Brooke, *The Nature of Truth, its Union and Unity with the Soule* (London, 1641), pp. 24-5.
[55] John Milton, *Areopagitica; A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parlament of England* (London, 1644), p. 35.
[56] John Milton, *A Defence of the People of England* (London, 1695), p. iii.

relationships and positions as the events of the 1640s and 1650s unfolded. Here he joined an established puritan community that, according to Peter Lake and David Como, had created 'socio-cultural mechanisms whereby...disputes and disagreements were handled by the godly themselves.'[57] This is the setting for a closer perspective upon Clarke's religious community, revealing frictions proximate to the heart of momentous and, indeed, affecting events, as 'the polemics and position papers of the godly achieved something like immediate access to print' after 1640.[58] In this context, Clarke's associations and affiliations touched bonds of family and friendship, intense religious beliefs and passions, and political positions. Here it is possible to observe the variable mosaic and affective dimensions of a community in flux.

The outbreak of war caused Clarke's relocation to London; he was firmly identified with the Presbyterian opposition to the King.[59] Ann Hughes tells us that 'Clarke played a central role in clerical campaigns in Warwickshire and the diocese of Worcester against the Laudian canons of 1640 and other innovations in church government and theology.'[60] His own account describes meeting the King (Charles I on this occasion) and standing 'confidently in his sight' to present a petition on behalf of the ministers of the diocese of Worcester against the Etcetera Oath.[61] Later, at the outbreak of war, Richard Baxter explains how

> on October 23. 1642, little knowing what was doing at Edge-hill, I was preaching in [Clarke's] pulpit at Alcester, on those words (The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence.) My voice hindered me. But the auditors heard the Canon: That night was past by us in sad watching, with the noise of Fugitive Troops: The next day (such spectacles being rare and sad) Mr. Clarke and I rode to the Field to see what was done, where we saw the dead Bodies of English Men slain by one another.[62]

---

[57] Peter Lake and David Como, '"Orthodoxy" and Its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of "Consensus" in the London (Puritan) "Underground"', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:1 (2000), pp. 34-70, p. 64.

[58] Lake and Como, '"Orthodoxy"', *Journal of British Studies*, p. 69.

[59] For religious context of the Civil War and Interregnum see John Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649* (London, 1982), John Morrill, *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s* (London, 1992), and Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011).

[60] Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*.

[61] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, pp. 7-8.

[62] Richard Baxter, 'To the Reader', in Clarke, *Lives of Sundry*.

Having witnessed the aftermath of the Battle of Edgehill with Richard Baxter, Clarke went to London for safety and in 1643 became minister at St Benet Fink in the City, apparently following a free election.[63] Returning to Alcester at the end of the war he was disturbed by the spread of sectarianism and resolved to remain in London where he appears to have been offered a comfortable maintenance.[64] In the 1640s and 1650s he was active in the Presbyterian campaign in the capital. He supported the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, and the subsequent proposals of the Westminster Assembly for a Presbyterian national structure. As a minister in the City he belonged to the London Provincial Assembly which usually met at Sion College. He demonstrated his allegiance by signing the petition presented by London's Presbyterian ministers in November 1645 denouncing Parliament's proposal which gave local presbyteries merely a devolved political function, negating what they saw as their legitimate religious authority.[65]

The early part of Clarke's parallel career as an author (which did not actually commence until he relocated to the City in 1642) provides insight into some part of these emerging tensions in which religious and political positions were emotionally charged, and often personal. The main body of his published material appeared after 1650, but his authorial vocation started with two brief works, *The Saints Nosegay* (1642), and a political tract (in support of the Solemn League and Covenant), *Englands Covenant Proved Lawful and Necessary* (1643).[66] On each occasion the publisher was Henry Overton, Clarke's brother-in-law and the son of Valentine Overton, Presbyterian minister of Bedworth, Warwickshire.[67] The notable heresiographer Thomas Edwards (1599-1647) was Clarke's orthodox Presbyterian colleague, yet his emotive, caustic and polemical attack on schism within the puritan community,

---

[63] Clarke, *'*Life of the Author'*, Lives of Sundry,* p. 9.

[64] Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*.

[65] For the petition of November 1645 see Elliot Vernon 'A Ministry of the Gospel: The Presbyterians during the English Revolution', in C. Durston, and J. Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 115-36, p. 118. For Clarke's actions see Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*.

[66] Clarke, *The Saints Nosegay, or, A Posie of 741 Spirituall Flowers* (Henry Overton, London, 1642), and *Englands Covenant Proved Lawful and Necessary* (Henry Overton, London, 1643).

[67] See Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), p. 146, fn. 40. She cites D. F. McKenzie (ed.), *Stationers Company Apprentices 1605–1640* (Charlottesville, 1961), p. 117.

Gangraena (first published in 1646), attacked Henry Overton as 'an Independent Book-seller and a member of Mr. *John Goodwins* Church', and 'apologist' for moderate Independents.[68] Thus, through his brother-in-law, Clarke had an awkward association with John Goodwin, an independently minded maverick who, whilst well connected among the puritan clergy, had abandoned the central Calvinist tenet of Predestination, favouring congregationalism, republicanism and religious toleration.[69] Indeed, by the 1650s, John Coffey writes, Goodwin was 'at the heart of a developing network of Arminian Puritans.'[70] Ann Hughes describes an uncomfortable moment for Clarke during the controversy surrounding the City Remonstrance in May 1646. John Bellamy (d.1654) and John Price (also a member of Goodwin's congregation) are described arguing 'face to face over a forthcoming pamphlet…Bellamy insisted on reading extracts out in the company of mutual acquaintances, including the ill-matched brothers-in-law, the minister Samuel Clarke and the bookseller Henry Overton.'[71] And, John Price's response to Bellamy's Presbyterian polemic was subsequently published by Henry Overton. The controversies between these educated men, mostly professional clerics who were closely invested in the technical details of the argument, have the sense of the emotional bitterness and intensity associated with a family squabble, or internecine party conflict; the combatants would have recognised each other as members of the godly religious community, yet such quarrels had a performative quality that helps to explain why Clarke used other publishers after 1646. Indeed, the first edition of *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners*, was published by none other than John Bellamy in 1646.[72]

Despite a weakening position, a Presbyterian structure made some headway in London. Ten classes were created within the jurisdiction the London Provincial Assembly and Clarke served as delegate of the 7th Presbyterian Classis from 1647 to

---

[68] Thomas Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena* (London,1646), pp. 7-8.

[69] Tai Liu, 'John Goodwin (1594–1665)', *ODNB*.

[70] Coffey, *John Goodwin*, p. 291.

[71] Hughes, Gangraena, p. 237. The publication in question was John Bellamie, *A Justification of the City Remonstrance* (London, 1646). John Price's response was published as John Price, Citizen of London, *The City-Remonstrance Remonstrated, Or an Answer to Colonell John Bellamy* (Henry Overton, London, 1646).

[72] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse both for Saints and Sinners* (John Bellamy, London, 1646). For the complexities of these various positions see David Parnham, *Heretics Within: Anthony Wotton, John Goodwin, and the Orthodox Divines* (Eastbourne, 2014).

1655, as Moderator of the 15th meeting in 1654, and as President in 1656 and 1657.[73] He endorsed the publication of the 'Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ' (14th December 1647), signed by thirty-nine London Presbyterian ministers which, Philip Anderson tells us, 'declared loyalty to the Solemn League and Covenant and abhorrence of sects and toleration'.[74] Sion College and the Assembly were roundly attacked particularly by Independents for political interference and their determination to produce conformity to Presbyterian orthodoxy.[75] Against this background Clarke helped to draw up the defence of Presbyterian government of divine ordination, published several times by the London Provincial Assembly, emerging finally in 1654 as *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici, Or the Divine Right of the Gospel-Ministry*.[76] Clarke supported the Assembly's position which criticised Parliament for suppressing the House of Lords and the use of arbitrary power to put the King on trial.[77]

Reflecting on these shattering events, Clarke's colleague Richard Baxter explained poignantly how his party had reacted:

> And if you ask what did the Ministers all this while, I answer, they Preach'd and
> Pray'd against Disloyalty: They drew up a Writing to the Lord General [Fairfax],
> declaring their Abhorrence of all Violence against the Person of the king, and

---

[73] Hughes, 'Clarke'*, ODNB*, and *A Cambridge Alumni Database*, University of Cambridge.

[74] Philip J. Anderson tells us that this 'was largely the work of the London Provincial Assembly'. Philip J., Anderson, 'Sion College and the London Provincial Assembly, 1647–1660', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37: 1 (1986), pp. 68-90, p. 70. For Clarke's support see Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*. For list of signatories see Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 553.

[75] For example, John Price, a member of John Goodwin's Independent congregation in Coleman Street, declared that 'Sion Colledge is Londons, nay Englands distemper...to engage and tamper privately with Chief Citizens in publicke places, as Common-councellmen, and publickly in Pulpit and Presse'. John Price, *The Pulpit Incendiary* (London, 1648), p. 18.

[76] A committee process resulted in the production of a position paper by the London Provincial Assembly; Edmund Calamy (the elder, 1600-66) was the principle author. *A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government, and Ministry* (London, 1650) was approved by the Assembly in November 1649, but soon re-worked to address those sects who rejected the need for an educated and ordained clergy. *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici* (London, 1654) was published in 1654. See Anderson, 'Sion College', pp. 81-2, for the development of this publication. For Clarke's involvement see Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*, which states that 'Clarke and three companions drew up the defence of presbyterian government as of divine ordination reprinted several times in the 1650s.'

[77] See *An Apologeticall Declaration of the Conscientious Presbyterians of London* (London, 1649) for a statement of these arguments.

urged him and his Army to take heed of such an unlawful Act...But Pride prevailed against their Counsels.[78]

Thus, for Baxter it was clear that 'pride' had trumped other considerations. From his perspective, emotion had underpinned reckless action.

Clarke's instinct was to seek compromise with the Cromwellian regime and he acted as assistant to the London commission for the removal of 'scandalous' ministers in 1654.[79] According to Ann Hughes, 'it is clear that Clarke was one of those moderate Presbyterians (like Thomas Manton or Stephen Marshall) who was prepared to work with the Cromwellian regime'.[80] Nevertheless, he welcomed the Restoration in 1660 and, as we have seen, he was chosen by the 'London Ministers' to present a congratulatory address to the King, greeting the Worcester House Declaration in November 1660 at Whitehall.[81] In 1661 he was one of the twelve Presbyterian representatives seeking an acceptable religious settlement in the highly charged atmosphere surrounding the Savoy Conference. In the aftermath, Presbyterians were obliged to choose between separation and clinging to the hope of a reunification or comprehension within the Church. Separation would involve seeking toleration but this would place Presbyterianism in the same category as the dissenting sects, and would open the prospect of complete religious toleration. The 1672 Declaration of Indulgence put the Presbyterian dilemma into sharper focus and taxed their consciences. By agreeing to sectarian status, they could worship freely. For many this compromise was the best to which they could aspire and there remained the hope of a more complete comprehension, but Clarke was obdurate. The pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Isleworth, Philip Taverner, witnessed his will in 1672, and Clarke remained unlicensed, ministering instead through the medium of print until his death in 1682, seven years before the Toleration Act of 1689. Clarke devoted the last years of his life to a prolific literary campaign generating a subjective historical narrative of church and nation, and building upon previous publications and collections.

---

[78] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,* I. I, p. 64 (98).
[79] This board appointed by Cromwell comprised thirty-eight 'Triers', clerical and lay, including Independents, Presbyterians and Baptists, to examine and approve public ministers. See Anderson, 'Sion College', p. 86.
[80] Hughes, 'Clarke', *ODNB*.
[81] For Clarke's leading role see Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 10.

IV - Authorial Ministry: The Community of Print

The existence of three letters written by Clarke to Philip, Lord Wharton, between 1668 and 1669, suggests a continuation of the old networks of patronage between puritan ministers and the nobility well into the Restoration era.[82] On April 20th 1668, Clarke wrote to advise the baron of a clerical colleague's suitability and of another's willingness 'to provide for the first Sabbath's in May'; again, on May 10th 1669, Clarke wrote asking for 'a trial of his abilities' for his 'cosen Sutton' who' 'goes with me'.[83] The content and tone of these brief letters offers a glimpse of a familiarity, based on shared assumptions, reminiscent of the nature of the network of patronage based around Lord Brooke and Warwick Castle in the 1630s. They indicate the important personal role of figures like Clarke as active agents in their community, providing support.

However, from the 1650s until his death in 1682, through the Interregnum and Restoration, Clarke's main contribution was as an author intent upon endorsing and nourishing the legacy of the godly community which he had actively sponsored as a young minister in earlier decades. The evident challenges to Presbyterian orthodoxy, that came from different directions in these periods, provide the context and the motivation for the production in print of Clarke's collections. It was in these texts that Clarke presented both an affective historical design and an emotional script whose purpose was to validate his version of orthodox confessional identity in testing times.

Indeed, Clarke's collections held a special place in the catalogue of religious texts in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. According to Mark Goldie, the 'Entring Book' of Roger Morrice (1628/9-1702) reveals that Clarke's major biographical works had, by the time of the period covered in the diary (1677-1691), entered the 'canon of

---

[82] Philip Wharton, fourth Baron Wharton (1613–1696), was a strongly 'anti-Laudian' supporter of Parliamentary cause in the Civil War, a lay member of the Westminster assembly, an 'intimate acquaintance' of Oliver Cromwell, disturbed by the rise of sectarianism in the 1650s and active in bringing about the Restoration. He was a leader of the Presbyterian caucus in the Cavalier parliament and between 1663 and 1665; he attacked the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts. Sean Kelsey, 'Philip Wharton, fourth Baron Wharton (1613–1696)', *ODNB*.
[83] Bod., MS Rawl: Lett. (Correspondence and Papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1640-91): 50. Fol. 9, 4-9, and 33-84.

Puritan devotional literature'.[84] In Roger Morrice's collection Clarke's *Lives* stood alongside Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* and the *Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly*.[85] Andrew Cambers refers to Clarke's works as 'bestsellers'.[86] Clarke modestly endorsed this view in the preface to his final collection *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons,* stating that his 'former Labours in this kind, have been accepted with the Saints, and in the Church of Christ; which is apparent, for that they have been Printed four times in a few years space, and never less than a Thousand at a time.'[87] Many of Clarke's editions did run into several reprints and, though not meeting Ian Green's classification of steady-sellers (that requires five editions in thirty years), the comment suggests that several thousand copies of Clarke's lives and martyrologies were in circulation.[88] An omnibus edition of Clarke's martyrologies and lives published in Glasgow in 1770 would also indicate that this work had some enduring resonance in a least one community.[89] Certainly, many of Clarke's volumes still exist in libraries and collections in Britain and North America.[90]

Clarke's works were significant contributions to a culture that drew much of its vigour from the power and availability of print. 'Puritanism', writes N.H. Keeble, 'was intrinsically a bookish movement.'[91] Michael Mascuch asserts that 'nonconformists enlisted the book in their efforts to comfort and rally their co-denominationalists and to vindicate themselves and their cause in the eyes of the general public.'[92] At least half of the approximately 100,000 titles published between 1558 and 1695 were religious, and at times in the seventeenth century a majority of

---

[84] Mark Goldie (ed.), *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice 1677-1691* (Woodbridge, 2007), vol. 1, p. 83.

[85] Goldie, *Morrice*, p. 83. See Arthur Dent (1552/3–1603*), The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heaven* (London, 1601), Richard Baxter, *A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live* (London, 1658), and The Westminster Assembly of Divines, *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms* (London, 1649).

[86] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 131.

[87] Clarke*, '*Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, pp. 1-2.

[88] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford; New York, 2000). Cambers refers to the criticisms of Green's criteria. See Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 28. See bibliography for complete list of Clarke's works in their several editions, and timeline in appendix one.

[89] S. Clarke, *A General Martyrology* (Glasgow, 1770).

[90] See ESTC.

[91] N. H. Keeble, 'Puritanism and Literature', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 309-324, p. 309.

[92] Mascuch, *Individualist*, p. 10.

these can be described as puritan.[93] Clarke's publications belonged to a genre of puritan literature that deliberately addressed an audience beyond the privileged elites in order to increase the proportion of believers with access to religious writing.[94] For example, *England's Remembrancer* was, according to Alexandra Walsham, 'a cheap duodecimo tract...for the benefit and edification of the poor and their children.'[95] Thomas Dugard's poem in the first edition of Clarke's English *Martyrology* (1652) expressed the simple purpose of making Foxe's work more available through abridgement and affordability:

> Our martyrs here he does present,
>
> Epitomiz'd: what's his intent?
>
> To pleasure such as cannot buy
>
> The greater Martyrology.[96]

Clarke wrote, 'I considered also that in these times many want money to buy and leasure to reade larger Volumes, who yet may find both money and time to purchase and peruse as this is.'[97] Clarke's success in providing more affordable and immediate access to the tradition of Protestant martyrology was central to his appeal and impact. Indeed, Eirwen Nicholson suggests that before the publication of an edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in 1684, Clarke's volumes were more popular. Clarke's martyrologies, boosted by the 1677 edition, were probably of greater influence in the period between 1652 and 1684.[98]

　　　　Often the owners of these works were instrumental in their dissemination, facilitating a community of readers. The book collections belonging to individuals might also become libraries for the wider religious community, either because the

---

[93] Keeble, 'Puritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 309. See J. Bernard, D. F. McKenzie and M. Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. IV, 1557-1695 (Cambridge, 2002), chapters 1, 2 and 26 (especially pp. 557-67), and appendix I. Also Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 13-14 and appendix I.

[94] See Keeble, 'Puritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 310-312.

[95] Clarke, *England's Remembrancer* (1679). NB. earlier editions were published in 1657, 1671, 1676, and 1677. Alexandra Walsham, '"The Fatall Vesper": Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London', *Past and Present* 144 (1994), pp. 36-87, p. 84.

[96] Clarke, *A Martyrologie* (London, 1652), sig. A4r.

[97] Clarke, 'To the Candid, and Christian Reader', *A Martyrologie* (1652)*,* sigs Av-A2r.

[98] Nicholson is no doubt referring to John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1684). NB. A short alphabetical index, *Martyrologia Alphabetikē,* was published in 1677. An even shorter index was published in 1679: Anon., *A Catalogue of the Names of those Holy Martyrs who were burned in Queen Maries Reign* (London, 1679).

owner allowed access, or through later bequests to institutions.[99] Ralph Josselin (1617–1683) made reference to the practice of lending books in his journal entry for 15th March 1657/8 when he wrote, 'I have parted with all the books out of my studdy that were borrowed of [from] my friends, and am now left to my own stocke.'[100] In the late-seventeenth century, Roger Morrice's large collection probably assisted his efforts as a supplier of newsletters to a group of Presbyterian-Whig politicians. Thus, his collection of works of puritan piety, including Clarke's, 'informed his own (and perhaps a wider) godly identity.'[101] Indeed, for puritans, the practice of sharing religious books was part of the cultural practice of evangelical piety. As Andrew Cambers points out 'the circulating, borrowing and lending of books meshed well with their ethos of godly sociability and the devotional style that accompanied it.'[102] The diary of the Reverend Oliver Heywood reveals his role as a virtual librarian managing and lending printed resources from his own library to students of Frankland's academy at Rathmell in Yorkshire.[103] Heywood's records show that the most frequently borrowed volumes were Clarke's *Martyrology* and Beard's *Theatre of Gods Judgements*.[104] This fact is suggestive of the extent to which the several thousand copies of Clarke's volumes known to be in existence were disseminated further. The context is important too. Cambers tells us that 265 books, including works by Clarke, were taken from Heywood by the authorities because they were concerned about the

---

[99] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 123. The dispersal of collections after the death of the owner also helped. Cambers makes the point that dispersal was the safest option before the establishment of Dr Williams's Library in 1729 and dissenting academies after 1730. Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 131.

[100] Alan Macfarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (London, 1976), p. 420.

[101] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 130-1.

[102] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 129.

[103] A dissenting academy established in 1670 by Richard Frankland at Rathmell in Yorkshire.

[104] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 129. See 'Diary of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, March 1665/6-November 1673', BL Add. MS 45965, fols 122v-123v. Thomas Beard, *The Theatre of Gods Judgements* (London, 1597). This first appeared in 1597 and was republished in 1612, 1631, 1642 and 1648. Part was translated from *Histoires Memorables des Grans et Merveilleux Jugemens et Punitions de Dieu* by Jean de Chassanion (1531–1598), a Huguenot pastor from Monistrol-sur-Loire. Beard added examples from John Foxe's, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Dayes* (London 1563), John Stowe's *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565) and *Survey of London* (1598), Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577, 1587), and various pamphlets and ballads.

role of books like these which 'substituted for a dissenting ministry.'[105] The deliberate intent of Heywood's management of his library was to continue the ministry after 1662, through the medium of printed text.[106] As Clarke certainly intended, his works were instrumental to this purpose of continuing to validate and nurture community cohesions.

***

This chapter has argued that by examining the stages of Clarke's career it is possible to achieve insight into the nature of the politico-religious community to which he belonged and to discern the affective aspects that describe the networks and contexts of his life. His own auto-biographical account reveals both his cultural conditioning, and the affective character he ascribed to events and relationships. Clarke's obdurate orthodox Presbyterianism emerges, not as sterile doctrinal dogma, but as an emotionally invested habituation that shared the values, norms and goals of an emotional community. Clarke's career as an author should be seen against this context of the emotional community in print.

The two chapters in part one have introduced perspectives which allow us to observe and to locate a Clarkeian identity within the context of a concept of affective culture. Printed polemic that reduced complex issues to emotive stereotypes was used to shape an attack on Presbyterians, defining them in terms of puritanism in general. On the inside, shared beliefs, values, and attitudes characterised networks that spanned social and geographical distance and evinced emotional attachments, but also marked antipathies between discrete communities of dissent. Part one has emphasised the affective dimension of the community cohesions and dissonances that characterised mid-seventeenth century Presbyterianism. By examining different perspectives, it has provided a context that reveals the role of emotion as a factor that shaped the norms

---

[105] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 130.

[106] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 130. See J. H. Turner (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A. 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, Illustrating the General and Family History of Yorkshire and Lancashire*, 4 vols (Brighouse, 1881-5), vol. II, pp. 123-7, 211-15; vol. III, pp. 51-7, 66-73, 75-6. Available at 'Internet Archive': https://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22Heywood%2C+Oliver%2C+1 629-1702%22. (Accessed 20.12.18).

of community identity and governed the dynamics of interaction between communities.

PART TWO

Emotional Construction

Part two considers the role of language and narrative in affective culture. By placing Clarke's lexical and terminological usage in context, Chapter Three considers how the emotivity of vocabulary could mark the boundaries of religious and political identities in terms of affect. Chapter four discusses how the Clarkeian narrative deployed a cultural script that intended to prescribe the norms of emotional expression and to affect the conditions in which emotion was experienced.

Chapter Three: A Performative Vocabulary

Those who attacked 'odious' Presbyterians claimed to want to see them burn in the heat of their own zeal. The substance of these attacks spoke to political and religious positions, but the rhetoric was also expressive of deep antipathies. So, the concerted attack on 'Presbyterianism' in 1661 can be seen as an example of how published texts expressed feelings, revealed emotional identities and described the mood of the period. From this perspective, it is possible to observe emotion as a factor that characterised historical groups and historical moments, and published text as a medium through which it was often articulated.

But the relationship between text and emotion was also performative. The sort of rhetoric described in Chapter One represented strong feelings and provoked emotional reactions (as Baxter's bitter commentary shows). By so doing, it actively conditioned the historical circumstances, reflecting and shaping norms of feeling that characterised identities. The concept of affective culture suggested here represents the coalescence of the contexts of emotional community with the operative agency of an emotional regime: a dynamic function in which emotional identity and expression both shaped, and were moulded by, agencies which included published text. The aim of the next two chapters is to argue that text performed to shape such identities, and that the controlling use of language and narrative was meant to condition cognitions and emotional dispositions. This chapter begins to develop this argument, that connects affective culture and the performativity of text, by examining the nature of a contested and emotive vocabulary.[1] It establishes a basis for further analysis by examining vocabulary as a constituent part of an affective script. The intention here is to identify characteristic examples of a performative lexicon and to explore their significance. It may not be possible to recreate the feelings of people in the past but, as Alexandra Walsham says, 'by exploring their semantics and grammar we can learn something about the religious and cultural environments by which they were shaped and

---

[1] Carl Zimmer discusses how the philosopher Joshua Greene used an MRI scanner to observe social institutionalism: emotionally charged words caused part of the brain to flare up. Social institutionalism holds that 'Most of the time, moral judgments occur in the hidden world of unconscious emotional intuitions.' Carl Zimmer, *Soul Made Flesh: The Discovery of the Brain-and How It Changed the World* (New York, 2005), pp. 290-5, p. 291.

constructed.'[2]

A recognition of the empirical difficulty of ascribing a positivist attribution of fact to historical research generally, and emotions history in particular, serves to emphasise the role of language used by past actors. It is important to recognise the importance of language as an historical agency and to understand it in context. No irony is intended in the assertion that the words people use are often our best clue to their motivations, intentions, cognitions and emotions.[3] Quentin Skinner's concept of a cultural lexicon is useful here, and provides a theme for this chapter.[4] Skinner tells us that in order to understand the actions and impulses of people in the past 'we are bound to make reference to the prevailing moral language of the society in which they are acting. This language...will figure not as an epiphenomenon of their projects, but as one of the determinants of their behaviour.'[5] He explains that, 'we employ our language not merely to communicate information but at the same time to claim authority for our utterances, to arouse the emotions of our interlocutors, to create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and to engage in many other exercises of social control'.[6]

Sometimes, as the discussion in this chapter will show, the cultural lexicon reflected contested interpretations and dispositions. At other times, the co-existence of an alternative semantic was indicative of a range of opposing, or parallel conceptual norms. Although the exact relationship between words and the acquisition of concepts is complex, and a matter of some debate, cognitions and conceptual acuities are indicated by the presence of an analogous vocabulary. Quentin Skinner affirms that

> The surest sign that a group or society has entered into the self-conscious
> possession of a new concept is that a corresponding vocabulary will be

---

[2] Walsham, 'Providentialism and Emotion', in Spinks and Zika, *Disaster*, p. 22.

[3] NB. I am rejecting the extremes of the deconstructionist position (associated with de Saussure, and developed in absolute terms by Derrida) that 'Man does not use language to transmit his thoughts, but that what he thinks is determined by language', as Georg G. Iggers explains this position. However, I will argue that, contingent upon context, language is a factor that performs to shape cognition and emotion. For a lucid discussion of the 'linguistic turn' in historiography see Iggers, *Historiography*, pp. 118-33, quotation p. 120.

[4] See Quentin Skinner, 'The Idea of a Cultural Lexicon', *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 158-174.

[5] Skinner, *Politics*, p. 174.

[6] Skinner, *Politics*, p. 5.

developed, a vocabulary which can then be used to pick out and discuss the concept in question with consistency.[7]

However, the meaning of words was never absolute, and an analysis of vocabulary needs to take account of both context and the use of a modifying vocabulary of emotive descriptors. The comparative approach taken in this chapter helps to facilitate an understanding of the emotional quality of the vocabulary of religious discourse in relativistic terms. 'Instead of imposing modern (or postmodern) categories upon past agents', the aim is to situate the mentality and outlook of Clarke's emotional community amongst alternative communities and sub-communities by cross-referencing and comparing the lexical range and nuance employed, revealing affective cultural proclivities and gradations, and contextually 'seeing things their way'.[8]

The first section spotlights one illustration of this battleground vocabulary, focusing upon the emotive conception of 'zeal'. Different representations of 'zeal', as an attribute and as an accusation, are discussed in terms that help to show how vocabulary was emotive and contested, and how its usage marked and shaped how different identities employed a different norm. This is followed, in the second part, by an analysis of themes, key conceptual words and emotive modifiers in Clarke's major collections of biography, comparing these with other examples representative of both sectarian and Episcopalian persuasions. Vocabulary was often emotionally reflective, emotionally formative, or both. So, expanding on the relationship between culture, text and affect, this chapter argues that the identification of comparative cultural lexicons will help to describe not merely the outline of separate emotional communities but the emotive and performative nature of their discursive vocabularies.

---

[7] Skinner, *Politics*, p. 160.

[8] J. Coffey and A. Chapman, 'Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way-Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, 2009), pp. 1-23, pp. 1-2. 'Seeing things their way' is also taken from Quentin Skinner, who makes the case that historians must try to understand the point of view of past agents, in their own terms - a contextualist approach. Indeed, placing texts in context is vital in helping to obviate the scepticism of literary theorists like Jacques Derrida. However, Skinner remains secular in his method, whereas religious ideas should perhaps be treated in the same terms as political and philosophical ideas because they 'are at least as important to understanding the general course of history'. Coffey and Chapman, 'Introduction', in *Seeing Things*, p. 15.

I - Being Earnest

In *Aerius Redivivus, or, History of the Presbyterians* (published posthumously in 1670), Samuel Clarke's contemporary, the fiercely anti-puritan Royalist Peter Heylyn (1599–1662), made frequent disparaging reference to those he described as 'zealous brethren'.[9] For Heylyn, puritan zeal conjured a vision of madness, combining religious error with civil disorder and breakdown. It served Heylyn's purpose to deploy a stereotype of puritan zeal to attack his Presbyterian opponents. Indeed, 'zeal' had long been established as a familiar focus for such acerbic, and judgemental attacks. Thus, for example, in 1614, Ben Jonson was able to choose precisely this stereotypical trait as the subject of satire to denote the puritan identity of the meddling, hypocritical and sanctimonious character 'Zeal-of-the-Land Busy', confident of audience recognition.[10] In *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Robert Burton (1577-1640) equated religious zeal with stupidity, fear, and hypocrisy. Accusing the puritan ministry of demagoguery, he cast their congregations as 'so many sheep' who 'knock their breasts, turne up their eyes [and] pretend zeale'.[11] By the end of the century these continuities had found a sharper focus. For example, in *The Hind and the Panther* (1687), John Dryden identified Presbyterians specifically as 'Wolfish' and, like Heylyn, targeted their 'pestilential zeal'.[12] But in 1683, asserting an alternative construction of the concept, a certain 'Lover of Moderation', writing anonymously in support of the Independent John Owen, protested the right to be 'zealous for Moderation'.[13]

---

[9] Peter Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus, or, The History of the Presbyterians* (Oxford, 1670). Aerius redivivus, or Aerius reborn, is a satirical reference linking Presbyterians to Aerius of Pontus, a fourth century priest, who taught that bishops and priests had no special sacred character which separated them from other believers. His followers were associated with the Arian heresy of the early Church. See E.A. Livingstone, ed. F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1997), p. 23. For Heylyn's role as a polemicist see Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007).

[10] Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). See Douglas Duncan (ed.), Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, (Edinburgh, 1972). See discussion by Patrick Collinson in 'Antipuritanism', Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 19-33.

[11] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), p. 28.

[12] John Dryden (1631-1700), *The Hind and the Panther: A Poem, in Three Parts* (London, 1687), p 9. NB. Dryden had converted to Catholicism and attacked the singular characteristics of all Protestant denominations.

[13] By a Lover of Moderation, *Moderation a Vertue* (London, 1683), sig. Av. (NB. Wing lists John Owen as the author). John Owen was a Presbyterian Independent,

Meanwhile, Quakers were concerned that religious zeal was insincere when divorced from an active spirit of engagement with the world. This can be observed in the writings of George Fox the Younger (d. 1661) both in his understanding of zeal and in his usage of a more general emotive vocabulary, discussed later in this chapter.[14] Zeal was thus a multi-valenced concept used as part of an emotional rhetoric of right and wrong, but also as a dynamic terminology which conveyed emotion as a direct prompt to action. Zeal represented disputed cultural paradigms; it was a term loaded with significance and purpose. This was the contested context in which Clarke wrote about the piety of his subjects, and attempted not merely to mark out a distinctive construction of the rationality of godly zeal but to model and shape it. For Clarke, the right kind of zeal was aspirational and a significant part of the broader canon of 'rational affections' to be cultivated among the godly.

Zeal, and its interpretation, was a frequent theme in puritan culture, and has often been considered as a defining characteristic of the 'hotter sort of Protestant'.[15] As we have seen, historians like Alec Ryrie have stressed the importance of religious fervour to Protestant forms of piety.[16] Emotional intensity and spiritual engagement characterised the way puritan literature expressed a concept of zeal. In *The Marrow of the Oracles of God* (1630), Nicholas Byfield (1578/9–1622) explained the central importance of a proper understanding of zeal as the vital element of passion and desire which gave religious piety its meaning: 'The first thing required in the manner of every holy duty, is, Zeale. It is not enough that hee doe the duty, but he must doe it affectionately, bringing with him the stirring of the desires of his heart'.[17] And it was the spiritual functionality of emotionality that Byfield emphasised. He continued, 'It

---

proponent of religious freedom for nonconformists, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell; he argued that separation from the Church of England was not schism. See Richard L. Greaves, 'John Owen, 1616-1683', *ODNB*.

[14] NB. George Fox the Younger (d. 1661) not George Fox (1624–1691), founder of the Society of Friends. Richard L. Greaves, 'George Fox the Younger (d.1661)', *ODNB*. See George Fox (d. 1661), *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings Given Forth by that Faithful Servant of God and his People George Fox the Younger* (London, 1662).

[15] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, p. 27.

[16] See Alec Ryrie in *Being Protestant*, pp. 70-6.

[17] Nicholas Byfield, *The Marrow of the Oracles of God* (London, 1630), p. 476. According to Bryan W. Ball, Nicholas Byfield was 'a puritan leader of some influence' who remained 'moderate on most contentious issues'. Bryan W. Ball, 'Nicholas Byfield (1578/9–1622)', *ODNB*. Clarke's *Medulla Theologiæ* references his work.

must not seeme evill to him to doe Gods worke; and in doing it, he must lift up his heart, so as hee performe it with all his might, and with all his soule.'[18] Such zeal was also encapsulated in Samuel Ward's (1577-1640) published sermon, *A Coale From the Altar to Kindle the Holy Fire of Zeale*, as proactively 'copied from [Ward's] mouth, and partly from [Ward's] notes' by Ambrose Wood in 1625 and later published.[19] In *A Treatise of the Affections* William Fenner (*c.*1600–*c.*1640) described zeal as 'a high strain of all the affections, whereby the heart puts forth all its affections with might upon that which it absolutely affects'.[20] He went on to elaborate, developing a metaphorical association with heat and degrees of temperature: 'I say, zeal is a high measure of the affections...Every measure of heat in the water is not seething. No, seething hot is a high measure of heating.'[21] The true zeal of the godly was 'seething hot', not 'lukewarm' or half-hearted. For Fenner, zeal applied to highly emotional states. He explained that if 'they zealously affect you...they highly affect you…zeal is a high measure of the affections.'[22] Furthermore, he continued, 'It's good…to be zealously affected in a good thing…it's good to be zealous in love, or zealously angry...Sorrow for sin is good, and therefore it's good to be zealously affected with it.'[23] In other words, zeal was a descriptor to be applied to a range of different emotions to suggest feelings of the greatest possible intensity and, where the object of such emotion represents that which is 'good', zeal was virtuous and aspirational. Fenner's metaphorical reference to heat was also reflected in the common usage of a lexicon of 'fervour' (whose etymological root is 'heat') to describe such zeal. Indeed, Byfield's analysis had emphasised an active enthusiasm, explaining that 'Zeale hath in it two distinct things, willingnesse and fervencie.'[24] Daniel Dyke (d. 1614) had amplified these associations, describing zeal as an composite emotion to be 'added next to *Desire* to shew what kinds of *desires* these must bee, to wit, they should be fervent and

---

[18] Byfield, *Marrow*.

[19] Samuel Ward, *A Coale From the Altar to Kindle the Holy Fire of Zeale* (London, 1627), sig. A2 r. NB. Samuel Ward (1577-1640), puritan preacher at Ipswich, not to be confused with Samuel Ward (1572–1643), theologian, Fellow of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, contributor to the King James translation of the Bible, 1611.

[20] William Fenner (*c.*1600–*c.*1640), *A Treatise of the Affections* (London, 1650), p. 118. Clarke borrowed extensively from the source in *Medulla Theologiæ* (1659).

[21] Fenner, *Affections*, pp. 118-9.

[22] Fenner, *Affections*, p. 119.

[23] Fenner, *Affections*, p. 119.

[24] Byfield, *The Marrow*, p. 476.

zealous desires…as fire hath *lightnesse* whereby it aspires to the highest place, so it hath also *heat* to consume that which should hinder his ascent.'[25] In his *Treatise of the Passions* (1640) Edward Reynolds also applied a binary construction, stating that '*Zeale* is a compounded affection, or a mixture of *Love* and *Anger*...as we see in *Christ*, whose zeale or holy anger whipped away the buyers and sellers out of the Temple.'[26] In this view, zeal could present as a form of 'holy anger' that reinforced faith and emboldened the believer to righteous deeds. In all these conceptualisations the language of 'zeal' was the language of powerful emotion and of vigorous personal commitment.

Unfortunately, an aspiration to attain zeal, or to be zealous, carried with it connotations of fanaticism or insincerity. Puritans like Nicholas Byfield understood these concerns and created an entire taxonomy of the wrong sort of zeal:

> Let it not be a pretended zeale...Nor a superstitious zeale...Nor a passionate zeale...Nor a malitious zeale... Nor a contentious zeale...Nor a secure zeale...Nor an idle zeale...Nor an overcurious zeale...Or a bitter zeale...Or an ignorant bold zeale...Or lastly a selfe conceited zeale.[27]

This was more than a list of the pitfalls of religious zeal. It demanded a highly self-critical form of introspection. Byfield expected the godly to be proactive: 'Let it not be', he says.

In the mid-century, Independents like John Goodwin, came to distrust displays of religious zeal that were not derived from an authentic experience of the saving grace of God, often described in terms of reason and knowledge.[28] Goodwin wished, 'That they had the zeale of God; but this zeale of theirs not being according to knowledge, in the prosecution of it, they neither pleased God, and were contrary to all men…God regards no mans zeale without knowledge'.[29] For Goodwin genuine zeal was part of a spiritual imperative that could not be feigned or imitated. Similarly, John Price, a

---

[25] Daniel Dyke, *Two Treatises. The One, of Repentance, The Other, of Christs Temptations* (London, 1616), p. 135.
[26] Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man* (London 1640), p. 106.
[27] Nicholas Byfield, *An Exposition Upon The Epistle To The Colossians* (London, 1615), p. 194.
[28] Tai Liu, 'John Goodwin (*c.*1594–1665)', *ODNB*. Goodwin was an independent, free thinking supporter of toleration. See Coffey, *Goodwin.*
[29] John Goodwin, *Theomachia; or The Grand Imprudence of Men Running the Hazard of Fighting Against God* (Henry Overton, London, 1644), pp. 18-19.

member of Goodwin's Independent congregation, criticised 'the guilded species of their zeal for God and Jesus Christ,' when attacking the Presbyterian Sion College Conclave in 1648.[30] These reproaches came from inside the puritan community, and the zeal described and censured here marked an emotional boundary; it was 'their' zeal, affected, specious and inappropriate.

Later on, misdirected zeal, sincere or otherwise, provided the fulcrum of an assault which revealed considerable resentment and antipathy. Writing in 1657, Robert Sanderson (1587–1663) criticised 'Our anti-Ceremonian Brethren' who 'style themselves, as by a kind of peculiarity, *The Godly*'.[31] He complained,

> doth not their *zeal* even against *Popery* it self…of late years, and since most of
> the *Pulpits* are in their possession, seem to abate; at leastwise in comparison of
> the *zeal* they shew against *Episcopacy*, and against the *Liturgy*, *Festivals*, and
> *Ceremonies* lately in use among us?[32]

Sanderson's bitter comments cast the vaunted religious zeal of puritans as so much hyperbole and self-serving hypocrisy. But, zeal was unequivocally developed as a term of abuse by the pen of Peter Heylyn. According to Anthony Milton, Heylyn was 'an unapologetic defender of the ecclesiastical policies of the personal rule of Charles I and an implacable critic of its puritan opponents, whom he considered to be directly responsible for the calamities that had overtaken the country.'[33] In his 482-page opus *Aerius Redivivus*, Heylyn frequently employed the semantic of zeal to condemn Calvinists and Presbyterians, or as he called them the 'zealous Brethren'.[34] For Heylyn, 'their zeal to the name of Calvin' connoted fury, pretence, ignorance, sedition, madness and smugness.[35] He described Thomas Cartwright as the 'very Calvin of the English', and as a zealot who defended the practices of 'Puritan Exorcists' and their 'Factious and Schismatical Meetings'.[36] 'And it is strange', Heylyn wrote, 'that none of all their

---

[30] John Price, *Pulpit Incendiary*, p. 18. See also Price, *Remonstrance Remonstrated.*

[31] Robert Sanderson, *XXXVI Sermons, viz. XVI Ad Aulam, VI Ad Clerum, VI Ad Magistratum, VIII Ad Populum* (London 1686), p. 64.

[32] Sanderson, *XXXVI Sermons*, pp. 65-6.

[33] Heylyn was a Laudian, Royalist clergyman and an 'historian'. Anthony Milton, 'Peter Heylyn (1599–1662)', *ODNB*.

[34] A total of eighty-eight references to 'zeal', 'zealous', 'zealously', 'zealot' and 'zealots'. Analysis using Early English Books Texts Creation Partnership (Phase 1) (Ann Arbor, MI; Oxford, UK). (EEBO-TCP).

[35] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, pp. 245, 256, 262, 279, 294.

[36] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, pp. 278-9.

Zealots have endeavoured to defend them in it, as well as *Cartwright* laboureth to excuse their unlawful meetings from the name of Conventicles'.[37] Heylyn attacked one early godly community in Surrey (c. 1570) as 'one of the first Factions amongst the *Puritans* themselves', pointing out an insidious tendency to separateness and schism.[38] They were 'a knot of more Zealous *Calvinists*…so Zealous and conceited of their own dear Sanctity, that they separated themselves from the rest of their brethren, under the name of *the Anoynted*.'[39] To Heylyn, zeal was the defining characteristic of extremists whose claim to orthodoxy seemed to threaten to undermine the integrity of Protestantism itself. He complained that, 'At London they are suffered, by some zealous Brethren, to possess their Pulpits, in which they rail, without comptroll, against their King, the Council...and their natural Queen'.[40] Heylyn condemned 'the discontents and evaporations of these zealous men' and 'the Zealous madness of some of their seditious Preachers', whose 'blind Zeal would murther the Children of God', whilst fulminating against their 'seeming zeal to the Worship of God'.[41]

On the obverse of Peter Heylyn stood the Quaker convert George Fox the Younger (d. 1661). Echoing the sentiments of William Fenner, Fox also used the emotive language of pious zeal as aspirational: 'Friends, It's good to be *zealously affected* in a *good Cause*'.[42] And he also concurred with the view that zeal should be both rational and moderate, writing that 'it's good that the *zeal* be according *to knowledge*; and it's precious to have the *zeal moderated* with the *Wisdom of God*'.[43] However, the sort of zeal envisioned by Fox, and those he represented, transcended religious piety and translated its emotional quality into an activism for 'truth' and religious toleration. This went beyond the understanding of zeal as spiritual commitment and 'holy anger' envisioned by Edward Reynolds and earlier puritan writers. In challenging terms Fox wrote,

---

[37] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 278. Thomas Cartwright (1534/5–1603). NB. Heylyn employed the word 'Zealot' to refer to the first century Jewish sect, infamous for their violent excesses.

[38] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 265.

[39] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 264.

[40] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 262.

[41] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 162, p. 165, p. 172, and 'The Preface', sig. A3r.

[42] George Fox (d. 1661), 'A Few Plain Words', *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings given forth by that Faithful Servant of God and his People George Fox the Younger* (London, 1662), pp. 92-101, p. 93.

[43] Fox, 'Plain Words', *Collection*, p. 93.

> But I bear you Record, that then many of you had a zeal for God, and against his
> Enemies; and according to your knowledge some of you acted faithfully for a
> time…and your Zeal waxed hot against them and their Idolatry…and that
> Zeal...is now lost, and your ears are not open unto the cry of the Oppressed,
> whom once you promised to set free from their Oppressions.[44]

In Quakerism, disingenuous zeal was identifiable partly by the absence of this spirit
of political engagement with the world. When Fox wrote about the demise or imitation
of zeal, religion combined with politics. He feared Parliamentary government as a
form of tyranny that threatened the ways of God and religious freedom. And he
explained this in terms of artificial zeal:

> Great are the cryings out of some of you of the Army, and the People of these
> Nations, concerning the dissolving of the late Parliament, and it appears with a
> pretence of a very great Zeal, that you have for Liberty, Equity, and Justice, and
> the general good of the three Nations.[45]

But, for Fox, a true understanding of religious zeal depended upon 'simplicity' and it
was a matter of deep regret that such 'true zeal' was waning. He lamented,

> But Oh Friends! there hath been a sad day of Apostacy among many of you, and
> many of your Teachers have caused you to err; for as they went from the
> simplicity and Tender Life in themselves...they...lost the simplicity and true zeal
> they once had for God.[46]

His was a 'Message of Tender Love Unto such *Professors* as have attained any true
sincerity, simplicity, and Zeal for God in their Professions'.[47] Thus the Friends, just
like other Protestants, adapted the vocabulary of zeal to their purposes and outlook.
As these examples show, their zeal entailed a lexicon of 'simplicity', 'love', and
'sincerity', and connoted associations with 'Liberty, Equity, and Justice'.

This is the background against which Samuel Clarke deployed a broad
paradigm of zeal through various genres. It was a regular theme for Clarke, often
highlighted in index and content tables (like those outlined later in this chapter).
Samuel Clarke was happy to draw upon the puritan models of zeal described by writers

---

[44] Fox, 'Unto you the Officers and Soldiers of the Armies, in England, Scotland and
Ireland', *Collection*, pp. 13-21, pp. 13-16.
[45] Fox, 'Plain Words', *Collection*, pp. 92-101, p. 92.
[46] Fox, 'A Message of Tender Love', *Collection*, pp. 163-93, p. 167.
[47] Fox, 'Tender Love', *Collection*, p. 163.

including Nicholas Byfield and William Fenner and he wrote about it in such terms as 'love in a flame', or 'hot as fire', whilst enjoining those tempted to 'evil actions' to 'be more forward to all religious duties, and more zealous of good works'.[48] In his earliest publication, *The Saints Nosegay* (1642), he emphasised zeal as an attribute necessary for the ministry:

> Those Ministers that are informed (or inflamed rather) with the heavenly heat of zeale have a double property.
>
> 1. Positive, for the furtherance of Gods glory, and the salvation of others.
>
> 2. Oppositive against al[l] errour and corruption, both in Doctrine, and Practise, Errores and mores.[49]

And indeed zeal, and its related vocabulary, was most commonly deployed in Clarke's various anthologies of *Lives* as a significant quality of the model piety of godly 'saints'. His account of his father Hugh Clarke provides a lively illustration of this sort of zeal. Describing a showdown with William Overton (1524/5-1609), the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Clarke recounted how

> At last the Bishop…coming into the Church, he set him down in a seat just before Master Clark...Master Clark seeing the Bishop, abated nothing of his zeal and fervency in preaching and applying of the Word; insomuch as the Bishop being much netled by the Sermon, shifted and shufled up and down, as if he had sate upon thornes; an honest man by, observing it, fetched him a quishion, first to sit on, and then another to lean on, but yet the Bishop seemed very restless. The Sermon and Prayer being ended, the Bishop said openly, This is an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole him. Master Clark hearing it, replyed, My Lord...I beseech you declare what I have said amisse...The Bishop answered as before, You are an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole you; and so departed. Master Clark replying, It's good to be zealous in the work of the Lord.[50]

For Samuel, his father Hugh represented an archetype of the godly ministry; Hugh Clarke's zeal in preaching the 'word' was audacious, intended to cause emotional discomfort and recognised in terms of heat.

---

[48] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 33, p. 107, p. 417.

[49] Samuel Clarke, *The Saints Nosegay* (London, 1642), pp. 171-2.

[50] Clarke, 'The Life of Master *Hugh Clark,* who died Anno Christi 1634', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, pp. 162-3.

In other biographies, Clarke typically summoned a similar tone, promoting the zeal of his subjects. Clarke's account of Herbert Palmer (1601–1647) affords an example in which the semantic of zeal is applied liberally whilst connoting various other godly qualities.[51] Palmer's value as a minister of the Word is portrayed through a rhetoric in which zeal is a conduit connecting piety and godliness to an emotional response. For example, we are told that Palmer 'did...preach a Sermon at the Cathedral Church in *Canterbury,* and that with so much true Zeal, and reall savour of Piety as did much affect the godly hearers.'[52] A similar association is developed later in the account:

> Hereby in a short time he did much good, informing such as were weak in knowledge, setling and confirming such as were wavering in judgement, and stirring up in all, both by his heavenly conversation and Christian counsell, a greater zeal and affection to the power of Godlinesse.[53]

Zeal thus relates to piety, to 'power' and to 'affection'. However, elsewhere it is located as part of a different rhetorical trinity of 'Zeal, Piety, and Prudence', and of 'zeal, diligence and care'.[54] Clarke also identified Palmer's 'wisdome and zeal…countenancing goodnesse and good men.'[55] And finally we are presented with the more conventional thermal associations: 'yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned Gods glory, reserving his heat to encounter sin.'[56] Thus, by means of an array of associations, from the 'power' of godliness to 'prudence', 'care', and 'goodness', Clarke may be observed to situate Palmer's zeal within the range of 'rational affections': an emotive and performative word whose connotations were meant to be read as positive, balanced and reasonable.

Clarke did not intend simply to represent established forms of piety in accounts like these, he wanted to affect his readers and shape their sensibilities. With this in mind he was careful to emphasise the need for balance secured by 'moderation' and 'knowledge'. For example, in his theological discourse, *Medulla Theologiæ* (1659), he

---

[51] Herbert Palmer was a Presbyterian, Sabbatarian, supporter of Parliament's war against the King, member of the Westminster Assembly and supporter of its recommendations. Jacqueline Eales, 'Herbert Palmer (1601–1647)', *ODNB.*
[52] Clarke, 'The Life of Master Herbert Palmer, B. D. late Master of Queens-Colledge in Cambridge, who died Anno Christi 1647', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 220.
[53] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 231.
[54] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 229, p. 223.
[55] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 222.
[56] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 238.

noted that 'His moderation shall not damp his zeal, nor his zeal outrun his knowledge...All his graces run in a circle, move, strengthen, and quicken each other.'[57] As Peter Lake puts it, Clarke's subjects 'were depicted as both zealous and moderate, effective defenders of both orthodoxy and of order.'[58] One interesting example of a descriptive attenuation of zeal is provided in Clarke's account of Thomas Cartwright (a very important figure in the development of the puritan tradition in the reign of Elizabeth I), later portrayed by Peter Heylyn as a zealot. Instead of zeal, Clarke emphasises Cartwright's 'spirit': he was 'laborious and indefatigable', and 'very meek and quiet'.[59] Clarke tells us that 'He was frequent in Prayer every day' and that 'he earnestly and daily prayed'.[60] Clarke also described the punishing schedule Cartwright undertook and noted his

> diligence and assiduity in his studies even in his old age…his usual manner was to rise at two, three, and four a clock in the morning at the latest, both summer and winter, notwithstanding that his bodily infirmities were such, that he was forced to study continually kneeling.[61]

Cartwright's regime of prayer and study seems to conform to the prototype of fervour and earnestness associated with puritan zeal. Nevertheless, Clarke refrained from direct or frequent use of this lexicon and consistently emphasised a tone of temperance. For example, he highlighted Cartwright's distain 'when *Martin Mar-Prelates* Book came forth,' and tells us that 'he shewed much dislike of the Satyrical and tart language used therein.'[62] Aware of the power of the language of zeal, Clarke's account of Cartwright subtlety elided it in order to represent a sympathetic account of

---

[57] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 321.

[58] P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 298.

[59] Clarke, 'The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright, who died, *Anno Christi, 1603'*, *Lives of Two and Twenty,* p. 22, p. 25.

[60] Clarke, 'Cartwright', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 25. NB. 'zeal' is mentioned just once in the whole account, in the content of a letter sent to Cartwright by the University of Cambridge, p. 23. Elsewhere in the account it is usually others who are described '*earnestly* requesting him to undertake the work'. For example, Clarke, 'Cartwright', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 23.

[61] Clarke, 'Cartwright', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 24.

[62] Clarke, 'Cartwright', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 25. Patrick Collinson tells us that the Martin Marprelate Tracts championed Cartwright, but that 'Cartwright expressed his distaste and distanced himself from the tracts'. P. Collinson, 'Thomas Cartwright (1534/5–1603)' *ODNB*.

a man Patrick Collinson has described as 'the true progenitor of English presbyterianism.'[63]

So, recognising the negative potentialities, zeal was not always the term preferred by the godly themselves. William Fenner had employed the word 'earnest' to qualify his conception of zeal. He wrote,

> So that then we may be said to be zealous for God; when our love to him is earnest, our desire of him is earnest, our joy in him is earnest, our indignation against whatever may dishonour him or dislike him, is earnest: when we think nothing too good, nothing too dear.[64]

As in the case of Thomas Cartwright, the vocabulary of zeal did not seem to apply to women. For example, Clarke's account of Margaret Charlton, wife of Richard Baxter, itself a distilled version of Baxter's own *Breviate*, preferred a softer language of 'desire' and 'earnestness'.[65] Baxter's original tells us that 'Her desires were more earnestly set on doing good, than her tender mind and head could well bear', and that 'She had an earnest desire of the conversion and salvation of her servants'.[66] This is a style also adopted in his account of his own wife, Katherine Overton (1602-1675), whose personal expressions of her 'earnest desires' are repeated by Clarke.[67] This form of veiled zeal is expressed sometimes in a language which articulates the inherent ambiguities of puritan emotion – an urgent emotional plea for the moderation of passion. For example, Clarke quoted from Katherine's spiritual log: 'I often and earnestly sought unto the Lord with many Prayers, and Tears beseeching him to quiet my Heart, and to over power and tame my unruly Affections, so as to be willing to submit unto him'.[68] Yet, Richard Baxter's account of his wife Margaret, used an oblique reference to her zeal which enabled a general defence of such 'godliness':

---

[63] Collinson, 'Cartwright', *ODNB*.
[64] Fenner, *Affections*, p. 119.
[65] Richard Baxter, *A Breviate of the Life of Margaret, the Daughter of Francis Charlton of Appley in Shropshire esq., and Wife of Richard Baxter* (London 1681).
[66] Baxter, *Breviate*, p. 73, and in Clarke, 'The Life and death of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, the Wife of Mr. Richard Baxter, who died June 14th Anno Christi. 1681', *Lives of Sundry*, *p.* 189. Baxter*, Breviate*, p. 78, and Clarke, *Lives of Sundry*, p. 190.
[67] S. Clarke, *A Looking-Glass For Good Women To Dress Themselves By Held Forth in the Life and Death of Mrs. Katherine Clarke, Who Dyed, Anno Christi, 1675. Late wife of Mr. Samuel Clarke, Minister* (London, 1677), pp. 36 and 48. (Also included in *Lives of Sundry*).
[68] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass...Katherine Clarke*, pp. 63-4.

> There are some things charged on her as faults, which I shall mention. 1. That she busied her head so much about Churches, and works of Charity, and was not content to live privately and quietly. But this is but just what prophane unbelievers say against all zeal, and serious godliness.[69]

These puritan women, the wives of powerful and zealous ministers, were expected to demonstrate a more refined or demure model of zeal.

Thus, concepts of zeal carried variegated connotations which help us to stratify religious communities within the seventeenth-century Protestant vista in terms of feeling. It is also apparent that zeal was an active terminology. Its usage was often intentionally emotive and it functioned not merely to define, but to cast the character of communities. For the Calvinistic mainstream this vocabulary endured throughout the period, providing a rallying coded language as expressed, for example, by John Corbet.[70] In 1677, arguing for the unity of Protestantism and the incorporation of nonconformity within the established Church, he wrote,

> Witness our great Defence against Popery, by the common zeal of all Protestants of the several Perswasions, for 'Protestancy' in general. By this concurrent Zeal, the insolencies of the Papists have been repressed, and their Confidences defeated.[71]

The 'common interest' of Protestants was, allegedly, marked by their 'common' and 'concurrent Zeal'. However, despite the call for harmony, zeal and its interpretation continued to exhibit a proprietorial and divisive quality. The 'Lover of Moderation', discussed above, can be observed using a concept of zeal to lay claim to a middle ground and to argue John Owen's case, as an Independent, for the toleration of nonconformity. 'And be it known', he wrote in 1683, 'that Soundness, Life, Zeal, and Answerableness to our holy and heavenly Calling…is to be found among the Moderate, of every Denomination, that holds the Head, and is built upon the Foundation.'[72] He attacked supporters of a narrow post-Restoration Anglicanism whose 'Reproach and Jealousy' sprang from 'the Heat and Sharpness of...flashy Zeal'.[73] Yet, elsewhere, Philip Ayres (1638–1712), a High-Church Anglican writing in 1684,

---

[69] Baxter, *Breviate*, p. 64.
[70] Corbet was ejected in 1662. N. H. Keeble, 'John Corbet (bap. 1619, d. 1680)', *ODNB*.
[71] John Corbet, *A Second Discourse of the Religion of England* (London, 1668), p. 43.
[72] Lover of Moderation, *Moderation*, sig. Av.
[73] Lover of Moderation, *Moderation*, p. 2.

could find no room for the toleration of those whose 'Religion…makes them most savagely cruel against all their Opposers, when they have opportunity,' for whom 'cruelty how inhumane soever, will be accounted no other than their Vertue, their Zeal for the Honour and Cause of God and his People.'[74]

Thus, the dynamic concept of zeal, of being earnest, remained tenaciously on the frontline of religious affective culture, and provides one example of a word who usage reveals much about the ways in which 'groups presented themselves and imagined others', as Barbara Rosenwein puts it.[75]

II – Emotive Glossaries

The contested notion of zeal was one of the more obvious examples of the semantic which expressed and characterised contrasting norms, cognitions, evaluations, aspirations and indeed feelings. The analysis above has demonstrated that the use of language associated with different concepts of zeal is indicative of the emotional dissonances associated with religious-political divisions. This section aims to extend the discussion above to consider the broader range of conceptual terminologies and emotive vocabularies of which zeal was a part, and to show how these were performative. This section extracts the lexical and terminological focus from a selection of contemporaneous textual anthologies for comparison in these terms. The orthodox Presbyterian agenda of Clarke's biographical collections is compared with other examples, typical of some of the alternative positions discussed above: the work of Peter Heylyn, Robert Sanderson, and George Fox the Younger.

There are two aspects to the analysis provided here: a direct comparison of the emotive vocabulary used by hostile groups to craft conflicting narratives of Church history, and a more general comparison of those terminologies whose usage characterised distinctive religious communities. This enquiry uses some quantitative data to support a qualitative analysis. The aim is to provide a more complete picture of the character of the emotive cultural lexicon. Comparison of these examples reveals

---

[74] Philip Ayres, *Vox Clamantis* (London, 1684), pp. 54-5. Ayres was a poet and translator. *Vox Clamantis* was an original conduct-book, which prescribed rules of élite behaviour in a context of divine-right royalism and High-Church Anglicanism. Peter Davidson and Ian William McLellan, 'Philip Ayres (1638–1712)', *ODNB*.
[75] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 56.

a variously nuanced vocabulary that is suggestive of the existence of a contested landscape of the cultural ideals and values that characterised communities and their emotional norms, and the deliberate intent of authors to use emotive contextual language to accentuate difference. As in the case of 'zeal', the same word often meant different things to different people. So, this analysis will emphasise the performativity of key words and how it was often dependent upon a context observed in terms of content, rhetorical style and the deployment of a supporting language.

a) Church History and Lexical Performativity: Clarke v Heylyn

In his four major biographical collections, *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines*, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines,* and *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, published and re-published at different times, Clarke's principal purpose was to establish a continuity which placed Presbyterianism at the centre of the history of the Church.[76] This was highly disputed territory upon which the legitimacy of faith seemed to depend. As such it was intrinsically emotive. Nevertheless, writers who addressed the subject used language that deliberately emphasised, cultivated and exploited the emotional responses of their readers. A direct comparison of Clarke's anthologies of hagiography with Peter Heylyn's history of Presbyterianism will demonstrate this point.

Clarke's hagiographies employed a distinctive and emotive vocabulary, and he was careful to stress it for the benefit of his readers. Tables appear at the end of Clarke's publications under the heading 'A Table of the Principal (or Chief) Things contained.' They are not quite indexes in the modern sense but consist almost entirely

---

[76] These works ran through several editions and combinations and were variously published and re-published in 1650, 1651, 1654, 1660, 1662, 1675, 1677 and 1683, at different moments in the crises of the period. See fn. 30 in Chapter Seven for more detail. In 1651 and 1652 he published two martyrologies. The first referenced the international church and the second persecution in the English church. The lives of different groups of 'Divines' were appended to each edition. These re-emerged separately as *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* and *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* and were combined into *The Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines* in 1677. The editions used here are *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1654), *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* (London, 1660), *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662), and *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (London, 1683). See Peter Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, for a detailed analysis of the of the rationale behind the timing of Clarke's publications.

of references to conceptual norms, including virtues and vices, that Clarke wished to promote or denigrate. These tables reveal an instinctive recognition of the importance of language in shaping memory, reasoning, identity and feeling. Clarke deliberately drew attention to these words by constructing indexes around them; he sought to emphasise their dynamic importance. A simple statistical survey of the frequency with which each term is referenced outlines the cultural lexical landscape within which the cognition of Clarke's community was processed.

Table 1: A Numerical Lexical Analysis from the Indexes of Clarke's *Lives*

Concept	Frequency	Concept	Frequency	Concept	Frequency
Abstinence	1	Gratitude and ingratitude	3	Preaching	3
Affability	1	Greed and Gluttony	1	Prodigies, prophesies and predictions	43
Affliction	25	Hatred-cured	1	Prophaness (Prophanity)	1
Anger- its evils, prevented	3	Heavenly-mindedness	9	Providence and Deliverances	100
Assurance	4	Hospitality	10	Prudence	68
Candour	1	Humility Pride and Meekness	102	Raptures	1
Chastity	5	Hypocrisy	3	Reformation	2
Comfort	19	Ignorance	5	Repentance	4
Compassion	2	Impatience	1	Reproof	7
Conjugal Love	3	Joy	15	Sabbath	23
Constancy or Fidelity	13	Justice	6	Sacrilege	2
Contentment or 'contentation'	10	Liberality/Charity	86	Scripture	12
Conscience	20	Love	11	Self-Denial	17
Conversion	50	Lying and perjury	3	Self-examination	5
Counsel	6	Malice	8	Sin	3
Courage and Fortitude	76	Martyrs and martyrdom	3	Slander	5
Death	57	Mediation	4	Speech	33
Division- Schism and Schismatics	7	Ministry	124	Studiousness	25
Drunkenness	8	Modesty	10	Suffering	3
Envy and covetousness	2	Moderation	3	Sympathy	6
Family	13	Patience	46	Temperance	3
Fasting and Prayer	31	Painfulness, diligence and Industry	126	Temptation	33
Faith	11	Peace and Peace makers	19	Testimony	2
Faithful Ministers	38	Piety	20	Thanksgiving/ Thank-fulness	5
Forgiveness	2	Popish, papist (lies, excesses etc.)	71 (NB. 66 from the *marrow*)	Time-precious	5
Friendship	43	Poverty	16	Wives – good, virtuous	5
Frugality	12	Praise	1	The Word (incl. Ministry of the Word)	23
Grace	1	Prayer	25	Zeal	96

Drawn from the indexes of *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (1654), *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* (1660), *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (1662) and *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683).

Table 1 above is not intended as an exhaustive analysis; Clarke did not, of course, prepare his indexes with this kind of analysis in mind, and they are not always conducive to classification. In fact, Clarke's categories were malleable and adaptable. Clearly, several of these categories overlap, represent oppositional qualities, or else are multi-faceted. For example, the category 'Death' (cited fifty-seven times) includes 'wishing for,' 'feared not', mourning, and 'prepared for'. 'Affliction' is a fairly broad category with a resonance that requires another indexed category of 'Comfort' to be usually applied to it. 'Comfort' may also be applied to 'Conscience' which in turn may be described in terms of 'Affliction'. 'Courage' and 'Constancy' are linked sometimes as if to qualify each other. 'Fasting' is always linked with 'prayer', as spiritual practice would require, but 'Prayer' is a stand-alone category. 'Love' is referenced in terms of its objects: 'to God's children'; 'to God's house'; 'to Saints and Souls'; and 'to Christ'. 'Ministry' is the largest single category (hardly surprising in anthologies largely pertaining to the lives of ministers) and includes a number of subsections: 'ordination'; 'successful' (thirty-six references); 'Faithful'; 'dearly loved'; and 'falsely accused.' However, it is their 'painfulness, diligence and industry' which is most referenced: 126 times. These are terms that (as shown above) are proximate in meaning to 'zeal', which receives ninety-six citations alone. There are also many references to 'pride', 'humility' and 'meekness' (102), 'charity' and 'liberality' (eighty-six), 'courage' and 'fortitude' (seventy-six), 'patience' (forty-six), 'prudence' (sixty-eight), 'friendship' (forty-three), 'conscience' (twenty), and 'providence' (100).

Indexes, or 'tables' such as these were intended as guidance, drawing the reader towards key concepts in the understanding of their faith in both meditative, and broader social and political contexts. The numerical incidence of terms listed in each of these indexes is suggestive of a hierarchy of values. However, this linguistic and terminological framework, applied to the classification of narrative subjects, also constituted a powerful morphology in which language and affect interacted in a dynamic symbiotic relationship. As Barbara Rosenwein says, 'Hagiographies are flexible instruments of emotional expression.'[77]

The indexes supplied in Clarke's two collections of martyrology, first published in 1651 and 1652, afford a similar, simple analysis of those affective norms

---

[77] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 59.

and concepts which Clarke sought to highlight for the edification of his readers.[78] Many of these terms received multiple citations. A list of those 'Things' to which Clarke gave more than ten references in these tables delivers an interesting balance of affective potentialities: -

Table 2: Positive and Negative Affective Potentialities in Clarke's Martyrologies

Positive Potentiality	Negative Potentiality
Charity	Apostacy
Constancy	Bibles and Scripture burnt
Conversion	Blasphemy
Courage	Christians slandered
Faith	Cruelty
Joy	Heathen
Miracles	Heretic
Patience	Human(e) Frailty
Persecutors (plagued by God)	Ignorance
Prayer (powerful, prevalent and useful)	Martyrs
Providence	Malice
Recovery	Papists
Speeches (excellent)	Perfidiousness
Temptation (resisted)	Schismatics
Treachery (rewarded, i.e. punished)	Subtilty
Zeal	Uncleanness

---

[78] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (London 1651) and Clarke, *Martyrologie* (1652). Tables drawn of words from these indexes are supplied in appendix four.

One of the main purposes of the martyrologies was to eulogise the role of martyrs as instrumental in the history of the true Church. The narrative of martyrdom was inspirational; the martyr's sacrifice provided evidence of the love of God. But the fact and manner of their martyrdom was also verification of the work of evil in the world: a finely poised calculation. Clarke's martyrologies worked within the balance of this equation. The headings in Clarke's indexes helped to corral and organise his material in a way that was also prescriptive of the emotional reaction of readers. Clarke's intention was that references to matters such as 'faith' and 'courage' would resonate positively among the godly, whereas indications of 'cruelty' and 'malice' were meant to produce an opposite and balancing effect within the prescription of 'rational affections'. These accounts were meant to encourage both godly zeal and holy anger: both heartfelt joy and godly sorrow. The lexicon of Clarke's martyrologies, like that of his collections of *Lives*, supported a powerful historical narrative that deliberately pulled the emotional responses of readers in divergent directions, with the intention of eliciting a balanced register of godly or rational feeling.

Often it was the contextual vocabulary that gave these terms their significance. Another analysis, which considers the use of modifying words, often (not always) in the form of adverbs, verbs and adjectives in these indexes, helps to develop this point.

Table 3: Modifiers used to describe 'Principal Things'

abhorred	faithful	punished
approved	false	rash
bewailed	feared (not)	reformed
blessed	fervent	remarkable
blind	frequent	resisted
cared (for)	frustrated	sanctified
complained (of)	hateful	seditious
confuted	honoured	sincere
cruelty	infectious	sought
cured	liars	subtle
dangerous	loved	successful
dearly	made mischief	tender
delighted (in)	malice	true
desired	passionateness	virtuous
despised	plagued	welcomed
difficult	prepared (for)	wickedness
encouraged	profitable	unspeakable (joy)
exemplary	profane	

Analysis of the indexes of *The marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (1654), *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* (1660), *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (1662) and *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683).

These are dynamic terms which were intended to provoke and shape a variety of affective responses. In highlighting this use of language, I am extending a view of the performativity of language, often thought of in terms of concepts that had specificity of meaning in an historical context, to show how these other parts of language more

specifically related to their affective performativity.[79] In William Reddy's terminology they are 'emotives'. Some things are 'loved', 'desired', 'welcomed', and 'honoured' whereas, in contrast, others are 'despised', 'hateful', 'abhorred' and 'profane'. Some things are 'false', others are 'true'; some are 'delighted in', whilst others are 'complained of'. Clarke's readers are left in no doubt how they should *feel* about the issues raised. They are assumed to be able to invest a range of nuanced sentiments and directed how and where to deploy them. 'Joy', for example, is described as so profound as to be 'unspeakable'.

Peter Heylyn's version of the Presbyterian part in the history of the Church, *Aerius Redivivus*, proposed a comprehensively contrary account that bears direct comparison with Clarke's. He also sought to mobilise the emotions of his readers, but his approach was less finely balanced; the character of Heylyn's anger, fear and hatred is not nuanced. He did not feel the need to assert the moderation of his position in the face of what he presented as the extremism of Presbyterians. His attack upon Presbyterian zeal has been observed in the pages above, but he had many other issues to complain about. Like Clarke, he used a summary of contents to direct his readers. In *Aerius Redivivus* this was a four-page outline of the chronological structure of the book that revealed Heylyn's blatant historical partiality. Heylyn directs the interpretation of his readers, and he underpins this by modelling the language that expresses how they should feel about Presbyterianism and its negative role in the course of the Protestant Reformation. So, the chronological outline of contents was interlaced with, and driven by, pejorative expressions. The table below lists those actively judgemental terms that were deployed in the contents pages, and shows how often they were subsequently employed within the substantive text of the book.

---

[79] Indeed, in the modern fields of communication studies and artificial intelligence, adjectives and adverbs are key indicators of affective language used to classify documents and text genres. See, for example, Robert Rittman and Nina Wacholder, 'Adjectives and Adverbs as Indicators of Affective Language for Automatic Genre Detection', in *Proceedings of the AISB Symposium of Affective Language in Human and Machine*, 2 (2008), pp. 65-72. Available at https://www.aisb.org.uk/convention/aisb08/proc/proceedings/02%20Affective%20L anguage/13.pdf. (Accessed 12.11.18).

Table 4: Peter Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus* –
Pejorative Contents Vocabulary and Textual Incidence

Word	Incidence	Word	Incidence
alteration(s)	36	murder(s)	6
art(s)	35	position(s)	19
conspiracy(ies)	12	practice(s)	90
contrivers	1	puritan(s)	129
danger(s)	83	railing(s)	8
design(s)	79	rapine(s)	13
discipline	265	rebellion(s)	32
disloyalty(ies)	6	reviling	5
doctrine(s)	266	revolt(s)	3
faction(s)	134	sacriledge(s)	4
innovation(s)	44	schism(s)	28
insolence(ies)	29	secret(s)	45
insurrection(s)	17	treason(s)	44
libel(s)	22	tumult(s), tumultuating	42

Source: Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*. Analysis using EEBO-TCP.

The words tabled above tell us what the book was really about, as Heylyn intended. Many of these terms converge on a similar target. For example, words like 'conspiracy', 'design', 'insurrection', 'rebellion', 'revolt', 'secret', 'treason' and 'tumults' create a very powerful impression that Heylyn intended should sum up the destructive and subversive nature of Presbyterianism. This is a 'history' of 'disloyalty', 'faction' and 'schism'. In the context of the upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century, the reader is instructed where to place the blame. The most striking occurrences to note are the terms related to the ideology of Presbyterians. Heylyn discusses 'discipline' 265 times. He meant to denigrate what he called 'Genevian' or Calvinist attitudes to theocratic government: the rule of magistracy and ministry. For example, he tells us that in Geneva the 'presbytery' had

> power...given unto them by the Rules of the Discipline not onely to proceed to Excommunication, if the case required it, against Drunkards, Whore-masters, Blasphemers of Gods holy Name, disturbers of the peace by fighting, or contentious words; but also against such as pleased themselves with modest dancing, which was from henceforth looked on as a grievous crime.[80]

In this accounting, because Presbyterianism was unreasonable, resentment against it was all the more legitimate and rational. In a similar way Heylyn made 266 references to 'doctrine' and ninety to 'practices'. The accusation that Calvinism was doctrinaire was difficult to avoid, but Heylyn pressed home an attack on this point. According to him, these were 'Schismatical Opinions, and Seditious', 'dangerous Doctrines and Positions'.[81] Furthermore, Heylyn deliberately indicated little distinction between 'puritans' and Presbyterians. The term 'puritan' is deployed 129 times in *Aerius Redivivus*, often alongside 'Presbyterian' as, for example, when he accuses the '*Puritans* or *Presbyterians* of both Kingdoms' of causing the Civil War, or when he states accusingly that, like traitorous Catholics, 'the *Puritans,* or *Presbyterians,* have their Martyrs also'.[82]

In the contents pages Heylyn uses a small cluster of dynamic modifiers, relying instead upon the power of nouns to name the issues he wanted to write about.[83] The words 'imposed', 'horrible' or 'horrid' and 'dangerous' were, however, sufficient to his purpose of prescribing affect. In the text Heylyn described the behaviour of these Presbyterians as 'horrid' or 'horrible' on thirty-three occasions, citing, for example, their 'horrid nature' or their 'horrible invectives'.[84] The word 'dangerous' is deployed sixty-seven times in the text, and the term 'imposed' is used to describe twenty-eight examples of Presbyterian activity.[85] For example, the first chapter is described as containing,

> The first Institution of *Presbytery* in the Town of *Geneva;* the Arts and Practices by which it was imposed on the neck of that City, and pressed upon all the Churches of the Reformation; together with the dangerous Principles and

---

[80] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 7.
[81] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 322, p. 482.
[82] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 299, p. 326.
[83] NB. Examples like 'railing' or 'reviling' were used both as nouns and verbs.
[84] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 477, p. 77.
[85] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*. Numerical incidence analysis using EEBO-TCP.

> Positions of the chief Contrivers, in the pursuance of their project, from the year *1536,* to the year *1585.*[86]

This encapsulates Heylyn's style. Presbyterianism was 'imposed on the neck' of Geneva. Its 'Principles and Positions' were 'dangerous', and its leaders were 'Contrivers'.

That political, religious, and ideological differences separated writers like Clarke and Heylyn is evident. However, the observations above suggest that these disagreements included fundamentally opposing conceptualisations of an historical narrative that were necessarily expressed using key terms and emotives from a different lexical range. This is not to deny that there was inevitably a basic cultural vocabulary in common between the two writers. They shared the same English language, similar education and a heritage which placed religion at the centre. Both used a vocabulary of dangerous schism within the Church. But, given that they were discussing similar matters of religion, doctrine, and reformation of the Church, the differences are all the more notable. Furthermore, the choices these authors made set a tonal context in which the understanding of early modern conceptual norms became subjective and relative. For example, 'persecution' and 'providence' were significant terminologies in Clarke's repertoire (as the following chapter will show). However, each appears only once in the entirety of Heylyn's text, emphasising a different focus but also, perhaps, a different conception of the significance of these as cultural norms and references. Terms like 'rapine' and 'railing' are to be found in the lexicon of both writers, but in their respective contexts Clarke was concerned to highlight the 'suffering' and 'patience' of the godly, whereas Heylyn's sole object was to promote a negative image, and an emotive reaction against puritanism. Opposing narratives required different words, and words do necessarily relate to the acquisition and possession of concepts, norms and values.

b) The Vocabulary of Emotional Community

A comparative analysis of the printed output of other contemporaries helps to locate the vocabulary of affective discourse associated with Samuel Clarke in a broader context. Robert Sanderson was a conforming senior, professional churchman, whereas George Fox the Younger represented a radical sectarianism. As in the example above,

---

[86] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*, 'The Contents'.

is possible to discern how linguistic and semantic usages confirm overlapping, yet clearly identifiable subdivisions of religious culture, and reveal discrete modalities of affect. Unlike Heylyn's historical accounts, Bishop Sanderson's sermons and the writings of George Fox the Younger do not bear straight comparison with Clarke's biographies and martyrologies. But the language of the religious piety of Fox and Sanderson can be compared. Furthermore, it is argued that, in terms of comparison with Clarke's work, distinctive vocabularies are apparent, and that the dissimilar formats are the inevitable consequence of the differences between them. Each of these writers drew from a glossary of terms that represented a characteristic sub-set of affective culture.

The career of Robert Sanderson (1587–1663) also marks an interesting point of comparison with Samuel Clarke. He was a few years older than Clarke, and apparently 'well known for his formidable intelligence'.[87] He was a Calvinist predestinarian whose views seemed to develop allowing him to become, as Peter Lake puts it, 'a moderate Calvinist, a moderate supporter of the Laudian church and the Personal Rule...[and] a moderate (or at least inactive) royalist'.[88] He has been described as 'Whitgiftian' and 'Hobbesian', and until the 1970s at least, associated with Anglican hostility to Calvinism.[89] Nevertheless, indicating the degree of ambiguity that exists regarding the heritage of puritanism, a modern Christian evangelical website claims him as 'one of the most articulate Westminster Puritans who published numerous works.'[90] According to J. Sears McGee, 'he had much in common with puritans', though 'throughout his long career he rejected puritan arguments against ceremonies'.[91] He was perfectly acceptable to the post-Restoration Church and was installed as Bishop of Lincoln in 1660. Here we have a senior Protestant cleric with several feet in several camps, also occupying the middle ground to which Samuel Clarke aspired.

---

[87] Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590-1640* (Farnham, 2014), p. 210.

[88] Lake, *Serving God*, p. 114, quoted in Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians*, p. 215.

[89] Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians*, p. 217.

[90] apuritansmind.com: https://www.apuritansmind.com/puritan-favorites/robert-sanderson-1587-1663/. (Accessed 1.10.18.)

[91] J. Sears McGee, 'Robert Sanderson (1587–1663)', *ODNB*.

Table 5: Principal Themes in the Contents of the Sermons of Robert Sanderson

Theme	Frequency
Reason, Reasons	24
Sin, Sins, Sinning	20
Justice, Judging, Judgment, Justifying	18
Duty	17
Cause, Causes	16
Law, Laws, Lawfulness	15
Scandal	13
Good, Goodness	12
Restrain, Restraint	12
Truth, True	11
Conscience	10
Liberty	10
Thanks, Thanksgiving, Thankfulness	10

Robert Sanderson, 'Summary of Contents', *XXXVI Sermons* (London, 1686), pp. 91-101.

The table above is drawn from 'The Summary of Contents' of Robert Sanderson's collection of thirty-six sermons, in a comprehensive anthology published posthumously in 1686, and representative of his career and outlook. The words in Table 5 represent themes and references cited more than ten times in the contents pages of Sanderson's sermons; clearly these were matters of import to the Bishop and his congregation. Here is a key vocabulary that bears comparison to that given in Table 1, taken from Clarke's work.

In the puritan affective culture at the centre of this study sermonising was an opportunity to mobilise the spirit, using emotive language to open godly hearts to grace. Indeed, Richard Baxter's advice to a colleague was to speak 'as movingly as you can' and to 'be as serious and deeply affected yourself as possible, to weep over them sometimes will doe more than to speake to them, let them see that you meane as you speake'.[92] Thus we might expect the language of sermons, originally delivered at first

---

[92] Richard Baxter, Letters (1696): 190 To Abraham Pinchbecke, Kidderminster, 5 July 1654 in Geoffrey F. Nuttall and N. H. Keeble (eds), *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter, vol. 1: 1638–1660* (Oxford, 1991), p. 146. See Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), p. 122.

hand in the presence of a congregation, to be at least as energising as some of the examples in Clarke's printed narratives. But, on this evidence, Robert Sanderson did not subscribe to this formula. These lessons were preached to select and elite audiences, including the court, the clergy, and justices, and the tone adopted may be assumed to reflect the sensitivities of such communities, which seem to be far removed from the godly congregations Baxter had in mind, and the audiences Clarke addressed in his publications. In Sanderson's homiletic repertoire, words to do with reason, justice, sin, conscience, law, duty, restraint, truth, scandal and goodness prevail. Taken in aggregate this legalistic and academic language was self-consciously and emotionally reserved. Another work by Sanderson, *Ten Lectures on the Obligation of Human Conscience* (1660), highlights similar themes and is, as the title suggests, concerned with 'obligation' and 'conscience'.[93] This terminology and semantic stands in contrast to Clarke's, where more emotive language associated with zeal, providence, diligence, humility, pride, courage, and charity dominates. Clarke's more vibrant and charged narrative juxtaposes Sanderson's learned and conservative didactic, and this is reflected in their choice of vocabulary. Partly, this indicates a high-brow and low-brow dichotomy between Sanderson's cultured discourse and Clarke's more populist literary imagination. The language addressed to different audiences contained different substance and different emphases. But, like the work of Heylyn, it is also suggestive of a different emotional register.

George Fox the Younger (d. 1661) provides a complete contrast from a very different aspect of the Protestant community. The Quakerism which attracted him at Mendlesham, Suffolk, in 1654 as a result of the testimony of George Whitehead, and that he in turn helped to shape, was widely seen as subversive and was roundly condemned.[94] As Hilary Hinds explains, 'Critics of Quakers were enraged by almost every aspect of Friend's ways of worshipping, behaving and speaking, flouting as they did many of the rituals of social politeness, as well as more familiar and conventional ways of worshipping.'[95] Naomi Pullin tells us that 'Quakers united around the idea of a universal, God-given "inner light"' in each individual, which trumped all forms of

---

[93] Robert Sanderson (1587-1663), *Ten Lectures on the Obligation of Human Conscience* (London 1660).
[94] Greaves, 'Fox', *ODNB*.
[95] Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester, 2011), p. 1.

social status, as well as civil and ecclesiastical authority.[96] Such radical views meant that Quakers were probably the most persecuted sectarian group, and they represented largely the poorer and marginalised. Cheap print was instrumental in the growth of Quakerism, helping to 'keep the coherence of a denomination that seemingly lacked all the infrastructural advantages of more orthodox denominations'.[97] As Thomas Corns explains, Quaker pamphleteers and writers made 'a virtue of their rhetorical limitations, contrasting their spiritual simplicity with the sophistication of the professional clergy'.[98] Yet Quaker literature encompassed genres and styles, including martyrology, that might be considered resonant of the works associated with the Presbyterian Samuel Clarke.[99]

An analysis of key words reveals the emotive register of language associated with the Quaker community of George Fox the Younger. *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings* by George Fox the Younger (1662), was the first compilation of Quaker writing to be published.[100] It contains an assortment of tracts, letters, epistles and discourses, scriptural in style, and analogous at times to the language of the Gospels and the writings of St Paul.[101]

---

[96] Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 4.

[97] Thomas N. Corns, 'Radical Pamphleteering', in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 71-86, p. 83.

[98] Corns, 'Radical Pamphleteering', in Keeble, *Companion*, p. 83.

[99] See discussion of Ellis Hookes (bap. 1635, d. 1681), *The Spirit of the Martyrs* (London 1664), in Chapter Four, pp.144-5.

[100] George Fox, *A Collection*. According to Greaves, 'Fox', *ODNB*.

[101] For example, Fox's statement, 'For except you stand in that Power which God hath given you, and in it deny your selves, and take up the cross, ye cannot be Christs Disciples' (Fox, *A Collection*, p. 6), echoes Christ's words in Matthew 16:24 and Luke 9:23, but also bears comparison to the Pauline text in Romans 1:16.

Table 6: Analysis of Key Terms from the Writings of George Fox the Younger

Theme	Frequency	Theme	Frequency	Theme	Frequency
(The) Light	572	Faithful	33	Resurrection	8
Thee, Thy, Thou	395	Carnal	28	Sincerity	8
Spirit	240	Government	27	Upright	7
Love	157	Plainness, Plain	23	Episcopal/Presbyterian (Fox means little distinction)	5
Good, Bad	96,16	Zeal	22	People of the Lord (Quakers)	5
Eternal	75	Honest	21	Sad	5
Glory	65	Deliverance	20	Alarm	4
Tender	65	Flock (of Christ)	14	Exhortation	3
Righteous Unrighteous	55 17	Simplicity	12	Lament(ed)	3
The Body (corporeal)	43	Determined	10	Plotting	3
Testimony	40	Persecution	10	Tribulated	3
Will (the Will of God)	38	Compassion	8	Justification	2

George Fox, 'A Table of the Principles Heads contained in this book', *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings given forth by that Faithful Servant of God and his People George Fox the Younger* (London, 1662). Analysis using EEBO-TCP.

As in the earlier examples, table 6 above lists key words from the 'Principles Heads' that Fox drew attention to in his titles. The table also shows the frequency with which each word was used in the substance of the text. Clarke's inventory of key words, identified in Table 1, cross references to an extent with that of Fox above. Emotion words such as 'love,' 'compassion,' 'zeal,' 'faith' (or faithful, fidelity, constancy) figure in common. Other terms such as 'persecution,' and 'misery' can be said to correlate to Clarke's deployment of 'martyrdom', and 'suffering', respectively. In the text, Fox addressed issues such as self-denial. For example, he wrote, 'For except you stand in that Power which God hath given you, and in it deny your selves, and take up the cross, ye cannot be Christs Disciples.'[102] Such conceptions of self–abjuration also figure strongly in Clarke's register. However, not surprisingly, Fox placed emphasis upon the terminology normally associated with Quakerism. Terms

---

[102] Fox, *Collection*, p. 6.

like 'plainness', 'simplicity', 'thee', 'thy' and 'thou' figure strongly. And, exceptional stress was placed on 'spirit' and 'Light'. [103]

Indeed, a comparison with key texts by Clarke, Heylyn and Sanderson reveals that as a concept 'The Light', so important to Fox, scarcely figures at all.[104] For Quakers 'Light' was a powerful emotional symbol. Ian Barbour explained that 'Religious symbols are expressive of human emotions and feelings, and are powerful in calling forth response and commitment.'[105] God as light, and as the light within, was a potent theological metaphor of the sort that, as Alister E. McGrath tells us, 'have strongly emotional overtones…[which] are able to express the emotional dimensions of Christian faith in a way that makes them appropriate to worship.'[106] 'The Light' was the essence of God, and as such its emotionality encompassed the entire nature of God, usually expressed as love. Of course, it had broad recognition as a metaphor. For example, Clarke wrote about the 'Popish Party' in France attempting 'to suppress and extinguish the Light of God's Word'.[107] However, for Quakers, 'Light' held far greater significance and the passionate terms in which Fox repeatedly stressed 'the Light' is demonstrative. In one single sentence, of which only part is quoted below, he wrote of 'The Light' five times. He enjoined all to

> wait together in the Light, and believe in it, that ye may be Children of the Light, and therein watch unto Prayer, and one over another, and this will beget ye into unfeigned love; and walking in the Light ye will have true unity, and fellowship one with another, and the blood (which is the Life) of Jesus Christ you will feel cleansing you from all Sin, and so ye will come into the unity with God.[108]

These repetitive emphases in Fox's writing reveal the extent to which this vocabulary of 'the Light' mattered and was emotionally resonant of an all-encompassing feeling of love, unanimity and redemption. In these terms of an emotionally expressive

---

[103] Fox uses 'Light' 423 times and 'The Light' 159 times. Analysis using EEBO-TCP.
[104] In *Lives of Two and Twenty*, Clarke uses the word four times. In *XXXVI Sermons*, Sanderson uses it thirty-six times. In *Aerius Redivivus*, Heylyn uses it 5 times. Analysis using EEBO-TCP.
[105] Ian G. Barbour, *Myths, Models and Paradigms: The Nature of Scientific and Religious Language* (New York, 1974), p. 15.
[106] McGrath, *Christian Theology*, p. 168.
[107] Clarke, 'The Life of Gaspar Colinius Great Admirall of France', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 249.
[108] Fox, 'An Exhortation to Families', *Collection*, p. 46.

cultural vocabulary, Quakerism was distinct but not entirely outside the permeable boundaries of the Protestant mosaic, despite its radical and generally despised status.

***

Chapter Three has discussed aspects of the relationship between printed text and affective culture by exploring the nature of a performative emotive vocabulary as part of a cultural lexicon. It has argued that a performative vocabulary was expressive of certain values and goals that shaped the way text conditioned feeling. The discussion above shows why vocabulary was important. Its use identified, expressed and differentiated conceptual values and norms, and the extent to which these mattered across different communities. Writers also used emotives to stipulate affect and shape feeling around the subject of their discourse.

The chapter has considered how the emotive use of 'zeal' conjured different meanings that reveal the prejudices, aspirations and concerns of different communities, and how its deployment continued, through the seventeenth century, to mark political and religious boundaries in terms of competing conceptions of moderation, and constructions of rational feeling and irrational passion. The second part of the chapter compared a broader register of vocabulary, comparing the terms, concepts and emotives highlighted and deployed by Clarke with contemporaneous expressions from across the religious spectrum. This analysis revealed how the choice of vocabulary had an affective dimension that reinforced the purposes of the authors and marked the differences between them. This allowed us to observe a distinct adaptation of language, reflective and instrumental to the purposes of discrete religious and political affiliations. Clarke, Heylyn and Fox used a dynamic vocabulary of affect to assert the righteousness of their positions, whereas Sanderson deliberately avoided doing so for the same reason. Religious discourse, whether restrained or effusive, was necessarily often emotionally self-aware, and an appropriate vocabulary was used to express it. The performativity of an emotive vocabulary was a constituent part of affective culture.

In this comparison of cultural lexicons, and in the discussion of zeal, it has been possible to identify and compare constituent parts of the operative vocabulary of competing, and affective religious discourses. Often, however, the nuance and resonance of vocabulary, including its emotive potential, can be observed to be

dependent upon context: the narrative substance and the rhetorical style of the writer. Indeed, it is how these words were assembled together, in what Anna Wierzbicka, calls 'cultural scripts,' using a subtly more prescriptive term than Skinner's 'cultural lexicon', that affective culture was expressed.[109] Clarke's 'scripts', presented in the form of historical narrative, will be the focus of the next chapter.

---

[109] A. Wierzbicka, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge, 1999). See Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, *Passions*, pp. 9-13.

Chapter Four – Cultural Narratives and Tender Hearts

Hugh Clarke, Samuel's father, was a university educated, first generation puritan minister. In his first living at Oundle in Northamptonshire, Hugh made a stand on Sabbatarianism, Whitsun-ales and morris dancing. Samuel explained:

> but they having always been trained up in such practices, and having their hearts hardened against admonition, still persevered in their former courses…but the judgment of God found them out for their wickedness. For shortly after, on a Lord's day, the Leader of the Dance, being a Lusty young man, in the midst of their prophane pastimes suddainly fell down and died.[1]

In his own autobiographical account, Samuel provided a very similar story from his own time as minister at Alcester, Warwickshire:

> It pleased God to shew a remarkable Judgment upon two of my neighbours; who…dared to prophane that holy day: the one was a Lusty young woman…who said that she would go to the next parish and there Dance as long as she could stand; which also upon the Sabbath in the Afternoon she did; but as she was dancing it pleased God to strike her with a sudden and grievous Disease whereof she died within three days...These remarkable Judgments, seconding of the Word, struck a great awe in the hearts of many.[2]

These analogous stories inform our understanding of how the puritan ministry interpreted the intervention of retributive providence. Providentialism was, as Walsham puts it, one of several 'points of intersection and contact between the culture of Puritanism and the culture of the multitude against whom they defined themselves.'[3] Certainly, it should be regarded as part of 'the rhythms of what we may call traditional religion.'[4] However, it was the pervasiveness of providential belief that offered opportunities and the imperative for a partisan like Clarke to seek to establish meaning and interpretation. Furthermore, the fact that Samuel can be observed to understand and recount events from his own life in the same terms as his father's experience also indicates a form of cultural conditioning through the powerful social agencies of

---

[1] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke, *Lives of Two and Twenty,* p. 160.
[2] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry,* p. 7.
[3] Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 277-93, p. 282.
[4] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 282.

family, community and religion. The interpretation of events in terms of divine intervention was a commonplace; but that it should operate in support of the godly ministry was an assumption Clarke had assimilated, and the telling of such stories was part of the process by which this assimilation happened. Often, as above, these narratives described singular historical episodes in simple prose, but always as integral detail to support a particular and appropriated grand narrative of God, Satan, the elect and the world. They reflected a cultural habituation which they also helped to condition.

This chapter considers the role of Samuel Clarke's reconditioned providential and persecutory narratives contained in two works of martyrology, two collections of providential anecdotes and in his account of his own life and that of his father.[5] It considers the connection between their emotionality and the cultural agenda they served. It contends that Clarke's narrative used a construction of emotion to shape historical memory and that history in these terms may be viewed as a strand of those values and norms that underpin the emotional community. Clarke deployed the emotive power of narratives of providence, martyrdom and persecution to supply a model of godly emotionality that was intended to affect the sensibilities of his readers. He recycled and reimagined, for his own time, stories that were already, for the most part, well established in Protestant literature and culture. The familiarity and the repetitive nature of the providential and persecutory refrain performed as a 'cultural script', composed to represent, normalise and orchestrate socially constructed emotional goals and codes.[6] Recognising, as Alexandra Walsham puts it, 'the porous boundaries between the literal and metaphorical, body and mind, thought and the world in early modern society', this chapter explores the affective dimension of these cultural narratives.[7] Without attempting to describe the shape and varied nuances of emotion as experienced by individuals, it is possible to demonstrate the emotional range and character of these narratives and to note how such cultural practices relate to the experience, cognition and historical sensibilities of people in the past.

---

[5] *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651). *A Martyrologie* (1652). *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse both for Saints and Sinners* (1646); second edition (London, 1654); third edition (1657); fourth edition in two volumes (1671). *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors* (1674) and (London 1675).
[6] Wierzbicka, *Emotions*, pp. 9-13.
[7] Walsham, 'Deciphering', in Spinks and Zika *Disaster,* p. 22.

This chapter is organised under five sub-headings. Firstly, it seeks to show how the affective dimension of Clarke's narratives was fundamental to their purposes. Secondly, it considers how, in the narrative, emotion was connected to the state of the soul and expressed as a disposition of the heart. Thirdly, it shows how providential judgement was often emphasised in terms of negative emotional states attended by terrifying corporeal manifestations and a bad death. Fourthly, it explores how, for the godly, Clarke's narrative of martyrdom and persecution presented an emotional template of the transformative quality of adversity and suffering. And finally, it sets the Clarkeian paradigm of the emotional narrative in a broader context by comparing Clarke's narrative of sectarian schism with Ellis Hookes's alternative Quaker construct: how the same narrative was construed by Quakers to produce a differently focused emotional appeal for toleration. In this way, we can see how the affective aspect of the cultural narrative helps to illuminate the contours of religious communities under the broad umbrella of Protestantism. The emotional style of dissenting piety seems to converge in these narratives. At the same time the demarcation between Presbyterian and Quaker is starkly observed: separate and hostile emotional communities in which affect related to and was triggered by opposing emotional goals.

I - Narrative, Memory and Emotion

Emotion was a significant component of the content of the Clarkeian narrative, the way it was told and the intended effect. Peter Goldie defines narrative as having three characteristic features: 'coherence, meaningfulness, and evaluative and emotional import.'[8] Narratives, he says, are 'meaningful', and 'this can be internal or external to the narrative, revealing evaluative and emotional import from the perspective of those who are internal to the narrative, or revealing them as part of the thoughts and feelings involved in the external perspective of the narrator.'[9] Clarke, as the narrator, expressed his interpretation of the emotions of those internal to the narrative. When he described the 'hearts' of ungodly Sabbath breakers as having been 'hardened' by their customs and practices, he was both describing the spiritual state of others and inviting his

---

[8] Peter Goldie, *The Mess Inside: Narrative, Emotion, and the Mind* (Oxford, 2012), p. 8, p. 40.
[9] Goldie, *The Mess*, p. 17.

readers to share his feelings towards them. The ungodly Sabbath breakers were identified as others, and objectified emotionally as being in possession of unfeeling hearts. At the same time Clarke was prescribing an emotional reaction to the unfeelingness of others. This offered a knowing sense of vindication and gratification that providence delivered 'great awe in the hearts of many.' In a similar way, the parallel trope of Clarke's narrative of godly martyrs invited the reader to access and share an emotional identity that contrasted starkly with that of their persecutors. Sara Ahmed argues that text can sometimes create objects of feeling to which emotion 'sticks'.[10] The power of textual sources, like Clarke's accounts of providence and persecution, worked through the retelling of stories that were full of significance to which feeling adhered, and through which it was channelled. Clarke's accounts included an emotive and culturally coded vocabulary (as discussed in the previous chapter), but it was the stories themselves that carried the affective purpose.

Clarke's works were anthologies that allowed him to identify his Presbyterian orthodoxy as representative of an English Protestant tradition often defined in terms of its antipathy to Catholicism. The Protestant narrative of persecution, martyrdom, and retributive providence was a familiar national cultural staple. Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, or *Book of Martyrs* had been republished in many editions since its first appearance in 1563.[11] It 'had long since become a significant part of the national consciousness', according to John Rees.[12] Foxe acted as a direct link to the the sixteenth century English Reformation and served to reinforce a collective memory of persecution.[13] Moreover, it stirred what Walsham describes as 'an enduring appetite for tales of the heroic sacrifices made by the Marian Protestant martyrs.'[14] Another example was John Taylor's *The Booke of Martyrs*, published in 1639, which ended significantly at the point at which Charles I's personal rule had begun, whilst

---

[10] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics*, p. 13.

[11] Foxe, *Actes*. NB. see earlier discussion of Clarke's work in relation to Foxe in Chapter Two, pp. 82-4.

[12] John Rees, *The Leveller Revolution: Radical Political Organisation in England, 1640-1650* (London, 2016), p. 28.

[13] See Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, 'Practical Divinity and Spirituality', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 191-205, p. 191.

[14] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 284. Nicholas Billingsley's (1633-1709) *Brachy-Martyrologia* (London, 1657) and Thomas Mall's *A Cloud of Witnesses* (London, 1665) also followed in this tradition.

celebrating 'the glory of Elizabethan Protestantism'.[15] By Clarke's time this narrative had developed into a quasi-historical mythology that incorporated 'inspiring legends that grew up around the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.'[16] Popular celebrations, with fireworks, bonfires and processions, contributed to imprinting these events on the national consciousness.[17] Although, as John Craig tells us, Foxe's influence was not 'the peculiar preserve of English Puritans', its consumption was, nevertheless, 'vital to godly practice and identity.'[18] And as Anthony Milton points out, anti-popery was particularly significant for puritans because 'a heightened sense of the threat from the Antichrist was held to be one of the signs of election'.[19] So, Clarke's contribution to this genre can be contextualised in these terms of drawing upon an emotively charged national and Protestant legacy whilst placing the particular preoccupations of the godly at the centre, at moments of particular crisis. Thus, in 1651, following the Toleration Act of 1650, with its alarming implications (from the Presbyterian point of view) for the spread of heresy, Clarke published *A Generall Martyrologie*, the first of his martyrology collections.[20] The next year in the wake of the so-called 'Presbyterian Plot', that linked some Presbyterians to a conspiracy to restore the monarchy and gravely weakened the entire Presbyterian position, there was a second instalment in the form of a specifically English *Martyrologie*.[21]

---

[15] John Taylor (1578-1653), *The Booke of Martyrs* (London, 1639). Rees, *Leveller Revolution,* p. 28. NB. John Taylor was known as the 'Water Poet'.

[16] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 284. Clarke covered the Armada and the Powder Plot in *England's Remembrancer* (1657 and 1679)

[17] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 284. See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989) and Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994).

[18] John Craig, 'The Growth of English Protestantism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 34-47, p. 37.

[19] Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant churches in English Protestant thought, 1600-1640*, (Cambridge, 1995), p 36.

[20] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (London, 1651). Clarke described the 1651 edition as having about 140 sheets, and the subsequent 1660 edition was enlarged to 180 sheets. The 1660 edition also included a larger volume of (two and twenty) *Lives*. See his account of his own publications in Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 9.

[21] Clarke, *A Martyrologie* (1652). Christopher Love (1618-51) was executed for his role in the plot.

Clarke also reworked the parallel tradition of anthologising anecdotal instances of providential retribution, and followed Dr Thomas Beard, whose famous *The Theatre of God's Judgements,* first published in 1597, was itself largely a plagiarised collection.[22] Clarke's mid-seventeenth-century contribution to this genre was mostly contained in two works, *A Mirrour or Looking-glasse Both for Saints and Sinners* (1646, 1654, 1657 and 1671) and *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors* (1674 and 1675).[23] As with his martyrologies, the timing of these, and their various reprints, should be contextualised in terms of the dispute over Church unity in the Interregnum, the persecution of nonconformists after the Restoration and the proposals before Parliament regarding toleration in 1673 and 1674.[24] Clarke feared the toleration of what he regarded as heretical sects and sought to clarify the distinction between 'saints', 'sinners' and 'persecutors'. Clarke's *Lives* also tapped the theme of providential intervention, as in the examples above from his autobiography and the life of his father. These were manifest attempts to present a familiar grand narrative, emphasising its continuing relevance in confusing times.

The power of these cultural narratives derived from the interrelationship between historical memory, cognition and emotion. Starting with the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), an understanding of the way in which social memory develops and functions has concerned scholars across a range of disciplines.[25] The archaeologist Ian Hodder's description of how interest groups control meaning by using strategies of 'placing events and their meanings in nature, making them "natural", or placing them in the past making them seem inevitable', seems to apply rather well to Clarke's attempt to appropriate the Protestant narrative of providence

---

[22] Beard, *The Theatre*. See fn. 104 in Chapter Two.

[23] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners* (London, 1646); second edition (London, 1654); third edition incorporating a *Geographical Description* (London, 1657); fourth edition, in two volumes (London, 1671). Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors* (London 1674) and (London 1675).

[24] Following the settlement of 1662, comprehension and toleration were raised in Parliament in 1663, 1667, 1668, 1673, 1674 and 1680. Though it was Quakers who suffered most in this period during this period, Clarke's colleague Richard Baxter was imprisoned briefly in 1670 and fined £190 for five sermons, and 215 ejected clergymen were imprisoned in the reign of Charles II. See Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 141.

[25] See Maurice Halbwachs, tr. Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992).

and martyrdom.[26] But, in what she calls the 'dynamics of memory approach', Barabara Misztal has emphasised that the 'perception of the past...is not a result of its utility, but rather a result of the fact that the past matches and articulates present feelings.'[27] It is a view that, according to Andy Wood, asserts 'the complex, multi-directional relationship between memory, identity, agency, subjectivity and collectivity.'[28] The Clarkeian construction of historical memory operated within this multifaceted context. He deliberately sought to assign meaning to the past in order to shape the present. Moreover, the construction of both past and present owed much to subjectivities that in godly culture were often expressed as emotion.

Historical narratives necessarily concern the values and norms that configure outlook; they often reinforce appraisals and confirm schemes of perception. Furthermore, narrative representations of the past, that shape cognition in the present by giving meaning to the past, also affect the experience of emotion. A view from the field of social psychology supports this assessment. W. Gerrod Parrott explains that appraisal theories of emotion 'postulate that certain types of thinking are necessary for emotions to occur...Everyday emotions appear, by and large, to be related to the interpretations that people place on events.'[29] So, from this perspective, cognition in terms of ideas about the past, in personal and social terms, affects the way people perceive and understand experience in the present and conditions emotionality. And it works the other way: emotion affects cognition. Clarke was articulating a subjective interpretation of the past, making the assumption that it would resonate with the feeling and cognition of his readers. Narratives, like Clarke's, represented the deliberate attempt to deploy affective storylines to affect thinking, construct cultural memory and endow it with meaning using the affect internal to the story.

That affect was a calculated aspect of Clarke's purpose can be demonstrated by offering a point of comparison. The emotional style represented by Clarke contrasted starkly with another that sought to represent a different kind of martyr.[30]

---

[26] Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past; Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 160. See Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 19.
[27] Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead; Philadelphia, 2003), p. 70.
[28] Wood, *Memory*, p. 24.
[29] Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 72.
[30] For emotional styles see appendix two.

James Heath's antithetical *A New Book of Loyal English Martyrs* (published around 1665) fashioned the internal emotive quite differently.[31] Whereas Clarke emphasised the affective qualities of the story and the actors, Heath chose instead to highlight the absence of passion of his Royalist martyrs. For example, he described the quality of the 'Noble Earle' Strafford who, when confronted with 'the bloudy hand of the Puritan Preacher' and the 'cry for bloud', 'most rationally, politely, and learnedly, without any the least Passion (...but in an even and excellent temper of mind) so well defended himself, that his Peers could not find where to fasten his Charge'.[32] Heath also wanted to shape opinion by demonstrating the hot-headedness of 'Factious Persons' in comparison to the rationality of his 'martyrs', and thereby establish the reasonableness of the Royalist cause.[33] Either way, the emotionality of the actors (or absence of it) and the effect of affect upon the reader was central to the purpose. Each writer presented a version of the past that had coherence and significance for those in the present and, in this way, by affecting and shaping subjective cognitions, culturally significant narratives were intended to condition feeling and opinion.

II –Tender and Stony Hearts

The condition of the heart, both of martyrs and persecutors alike, was central to the Clarkeian plot. The view that the heart was 'an organ with powers of perception beyond the senses', that owed much to Aristotelian thought, still held sway across the Christian world.[34] As Adrian Chastain Weimer explains, 'the heart was the seat of the soul and the affections. When spiritually healthy, it was soft. When spiritually endangered, it was hard.'[35] The intensity of the experience of emotion as felt in the heart was, therefore, a significant indicator of spiritual progress, especially for puritans

---

[31] James Heath, *A New Book of Loyal English Martyrs and Confessors* (London, 1665?).
[32] Heath, *A New Book*, p. 14.
[33] Heath, *A New Book*, p. 2.
[34] Zimmer, *Soul*, p. 16. Even William Harvey, famous for his pioneering work on the role of the heart in the circulation of blood, did not demure and he discounted the role of the brain. Zimmer, *Soul*, pp. 64-9. Thomas Willis's experiments on the heart and the brain, between 1661 and 1663, were 'revolutionary' in so far as they 'drained the soul out of the heart.' Zimmer, *Soul*, pp. 179-80.
[35] Adrian Chastain Weimer, 'Affliction and the Stony Heart in Early New England', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, pp. 121- 143, p. 124.

for whom 'complacency was faith's worst enemy, the gateway to hypocrisy.'[36] Indeed, as John Coffey points out, it was 'early Stuart Puritans' like Thomas Hooker, Clarke's tutor at Cambridge, who produced 'some of the earliest references to "Heart-religion"'.[37] According to Charles Lloyd Cohen, 'Puritans referred to the heart primarily as a psychological phenomenon, the inner person,' although the 'flexibility of *kardia* permitted preachers several constructions.'[38] The heart was useful as a symbol when, for example, Clarke explained that 'it pleased God to move the Princes heart (...*Philip* the seventh, Duke of *Savoy*; and Lord of *Piedmont*) with pity towards these poor people'.[39] But although it is appropriate to understand these conceptions in terms of semiotics and metaphor, and tempting to apply modern psychological insights, Clarke's understanding was, if not quite literal, then certainly metaphysical. For example, in *The Saints Nosegay* (1642), Clarke made a clear this connection between the heart, the soul and the physical topography of the body, making a comparison between the 'triangular' shape of the heart and the Trinity: 'The triangular heart of man was intended for a mansion for the blessed Trinity: and if wee could but looke into our owne heart, we should find chalked upon the doore, For God; as the Kings Harbingers doe for the lodgings of the Courtiers.'[40]

This view of the heart as the seat of emotion and the immortal soul was a central theme in Clarke's narrative of martyrdom, persecution and godly lives. Unjust anger arose from a hardened heart or soul. A heart that was 'hardened' exhibited rage which prompted terrible actions, that hardened the heart still further in a vicious circle. For example, referring to Pope Sixtus V as 'that Jesuited Goat', Clarke says he was encouraged by Katherine, Duchess of Mompensier, to arrange the murder of Henry III of France, 'and by that means to stupify and *harden* his Soul by his filthy lust'.[41] The case of the Calvinist martyr Nicholas, condemned by Charles V in 1549, offers another kind of example. He was instructed,

not to speak to the People, for if he did, he should have a wooden ball thrust into

---

[36] Weimer, 'Affliction', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 124.
[37] John Coffey, 'Introduction: Sources and Trajectories of Evangelical Piety', in John Coffey (ed.), *Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690-1850* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 1-28, p. 8.
[38] Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 37.
[39] Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 116.
[40] Clarke, *Saints Nosegay*, pp. 85-6.
[41] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 95.

his mouth; yet as he was binding to the stake, forgetting the command, he cryed out, O Charles, Charles, how long shall thy heart be hardened?[42]

In the face of unjust anger, the martyr displays insight, courage and even concern for the heart of his persecutor. And indeed, hardness of the heart could be regarded as its own punishment, especially when the more evident signs of retribution were absent. In *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors* Clarke posed the question, 'But do we not often see that great and violent Persecutors live long, and prosper in the World as if they rather merited a reward, than procured God's wrath against them for it?'[43] He answered in these terms:

> It's true...God's judgements upon many Persecutors are more spiritual, and less conspicuous, and visible to the eye of the World: As when God gives them blindness of mind, hardness of heart, a cauterized conscience, and a reprobate sence, which of all other judgements are the most dreadful.[44]

Physical punishment was nothing in comparison to 'blindness of the mind', 'hardness of the heart' and 'a cauterized conscience'. Spiritual malaise was the most fearful possibility, because it evidenced a reprobate soul already damned, and the day of judgement awaited all.

On the other hand, righteous behaviour was channelled through tender hearts and displayed in terms of sympathetic emotion: joy was felt in the heart. If the hearts of ungodly sinners were often described as 'hardened', in the narrative of martyrdom the focus was often upon a more positive register of emotion experienced and expressed in terms of the heart as a spiritual barometer. For the martyrs themselves, suffering physical torment and death, the state of the 'heart' was characterised by joy, love and wisdom. The example of George Wischard allowed a deliberate play on these attributes by construing his name as 'Wiseheart' throughout the account of his life and martyrdom. He is described as suffering death patiently in 1546, 'with a comfortable heart,' with a 'glad heart and minde,' and praying to forgive his persecutors 'with all my heart.'[45] In a somewhat surprising example, Clarke refers to some 'papists' who '[w]ere of more moral and moderate principles'. He provides the example of Monsieur

---

[42] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 291.

[43] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*, 'To the Christian Reader'.

[44] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*, 'To the Christian Reader'.
The reference is to Hosea 4:17 which says, 'Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone' - spiritual breakdown is its own punishment.

[45] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*, Chapter XXXIX, pp. 367-379.

de Thou who, as a response to the 'barbarous' St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, found 'his heart relenting, and mourning inwardly, not daring to shed tears publickly, he hastened home [and] shed many tears'.[46] Decent, moral and emotional 'papists' were an exceptional sight in this sort of account. But the purpose of this twist was to highlight how emotion expressed the moderation and rationality of a heart or soul sensitive to God's grace.

III - Dying Miserably

Emotional expression as a condition of the heart was spiritually indicative. Nevertheless, retributive providential outcomes were observed mainly in physical or material terms, often involving a bad death.[47] In spite of theological differences, all pious Christians saw life as a preparation for death and the outcome of God's judgement in terms of salvation or damnation. Alec Ryrie explains that, for Protestants, although an 'outwardly "good" death did not guarantee salvation', for many, 'to die suddenly and unprepared was still seen as a damning judgement from God'.[48] This could become problematic where 'saints', sometimes dying quickly or suddenly, might be denied the deathbed catharsis of the 'last and greatest spiritual confrontation of the Protestant life.'[49] Herbert Palmer, for example, died at the age of 46 in 1647. As Clarke records, 'The time of his sicknesse was not long; for having spent much of his natural strength in his constant labours in the service of God, there was the lesse work for sicknesse to do'.[50] Clarke's narrative of his death was consequently unusually brief, but he records that Palmer 'did manifest the same savour of holinesse even to the time of his death, which had been constantly discovered in the time of his life.'[51] The difference between a good death and a bad death was so crucial that it was important to add context and detail of the circumstances and, critically, of the emotional (and spiritual) condition at the moment of death. In this way, the status

---

[46] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*, pp. 106-8
[47] See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 460-8.
[48] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 461.
[49] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 464. See Peter Marshall, 'Angels Around the Deathbed', in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds) *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 83-103.
[50] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 241.
[51] Clarke, 'Palmer', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 242.

of souls that were damned was characterised by their emotional states, often described in terms of dying 'miserably' or 'pining away'. The attribution of the emotions of misery and despair to dying and unredeemed sinners was another way of appropriating righteousness to godly saints, and of modelling and shaping affect.

A collection of warnings about drinking, published in Clarke's name (and that of the long dead Samuel Ward) in 1682, cited over 'one Hundred and twenty sad and dreadful Examples of Gods severe Judgements upon notorious Drunkards'.[52] Some of these narratives supplied specific names, dates and places as provenance. For example, on 21 May 1556 in 'St Gallus' (St Gallen), Switzerland, we are told of the notorious case of Peter Besler. After a night of debauched, drunken behaviour and blasphemy, during which he promised his 'body and soul to the Devil', he met a man 'clad in black and fearful to behold', who announced that he was there to 'take that which is my right...and threw him to the ground and so vanished.' Besler was found later by neighbours: 'his hands and feet drawn together...he had the use of all his Limbs taken from him, and so continued till he dyed miserably.'[53] On other occasions in Clarke's narratives there was the opportunity for the godly to admonish the sinner before their inevitable demise. So, we are told that on being attacked in a wood by a disgruntled parishioner, Hugh Clarke, unfazed, took the opportunity 'to reprove [his attacker] for his disordered life, and so open God's judgments due to him for the same, that he fell into a great trembling, confessed his intention to have killed him, and begged pardon'.[54] But, inevitably this reprobate 'fell into misery and want, and died in Warwick Jayle for debt'.[55] A miserable death was preceded by a miserable life of murderous rage, emotional breakdown and poverty.

The shock value of a narrative of sudden death had its own affective resonances. In *A Looking-glass for Persecutors* (1674) Clarke's theme is that of a wrathful God whose typical choice for retribution was in the form of sudden death. The ostensible and primary purpose was to demonstrate the absolute assurance of God's plan and this necessarily involved an affective dimension. 'God's severe but righteous judgments', his vengeance and terrifying anger with the wicked, 'bloody and

---

[52] Samuel Clarke and Samuel Ward (1577-1640), *A Warning-Piece to All Drunkards and Health-Drinkers* (London, 1682).
[53] Clarke and Ward, *A Warning-Piece*, p. 30.
[54] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 164.
[55] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 164.

merciless Haters of his Children', was the unmistakable message.[56] For example, Clarke recounts how in the reign of Queen Mary Tudor, 'There was in Lancashire, one Justice Leland, who was a great persecutor of the godly in those parts: He one day as he was sitting in his Chair, and discoursing with his friends, fell down suddenly and dyed, never so much as once stirring after.'[57] As a nuance to this motif, sudden death was accompanied by appalling and astonishing signs of divine anger as in the case of '*Foxford,* Chancellour to *Stokesley,* Bishop of *London,* a bloody Persecutor, and the common Butcher of Gods Saints'. He 'dyed suddenly, sitting in his Chair, his Belly breaking, and his Guts falling out before him.'[58] Other examples developed more convoluted narratives that could span generations. For example,

> Alexander, the Keeper of Newgate...By God's judgement he fell into a grievous Disease: His Body was so much swoln that he was more like a Monster than a man, and his Entrails so rotted that none could endure the stink of him. And his Son James...as he went through Newgate-Market, he fell down suddenly and dyed.[59]

Clarke often assigned to the retributive scenario of a bad death the more complex emotional register of 'pining away'. In this context he was also prepared to gild the lily by adding tantalising tales of amazing portents.[60] 'Pining away' equates to the emotional range connected with sadness, connoting suffering, anguish, depression, hopelessness, sorrow and despair. In this version of angst, it is not the godly but the ungodly who are subject to be overwhelmed by despair. In these examples, in place of nasty physical indications, despair was sometimes accompanied by more ethereal signs of the intervention of providence to provide emphasis. Thus, amazing omens, dreams, apparitions and visions also fell within the scope of divine intervention. But these also had resonance with supernatural beliefs that had endured from a less enlightened, pre-Reformation, medieval past.[61] In the interpretation of auguries,

---

[56] Clarke, *A Looking-Glasse Both for Persecutors,* title page. Psalms 7:11.

[57] Clarke, *A Looking-Glasse Both for Persecutors,* p. 63-4.

[58] Clarke, *A Looking-Glasse Both for Persecutors,* p. 54.

[59] Clarke, *A Looking-Glasse Both for Persecutors,* p. 67-8.

[60] In *Henry Cockeram's: The English Dictionary*, revised by Clarke in 1670, 'Desperation' is defined as 'a despairing, giving over,' and 'Despondency' as 'a dejection of spirit.' See Clarke, *Henry Cockeram's: The English Dictionary.*

[61] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 283.

detecting the hand of God in 'the quotidian and the dramatic', puritans could, as Walsham explains, 'veer dangerously close to ways of thinking that Reformed theologians regarded as "superstitious" and "magical"'.[62] Clarke was prepared to enter this perilous territory for the sake of popular appeal, dramatic effect and in order to highlight the emotional register of misery, remorse and despair. For example, in the case of Robert Baldwin, 'as they went in a strange light fell from Heaven betwixt them: After which, this Baldwin, though then in the Flower of his Age, never enjoyed a good day, but pined away till he dyed'.[63] One Fitz-Patrick, an Irish Catholic, who apparently murdered two Protestants he had agreed to shelter, 'was so tormented in Conscience: and dogged with their Apparitions that he pined away and dyed'.[64] Members of the ruling elite provided instructive examples. We are told that King Henry II of France, having burned a certain Protestant tailor, was 'so terrified with the Apparitions of the Taylor that he protested with an Oath that he would never hear nor see any more of those Lutherans burned'.[65] He subsequently died following a joust. King Richard III also witnessed 'dismal Dreams and Apparitions...after he had murdered his two Nephews in the Tower'.[66] And we know what happened to him. King James V of Scotland was afflicted with 'fearful visions' and portentous dreams. 'At Linlithgow, on a night as he slept, it seemed to him that Thomas Scot... came unto him with a company of Devils,' and on waking he was informed of Scot's death. A few nights later in another dream both his arms were amputated by sword, and in the morning, he discovered both his sons had died within minutes of each other. James V died a year later in 1542, 'overwhelmed with grief'.[67] These bad deaths were characterised by emotions of anguish, guilt, regret, terror, fear and grief.

Bishop Stephen Gardiner's story was a composite of several forms of providential punishment. As Clarke says, it was exemplary:

> All ages have cause to admire, and adore the Exemplary Judgements of God poured out upon Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in Queen Mary's days; who upon the day wherein Reverend Latimer and Learned Ridley were to

---

[62] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 283.

[63] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* p. 63.

[64] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* p. 74.

[65] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* pp. 73-4.

[66] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* p. 88. The provenance of this account, like all the others, is not supplied.

[67] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* pp. 70-1.

be burnt at Oxford...one of his servants brought word that execution was done upon them. Then did he hast to Dinner, and was very merry, but ere he had eaten many bits, a sudden stroke of God's hand fell upon him, so that he was carried immediately to his Bed, in which he continued for fifteen days in intollerable anguish and torments, rotting above ground, during which time he could void nothing that he received, neither by Stool, nor Urine, his Tongue also hung out of his mouth swoln, and black, and so he languished and pined away in great anguish and misery.[68]

Not only was his corporeal form decomposing ante-mortem, but his spirit languished and he 'pined away'. Gardiner's terrifying combination of symptoms was, no doubt, difficult to explain in humoral terms, and for many the hand of providence would have seemed unmistakeable. These bodily manifestations expressed the real and dreadful corruption of the spirit and hardness of the heart. This is the context in which the emotional impact of these accounts was delivered. The story was paradigmatic of the role of providence, and equally so were the negative emotions experienced by those internal to the story.

IV - A Good Death

The Clarkeian narrative also described a positive emotional register. Alexandra Walsham reminds us that if 'adversity merely hardened the hearts of the wicked, rendering them all the more inexcusable, the godly rejoiced' because suffering in this world secured bliss in the next.[69] This more balanced accounting, expressive of joy, is evident in *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners,* a much larger volume than *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*: it runs to 702 pages (in its 1657 edition) and provides many examples of providential cases, and descriptive paradigms of laudable and wicked behaviour.[70] In these pages Clarke is intent upon creating a positive affective sensibility around the role of providence in the lives of the godly

---

[68] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Persecutors,* pp. 68-9. Clarke account is almost entirely copied from Foxe. See Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, vol. 11, p. 298.
[69] Walsham, *Providence*, p. 17.
[70] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1657)

juxtaposing, unremittingly, examples of God's wrath with the wicked: 'Gods wonderful Mercies to the one; so his severe Judgments against the other.'[71]

In *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* the suffering of martyrs is presented in terms of a merciful and loving God who grants the strength to achieve a good death: overcoming fear, enduring torment and welcoming death. Alexandra Walsham reminds us that 'A propensity to interpret fortuitous events as signal "blessings" and "miracles" bestowed by God on a chosen nation came to be shared by individuals from all parts of the religious spectrum.'[72] But in these accounts Clarke's 'miracle' resides in the courage and fortitude of godly martyrs in whom the work of grace transmogrifies fear into joy. The 'miracle' is presented in terms of emotion.

These illustrations were intended to help the elect deal with their all too human physical fears and spiritual anxieties. Clarke explained that

> The people of God, who live in such times wherein publick dangers and persecutions are approaching, being conscious of their own infirmities and weaknesse, are many times much perplexed, and distracted with the fears and apprehensions of the ensuing perils and through weaknesse of Faith much question whether they be able to undergo such conflicts.[73]

The 'fears' and 'apprehensions' of the times created the conditions in which inspiring stories had an emotional impact because 'God never puts his servants to suffer, but he furnisheth them with spiritual sufficiency to go through with the same...so are they now collected out of several authors of good credit for our present instruction, and consolation.'[74] Fear and anxiety are natural enough in such bewildering and dangerous times, but there is consolation in the assurance that the endurance of suffering is its own confirmation of providential provision. A circular argument, no doubt, but one that nevertheless offers insight into the character and role of anxiety as part of emotional practice. For the godly, anxiety was a necessary corollary of assurance.[75]

For example, Chapter Eighty-Three of the 1657 edition provides twenty examples of 'miracles, and miraculous deliverances vouchsafed by God to his Children'.[76] It is worth citing one of these cases as an example of how positive emotion

[71] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1657), title page.
[72] Walsham, 'Godly', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, pp. 283-4.
[73] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1657), p. 363.
[74] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-glasse* (1657), p. 363.
[75] This point is developed further in Chapter Six and especially on pp. 193-8.
[76] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1657), pp. 363-6.

could attach to stories of brutal martyrdom. In the case of the Marian martyr Robert Smith, Clarke extracted a short salient paragraph from Foxe's long-winded account.[77]

> A godly martyr being at the stake ready to be burned, exhorted the people to think well of his cause, not doubting that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: and told them God would shew them some token thereof, and accordingly when he was half burnt, all black with fire, and clustered together like a lump on a black coal, all men thinking him dead, he suddenly rose upright, lifting up the stumps of his armes, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoycing heart, and so bending down againe, he slept in the Lord.[78]

The miraculous revival and apparent resurrection of the martyr provided the narrative step for an expression of ecstasy in the moment of death. Stories like this were validated by the feelings attached to a belief in gracious providence. And in turn such tales set the conditions for emotions like joy, fear and love. In these narratives, providentialism is an example of emotional practice.

Another graphic example taken from early in the *Martyrologie* of 1651 illustrated for the reader how to understand this relationship between love and suffering. Clarke describes the persecution of the Hebrew Maccabees by Antiochus Epiphanes.[79] In succession, each of the seven children of Salamona are put to the test for their religion and tortured. Yet, despite their youth, they display such courage and steadfast conviction that even their tormenters are 'overcome with compassion' at times.[80] The mother Salamona having watched her seven children tortured and brutally murdered, 'seeing all her Children dead, was inflamed with a holy zeal to suffer Martyrdom also; and despising the Tyrants threats, she offered her motherly brest to those torments which her Children had suffered before her.' Her maternal love fuelled her religious zeal. She called out 'O my most dear and loving Children, let us hasten to that Agony which may credit our profession, and be rewarded by God with eternal

---

[77] See Foxe, *Actes and Monuments,* vol. 11, 307, pp. 28-57. See exclassics.com at https://www.exclassics.com/foxe/fox11pdf.pdf. (Accessed 11.11.18).

[78] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1657), 'Case 20', p. 366. NB. The 1654 edition is organised quite differently. The account of Robert Smith appears on pp. 19-20. In the 1671 edition it is given as case 18.

[79] The books of Maccabees belong to the Apocrypha, included in canonical scripture in Catholic and Orthodox traditions but excluded from King James Bible after the Westminster Confession of Faith 1643.

[80] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 20.

life.' In this way, the intensity of the anger against her is a measure of the extent of her love. Her death was gratuitously cruel:

> Antiochus being enraged against her, caused her to be stripped naked, hanged up by the hands, and cruelly whipt: then were her dugs and paps pulled off, and her self put into the red hot frying pan; where lifting up her eyes and hands to heaven, in the midst of her prayers she yielded up her chast soul unto God.[81]

These eight brutal killings are described explicitly in the text, and they were illustrated (see below) for the benefit of the reader.

---

[81] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 21. Clarke cites 'Collected out of *Josephus,* and the Books of the *Maccabees*' as his reference for this story.

Figure 1: The Martyrdom of the Maccabees
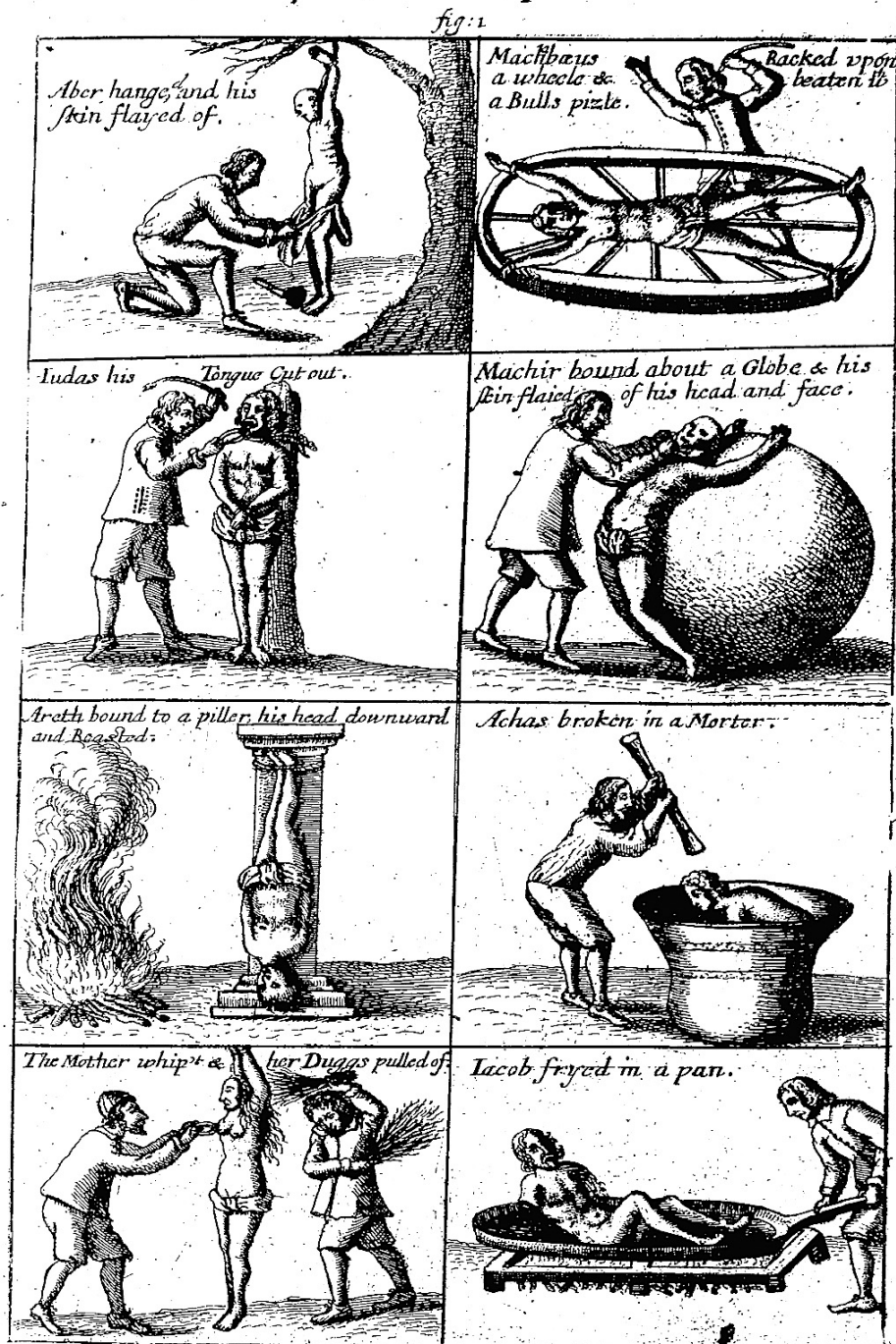
Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie*, (1677 edn), Fig. 1.

Lyndal Roper reminds us that 'historians deny the emotional power of imagery at their peril.'[82] Indeed, Clarke was counting on the emotional impact. In the 1677 edition of *A Generall Martyrologie* we can find ten more illustrative plates similar to the example above.[83] Like Foxe who, according to Daniel Woolf, 'relied on graphic representations of trials, torments, and burnings to convey [his] message to those who could not read', Clarke no doubt sought to reach the widest possible audience.[84] Also, like Foxe, there is a sense in which the illustrated figures are represented as contemporary.[85] Clarke, and indeed Foxe, were insisting upon the contemporaneous relevance of the historical events they presented. Furthermore, illustrations like these could also have a circulation of their own when separated from books.[86] But, Clarke's (and Foxe's) graphics also had a lurid and sensational quality. In the following century David Hume would discuss

> the unaccountable pleasure, which the spectators...receive from sorrow, terror, anxiety, and other passions, that are in themselves disagreeable and uneasy. The more they are touched and affected, the more are they delighted with the spectacle.[87]

Hume's conception of 'pleasure' needs calibration when applied to the Calvinist sensibilities of Clarke's readership, but in these crude illustrations there is, perhaps, an example of this 'paradox of negative emotion in art'.[88] As Lyndal Roper explains, 'the emotional response a picture elicits is conditioned by the history of how people see, that is, by the associations they bring from the images that are part of their mental furniture.'[89] Certainly, these illustrations, and the narratives to which they were attached, carried a complicated affective mix, and the response was shaped by the

---

[82] Roper, *The* Witch, p. 14. She is discussing David Freedberg's interpretation in *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989).
[83] Clarke, *Generall Martyrologie* (1677), C4515 (Wing).
[84] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730*, (Oxford, 2003), p. 197.
[85] Woolf, *Social Circulation*, p. 310.
[86] Woolf, *Social Circulation*, p. 201. See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991).
[87] Miller, Eugene F. (ed.), D. Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, (Indianapolis, 1987), Part I, Essay XXII, p. 1.
[88] Carole Talon-Hugon, 'The Paradox of Negative Emotion in Art in Enlightenment Aesthetics', in Jerrold Levinson (ed.) *Suffering Art Gladly: The Paradox of Negative Emotion in Ar*t (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 28-44, p. 28.
[89] Roper, *The Witch*, p. 15.

mental associations: Salamona's pain and suffering was analogous to that of Christ and, in this sense, it was a measure of the extent of God's love. Torment and persecution were juxtaposed against the reward of eternal life, and provided the context in which joy and the experience of God's love was revealed.

Indeed, in his *Martyrologie* Clarke consistently emphasised the emotional quality of suffering: the elect had to suffer, but suffering was a manifestation of love which, through the gift of grace, precipitated joy. In *A Cloud of Witnesses*, Thomas Mall's account of the final speeches of martyrs, the address 'To the Reader' explains that 'There is a joy proper to Martyrs, which is bestowed upon them as an honorarium, partly to reward their faithfulness in trials past; and partly to encourage them to break through the difficulties which yet remain.'[90] The narrative of martyrdom presented suffering, 'trials' and 'difficulties' as emotionally transformative: catalysts which, through God's love, helped fear morph into joy. God's purpose in allowing the martyrdom of the godly was to mirror the passion of Christ whose crucifixion was but the prologue to resurrection, salvation and eternal joy. Such joy is described as 'unspeakable,' occurring during and because of 'tribulation,' and often associated with the moment of a martyr's death. Clarke recounted St Augustine's account of the brutal treatment of Vincentius,

> Who...was first laid upon the rack, till all the joints of his body crackt, then were all his members slasht and indented with deadly wounds; then they miserably scratched all his body with iron combs, filed very sharp; then they laid his body, being all out of joint, upon an iron grate, opened it with iron hooks, seared it with fiery plates, and then besprinkled it with hot burning salt: lastly they drew him, and cast him into a vile dungeon, the floore whereof was thick-spread with the sharpest shels, his feet were fast locked in the stocks, and so left him without all worldly comfort.[91]

And the purpose of this gruelling and explicit narrative was to allow the denouement that because 'the Lord his God was with him, the holy Spirit of God...filled his heart with joy unspeakable; so that he there ended his life with much comfort.'[92] In another example, of a 'godly widow' executed in Flanders in 1568, we are told that 'when she

---

[90] Mall, 'To the Reader', *A Cloud*.
[91] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 76.
[92] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 76.

was carried forth to execution, she went with much boldnesse and joy of heart, and having her head cut off, she sweetly slept in the Lord.'[93]

The narrative of this 'honour of Martyrdom' made the juxtaposition of fear and joy a key indicator. Martyrs are characterised as feeling joy in place of terror. The intensity of the 'joy of Martyrdom', expressed in tales of those who 'went to their Martyrdom with cheerfull countenances,' was measured against the natural, physical fear of suffering.[94] So, unequivocal fear often described the emotions of those who, through lack of faith, became afraid when threatened with persecution. For example, during the Roman persecution of the early Christian Church, 'Some for fear fled, others stood in doubt what to do: Some again for fear denied their faith, others suffered cruell torments, but at last vanquished by the intollerable pain, they made shipwrack of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession.'[95] But often the point of these accounts was to demonstrate how those whose assurance was certain could not be made to fear. The absence of fear in the face of suffering was evidence of righteousness. One example describes the martyrdom of Joachim Andreas von Schlick, one of twenty-seven leaders of the Protestant revolt, executed in Prague in June 1621 after the Battle of White Mountain (1620).

> The first was the Lord *Schlik*...When he was condemned to be quartered, and his parts to be scattered here and there; he said... *I have Gods favour so; that no fear of death doth trouble me; I have formerly dared to oppose Antichrist, and I dare now die for Christ.*[96]

And, we are told that, during the persecutions third century, 'though some did thus fall away, yet others there were, whom neither fear, nor pain could remove from their stedfastness, but they continued glorious Martyrs to the end.'[97] So although fear connected with torment and suffering, it was used simultaneously to indicate positive affect in terms of courage and godliness, which in turn differentiated between those who were assured of salvation and those who were not. Depictions of fear and suffering consistently provided the context for a good death as a positive outcome, and a point of comparison against which to measure the intensity of joy and love.

---

[93] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 303.
[94] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 43.
[95] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 74.
[96] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 191.
[97] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), p. 53.

V - Toleration and 'Trembling Hearts'

So far in this account, I have considered how Clarke presented the affective quality of his orthodoxy as the Protestant norm. However, on the fraught question of religious toleration (which provided the context for the publication of these accounts) the common and familiar narrative reveals that similar emotional styles could represent quite separate emotional communities within Protestantism, when feeling attached to different objects, as on the question of toleration.[98] Indeed, the narrative of persecution could be emotionally complicated because, as Alexandra Walsham explains, to 'persecute was to display a charitable hatred: a charity towards the sinner that was inextricable from a fervent hatred of the sin that endangered his or her salvation.'[99] In the early modern period toleration did not encompass modern associations of human rights, but whether or not forbearance meant the dangerous licensing of false religion.[100] In this regard Presbyterians were no different from many of their contemporaries, locked into a system of belief in providential judgement which held the view, as Walsham puts it, 'that religious uniformity was crucial to the political stability and social order of the state as well as its spiritual welfare.'[101] On the other hand, 'toleration was anathema, a recipe for chaos and anarchy, if not an invitation to apocalyptic destruction.'[102] Precedents from scripture helped to explain catastrophic events like the civil wars as resulting from God's rage that in England Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness and sin were tolerated. For many, including Clarke, persecution was something that happened to the godly; toleration, however, was deeply sinful, leading to division and disorder. The view, attributed by Walsham to John Coffey, that 'godly Protestant writers of the 1640s and 1650s anticipated many of the key tenets of modern discourses of equality and freedom', does not apply to Samuel Clarke, who represented a different trajectory.[103] In *Golden Apples* (1659) Clarke devoted many

---

[98] For emotional styles see appendix two.

[99] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred, Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006), p. 2.

[100] Walsham, *Charitable*, p. 4.

[101] Walsham, *Charitable*, p. 2.

[102] Walsham, *Charitable*, p. 2.

[103] Walsham, *Charitable*, p. 11, citing Coffey's *Persecution*. NB. The discussion in Clarke's *Golden Apples* (London, 1659) does not suggest any softening of attitudes to toleration though perhaps Clarke's style, if not his substance, is less fiercely polemical than that of, for example, Thomas Edwards in the mid-1640s.

words to an explanation of the imperative of intolerance in the form of a rhetorical quasi-Socratic question and answer dialogue.[104] Notwithstanding, he continued to hope for a restoration of unity, on his terms, in the face of political change. Clarke's work underpinned this apparent dichotomy in affective terms that were governed by a binary conception of God's love: on the one hand, the endurance of suffering and persecution was indicative of godliness and God's love for his children; on the other, such love was intolerant of sin, especially the sins of heresy and schism.

But a similar emotional style in response to persecution and martyrdom could, nevertheless, encompass a different appraisal of toleration as an emotional object. In 1664, the Quaker convert Ellis Hookes (bap. 1635, d. 1681) published his own collection, *The Spirit of the Martyrs*.[105] For the most part this history described the same familiar Protestant narrative, from the creation through the ages. Indeed Hookes used and acknowledged Clarke's martyrology as a source.[106] In words that might seem to echo Clarke, Hookes explains that 'Satan…in all Ages used all his Power to stop the increase and growth of this holy *seed*, by Persecuting, Murdering and Destroying their Bodies'.[107] Clarke used the same analogy of growth to describe how 'The blood of the Christians proves the seed of the Church.'[108] However, for Clarke and Hookes, the Presbyterian and the Quaker, although the storyline was similar, the objective was oppositional: Church discipline as opposed to liberty of conscience.[109] For Hookes (as for Clarke), the familiarity of story was central to the purpose of locating Quakerism (or Presbyterianism), firmly within the legitimacy of Christian and Protestant

---

[104] Clarke, *Golden Apples*.

[105] Hookes, *The Spirit*. See Caroline L. Leachman, 'Ellis Hookes (bap. 1635, d. 1681)', *ODNB*.

[106] For example, on p. 257 he cites 'Clarkes Gen. Martyrol. page 26' for his account of the 'miserable' death of Herod the Great, and on p. 253 he cites Clarke's account of Judas Maccabees 'in Clarkes Martrol. page 13'. Hookes, *The Spirit.*

[107] Hookes, *The Spirit*, 'To the Reader'.

[108] Clarke, *The Marrow*, p. 27. See also Clarke, 'To the Christian Reader', *A Generall Martyrology* (1651), where he says 'the bloud of martyrs proves the seed of the Church.'

[109] Hookes's *The Spirit of the Martyrs* was a collection of several ecclesiastical histories that began with an account of the Bible story. Hookes refers to a 'cloud of witnesses', a reference to Scripture (Hebrews 12:1), but it might also be a reference to Mall's earlier work. (Edmund Calamy makes a similar reference in the address 'To the Christian Reader', in Clarke's *Marrow*). Just like Clarke, Hookes stated his intention 'to bring together that which hath been scattered in divers great Vollums' so that 'the meanest capacity may easily comprehend'. Hookes, *The Spirit*, 'To the Reader'.

tradition. Yet there is a world of difference in intent, reinforced and expressed by a similar appeal to feeling. In typical Quaker style Hookes's book addressed the 'spirit' of the martyrs. For Hookes, 'Persecutors and wicked Men' faced 'Destruction from the Almighty...and every man's heart shall melt, and they shall be afraid; Pangs and Sorrows shall take hold of them'.[110] And for Hookes, unlike Clarke who wished to place his tradition at the centre, God's 'true Church' was described as 'his little Remnant whom he raised up as righteous Branches to bring forth Fruits of Holiness in the middest of a perverse Generation'.[111] For Quakers, melting hearts, 'pangs' and 'sorrows' were emotives that spoke to the cause of religious toleration for people who saw themselves as the surviving true 'Remnant', who would always expect to suffer persecution.[112] They alone were 'the Upright in Heart.'[113] As Hookes wrote elsewhere,

> Liberty of Conscience ought to be allowed in the Dayes of the Gospel...because...by forcing any thing upon mens Consciences...many are hardened in their hearts against the things imposed; when as otherwise, through Love and gentle Instructions their hearts might be perswaded to willing obedience.[114]

For Quakers, the apparent rationality of liberty of conscience was a matter of the heart.

Yet the heart also informed the opposite opinion. The affect internal to the story shared similarities (as indicated by the analysis of emotive vocabulary in Chapter Three), but these authors directed the external feeling towards converse objects. According to Clarke, nothing stirred the emotions of godly people more than the threat of religious toleration. Citing Jeremiah Burroughs (c. 1600-46), he asserted that the question of 'this principle of absolute liberty in matters of Religion...should cause our hearts to tremble'.[115] It was clear to Clarke that such divisions, and the passions let

---

[110] Hookes, *The Spirit*, p. 270.

[111] Hookes, *The Spirit*, 'To the Reader'.

[112] Quaker beliefs leaned heavily upon Johannine theology (based on the writings of St John) enabling them to claim the primary ecclesiological antecedence from the earliest Christians, and to highlight a more direct union with Christ. George Fox himself was concerned that Quakerism did not become the merely an advocate of liberty of conscience: 'there is no liberty out of the light'. See Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London, 2017), p. 427 and H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (Oxford, 1994), p. 260 (quoting William Penn).

[113] Hookes, *The Spirit*, 'To the Reader'.

[114] Ellis Hookes, *A Christian Plea Against Persecution* (London, 1676), pp. 17-18.

[115] Clarke, *Golden Apples*, p. 157.

loose thereby, were the cause of the Civil War:

> But we need to look no further than England to see how destructive divisions in state are...Our eyes have seen [the] sad effects of our late Divisions and our hearts ache to think of the miseries that are coming upon us, by reason of the continuance and increase of Divisions amongst us.[116]

The emotionality attached to this view of toleration was analogous to the complexities of family ties. God's anger was that of a loving parent, intended to correct wayward behaviour. As Clarke explained in the *Generall Martyrology*, 'What son is there whom the Father chasteneth not?...And behold the wonderfull wisdom of God herein? who by these afflictions separates the sinne that hates, from the son that he loves.'[117] God's intention was to redeem his children, yet sin was in their nature and the Almighty's anger was terrifying.

So, the personal narrative of Clarke's return to Alcester after the war tells the story of sectarian incursion in these emotive terms. Clarke wrote,

> I went into Warwickshire, and Preached on the Lord's Day at Alcester, and many People with Tears importuned my return: During the Wars, many of the Inhabitants of the younger sort, had retired to Warwick for safety; where falling into the Company of Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, they were levened with their Errors; and being now returned home, they had set up private Meetings, with the neglect of the Publick; and many young Men, whom I looked upon before, as Children begotten by my Ministry to God, were turned Preachers...these sectaries under-hand wrought against me, and grew higher in the ways of separation.[118]

This autobiographical narrative delivers Clarke's sense of dramatic irony. Clarke knows what these wayward parishioners do not seem to know, that their schismatic behaviour was result of corruption and sin. They would inevitably feel the wrath of God in one form or another. His certainty defines how he understood the emotional reactions of parishioners, and how he expressed his own sadness. Thus, the account evinces both the love, and the sorrow and regret, of a paternal relationship like that between God and his children. 'Tears' were shed, at one level expressing a combination

---

[116] Clarke, *Golden Apples*, pp. 36-7.
[117] Clarke, *Generall Martyrologie* (1651), 'To the Christian Reader',
[118] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 9.

of joy and love, at his return, and angst in view of his impending departure given the present state of the town. But there is a deeper vein of emotion running in this account. Clarke's parental anguish that his previous labours had been in vain and that so many of his 'children' had gone astray, and fallen into the great sin of schism and heresy, is expressed. His sorrow, and that of his godly parishioners, was informed by a godly conception of love that could take the form of godly anger. This is a personal narrative that confirmed how the cultural narrative of providence and persecution conditioned the expression of emotion, and how emotion underpinned interpretation and opinion on critical matters.

<div align="center">***</div>

Clarke's narratives of godly lives, martyrs and the workings of providence were presented as representations of historical events. Each was scripted within a narrative structure that was 'shaped, organized and coloured' to represent a certain perspective.[119] They had deliberate meaning and purpose which included, as a central element, the representation of the exemplary feelings of those who were internal to the narrative.

This chapter has shown how affect was central to Clarke's aim to use historical narrative to legitimise his orthodox Presbyterian position. It has explored how, in this narrative, the heart was understood as the seat of both the soul and of the affections, and how its status, whether hard or tender, was indicative of godliness. It has demonstrated how emotion helped to define the nature of the difference between a good death and a bad death and how the agency of grace was understood in terms of emotional expression.

Finally, it has considered how a similar appeal to the role of emotion could reveal the commonalities and the discords between those, within the Protestant diaspora, whose positions on vital questions were diametrically opposed. In this way, we can see how the affective aspect of the cultural narrative helps to illuminate the nature of religious communities under the broad umbrella of Protestantism. Dissenting puritanism represented by Quakers and Presbyterians could share in the emotional style of the narrative. However, the boundaries of these emotional communities were

---

[119] Peter Goldie, *The Mess*, p. 8.

starkly defined by the contrasting goals and aspirations to which feeling attached.

Clarke's printed accounts can also be understood as examples of cultural emotional practice. The stories themselves were derived from the affective culture in which they subsisted, and they self-consciously reflected it back, like the 'looking-glasse' or 'mirror' named in Clarke's titles. They were intended to act as emotional triggers designed to elicit a range of emotional responses. In this way, like the vocabulary they often employed, they were performative - part of a comprehensive cultural agenda that worked to shape the emotional habitus of a Presbyterian religious community that faced existential menace on all sides as the events of the mid-seventeenth century unfolded. In these respects, they might be described as an 'archive of feelings' that allows us to observe the relationship between culture and affect.[120]

The two chapters in part two have considered the role played by language and narrative - the cultural lexicon and the cultural script - in representing and prescribing how feeling attached to questions of religious orientation. Comparison with the affective vocabulary representative of opposing positions has helped to identify Clarke's emotional community within the broader confessional context, revealing the degrees of separation and overlap that existed between dissenting and conforming communities. Taken together, both chapters have argued that Clarke's texts used a particular emotional register, expressed in key words and emotives, and through the appropriation of a familiar storyline, as a normative expression of religious piety and cognition.

---

[120] The term 'archive of feelings' was coined by Ann Cvetkovich. See Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC, 2003). See Ahmed's comments on Cvetkovich's 'archive of feelings' formulation in *The Cultural Politics*, pp. 13-14.

PART THREE

Typology

The aim of the next two chapters is to explore the typology of emotional experience as represented in Clarkeian affective culture. Chapter Five considers Clarke's presentation of a rationale of rational affections and unruly passions. Chapter Six explores the how the prototypes of basic emotions expressed the duality of feelings that were godly and feelings that were not.

Chapter Five – Rational Affections and Unruly Passions

For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh:
and these are contrary the one to the other.[1]

Are they moderate? Do you keep them within bounds?
Are you fearful of exceeding in them? [2]

In his introduction to Chapter XLII of *Medulla Theologiæ* (1659), Clarke quoted the Pauline text from Galatians, given above. For Clarke, this 'continual combate between the unregenerate part, the flesh, with the lusts thereof, and the part regenerate, the Spirit, with all the holy qualities, graces, and motions thereof' was an essential part of God's plan whereby 'he doth not perfect our sanctification in this life; but in part regenerating, and leaving us in part unregenerated.'[3] The second statement above is offered in Clarke's answer to the question of how to know whether 'affections...be true or false, real or counterfeit'.[4] Taken together they are indicative of the challenging and sometimes paradoxical quality of puritan emotional life, aware of an existential spiritual conflict raging within themselves, whilst alert to the need to examine, nurture and govern their feelings. Underpinning these sensibilities was a typology of emotion in godly culture in which the ambiguities and complexities of human 'motions', affections and passions, were categorised either as rational or as unruly. This duality is the striking characteristic of the way the godly wrote about and conceptualised their emotions.

A close examination of Clarke's handbook of orthodox Reformed Protestant doctrine, *Medulla Theologiæ*, reveals that much attention was paid to the question of emotional experience as a guide to godliness. In these terms, emotional experience embodied the spiritual struggle between conflicting forces. This binary conceptualisation of emotion, in which rational or godly affections were to be nurtured, whilst unruly passions were to be mortified, helps to explain the lived ebb and flow of the sometimes intense emotional states apparently experienced by godly

---

[1] Galatians 5:17. Clarke uses this text in his introduction to Chapter XLII 'Questions, and Cases of Conscience about the Conflict, or Combate between the Flesh, and Spirit', in *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 398.
[2] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 33.
[3] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 398.
[4] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 33.

people.[5] As Alec Ryrie explains, 'Dullness and despair on one side, sweetness and assurance on the other...are the key coordinates for an emotional map of early modern Protestantism.'[6] In this inner landscape, emotion was not the opposite of reason but a manifestation of the work of divine grace. However, the believer needed to be able to identify the difference between 'real' and 'counterfeit' feelings. How could the godly individual be sure about the nature of their feelings? Could those feelings be trusted when assurance depended upon their validity? As a consequence, according to Clarke and the sources he employed, feelings needed to be interrogated and monitored.[7]

In *Medulla Theologiæ*, Clarke's ostensible aim was to enlighten his readers, to allow them to reach a better understanding of their affections and passions, and to guide them towards the ability to recognise and differentiate godly feeling, as opposed to the sometimes subtle deceits of the Devil, in themselves and others.[8] Such understanding also informed a reading of Clarke's narratives. This chapter argues that the exemplary model of emotional deportment Clarke presented in his narratives was underpinned by a systematic rationale of emotion that was an integral part of godly doctrine and pious practice, and can be observed by examining how Clarke explained godly constructs of rational affections and unruly passions. It shows the extent to which Clarke's understanding could be described as typical of his period, but also how his Calvinist orthodoxy translated emotional moderation into social and moral deportments that marked the bounds of his emotional community. The chapter is organised into three sections which set out this rationale of the binary construction of emotion as it is explained in *Medulla Theologiæ*, and represented in Clarke's biographies. Section one explores how Clarke interpreted an intellectual construction

---

[5] The emotionality of the experience of individuals is discussed in Part Four, with reference to spiritual journals.

[6] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 49.

[7] In *Medulla Theologiæ*, Clarke cites the works of William Perkins (1558-1602), Richard Sibbes (1577-1635), Nicholas Byfield (1579-1622), Robert Bolton (1572-1631), John Ball (1585-1640), William Fenner (1600-40) Edward Reyner (1600-1660), Robert Harris (1581-1658), Christopher Love (1618-51) and Francis Taylor (1589-1656). He cites Ball, Taylor, Bolton, Reyner and Harris as references to *Chapter IX Questions and Cases of Conscience about Anger, Wrath, Passion, Malice, Hatred, and Revenge* on p. 78, specifically referencing Ball's *Power of Godliness* (1657). On p. 358, Ch. XXXIV *Questions and Cases of Conscience about Comforting Afflicted Consciences* he cites William Perkins vol. 2, presumably referencing the second of his *Two Treatises: II Of the Combat of the Flesh and Spirit* (Cambridge 1593).

[8] See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 42.

of godly affections which, he argued, were the most important aspect of the work of grace. Section two considers how Clarke wrote about unruly passions as deriving from the corruption of original sin, and section three examines the requirement of emotional governance, or mortification, as an exercise of the rational will that needed to be shepherded through practices of spiritual introspection.

I – Godly Emotion

Clarke borrowed from William Fenner's (1600-40) *A Treatise of the Affections* (1642) to explain that 'The goodnesse or vainnesse of our affections shew that we are godly, or ungodly men. *Affectus virum indicat.* Our affections, shew what we are.'[9] It is an assessment that places the experience of emotion at the epicentre of religious practice. Godly feeling was a key indicator of assurance, and it follows inevitably that the wrong type of feeling could be the mark of damnation. It was, therefore, of critical importance to be clear how to understand and recognise feelings in these terms in order to cultivate appropriate responses.

In Chapter VI of *Medulla Theologiæ*, Clarke helpfully set out a position on what are usually described as the passions or affections; he establishes a rationale as a basis for appraisal, cognition, expression and appropriate management or mortification of the emotions. As is typical, Clarke's work represents and reflects a collective understanding drawn from within the godly literati of his own generation and the previous one. As well as William Fenner, his analysis on this subject was derived from Christopher Love (1618-51), John Ball (1585-1640) and Edward Reyner (1600-1660).[10] Keith Condie tells us that 'Puritan divines held a range of viewpoints on the relationship between passions and affections and their location within the structure of the soul.'[11] And John Sutton explains that 'there are no neat boundaries

---

[9] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27. He cites Ball, Fenner and Reyner for the whole passage, but this point is found in Fenner, *Affections*, p. 44.

[10] On the particular issue of affections and passions, on p. 35 Clarke cites Fenner, Ball and Reyner as sources for *Chapter VI Questions, and cases of Conscience about Affections, or Passions.* Here he is clearly referring to Fenner's *Affections*. On the role of grace in the management of affections he cites Christopher Love (1618-51), *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees Thereof* (1652) on p. 37.

[11] Keith Condie, 'Affection and Intellect in the Thought of Richard Baxter' in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, pp. 13-46, p. 32.

around a historical category of "seventeenth-century British philosophy of the soul".[12] Unsurprisingly, Clarke's view represented a hybrid but orthodoxly Calvinist analysis that assessed human emotion in terms of a relationship between body and soul, drawing on Platonic, Aristotelian and Augustinian traditions, melded with a Hippocratic understanding of humoral physiology.

In his discussion Clarke insists that proper feeling is both essential to, and a measure of, godliness. The distinction between rational affections and unruly passions was stressed emphatically. However, there were sub-divisions between two types of 'affections': the 'sensual' and the 'intellectual or rational.' The 'sensual' refers to what might be designated as innate or biological functions, 'such as belong to the sensual appetite: are [sensed] in the body for the instruments of them; and are suited to the body for the objects and ends of them, and are guided by the [fancy], and are common with us to beasts'.[13] These are, nonetheless, gifts from God and capable of moderation by those endowed with virtue and godliness. He explains that,

> The sensitive appetite is a gift freely bestowed upon us by God, but virtue never destroys nature but addes to it the perfections which it wants. It must...then suffer the sensitive Appetite to act according to its inclination; yet moderating its motions, and restraining them under the Lawes of Reason.[14]

The 'rational' affections, however, are guided by 'understanding, being the eye and director of the Will', and exist within the 'highest and chiefest part of the soul'.[15] Furthermore, these affections 'remain in the soul when its separated from the body: the Saints carry...them to heaven with them, as love, joy, hope'.[16] The higher or rational affections, in this conceptualisation, are spiritual and their proper object is godliness, whereas the 'sensual' affections have a temporal function. Thus,

> the sensitive appetite will then be of no use to them after the Resurrection of the body, which will be raised a spiritual body, to be sustained without any bodily meanes, having no need of food, cloathing, marriage...about which the appetite

---

[12] John Sutton, 'Souls and Body in Seventeenth Century British Philosophy', in Peter Anstey (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 285-307, p. 285. For emotions and the body see Ulinka Rublack, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions,' *History Workshop Journal* 53 (2002), pp. 1-16.

[13] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 21.

[14] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 21.

[15] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 23, p. 22.

[16] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.

was here conversant.[17]

Here Clarke is describing a Platonic conception of the three faculties of the soul as comprising the 'mind', the 'will', and the 'spirit'.[18] These dimensions of the soul exist symbiotically. For example, Clarke tells us that

> Passions mightily change the quiet temper, and disposition of the minde: For the minde is at peace, when the Will ruled by Prudence, moderates and governes the Passions: but the soul is troubled when Passions oppose themselves against the Rule of Government.[19]

When the Will is properly governed (as determined by the grace of God), the passions are moderated and the 'mind', or conscience, is at peace: the state of the 'mind', as part of the soul, is indicative of the state of the soul. The 'Spirit' is a flexible term used to represent the work of grace, often manifested in terms of godly affections. In these terms the control of passions is understood as a spiritual conflict 'between the unregenerate part, the flesh...and the part regenerate, the Spirit, with all the holy qualities, graces, and [e]motions thereof'.[20]

Clarke also adheres to a bipartite theology of material and immaterial, or body and soul. According to this analysis, as Clarke explains, it is in the interaction of body and soul that emotions are experienced and, indeed, suffered when the Will allows sensual affections to become passions:

> Yea, though they are originally and radically in the Will, yet the Will stirs up the sensual Affections, and they stir the humours and parts of the body,

---

[17] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.

[18] For the three-part soul see Charles Partee, 'The Soul in Plato, Platonism and Calvin', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 22:3 (1969), pp. 278-95. Rationalising Clarke's orthodox interpretation of these issues involves interpreting the nuance with which he used various terms. The 'mind' is sometimes used to mean conscience as in 'Faith begets soundnesse of spirit, and Christian hardinesse: But a sound mind is not easily disturbed with wrongs that are offered, no more then sound flesh is when handled.' (Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 75.) In this case a 'sound' mind is equated with 'soundnesse of spirit'. Elsewhere 'mind' means character or disposition as in, for example, 'Impotency, and effeminatenesse of mind which makes men unable to bear injuries.' (Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 71). 'Minde' also relates to meditation or concentration.' In the seventeenth century, as John Sutton explains, 'The proper usage of key terms such as 'soul', 'spirit', and 'mind' was always under negotiation'. Sutton, 'Souls and Body', in Anstey, *Philosophy*, p. 286.

[19] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 23.

[20] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 398.

> especially the spirits and the blood, and so make the whole man to suffer, both body and soul. Hence they are called Passions: As Feare chills the blood: Anger boiles it; Grief contracts and closeth up the Heart: Joy dilates it. [21]

Here Clarke reveals an understanding typical of his time, encompassing the Aristotelian concept of unity of the soul in terms of its biological and intellectual faculties, together with an acceptance of Hippocratic humoral physiology.[22] Thus, the physical experience of emotion is described in terms of the 'humours,' the 'spirits' and the 'blood' which can be both chilled and boiled by powerful emotion. Again we see that the 'heart' is central to the experience, being 'closeth up' by grief and dilated by joy.

Echoing the Augustinian view, Clarke makes the case that human emotions are not sinful in themselves. Christ's humanity was defined by his emotional nature, and God the father had bestowed emotion upon his children as a blessing to be embraced and utilised. He explains that, 'the Scriptures ascribe to God love, hatred, anger, zeal, &c. who cannot be subject to any sensitive aberrations'.[23] These are perfect ideals or types of emotions and, Clarke continues, 'we are commanded to imitate him in them.'[24] Christ himself provided the model:

> Christ took our affections upon him, which if they were sinful he could not have done. He rejoiced...He sorrowed...He was angry...He desired...God commands us to be angry...and to mourne...to feare...to be ashamed...which if they were sinful in themselves, he could not do.[25]

Marshalled correctly, emotions are essential for the Christian life because they are 'a great blessing' without which 'we should be like stocks and senselesse stones'.[26]

When dealing with their emotions godly people would be assisted by a clear understanding of their utility as a conduit for grace because, as Clarke explained, 'Affections are good channels for grace to run in.'[27] Emotions should be seen as facilitating spiritual progress: 'Hast thou love? Its a whetstone to obedience. Hast thou

---

[21] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.
[22] See Sutton, 'Souls and Body', in Anstey, *Philosophy*, p. 290.
[23] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.
[24] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.
[25] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.
[26] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.
[27] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.

grief? Its a whetstone to repentance. Hast thou anger? Its a whetstone to zeale'.[28] In this way individual dispositions of temperament were no obstacle. However, it was still necessary to develop a concept of the right kind of emotions because they 'are also the handles of the soul: As we can take hold of nothing that is good, unless by our affections: so nothing can take hold of our hearts, but by our affections.'[29] Positive and well adjusted feelings are evidence of godliness.

On the other hand, disordered emotions indicate the opposite, serving to subvert the emotional channel to the deity. Clarke describes the effects of 'disordered passions': 'Passions when unruly, blinde Judgement and Reason: Passions are...like green spectacles that make all things look green: so he that loves, hates, or is vehemently possessed with any other passion.'[30] The idea that unruly passions cloud judgement seems to concur with Aristotle's view.[31] However, in Clarke's understanding 'reason' belongs to God. Disordered passions are thus all the more serious because they prevent godliness. As Clarke explains, 'Passions rebel against Reason, and undermine the Understandings of men to their great molestation: For no sooner doth the Minde ascend Heaven-ward by Meditation, but inordinate Passions hale it back, and draw it down to the earth.'[32] So, emotion that is not guided, actively serving as an instrument of godly virtue, is counterproductive and the effect is both mental and physical: 'Inordinate passions are hurtful to the body, impaire health, breed humours, nourish diseases, and shorten life'.[33] However, 'if the motions of our Wills be vertuous, being guided by Gods Word and Prudence, if then the Passions concurre with the Will, vertuous actions are performed with much more ease and delight.'[34]

Moving beyond the Aristotelian view that emotion needs to be brought into harmony with higher faculties, Clarke's assessment is that emotions, whilst needing to be disciplined, also require nurturing and cultivating. In so far as he believed that emotional states could be subject to rational intervention, Clarke's understanding of

---

[28] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.
[29] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.
[30] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 23.
[31] For account of Aristotelian view of reason and ethics see C.D.C. Reeve, *Practices of Reason: Aristotle's 'Nicomachean Ethics'* (Oxford, 1992).
[32] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 23. NB. The word 'minde' is used here to denote concentration through meditation.
[33] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 23.
[34] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 24.

emotion was typical of cognitive theories of the period.[35] For Clarke, even a 'wicked' man may, 'By the sparks of right Reason, naturally implanted by God in the heart...so regulate his affections that he may be chaste, sober, kinde, liberal, just, patient'.[36] And he explained that, for some 'carnal' men, 'God may quicken their knowledge and conscience, and tell them the horrour of their sins'.[37] However, for Clarke, and the sources he represented, the godly origin of the emotions was another important clue to the answer to the vital questions of assurance. He therefore promoted an introspective self-examination to ascertain the provenance and meaning of feeling in the certain knowledge that the only legitimate emotions were those conceived through a total commitment of the heart to the love of God. Emotions had to be 'kindly,' 'judiciously,' 'regularly,' or 'universally' elicited, because 'the heart must first be wrought on, and the spirit moved before the affections can be judiciously wrought on.'[38]

In this account Clarke's Reformed orthodoxy is apparent. His strictures on the management of the passions do not have the nuance expressed by Richard Baxter who, according to Keith Condie, 'counselled caution in making emotions the marker of authenticity.'[39] For Clarke, the question, '*May the state of our soul be discerned by our affections?*' was met with a definitive answer: 'Yea: we may know our estate to be good, by our embracing of good things, by our joy and delight in them, and by our wonderment at them'.[40] There is no equivocation in Clarke's assertion that 'Affections are the materials of grace: the main work of grace is the ruling of the affections aright'.[41]

II – Corruption

John Foxe described original sin as 'a lurkying infection'.[42] Indeed, the doctrine of

---

[35] Emotional states were not entirely involuntary but were subject to reason and direction. See Condie, 'Baxter', Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 34.

[36] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 25.

[37] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 25.

[38] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 25.

[39] Condie, 'Baxter', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 35.

[40] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30.

[41] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 27.

[42] John Foxe, *A Sermon of Christ Crucified, preached at Paul's Crosse* (London, 1570), fol. 8r, cited in Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 50.

original sin looms ominously behind this analysis of how judicious affections could be 'wrought on' as an effort of the Will, and through the agency of grace. If, as Alec Ryrie puts it, 'all human deeds and thoughts are to some extent corrupted', then the joy and sweetness of assurance rested paradoxically upon a despairing recognition of the magnitude of personal contamination.[43]

It was therefore impossible to achieve salvation without acknowledging how the doctrine of original sin applied personally to the believer. Accordingly, Clarke devoted a lot of attention to this subject in *Medulla Theologiæ*. In this system of thought, because corruption relates to original sin, the entirety of mankind is utterly corrupt. Over the course of 458-pages Clarke deployed a vocabulary of 'corruption' and its derivatives 116 times, a statistic that reveals something of the significance of the concept.[44] Indeed, Clarke introduces his text by attacking competing Catholic works as 'dunghills' that tend 'rather to the corrupting of, than to the satisfying of troubled soules'.[45] The soul is but one of a comprehensive range of objects of such corruption described in *Medulla* that includes 'anger', 'minde', 'nature', 'substance', 'spirit', 'humours', 'communication', 'imagination', 'conscience', 'speech', 'manners', 'matter', 'opinions', 'judgement' and 'chastity'. Thus, all aspects of human existence, somatic, cognitive, emotional, behavioural, social and spiritual, are affected by corruption. The culpability for this universal 'natural corruption'[46] belonged to mankind because, as Clarke states, 'God gave us not such a nature, but it comes from original sin'.[47] Corruption itself was 'sinful'.[48] And it was inescapable, 'For sin having by that one man entered into the world, every father becomes an *Adam* to his children, conveying the corruption of his nature to all whom he begets'.[49] Moreover, it targeted

---

[43] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 49-50.
[44] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*. Based on text search using EEBO-TCP. These derivatives are the words 'corrupt', 'corrupting', 'corruptible', 'corrupted' and 'incorruptible'.
[45] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, 'To the Christian Reader'.
[46] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 54. Clarke cites John Downham (d. 1652), *The Conflict Betweene the Flesh and the Spirit* (London, 1618).
[47] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 74. Clarke cites William Ames, *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof* (Leyden and London, 1639).
[48] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 112. Clarke cites Nicholas Byfield, *Sermons upon the First Chapter of the First Epistle Generall of Peter* (London, 1617).
[49] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 268. Clarke cites 'Doctor *Sibs his Emanuel*' possibly referring to Richard Sibbes (1577-1635), *Evangelicall Sacrifices In xix. Sermons* (London, 1640).

the young because 'Young Converts...withal much corruption: they are subject to rashnesse, and precipitancie in their prayers'.[50] And it explained why the godly suffered, because God intended 'holy men to be afflicted...for purging out corruption by the rod of correction'.[51] Troublingly, Clarke tells us that the ultimate solution to this desperate state is in death, 'which is the child of sinne: For by it we shall be purged from sinne, and from corruption both of body and minde...we shall be incorruptible, we shall neither have corruption within us, not without us'.[52]

This view of original sin dovetailed with an understanding of the role of melancholy in humoral physiology. Melancholy itself was a corrupted humour:

> a kind of earthy and black blood...by its corrupt substance, and contagious quality, and partly by corrupt spirits, annoies both heart and brain...For this humour being corrupted sends up noisome fumes which corrupt the imagination, and make the instrument of reason unfit for understanding, and sence.[53]

In this way, the consequences of original sin took on both a material and a metaphysical presence. Citing George Downame (d. 1634), Clarke expressed this in terms of metaphor: 'Corruption in the Conscience is like poison in the Spring head.'[54] Thus it was able to permeate body and soul insidiously with the result that 'through our corruption we are exceeding weak, whence it is that we are so prone to sin, and easily overcome with te[mp]tations, if we neglect our watch'.[55]

For Clarke, corruption was identified with 'hearts of stone', 'rebellion', and 'worldly vanities' which struggle with 'fleshly hearts', and 'obedience', and it stood in direct conflict with the 'grace' of God. In this way, the corruption of mankind manifested itself in ambivalent and mutable emotional states. Only the godly would have the spiritual strength to confront and moderate such inner struggles, and this was the mark of their assurance. So, for the godly, it was essential to 'Purg[e] affections

---

[50] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 36. Clarke cites 'Mr. *Love of Grace*' a probable reference to Love, *Grace.*

[51] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 40. Clarke cites 'Mr. *Downhams Christian Warfare*', viz. Downham, *Conflict.*

[52] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 186-7. Clarke cites Peter Du Moulin (1601-84) *Of Peace and Contentment of Minde* (London, 1657).

[53] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 357. Clarke cites '*Mr. Perkins,* vol. 2'. Perkins, *Two Treatises.*

[54] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 444. Clarke cites 'Mr. *Downams Guide to Godliness*', a reference to George Downame (d. 1634), *A Briefe Summe of Divinitie* (1652).

[55] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 328. Clarke cites 'Mr. *Downams Guide to Godliness'.*

from all sinfull mixtures that they may be full of themselves and empty of all things that are heterogeniall to them: as...From all mixtures of corruption: As your zeale from passions, and bitterness; your anger from revenge: your joys from levity.'[56]

III - Mortification

The emotions mattered but, in a corrupted state of being, determining the authenticity of feelings that often seemed to be what they were not could be a confusing experience. Righteous anger could feel like unjust revenge, feigned religious passion could look like godly zeal, and the sorrow of repentance could be confused with black melancholy. Emotions had to be read, interrogated and managed. This was the process by which a sense of the assurance of salvation rested upon a capacity to mortify the corruption of unruly passions. Mortification was the religious requirement of a relationship of control between the rational and the sensual, allowing the will, as the rational part, to subdue appetites and passions. For Protestants this no longer involved the self-infliction of physical pain. Indeed, as Woodruff D. Smith explains, 'one of the many things Calvinists derided in the practice of Catholicism was the deliberate mortification of the flesh'.[57] Instead, according to John R Yamamoto-Wilson, the physical aspect was usually addressed by 'fasting, plain living and hard work'.[58] But because sensual or bodily appetites related to the conceptualisation of passions, mortification also, and critically, involved an emotional dimension. Thus, the physicality of practices of mortification was replaced with what was effectively an internalised emotional struggle. As Clarke put it, 'Passions indeed, if they be immoderate, are infirmities of the soul: if they submit to Reason and Faith, they are instruments and objects of Vertue, the armes of Reason, and, as it were, lively sparks which inflame desires in our soules.'[59] Physical bodily desires and corresponding emotional states existed and interacted symbiotically; mortification was the process of bringing these under the jurisdiction of the rational will through the work of grace.

---

[56] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 32. Citing Ball, Fenner, Reyner.
[57] Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York, 2002), p. 79.
[58] John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, *Pain, Pleasure and Perversity, Discourse of Suffering in Seventeenth-Century England* (Farnham, 2013), p. 39.
[59] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.

According to Clarke, these concerns comprised the 'marrow of divinity' and required addressing through 'cases of conscience', or spiritual introspection.

Mortification facilitated and indicated assurance. The few righteous souls who were predestined to be saved from damnation by God's grace, would inevitably manifest their salvation by their ability to mortify corruption and by living godly lives: 'Remember that this is thy priviledge, that the corruption of thy nature is not part of thee, if regenerate, neither doth it belong to thy person, in respect of Divine imputation'.[60] He tells us that, because of their election these godly folk are

> occasioned to fly oftner unto God by fervent prayer, acknowledging, and bewailing these relicts of corruption before the throne of grace, earnestly craving the pardon of them, and strength against them, whereby we may be enabled to mortifie our corruptions, and to fly from all sin for the time to come.[61]

In Chapter VI of *Medulla Theologiæ,* Clarke discussed the mortification of the 'passions' under the heading 'How are unmortified *Passions* to be subdued?'[62] The Pauline text given above defines the problem in terms of the 'spirit' and the 'flesh' which are matched in conflict. According to Robert Pasnoe, Augustine had confronted this problem as a matter of 'a flawed disposition of will', touching off a profound centuries-long debate about the nature of human will and the rationality of appetite.[63] Clarke's Reformed community understood this struggle as crucially indicative; the effort of will required to manage the passions was an aspect of grace which had to be striven for, but which logically could only be exercised exclusively by the godly elect.

Because passions arise and are experienced in the relationship between between soul and body, mortification is discussed in the same terms. Clarke develops the view that, for the godly possessed of grace and understanding, the Will can regulate both feelings and bodily desires, and that these policing actions need to happen in tandem. Indeed, the mortification of the appetites of the flesh, including the moderation of the affections, is presented as a balanced prescription for godly living.

---

[60] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 357. Clarke cites '*Mr. Perkins,* vol. 2', refers to St Paul, 'Rom. 7.17. Its no more I (saith Paul) but sin that dwells in me'.
[61] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 399. Clarke cites '*Mr. Perkins,* vol. 2'.
[62] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 28-37.
[63] R. Pasnoe, 'Human Nature', in A. S. McGrade (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 208-30, p. 223, citing *The Confessions of St. Augustine V111.5.* For account of Augustinian theology see Paul Rigby, *The Theology of Augustine's Confessions* (Cambridge, 2015).

For example, Clarke tells us that 'Vicious persons profane their bodies and soules, the Temples of the Holy Ghost, whom they put forth of his just possession by their wickednesse.'[64] Both the body and the soul together are the 'temples of the Holy Ghost'.[65]

It was the role of the Will, when 'ruled by prudence', to rein in the passions. This is not the same as a modern conception of self-control because it invokes the agency of grace rather than complex social, psychological, biological and cultural factors. To Clarke 'unmortified passions' were more than merely unhelpful, they were ungodly and their suppression was an imperative to be undertaken conscientiously and deliberately. Crucially, in this view it was only the godly, saved and assured of election, that possessed the consistent ability to mortify unwarranted passions, and this was a measure of their godliness. Clarke tells us that a 'carnal man', may only achieve a limited jurisdiction over the focus of his affections because, though he 'may be much affected with Christ, but there is something that he affects more.'[66] We might consider the negative aspects of emotions such as anger, fear and sadness to be potentially damaging to the individual, tending towards pathologies of rage, phobia and depression. Or, in purely behavioural terms, we would understand promiscuous and reckless activities, or habits and addictions, to be harmful to the self and others. Clarke's ideological Reformed interpretation of 'unmortified passions' however, was based on a soteriological assessment of assurance and therefore held the deepest possible significance for the immortal soul, beyond that of potential harm to the body and mind. It was therefore best to prevent such 'passions' from developing in the first place because unchecked and immoderate emotions were worldly and self-indulgent. Thus, in direct answer to the question 'How are unmortified *Passions* to be subdued?' we are told that 'to bridle unlawful pleasures its good to accustome our selves to abstain from [things that are] lawful'.[67] The godly individual can exert a form of grace-dependent autonomy over their will in terms of their behaviour, and so it follows that the 'passions' and the 'affections' can be similarly managed.

Emotional regulation was therefore also a question of social morality. The use of the word 'bridle' is interesting here. Ethan H. Shagan tells us that the 'association of

---

[64] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30.
[65] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30.
[66] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.
[67] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 28.

moderation with the bridle, with all its connotations of compulsion and control, was ubiquitous in early modern sources.'[68] He points out that the 'bridle', whilst representing moderation in the sense of setting limits to behaviour, also signified a use of force, controlling and restraining. As Shagan goes on to say, the many examples of its use in the early modern age

> suggest not only a very deep connection between the metaphor of the bridle and the idea of moderation, but also the fact that when early moderns talked about 'unbridled' anger, zeal, love, or despair, they were making far more specific charges of immorality than when we use the same vestigial metaphor today.[69]

So, when Clarke compares 'pleasures' to 'unmortified passions' he is making a moral judgement which assumes that those who behave immoderately are also prone to 'unbridled' emotion, confirming their place among the reprobate majority. The example he supplies of how to prevent the development of 'unmortified passions' is revealing:

> He shall not fall in things unlawful, that warily restrains himself sometimes in things lawful. As if a man be given to drunkennesse, he shall the easilier overcome it, if he abstain from strong drink when he might use it. If a man be prone to pride, its best for him not to go so fine as he might do. He that takes his liberty in all things that are lawful, will quickly be a slave to his lusts...All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.[70]

In other words, in order to avoid that which is sinful, or 'unlawful', it is best to avoid even that which is not of itself sinful because of where it can lead. The blurred distinction between passions as enthusiasms, and passions as emotions, is evident here. Taking strong drink might be regarded as a physical appetite or bodily function, whereas pride (Clarke's example) is clearly a manifestation of social emotion. The point is that both forms need regulation; liberty was not the same as licence, and licentiousness was a form of slavery. Thus, in Clarke's Reformed philosophy, the 'bridle' of moderation becomes an agency of emancipating redemption. The example also speaks to the puritan campaign for the reform of manners; Clarke refers to a man 'given to drunkenness' for whom it is best to abstain from all use of strong drink even

---

[68] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 32.
[69] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 33.
[70] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 28.

though not necessarily sinful in moderate use.[71] The moral tone is one which compares drunkenness to states of high and unrestrained emotion. Drunkenness is both immoderate and immoral: it results from 'unmortified passions' like greed and gluttony, and it inevitably unbridles other dangerous passions.

However, for the godly spiritual progress in these terms exacted a considerable emotional cost. This was to be expected and, by the logic of the discussion above, welcomed. Citing William Perkins, Clarke explains that,

> the heart of stone striveth with the fleshly heart, rebellion with obedience, corruption with grace, and whilst the spirit draws the heart to God, and heavenly, and spirituall things, the flesh pulls it back, and labours to keep it still fixed on the earth, and worldly vanities. Hence springs a continual conflict between the affections, and passions, wherein sometimes the same affections being divided between grace, and corruption do strive against themselves, and sometimes being cross matched, do mutually oppose other affections, and passions which are opposite to them.[72]

The lifelong tussles of the heart, expressed here as between 'worldly vanities' and 'heavenly things', 'corruption' against 'grace', and 'affections' versus 'passions', speaks to the essential duality of a doctrinal conception of emotion. It is articulated in terms of striving and 'continual conflict', and it sounds quite exhausting.

<div align="center">***</div>

This chapter has explored the rationale underpinning of the Clarkeian construct of emotion as presented in his narratives. It has stressed the importance of the binary distinction between unruly passions and rational affections, the relationship between body and soul, and the imperative, in an existence corrupted by original sin, of the rational will to manage and mortify ungodly passions and to moderate the immoral behaviours that they generate. This rationale was presented as a continuous internal struggle, and the ability to cope with these emotional stresses was understood as the surest manifestation of godliness. Only the elect, through grace, would enjoy the ability to manage the caprices and perplexities of human emotion in a sinful world,

---

[71] See Clarke, *A Warning-Piece*.
[72] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 405-6. Clarke cites '*Mr. Perkins,* vol. 2'.

and to understand and express feelings in these terms that clearly separated affections that were godly from passions that were corrupt.

Clarke's work was meant to guide and reassure, but it was also intended to separate and define the distance between the Clarke's Presbyterian version of godly community and others, by stressing the determinative connection between emotions, moral behaviour and godliness.

Chapter Six: 'Twixt Sorrow and Joy' - Emotional Prototypes

On the 17th December 1658 Clarke preached a sermon at the funeral of a teenage boy, Thomas Bewley who had died of smallpox at the age of seventeen. The full text was published the following year under the title *An Antidote Against Immoderate Mourning for the Dead*.[1] In this published sermon Clarke provides us with a rationale predicated upon a Reformed Protestant understanding. The sermon as preached may have been mercifully shorter and we cannot know how it was received by its auditors. Nevertheless, the sheer length of the published version and closely argued didactic tone give it a quality that is so far removed from a modern understanding of what would be appropriate, comforting and bearable on such an impossibly unhappy occasion, as to stretch our historical imagination. Could bereaved parents really have tolerated a seemingly endless lecture in such profoundly sad circumstances?[2] Was their grief somehow different to ours? The fact that they evidently did endure public instruction on how to grieve of itself illuminates the cultural conceptualisation of grief and mourning in puritan affective culture. Real sadness and grief concerned sinfulness, not death; in other circumstances mourning must be moderate.

The same understanding of the authenticity of feelings applied to all constructions of emotion.[3] Love, joy, sadness, fear, anger and shame did not divide neatly into positive and negative emotions. Yet, for the community represented by Clarke a binary construction still applied. Valid emotions were gifts of God designed for their spiritual utility. Feelings that did not work for the progress of the believer towards sanctification were inauthentic in the sense that they were ungodly. In the funeral sermon for Thomas Bewley, and indeed in all his narratives, Clarke saw it as his pastoral duty to help the godly to differentiate, by instruction and example, between authentic godly emotions and unruly or bogus passions.

And there was another binary at work. We have observed earlier how the language of zeal shaped and revealed disputed affective paradigms. In Clarke's

---

[1] Clarke, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Mourning for the Dead. Being a Funeral Sermon Preached at the Burial of Mr. Thomas Bewley Junior, December 17th. 1658* (London, 1659).
[2] The published sermon extends for over fifty printed pages, not including the series of verses collected at the end.
[3] See appendix three for list of primary, secondary and tertiary emotion names.

writing, zeal was rational where its object was heavenly; in all else the prescription was for moderation. This requirement to moderate or mortify unruly passions was part of an ongoing internalised spiritual battle. But it also had a public dimension: Clarke's sermon on the moderation of mourning addressed the grieving Bewley family as part of a congregation who shared with them the obligations of a community of faith.

God's nature as revealed in scripture provided an emotional model that encompassed the range of recognisably human emotions: love, anger, grief, joy, despair and sorrow: 'God so loved the world', but Jesus cried, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'[4] As Alexandra Walsham states, 'The passions people imputed to God and the ways they interpreted and responded to them illuminate the nature of the spiritual and emotional communities of which they were members'.[5] However, Calvinist theology was explicit in its conception of an omniscient and omnipotent God whose nature was beyond human understanding. As such he was not subject to human emotion. Nevertheless, as Walsham explains, although theologians insisted that God did not experience the same feelings as human beings, in describing his role in events 'clergy and laity alike consistently spoke as if the Lord did have feelings.'[6] It was thus recommended practice among puritans to strive to imitate the biblical model of affect. In the *The Art of Prophesying* (1607), William Perkins advocated a metaphorical conception, or 'sacred metaphor', of an anthropomorphised God as a means by which the animation of 'godily affections' and 'motions' would allow the elect to experience the operation of the Holy Spirit.[7] In this respect the performative exhibition of appropriate emotion was an indication of godliness.

This chapter contends that the binary rationale of rational affections and unruly passions, as described by Clarke, defined a typology of basic emotion forms that stressed the importance of authenticity and the validating social dimension of godly affect. It argues that, for the godly, emotions themselves, and their provenance, were an important focus of their piety, their introspection and their outward deportment. This chapter explores these aspects of the primary emotions of sorrow, love, joy, anger, fear and shame as they figure in Clarke's discussions and narratives. It aims to show how the binary dimensions of rationality and unruliness, authenticity and

---

[4] John 3:16, Matthew 27:46, and Mark 15:34.
[5] Walsham, 'Providentialism and Emotion', in Spinks and Zika, *Disaster*, p. 36.
[6] Walsham, 'Providentialism and Emotion', in Spinks and Zika, *Disaster*, p. 26.
[7] William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecying* (London, 1607), p. 54, p. 140.

speciousness, zeal and moderation, and private and social contributed to a social construction of emotional prototypes that were the identifiers of an emotional community. It discusses how these constructions of affect were central to pious practice and set the terms by which godly adherents were expected to understand, measure and experience their own complex feelings. In this chapter I question the view, expressed by Stachniewski, that puritanism was characterised by despair.[8] Indeed, I will show how despair was understood as a validating experience. And, I go beyond Ryrie's view that emotions were guides to godliness to suggest that emotions themselves were an essential preoccupation, and that this brought about its own concerns.[9]

I – Grief

The Bewleys understood that grief at the death of a loved one was not the same as godly sorrow. A mark of the assurance of salvation was the capacity to experience real sadness and grief in terms of spiritual corruption and redemption, as opposed to worldly bereavement. Alec Ryrie tells us that, for what he describes as 'early Protestants', 'the word "mourning" came to apply primarily to bewailing your own sins, and only secondarily to lamenting the dead.'[10] This was the context in which those who counted themselves as godly had to inwardly bear and outwardly manifest their grief.[11] The published version of Clarke's sermon included verses that praised the bereaved parents for their emotional deportment:

> Yet should but an Impartial Judge stand by,
>
> He'd think your tears from passions contrary
>
> Proceeded, that that seeming dismal sound
>
> Did not through sorrow, but through joy abound.

---

[8] See Introduction, pp. 18-20.
[9] See Introduction, pp. 19-20.
[10] Ryrie, *Being* Protestant, p. 50. NB. Ryrie eschews the distinction between puritans and Protestants. Here he is writing in the context of late Elizabethan Protestantism.
[11] For a broader perspective, see Korpiola, Mia and Anu Lahtinen (eds), 'Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Collegium* 18 (Helsinki, 2015), at
http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/journal/volumes/volume_18/index_18.htm.
(Accessed 16.11.18).

That's love indeed.[12]

So, it was observed that their tears were not tears of sorrow, but instead sprang from joy, born of love. Nevertheless, the poem's title, 'Twixt Sorrow and Joy', captures an exquisitely precarious emotional equilibrium.

In this reckoning, the grief of bereavement was a natural and earthbound condition. As such it was misleading in terms of the greater heavenly reality and required careful management. According to Ethan. H. Shagan,

> it was a mainstay of early modern English religious writing that *grief* must be moderate. Excessive grief over the death of loved ones was symptomatic of insufficient faith in the righteousness of God and represented a potentially dangerous attachment to worldly things.[13]

Shagan continues to explain that although such views were to be found in 'Christian writings of all persuasions...they occur particularly often in the works of puritans'. [14] For example, Richard Greenham (c.1542-94) put it thus:

> This griefe in it selfe is indifferent, in us good or bad, according to the cause of it. If God would not have us grieved at all, why did he not frame our hearts of brasse? or why were not wee hewed out of marble?...Simplie to be grieved is not reproveable, but to be grieved out of Time, measure, or place, is fault worthy.[15]

Clarke's sermon expressed this conspicuously puritan position on mourning which dated back at least to the 1570s and the debate over mourning apparel as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.[16] Excessive grief and lamentation expressed hopelessness and lack of faith; the social construction of the experience of grief within the godly community was measured.

To an extent, Clarke's sermon was typical of the way in which traditional Christian funeral rites were adapted by Protestants. All forms that linked rituals to the state of the soul departed were eliminated in godly practice and so the sermon

---

[12] 'On the Death of his Dear Friend and Cousen, Mr. Thomas Bewley Junior, Gent', by T.E. in Clarke, *Antidote*, p. 55

[13] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 51.

[14] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 51.

[15] Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham* (London, 1612), p. 767.

[16] Shagan, *Moderation*, p. 51. Puritans complained that the mourning apparel approved in the Book of Common Prayer smacked of popery, prompting a response from Archbishop Whitgift.

necessarily became the centerpiece. Indeed, as Michael Mascuch explains, the 'sermon…became an increasingly common element of the funeral ceremony during the course of the seventeenth century'.[17] But for evangelical Protestants especially 'the rhetoric of funeral sermons...was didactic'.[18] A funeral was an opportunity for a godly minister to confirm and buttress the values and beliefs of the elect, including both the bereaved and the godly congregation. It served as an object lesson for the whole pious community. By confirming social and cultural norms it could support the process of grief. But, in turn, the bereaved assumed an obligation to their brethren to display the fittingly moderate manifestations of grief, confirming their piety by so-doing, whilst justifying the faith. Appropriate grief was a pious duty both to the godly community and to the spiritual self.[19]

Clarke's *Antidote* deliberately laid out this prescription for godly grief, like an academic lecture, 'not onely teaching you how to behave your selves under such an affliction, but holding forth to you sound and sufficient arguments to persuade and induce you to the practice of the same'.[20] He concedes that mourners will understandably be sad:

> He doth not say, I would not have sorrow at all: For, its a duty to mourn for the dead...sorrow and lamentation is the dues of the dead... Its lawful to mourn and sorrow upon the death of our friends and relations.[21]

But, loss was God's way of correcting us. Accordingly, Clarke directed the bereaved to 'Take, I pray you, your correction as from Gods hand, and humble your selves under the smart of it'.[22] It was also an opportunity for spiritual growth. Broaching the fact that evidently the Bewleys had lost both their children, Clarke invites them to

> Consider, I pray you, if God when you were first married should have told you, I will give you two children, and you shall bring them up so many years, and

---

[17] Mascuch, *Individualist Self*, p. 105.

[18] Mascuch, *Individualist Self*, p. 105.

[19] Social customs shape the feelings associated with grief and by reinforcing cultural norms. Social psychologists James. R. Averill and Elma P. Nunley explain how social customs and norms that are internalised shape the feelings associated with mourning. See J. R. Averill, and E. P. Nunley, 'Grief as an Emotion and as a Disease: A Social-Constructionist Perspective', in M. S. Stroebe, W. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson (eds), *Handbook of Bereavement: Theory, Research, and Intervention* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 77-90, p. 84.

[20] Clarke, *Antidote*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sigs A2v-A3r.

[21] Clarke, *Antidote*, p. 5.

[22] Clarke, *Antidote*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A3r.

then I will take them away again; would you not have accepted gladly of this offer, and taken it thankfully too? ...Is it not a mercy that God hath made you instrumentall, though he hath taken both your children from you?[23]

The consolation on offer was that the death of loved ones was an opportunity to increase in wisdom and to gain spiritually; the death of children was evidence of God's mercy because, for the godly, death is an offer of hope. He explained that 'The Heathen use to be immoderate in their mourning for the dead; because they want a hope of the present blessednesse of their souls, and the future resurrection of their bodies'.[24] But, the godly elect understand that 'The resurrection of Christs body from the dead is a sure and certain pledge and evidence of the resurrection of out bodies'.[25] As a result, 'ye sorrow not as do others that have no hope: Whence, a well-grounded hope of the happinesse of our friends deceased should moderate our mourning for them.'[26]

Over several pages Clarke explained, point by point, how the dead are better off than the living because they are free from the perils of the world, the society of the wicked, evils to come and 'the very being and existence of sin'.[27] Indeed, for the godly elect, assured of salvation, death is a fulfilment or self-actualisation. The full comprehension of this must be of comfort to the bereaved, 'Because they are not only not losers, but they are great gainers by death: they are immediately put into a far better condition than they were capable of in this life. The day of death is to them the day-break of eternal righteousnesse.'[28] The grieving parents are then told that immoderate grief over the loss of children is in fact self-centred, and that love consisted in being able to let them go. Clarke instructed them to 'Again, consider that it's not love to them, when we are persuaded, that they are with the Lord, which makes us excessively grieve when they are taken from us.'[29] Excessive mourning was an ungodly and worldly form of self-love.

---

[23] Clarke, *Antidote*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A3v.
[24] Clarke, *Antidote*, pp. 5-6.
[25] Clarke, *Antidote*, p. 6.
[26] Clarke, *Antidote*, p. 6-7.
[27] Clarke, *Antidote*, pp. 13-22.
[28] Clarke, *Antidote*, pp. 25-6.
[29] Clarke, *Antidote*, pp. 32-3.

II – Godly Sorrow

Godly sorrow, however, was to be embraced as a channel for grace. In *Medulla Theologiæ* Clarke drew upon scripture for his model in this understanding of sorrow. Jeremiah, the 'weeping prophet', was sad because God had marked him for a life of isolation, without family, and the task of delivering an unpopular warning message to the apostate Israelites of his day. 'Jerem[iah] was of a sad constitution,' Clarke wrote, but 'see what advantage he made of it.'[30] Clarke tells us that Jeremiah drew spiritual benefit from his sorrow. By employing it as a way of renouncing sin and assuring salvation, it enabled him to draw closer to God. However, as Gary Kuchar tells us, 'Virtually all post-scriptural depictions of devout sorrow...owe something to the modality of sorrow St. Paul speaks of in 2 Corinthians 7'.[31] Here Paul explains that 'godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death.'[32] So sorrow existed in two forms 'one that is according to God and one that is according to the world'.[33] In *Medulla Theologiæ* Clarke cited the Pauline text to answer the question of *'how can Gods Spirit give witnesse, seeing now there are no revelations?'*[34] And the answer he gives is 'By a grief of the heart...called *godly sorrow*'.[35] Righteous sorrow was a revelation of the Almighty; indeed, it was a principal means by which God communes with the human soul.[36] As Calvin explained, God 'does not enjoin us to ascend forthwith into heaven, but, consulting our weakness, he descends to us.'[37] Furthermore, godly sorrow related to the model of Christ's kenosis, emptying 'the Christian soul so that a fundamental reconstitution of being and

---

[30] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p 27. NB. Jeremiah's sorrow can also be seen as a metaphor for the deep sadness of the Almighty at the waywardness of his people. See, for example Gary E. Yates, 'The Prophet Jeremiah as Theological Symbol in the Book of Jeremiah', Liberty University, *Faculty Publications and Presentations*, 372 (2010), available at https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/lts_fac_pubs/372. (Accessed 21.11.18).

[31] Gary Kuchar, *The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England* (New York; Cambridge, 2008), p. 4.

[32] II Corinthians 7:9.

[33] Kuchar, *Religious Sorrow*, p. 4.

[34] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 133.

[35] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 133.

[36] Kuchar, *Religious Sorrow*, p. 6.

[37] Jean Calvin, tr. James Anderson, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 5 vols (Grand Rapids, 1949), vol. 2, p. 129. Quoted in Kuchar, *Religious Sorrow*, p. 18.

thus a new way of perceiving the world can occur.[38] Clarke explained that afflictions 'will empty a man of himself, and make him trust in the living God.'[39] So, godly sorrow played a critical role in the process towards sanctification by allowing communion with God and assisting the sinner to purge their soul of worldly concerns.

If excessive mourning was an ungodly form of self-love, godly sorrow possessed the potentially paradoxical quality that, by revealing of God's love, sorrow might surely feel like joy; joy and sorrow were emotions that could coincide in the same moment of realisation. If viewed from a modern perspective in terms of emotional management this was difficult terrain to negotiate. And indeed, there was another contemporaneous view that faced the question of sorrow without this troublesome ambiguity. For Robert Burton, whose account *The Anatomy of Melancholy* was first published in 1621, melancholy was a disorder, and sorrow was 'both cause and Symptome of this Disease.'[40] Furthermore, much of religious practice seemed, to Burton, to be culpable. He attacked 'Papists' who 'terrifie mens soules with Purgatorie tales, visions, apparitions, to daunt even the most generous spirits'.[41] But, from his perspective as an ordained cleric, his most stinging criticism was directed at puritan ministers of the sort upon which the young Samuel Clarke (in 1621) modelled himself. He complained that 'indiscreet pastors' by their 'gall and horror, and a mad noyse, they make all their auditors desperate' so that 'many are wounded by this meanes'.[42] And he made the point that it was those who were most 'devout and precise, that follow sermons', who were most likely to suffer as a result and 'fall into theise miseries'.[43] So Burton, writing in the 1620s, observed that 'doubt of their Election' was a direct cause of profound apprehension and sorrow.[44]

Standing in direct conflict to the orthodox Reformed understanding expressed by Clarke, Burton's analysis seems to resonate with the modern view of depression. Edward Bibring (1894-1959), for example, argued that overinvestment in a particular

---

[38] Kuchar, *Religious Sorrow*, p 8. NB. 'Kenosis' refers to the belief that Christ voided his divinity during the incarnation. Godly sorrow helps Christians to imitate this by facilitating the self-emptying of the will.

[39] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 39.

[40] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 129. See Mary Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading the Anatomy of Melancholy* (Cambridge, 2010).

[41] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 775.

[42] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 776.

[43] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 776.

[44] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 775.

goal or role by those with a vulnerability to depressive behaviour could lead to depression.[45] In the seventeenth century, and from within the Presbyterian clerical brethren, Richard Baxter seemed to understand this: in *Preservatives Against Melancholy and Overmuch Sorrow* (1683), he addressed these concerns.[46] But Clarke, who was very close to Baxter in many respects, disagreed with him on this point, pursuing (as ever) a more orthodox line. In *Medulla Theologiæ* he wrote, 'Upon this account Mr. Baxter denies assurance, because he never met with any, nor can hear by others of any that have it, except some melancholy women that pretend to it, and that for a moment only'.[47] And in support of his argument, Clarke is able to cite exemplary lives that were his stock in trade:

> But if he reade the life of Mr. Ignatius Jordan of Excester, and of Mr. John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, he shall finde that they not only had assurance, but maintained it for many yeares without interruption: the like he may finde of many others in my first Part of Lives: and in my Mirrour or Looking-glasse.[48]

Although Clarke would have accepted the humoral physiology typical of the period, he unambiguously disagreed with Burton's conception of sorrow, and the role of conscience in particular. For Burton conscience 'grindes our soules with the remembrance of some precedent sinnes, and makes us reflect upon our selves, accuse and condemne our owne selves.'[49] In other words, feelings of guilt caused sadness. But for Clarke a troubled conscience that had not yet embraced the true nature of personal corruption was a false guide. Borrowing from the work of Anthony Burges (1600-63), Clarke explained that 'from the blindnesse of a troubled conscience cometh also the sad, and great doubtings upon the heart, whereby the soul is distracted, and divided: pulled this way, and haled that way'.[50] A troubled conscience produced a spurious

---

[45] Michael J. Power, 'Depression', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion*, p. 115. See Edward Bibring, 'The Mechanism of Depression', in Phyllis Greenacre (ed.), *Affective Disorders; Psychoanalytic Contributions to their Study* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 13-48. See also M.E.P. Seligman, *Helplessness: On Depression, Development and Death* (San Francisco, 1975).

[46] Baxter, *Preservatives*, p. 27, See Introduction to this study, p. 19, and Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 61.

[47] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 127.

[48] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 127.

[49] Burton, *Melancholy*, p. 776.

[50] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 456. Clarke cites Anthony Burges, *The Doctrine of Original Sin, Asserted and Vindicated Against the Old and New Adversaries Thereof,*

form of sorrow that pulled the soul in different directions. But it was acting blind, and likely to mislead:

> Quest. What are the false wayes that a wounded conscience is prone to take?
>
> Answ. First, some when troubled for sin, call it melancholly, and pusillanimity, and therefore they will go to their merry company, they will drink it away, rant it away; or go to their merry pastimes.[51]

Godly sorrow resulted from the clarity of a revelation, not just of sins in the past and feelings of guilt, but of the corrupt nature of being. This time citing the work of John Sheffield (d.1660), Clarke explained that the godly individual 'doth not only avoid sinful actions, but takes sad notice of, and bewails his sinful affections, and the depraved disposition of his nature. He mourns under the sin that dwells in him...He hates his sin in every degree with a perfect, and impartial hatred.'[52]

Godly sorrow was like a state of mourning in which sorrowful joy, and hatred of the sinful self traversed the scope of the human emotional register.

III - Joy and Happiness

Superficially, H. L. Mencken's famous aphorism that puritanism is 'the haunting fear that someone somewhere may be happy' may seem fair enough.[53] Mencken was following in a long tradition of typecasting puritans as miserable killjoys: Malvolio stands accused by Sir Toby Belch - 'Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous there shall be no more cakes and ales?'[54] It was well understood that puritans were opposed to fun and frivolous entertainments. They insisted upon strict observance of the Sabbath, opposed the Book of Sports, sought to ban popular entertainments like Whitsun ales, May Day, and the theatres, and to abolish Christmas. The severe

---

Socinians, Papists, Arminians, and Anabaptists (London, 1659).

[51] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 457-8, citing Burges.

[52] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 440, citing John Sheffield, *A Good Conscience the Strongest Hold* (London 1650).

[53] H.L. Mencken, *A Menken Chrestomathy* (New York, 1949), p. 624.

[54] Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night,* Act II Scene III. Nevertheless, Malvolio's character was nuanced. Collinson makes the point that 'by the time of Twelfth Night it was possible to tell the audience that Malvolio was in some ways a Puritan, in other ways not, since any well-informed theatre-goer could recognise what there was of the stage Puritan in his character'. Collinson, 'Antipuritanism', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*, p. 25.

austerity of the inter-regnum contrasted with the hedonism of Restoration and the court of the 'Merry Monarch'.

The purpose of this section is not so much to challenge this perception as to attempt to locate the prototype of a puritan conception of happiness and joy as revealed in Clarke's work. The Oxford English Dictionary tells us that the meaning of 'happiness' changed subtly from 'good fortune' and 'success' in the Late Middle English to 'deep pleasure in, or contentment with one's circumstances' by the late-sixteenth century.[55] S. Bryn Roberts says that although 'the puritan understanding of *happiness*' differed to some extent from that of their contemporaries, reflected in their qualifying use of the word *true*...it nevertheless had much in common with general Early Modern understandings.'[56] However, whilst this may well reflect the consensus upon the emotional characteristics conveyed by the word happiness, it does not provide adequately for the context in which puritans like Clarke understood the duality of emotion. The qualifying use of 'true' was definitive.

So, the stereotype of puritan misery depends upon a social construction of the closely related states of joy and happiness that the godly did not share. Indeed, happiness and joy are subjective terms. In the taxonomy of emotions in modern social psychology, joy and happiness occur within the same cluster, and they are partly characterised by their connection to the realisation of goals, social relationships and individual motivation.[57] The godly often expressed these motivational, collective and goal oriented aspects of joy and happiness in terms of the zealousness of their religious practice. The pursuit of happiness was vital because true happiness existed only in godliness, and this experience was marked by authentic joy. Whereas Clarke wrote about happiness to mean an enduring feeling of contentment and peace linked to soteriological assurance, he often employed the term joy to represent an ultimate sense

---

[55] *OED*. See Roberts, *Venning,* p. 85.

[56] Roberts, *Venning*, p. 85. He cites Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 83. (NB. Ryrie discusses 'the phrase "*true* happiness"' on p. 77).

[57] See appendix three: Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of 135 Emotion Names. For happiness see Sonja Lyubomirsky and Jaime L. Kurtz, 'Happiness', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion,* p. 203, citing A. Ortony, G. L. Clore, and A. Collins, *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions* (Cambridge, 1988), and C. S. Carver and M. F. Scheier, *On the Self-Regulation of Behavior* (Cambridge, 1998). For joy see Barbara L. Frederickson, 'Joy', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion*, p. 230, and P. Shaver, J. Schwarz, D. Kirson, and G. O'Connor, 'Emotion Knowledge: Further Explanation of a Prototype Approach', in Parrott, *Emotions*, pp. 26-56, p. 46.

of ecstasy associated with previews of paradise close to death, or an event linked to the realisation of the work of grace. But, in the sense in which these terms were often used by the godly, any meaningful distinction between joy and happiness is not so important because true happiness did not represent the obverse of sadness, and real joy was not measured in terms of worldly or personal gratification or as oppositional to sorrow. Indeed, as we have seen in Clarke's narratives of godly martyrs, 'unspeakable joy' was associated with the moment of death, and the sorrowful revelation of personal corruption was also a moment of greatest joy. The binary that counted was between the authentic godly experience and the counterfeit worldly one.

In *Aurea Legenda* (1682), Clarke reproduced Sir Henry Wotton's poem 'The Character of a Happy Life'.[58] Wotton's verses describe a view of happiness that has little to do with 'cakes and ales' and sybaritic pleasures. Neither do they endorse Mencken's caustic understanding that puritans disliked the very thought of happiness. Instead we are presented with a deeper sense of true happiness or contentment which is to be found only in a well-grounded cognition of freedom in the deepest sense: liberty from worldly concerns and appetites, based on absolute faith in God. The authentically happy man has no need of pleasure-seeking or outward displays of evanescent joy. He 'entertains the harmless Day, With a Religious Book, or Friend.' It follows that those who do seek such indulgences can experience only a shallow and ephemeral form of happiness. Happiness derives from virtue and godliness, and godliness in turn is expressed in terms of happiness. Godly behaviour results inevitably from the reception of divine truth. But, this should not be confused with a stoical indifference to human emotion and the perils of this world. Happiness was not merely a desirable condition but a vital goal, and the language Wotton uses invokes this tone of purpose, strength and assertiveness. For example, he deploys a metaphor of 'armour' to describe 'honest thought'. And conscience, far from being a cause of melancholy, is given a potent role as a 'strong retreat.' This is not a semantic of passive acceptance. True happiness allowed 'deepest wounds' to be praised, and liberated the godly man from 'oppressors' and 'servile bonds'. So, Wotton understands that the godly person should experience emotions. However, it is important that these are not 'his masters'. By including these verses in *Aurea Legenda*, Clarke endorsed these

---

[58] Clarke, *Aurea Legenda* (London, 1682), pp. 96-7. See 'The Character of a Happy Life', in appendix five. Sir Henry Wotton 1568-1639, author, diplomat and MP.

sentiments, revealed a concern for the dynamic pursuit of happiness, and a prototypical conceptualisation of its nature as a manifestation of godliness.

We find the theme of true happiness developed in Clarke's earliest print venture, *The Saints Nosegay* (1642). Here Clarke emphasised that any delight resulting from worldly inclinations is fleeting and illusory. For example, in the dedication addressed to Lady Katherine Brooke, wife of Lord Brooke (his patron as minister at Alcester), Clarke tells us that, 'King Solomon, the wisest of men, having tyred himselfe in seeking to obtaine happinesse' found that 'no such honey could be sucked out of the daintiest of those flowers...and therefore hee concludes...that all was vanity and vexation of spirit.'[59] This lesson even applied to godly reading. Clarke explained that the very purpose of his *The Saints Nosegay* was not to provide immediate, short-term pleasure (as if), but to provoke deep introspection as an instrument of timeless and profound happiness: 'herein I presume in a much different way from Solomons, as not seeking happinesse in them; but rather desiring by those objects to raise up your soule to such contemplations, as may truly further your eternall happinesse'.[60]

In this 276-page book of pious instruction, happiness is defined as 'contentment of the mind'. Godliness and happiness were totally interdependent. Clarke explained that

> Ther[e] is no true godlines, where there is not contentment of mind, no true contentment of mind, where there is not godlines...The holier that men are, the happier they are; and the more godly they are, the more true, and sound contentment, they are sure of.[61]

But godliness comes first and is the key to happiness: 'As a dropsie man, after he is brought into health, is content with lesse drinke then hee was before: so godlinesse brings the soule into a good temper, removing lustful humours, giving him that content that before he wanted.' [62] Worldly pleasures, on the other hand, are a dangerous trap because 'If we lay our selves loaden with the utmost of all earthly excellencies, and felicities in the one scale of the ballance, and vanity in the other; vanity wil weigh us downe.'[63] Just like excessive mourning, Clarke's point is that gratification is not merely

---

[59] Clarke, *Nosegay*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sigs A3r-A4r.
[60] Clarke, *Nosegay*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A4v.
[61] Clarke, *Nosegay*, p. 92.
[62] Clarke, *Nosegay*, p. 96.
[63] Clarke, *Nosegay*, p. 100.

temporary but self-regarding, and thus cannot result in the real and godly experience of lasting contentment and happiness.

The perplexing nature of authentic emotions that belonged to the spiritual domain as compared with the transient and insubstantial quality of physical and bodily feelings required careful explanation. Clarke's more lyrical and accessible treatment was underpinned intellectually by Edward Reynolds, who published his *Treatise of the Passions* in 1640. Reynolds warned of the dangers posed when pursuit of joy followed physical and worldly motivations. Joy, he wrote,

> is the naturall desire, which man hath to be united to the thing wherein he delights...doing many things not out of resolution, but instinct and power transporting both mind and body to sudden and unpremeditated expressions of its owne content.[64]

The danger was that 'of all Passions, Joy can be the least dissembled or suppressed.'[65] Real godly joy, however, expressed 'the serenity of the mind' and was capable of 'repayring the breaches and ruins of our decayed Natures; for animating and refreshing our languishing spirits; for preserving ourselves in a good ability to execute Offices of a higher Nature.'[66] When godliness is the goal, the feeling of gladness becomes a constant yearning because

> those noble delights which arise from heavenly causes, doe withall cause a sweet thirst and longing in the Soule after more...For while God is the Object, there cannot bee either the satiety to cloy the Soul, nor such a full comprehension as will leave no room for more.[67]

The moment of 'unspeakable joy' associated with a martyr's death was unattainable for most, so this counterintuitive conceptualisation required examples to which the pious could aspire. Although briefly imprisoned, Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) did not attain a martyr's death, yet Clarke's account (taken from the funeral sermon given by John Dod) still highlighted his death with 'Joy Unspeakable' as a printed margin note. Shortly before his death we are told that he spent two hours on his knees in prayer, 'In which (as he told his Wife) he found wonderfull and unutterable

---

[64] Reynolds, *Passions*, p. 218.
[65] Reynolds, *Passions*, p. 218.
[66] Reynolds, *Passions*, p. 217.
[67] Reynolds, *Passions*, p. 218.

joy and comfort, God giving him a glimpse of heaven before he came to it, and within a few houres after he quietly resigned up his spirit unto God'.[68] Here Cartwright's experience of 'unutterable joy' is presented in terms of a deeply desired and emotionally invested goal. In another example, an episode from the Life of John Dod, we are told of 'a Gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate, and a loving Husband, but she was so sadly assaulted with [temptations], that she often attempted to make away her self.'[69] This example draws together a number of puritan conceptions of joy and happiness and the means of attaining them. As a result of the ministrations of the remarkable John Dod, this gentlewoman was saved from 'anguish of spirit' and through the acquisition of 'piety' she achieved her own 'conversion' as well as her husband's, and 'lived divers years quieted in her heart.' Again, marked in the margin as 'Joy Unspeakable', we are informed that at her death, blessed by the words of Dod, she could hardly 'forebear singing.'[70] Her quiet assured happiness gave way to ecstasy as she approached her heavenly goal. In another formulation of the relationship between 'happiness' and 'joy' at death, we have Clarke's account of the death of Thomas Hill (d. 1653). Hill apparently experienced 'great comfort and joy in God's 'discriminating electing-love.' He felt 'inward peace' and 'rested quietly' and because he had given all diligence 'to make his calling and election sure' he was able to face a happy and blessed death.'[71] Hill's quiet contentment was founded on the assurance of his salvation.

However, if happiness was associated with assurance of salvation, its illusiveness could be troubling. Clarke expressed this concern in *Medulla Theologiæ*:

> Quest. How happens it then, that Gods children sometimes, even when their judgements are convinced, yet finde their affections so flat, crying out: Alas! that I should believe such happinesse as heaven, such glory, and yet should have my affections no more stirred in me? Can I be a childe of God? [72]

Robert Burton had accused 'thundering' puritan ministers of being a cause of melancholy, but for Clarke it was precisely the function of religious practice and

---

[68] Clarke, 'The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright, who died, Anno Christi, 1603'*, Lives of Two and Twenty*, pp. 25-6.
[69] Clarke, 'The Life of Master John Dod, who died Anno Christi 1645'*, Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 202.
[70] Clarke, 'Dod'*, Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 202.
[71] Clarke, 'The Life and Death of Dr. Hill, who dyed Anno Christi, 1653', *The Lives of Ten*, pp. 93-4.
[72] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30.

powerful ministry to lift the spirit. So, Clarke tells us that Herbert Palmer (1601-47), like John Dod above, and despite his small stature, had the ability to elicit a state of joy in his congregation. Indeed, 'an ancient French Gentlewoman...having heard him pray and preach with so much spiritual strength and vigour, she lift her hands to heaven with admiration and joy, blessing God for what she had heard.'[73]

When he knew he was going to die, Samuel Crook (1574-1649) began to sing with 'tears of joy, and desire...having a sweet voice, and good skill in Musick.'[74] Clarke continues by expressing the wish that 'our proud, presumptuous, impenitentiaries had heard him crying for Repentance, and seen him weeping for Grace. It might, perhaps, have melted their stony hearts.'[75] The dramatic pathos is calculated. Crook's tears are not born of sadness but of the expectation of salvation and overwhelming joy. At the same time the story was intended fortify the godly and to open, or soften, the hearts of the ungodly. We are meant to understand that there is no contradiction or paradox in these associations of powerful emotions because they were earnest, heartfelt and authentic.

IV - Ashamed and Happy

Nor was any contradiction intended in the association of happiness with the social emotion of shame, as the story of the 'Wicked Life and *Shameful=happy* Death of Thomas Savage' (included in a *A Warning-Piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers*) was intended to demonstrate.[76] In this account Clarke retells the story of how the wicked, drunken, thieving and murderous Thomas Savage was at last brought to contrition by means of his shame after he was visited by several ministers.[77] Their

---

[73] Clarke, 'The Life of Master Herbert Palmer, B. D. late Master of Queens-Colledge in Cambridge, who died Anno Christi 1647', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, pp. 222-3.

[74] Clarke, 'The Life and Death of Mr. Samuel Crook, who died An. Christi 1649', *Lives of Ten*, p. 26.

[75] Clarke, 'Crook', *Lives of Ten*, p. 50-1.

[76] Clarke, 'The Wicked Life and *Shameful=Happy* Death of Thomas Savage; Imprisoned, Justly Condemned, and Twice Executed at Ratcliff for his Bloody Fact in Killing his Fellow-Servant, on Wednesday, Octob. 28. 1668,', in *A Warning-Piece*, pp. 40-6. Savage was 'twice executed' in the sense of temporal and eternal death.

[77] The story is a composite account from the five puritan ministers who visited and encouraged Savage's repentance: Thomas Vincent (1634-78), Robert Franklin (1630-84) James Janeway (1636-74), Thomas Doolittle (1630-1707) and Hugh Baker. One version of the story, *A Murderer Punished and Pardoned* (1677), has the Wing

ministrations systemically deconstructed his pride telling him to 'cast away all those groundless hopes he had conceived, and endeavour to despair in himself', and that 'if he only looked to himself, he might cry out "What shall I do to be saved?" and enquire after a Saviour.'[78] Their words, we are told, 'were like arrows shot into his heart' and 'did affect and so affright him that he said it made his hair stand on end.'[79] So by means of heartfelt shame this notorious and arrogant sinner was brought to the point of the authentic experience of remorse.

The norms that might provoke the experience of shame vary from culture to culture, but the characteristics of the feeling of shame are tied to its social function. According to June Price Tangney, Jeff Stuewig, and Debra J. Mashek, social emotions like shame 'function as an emotional moral barometer, providing immediate and salient feedback on our social and moral acceptability.'[80] But Sara Ahmed presents a more worrying analysis that focuses on how cultural constructs can be oppressive. 'In shame', she says, 'I feel bad, and hence need to expel the badness, I have to expel myself from myself'. Furthermore, 'prolonged experiences of shame, unsurprisingly, can bring subjects perilously close to suicide', because 'in turning away from itself...the subject may have nowhere to turn.'[81]

These aspects of shame as a weather gauge of moral comportment, and of turning away from self, have clear resonances in Clarke's early modern religious understanding. Like other 'rational affections', social or moral emotions like shame and guilt were to be welcomed if their object was godly. All were guilty, and thus for Clarke (unlike Burton) the feeling of guilt was constructive because 'The remorse and pangs of conscience in the very act of sinning, may deter us from it'.[82] But whereas guilt was a matter of individual conscience, shame was more telling because it related to the question of how the individual perceived the self in terms of the real or imagined

---

attribution to Richard Alleine (1611-81), A 997 (Wing). See D. D. Wallace (ed.), *The Spirituality of Later English Puritans, An Anthology* (Macon, 1987), p. 79. Edward Calamy says it was by James Janeway. See Edward Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account* (London, 1727), vol. 2, p. 963. Eamon Duffy thinks this is a more plausible attribution because Janeway is named as one of the five minister who visited Savage. See Duffy, *Reformation Divided*, p. 375, fn. 94.

[78] Clarke, 'Savage', *A Warning-Piece*, p. 45.

[79] Clarke, 'Savage', *A Warning-Piece*, p. 46.

[80] June Price Tangney, Jeff Stuewig, and Debra J. Mashek, 'Moral Emotions and Moral Behavior', in *Annual Review of Psychology* 58:1 (2007), pp. 345-372*, p. 347.

[81] Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, p. 104.

[82] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 29.

judgement of others.[83] In godly terms, real shame was not the same as social embarrassment: it could be felt only in the presence of God's judgement of the sinner. Godly shame therefore existed in the 'public' space between God and the sinner where it was the authenticity of shame as a godly experience that mattered. There were several aspects to this. At one level Clarke certainly understood shame as a moral barometer of 'The infamy and disgrace which attends wickednesse', and as a guide 'When passions are most vehement'.[84] As in the case of Thomas Savage, it could produce repentance. At another level, Clarke highlighted the role played by shame in the negation of self. For Clarke, the emptying of self was a critical stage in the process by which godly sorrow opened the believer to the presence of grace. This was indeed a turning away from self, but for the justified believer it was a turning towards God.

However, the most telling aspect of this understanding of godly shame was the counterintuitive injunction to embrace it: to 'humble thy self with shame and sorrow before God'.[85] Shame is usually associated with attempts to hide, deny and cover-up. Indeed, the word 'shame' derives from an Indo-European verb meaning 'to cover' and is also associated with words like 'hide', 'custody', 'hut' and 'house'.[86] But the godly were enjoined to face their shame. Thus, the penitent is not to hide or escape, but to use their shame to license an authentic plea for God's mercy: to 'beat at Mercies Gate by the Prayer of Faith, and crave Grace to overcome'.[87] Godly shame provided the emotional conditions for true humility, and the true happiness that might be achieved only when purged of self.

V - Holy Anger

Clarke presented the concept of holy or 'rightly ordered' anger as a simple binary. But its implications had broad social and political dimensions.[88] Clarke explained it in these terms:

Quest. How many sorts of Anger be there?

Answ. Two. 1. Good. 2. Bad.

---

[83] Kevin Mulligan on 'Moral Emotions', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion*, p. 263.
[84] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 28-9.
[85] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 28.
[86] Ahmed, *Cultural Politics,* p. 227.
[87] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 28.
[88] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 68

> Quest. What is good Anger?
>
> Answ. Its a displeasure not against the person, but against the sin of our neighbour, or of our selves: this anger being moderate, and joyned with compassion is an holy anger...Or, Its a displeasure at that which stands in our way, and hinders good. Thus Moses was angry...
>
> Quest. What is bad Anger?
>
> Answ. Its a desire to be revenged upon the person of our neighbour, either by words or deeds, threatned.[89]

Holy anger was anger directed against sin, or against that which obstructed the good; it was not the same as a desire for revenge. The right sort of anger was modelled upon the behaviour of the deity and evidenced frequently in scripture. In this view, God's anger was 'the inward displeasure which he hath against sin', and his policy was always to warn and to punish. Furthermore, anger 'was in Christ himself as man', and 'many holy men in Scripture are commended for it'.[90]

Holy anger was not only legitimate, 'When it's moved, quickened and guided by faith', it was actively encouraged: 'We are to stir it up by the exaggeration of the injury done, or received'.[91] However, these justified feelings of anger are to be turned inwards because 'In all...respects we have much more cause to be angry with our selves for sinning against God'.[92] Anger felt towards others was to be regarded as an opportunity to reflect upon personal sin as an offence to God and to begin to realise how God must feel as a result of it. Thus, the godly will use anger, prompted by perceived wrongs towards God, their brethren or themselves, as an opportunity for self-examination and to become closer to God, by empathising with the Almighty. Holy anger 'gives no place to private revenge, when out of bitternesse of spirit we seek the hurt of them that wrong us'.[93]

Anger, most emphatically then, was not an outlet for the passions, but represented another emotion in need of careful management. However, this religious argument also reflected the social and political conservatism of the Presbyterian position. Though Clarke's discussion emphasised the need for management of self, it

---

[89] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 67.
[90] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 67.
[91] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 68-9.
[92] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 69.
[93] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 68.

also encompassed the lawful moderation of others. Clarke does not recommend inaction against a guilty party. He says that, 'when wronged we may implore the aid of the Magistrate, yet without a desire to hurt him that wrongs us'.[94] Writing in 1659, given the preceding and impending social and political upheavals, Clarke is obviously concerned at the potential social consequences of a misconstrued justification of anger. He emphasised the role of magistracy in a patriarchal view of society in which duty consisted in knowing one's place. And, as Michael Walzer explained, in a world contaminated by original sin, 'Only God's command, only the perpetual struggle of his saints, imposed some minimal order on the earth.'[95] Thus, the application of holy anger in the civil order could work only downwards through the social hierarchy, otherwise there would be anarchy. 'A mean man', he wrote, 'must not shew his anger to a noble man, or Magistrate as he may to his equal; the sonne must not shew his anger to his father as the father may to the son.'[96] Each in his place 'must observe a due decorum, and fit respect in it' and 'In regard of our selves, we must have respect to our place and calling'.[97] The distance between the elect and the damned was reflected in a view of civil jurisprudence in which 'offenders are not to be used all alike'.[98] This view of justified anger as being dependent upon social status resonates with Christopher Hill's view of 'mainline' puritanism as elitist and socially controlling. Hill explained that 'The doctrine of the sinfulness of the majority of men and women naturally appealed to an elite'.[99] Perhaps there is an assumption in Clarke's writing that the godly, by virtue of their godliness, would inevitably be well placed among the 'middling sort' within the social order. We are certainly presented with a deliberately argued case intent upon advocating a self-moderation of powerful and potentially dangerous emotion in order to facilitate both a religious and a social agenda. Anger is both to be controlled and controlling.

---

[94] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 68.
[95] Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), p. 161.
[96] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 68-9.
[97] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 68-9.
[98] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 68-9.
[99] Hill, 'Religion and Democracy', p. 44. See also Milan Zafirovski who re-examines Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5) and develops the discussion of a perceived Protestant tendency to authoritarianism. M. Zafirovski, 'Protestantism and Authoritarianism: Weber's Secondary Problem', *Journal for The Theory of Social Behaviou*r, 40:2 (2010), pp. 162-89.

The outward manifestation of unjust or bogus anger was therefore a key indicator of those who were not amongst the godly elect. Clarke explained that 'an angry person can neither please God nor man: He regards no commandments; doth nothing in order, but all rashly and without discretion.'[100] He described this sort of anger as 'a deceitful passion'. As with other counterfeit emotions, anger was a devious guide that clouded judgement because 'An angry man sees not the thing as it is, and yet swells and boils inwardly'.[101] Furthermore, the exhibition of such anger was caused by a range of personal and social faults. Clarke's long list reveals much about the range of his social attitudes towards those whose weakness of will was evidence of reprobation. Among other things, false anger was caused by 'foolish cockering of mothers...Idlenesse, unthriftinesse...voluptuousnesse' and 'effeminatenesse of mind which makes men unable to bear injuries'.[102] Unholy anger produced a range of dreadful consequences which 'extinguisheth the love of God, which cannot kindle in such an unquiet breast...grieves the Spirit of God, and lets the Devil into mens hearts'. So, the godly were enjoined to 'make no friendship with an angry man' because 'Rage, and fury, tortures more th[a]n wrong, and injury.'[103]

Thus, when reviewing the accounts supplied in Clarke's various biographical editions it is not surprising that the 'saints' never seem to display anger, although it is sometimes directed towards them. The biographical narrative of Hugh Clarke placed him in a role as the agent of God's judgement and the emotionality of these accounts stands out. Righteous assertive composure and unrighteous anger are juxtaposed for comparison. The long-winded dispute with the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 'so angered the Bishop that he proceeded to Excommunicate him'.[104] Bishop Overton's anger pushed him to an extreme course of action, whereas, we are told, Clarke senior's 'zeal and fervency', 'pressing...home upon their consciences' in order 'to shew them the

---

[100] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 70.
[101] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 68-9.
[102] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p.72, p. 71.
[103] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 73.
[104] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p.163. See Rosemary O'Day, 'William Overton (1524/5? −1609)', *ODNB*. According to this account Overton was attacked by the Marprelate tracts as ignorant, but he also granted preaching licences to radicals like Arthur Hildersham and William Bradshaw, 'lent his support to clerical exercises in Burton upon Trent and Southam, and allowed preachers like William Axton of Moreton Corbett to continue their activities despite their nonconformity'. O'Day suggests that he was 'quarrelsome, aggressive, litigious, and possibly downright dishonest', factors which may help to explain his antipathy to Clarke senior.

greatnesse of their sinnes' exposed those 'who still persisted in their ungodly practises'.[105] Some 'wicked persons' were apparently so angry and 'galled' by Clarke's ministry, that they plotted his murder.[106] In one example we are presented with a very emotional scene. Having been reproached by Hugh for his 'lewd course', the young man in question declared,

> I have not only offended God by sinning thus and thus against him, but you also, for I came hither with a full resolution to stab you with this dagger here at my back, but God hath so over-awed my spirit, that I have not had the power to move an hand, to accomplish such wickedness, and this resolution of mine proceeded from the sermon which you preached yesterday, which so terrified my conscience that my whole body fell into such a trembling, that I was not able to sit, whereupon I rose up and set my back to a Pillar to stay me, yet neither would that prevail to stay my trembling...But now if you please to forgive me, I shall by God's grace never entertain such desperate thoughts again.[107]

So, we are told by his son Samuel that Hugh Clarke's ministry was so powerful and emotive it could push a young man to plan and initiate bloody murder, and leave him physically 'trembling' with emotion as God 'over-awed' his 'spirit', reducing him to a quivering wreck. Here is a model of the bodily indications of emotion attached to sincere repentance, born of unrighteous anger and manifested physiologically with trembling, indicative of a racing heartbeat, and nervous collapse. By contrast, faced with the irrational or unruly emotions of others, Clarke senior was able to maintain his composure. On a different occasion, despite being the intended victim of another murderous rage, Hugh was able again, apparently, to draw on the strength to respond with both courage and poise when 'waylayed' in a wood.[108] But this is not the same emotional disposition as the equanimity claimed by James Heath on behalf of Strafford (as discussed in Chapter Four) which speaks to a different concept of reason.[109] Hugh Clarke's calm sprang from the 'experience of Gods gracious protecting [of] him from

---

[105] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 163, p. 160, p. 161.
[106] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p.164.
[107] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty,* p. 162.
[108] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 164. Clarke does tell us that 'Mr. Clark, being a strong, lusty man, walked not abroad without his rapier in his hand, for his own defence.'
[109] See p. 129 of this study.

the rage of some desperately wicked men'.[110] Hugh's sang-froid was the measure of his spiritual assurance: his righteous zeal against their ungodly passion expressed as unjustified anger.

In another example, Arthur Hildersham (1563-1632) was evidently the subject of the anger of Judge Aderson at the Leicester assizes in July 1596. Clarke tells us that he preached 'a godly, learned, zealous, plain, and powerfull Sermon' but

> In the handling of which Text he so offended Judge Aderson, that he manifested his anger and displeasure, both by his countenance and gesture, arising to go away; But Master Hildersam speaking some words unto him with ministerial authority, he stayed till the Sermon was done.[111]

So, we are told that, like Hugh Clarke, Hildersham was able to employ his 'ministerial authority' to defeat the anger of a magistrate whilst remaining calm himself. Indeed, the archetypal puritan divine described in these accounts usually seems to possess a moderate disposition, in control of their passions. In another example, John Ball (1585-1640) is described as a paragon of calm virtue, 'incomparably abstemious and moderate in the use of meat, drink, sleep, and apparel, so he had an admirable command over his passions. For those who most conversed with him, never saw inordinate out-breaches of anger, or other affections in his conversation.' [112] The story of John Cotton (1585-1652) supplies a further instance of the paradigm of godliness bestowing patience and understanding in place of anger. 'In case of sin committed by child or servant', Cotton 'would call them aside privately...laying the Scriptures before them...Seldome or never correcting in anger, that the dispensation of godly Discipline might not be impured, or become less effectuall, through the intermixing of humane passion.'[113] In this example, moderation of the passions and the control of anger is contextualised in terms of the governance of the household. The patriarchal figure fulfils the role of facilitator and leader of pious practice, but also provides the model of controlled behaviour, asserting a controlling 'godly Discipline' without passion. Cotton's model creates an impression of a dispassionate and disciplined puritan family

---

[110] Clarke, 'Hugh Clarke', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p.161.

[111] Clarke, 'The Life of Master *Arthur Hildersam,* who died Anno Christi, 1631', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 146.

[112] 'Clarke, The Life of Master *John Ball,* who died October 20. 1640', *Lives of Two and Twenty*, p. 170.

[113] Clarke, 'The Life and Death of Mr. John Cotton, who died An. Christi 1652', *Lives of Ten*, pp. 68-9.

life in which hegemony is expressed in terms of self-moderation, whilst controlling others. [114]

Clarke's puritan construct of the emotion of anger was not one of stoical indifference. Like Jesus expelling moneychangers from the temple, the godly were expected to feel a seething rage towards manifestations of sin in themselves and others.[115] However, it was a mark of godliness and assurance that such rage should seek to emulate the wrath of God, hating the sin but loving the sinner. Intemperate displays of anger were evidence of an unregenerate soul. The bridle on anger and the degree of restraint required to internalise such a commanding feeling was an imposition of jurisdiction that, of itself, lent power and authority to the individual. Every schoolteacher, confronting issues of classroom management, understands the effectiveness of a self-possessed deliberate gravitas and the unfortunate results following a loss of temper. Self-control whilst giving the appearance of a temperate moderation can be controlling, and Clarke's accounts reveal that he (and his sources) clearly understood this. Furthermore, there was evidently a dimension related to a conservative commitment to a patriarchal construction of the social order implicit in this formulation of the legitimacy of anger. However, the internalisation of emotion is also associated with stress, depression and anxiety disorders.[116] For real people, as opposed to the pious paradigms Clarke described and imagined, it seems likely that the puritan prescription for anger, despite its religious, social and political exigencies, might not have been easy to live with.

---

[114] This touches a discussion in which it is suggested that puritanism helped to weaken family bonds. According to Richard Grassby, Weber argued that the Calvinist concept of 'calling', which Weber described as 'a religious conception, that of a task set by God', 'depersonalised the family and the neighborhood and created emotional detachment...the isolation of the household satisfied an essential prerequisite of capitalism'. This corresponds with the view that the affective communities of medieval society were undermined by the individualism associated with early-modern economic and social change. (See Chapter Two, fn. 3). However, it might be argued that shared pious practice, values and indeed 'calling' may have drawn puritan families closer. See R. Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism, Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World,* 1580-1740 (Cambridge, 2001), p. 4 and Anthony Giddens, 'Introduction', Weber, *Protestant Ethic* (London; New York, 1992), p. 39.

[115] The story of Jesus and the moneychangers appears in all four gospels. See Matt 21:12-17, Mark 11:15-19, Luke 19:45-48 and John 2:13-16.

[116] See Ross Buck and R. Thomas Boone, 'Internalizer', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion,* p. 222.

VI - Fear, Love and Despair

It is in the relationship between fear, love and despair that the paradoxes of pious emotional typology seem most acute to modern sensibilities. Indeed, some historians have been concerned to stress the negative emotional propensities of Calvinist theology, sometimes without regard to the nuances of a godly understanding of authentic feelings. But from the perspective of the religious of the seventeenth century there was a consistent, divine order to it all. Fear could be a positive emotion when it encompassed God's love and love of God. Hopeless despair that found expression in the worldly and ungodly needed to be differentiated from a validated despair born of godly sorrow.

A pervasive fear, both of damnation and of the corruption of the world, was not unique to Protestantism. Nevertheless, in *Sin and Fear* Jean Delumeau tells us that it was 'specifically in Protestant theology that the accusation of man and the world reached its climax in Western civilization'.[117] According to Delumeau, the logic of this pessimistic view of 'the world's fragility, of its vice and vanity…was despair.'[118] Such dread could lead to a state of hopelessness and, in *The Persecutory Imagination,* John Stachniewski takes this case further by arguing that puritanism is best characterised as a culture of despair.[119] In particular, he blames the Calvinist concept of salvation stating, for example, that 'the psychological difficulty in seeking assurance in a milieu where damnation was statistically much more probable tended to plunge people into a more terrible despair than anything they had suffered'.[120]

Neither Delumeau nor Stachniewski are necessarily wrong in their assessment of the potential for damaging psychological pathologies in Calvinist culture, but theology itself was an indirect contributor. Intense and goal oriented emotion inevitably carries the possibility of turning into anxiety and depression. Carroll E. Izard tells us that despair 'is a complex affective state' which may result from distress caused by any one of a range of intense emotions including 'sadness/grief, fear, anger, disgust or shame and possible other emotion schemas (interacting emotion and

---

[117] Jean Delumeau, tr. E. Nicholson, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries* (New York, 1990), p. 27.
[118] Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, p. 31.
[119] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 33.
[120] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 33.

cognition)'. In these terms, despair is best understood in terms of loss of hope and interest and produces action tendencies leading to 'extreme behaviour including harm to self or others'.[121] So, Stachniewski tells us that ' Many actual suicides resulted from religious despair', and he associates these firmly with the rise of Calvinism.[122] For the godly, the way in which assurance of salvation was conceived as feeling necessarily generated emotions that required interrogation and management. Where fear meant dread of eternal damnation and of the sinful world, and was conflated with disgust at the sinful self, the godly certainly faced both a proximal and a distal sense of threat. But, of themselves, these fears were validating: it was natural and, indeed, godly to be frightened of these terrors. But, the fear of misreading and being misled by inauthentic feeling could not be averted by a simple fight or flight response. This was capable of producing the most profound and complex emotional states that required a life-long attritional struggle with the emotions themselves.

John Stachniewski also invokes Michel Foucault's concept of 'subjectification' to explain how puritan preachers and writers like Clarke used 'dividing practices' to exercise power, segregating the godly from the ungodly. He tells us that 'Their stress on exclusion (reprobation) proved to be a manipulative tool of devastating efficacy, reaching inside the mind to structure its activity and especially its reflections on itself.'[123] This view describes a form of mind control in which Calvinist discourse stands accused of seeking to shape 'mental processes', drawing the individual into 'the process of self-formation'.[124] Fear, we are told, was an essential element of this. It centred upon the terrors of damnation such as those which could be expressed by a powerful preacher like William Perkins who, according to Clarke, 'In his Sermons he used to pronounce the word Damn with such an Emphasis, as left a dolefull Echo in his auditors ears a good while after'.[125] So, fear was not merely located as a future threat to the eternal soul but in the temporal present, in the operation of Providence, among the reprobate and crucially in the mindful conscience of the godly. Clarke's

---

[121] C. E. Izard, 'Despair', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion*, pp. 116-7.
[122] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 49, and discussion on pp. 46-52. See also Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).
[123] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 85.
[124] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 85.
[125] Clarke, 'The Life of William Perkins, who died Ano Christi 1602', *The Marrow*, p. 851. Also cited in Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 86.

account of Perkins goes on to make this clear: 'And when hee was Catechist in Christ's Colledge, in expounding the Commandements, he applied them so home to the conscience, as was able to make his hearers hearts fall down, and their haires almost to stand upright.'[126]

Indeed, the alarm and apprehension that could be produced by puritan preachers was well documented. For example, John Rogers (b. 1627), who later became a Fifth Monarchist, described being terrified as a young schoolboy by the preaching of the puritan William Fenner. Fenner was 'full of zeal, stirring about, and thundering and beating the pulpit…O says he! You knotty! Rugged! Proud piece of flesh! You stony, rocky, flinted, hard-heart'.[127] Rogers explained the devastating psychological damage he suffered:

> I was amazed, and thought he was mad…I was struck, and saw that it was we who were mad…and I began to be troubled, being scared and frighted, and out of fear of Hell, I fell to duties, hear sermons, read the scriptures…I was afraid every night lest the devil should carry me away to Hell.[128]

Clearly Rogers found Fenner's affective style emotionally oppressive, and it contributed to a pathology which included weeping, refusing food, self-harming and, like the diarist Nehemiah Wallington, contemplating suicide.[129] Rogers described his subsequent conversion to sectarianism in terms of an emotional liberation that released him from fear and despair:

> When I awaked, I was so much changed that I was amazed at myself, at the suddenness of it; for I dreamt I was comforted, and my heart filled with joy…I was persuaded that the righteousness of Christ was mine…I began plainly to see…why I so despaired and was so long and so lamentably lost, that it was because I sought in the wrong place for justification, and therefore a wrong way for salvation.[130]

---

[126] Clarke, 'Perkins', *The Marrow*, p. 851.

[127] John Rogers, *Ohel or Beth-Shemesh: A Tabernacle for the Sun* (London, 1563), p. 419. John Rogers had supported Presbyterianism and Independency, was imprisoned by Cromwell and fled to Holland in 1660. See Ann Hughes (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century England. vol.1, Primary Sources: A Changing Culture* (London, 1980), p. 388.

[128] Rogers, *Ohel*, p. 419.

[129] Richard L. Greaves, 'John Rogers (b. 1627)', *ODNB*.

[130] Rogers, *Ohel*, pp. 430-31.

But Clarke's intention was to laud this preaching style; intense emotion was certainly the aim, but the way to God lay in the rationality of fear, and godly sorrow was the opposite of worldly despair. If fear was indeed the emotion preachers like Perkins elicited, for Clarke the ability to make 'hearers hearts fall down' had a deeper purpose than blind terror, and separating the sheep from the goats. Clarke's usage of the vocabulary of fear helps to explain this nuance. Clarke deployed the word 'fear' frequently throughout his texts. For example, in *Medulla Theologiæ* the word is used on a total of 127 occasions. In the *The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* (1660) fear is deployed forty times, and in the relatively brief work, *Aurea Legenda* (143-pages), a total of seventeen times.[131] More often than not Clarke was discussing fear of God.[132] In this sense, fear often signified a meaning closer to respect, deference, awe and wonder, and connoted a patriarchal and dependent relationship. He explained that 'experience shews, that men may fear God, love him, and hope in him'.[133] Fear, like shame and sorrow, was to be welcomed, not evaded.

Thus, fear of God was associated with love and hope. Indeed, in *Medulla Theologiæ* the word 'love' is used in close proximity to 'fear' on fifteen occasions.[134] In these examples, Clarke indicates little distinction between love of God and fear of God. For instance, he discusses 'our good God, who governs all things, even such as seeme most contingent, to his own glory, and the spiritual, and eternal good of them that love and fear him'.[135] In these terms, fear of God and love of God were conceived in absolute terms of agape - the unconditional and transcendent love of God for man, and man for God. Clarke explained that the godly will know they are amongst the elect if the nature of their love of God conformed to four criteria, as set out in *Medulla Theologiæ*:

> He that is truly affected with Christ...affects nothing so much...He that affects
> grace aright, cannot but expresse it...He that affects it aright, if he be never so
> little interrupted, he is troubled...He hath his conversation in Heaven, whence all

---

[131] Clarke, *Lives of Two and Twenty*, and Clarke, *Aurea Legenda*. EEBO-TCP. NB. Occasionally, 'fear' was intended idiomatically as an expression of concern or apology.
[132] For example, forty of the 177 usages in *Medulla Theologiæ*. EEBO-TCP.
[133] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 22.
[134] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*. Proximity search using EEBO-TCP.
[135] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 206.

grace descends.[136]

The godly love the object of their love above all other loves; they cannot conceal this love, expressing it in every word and deed; they cannot live without such love; and they enjoy a constant flow of love by communion with the object of this love. The object of love in this ideal is expected to be the primary focus of existence. For Clarke, eternal salvation was absolutely contingent upon the assurance of such 'affection.' Clarke forced this point home, by comparing love of God to marriage:

> Hereby only we are in a capacity of being married to Christ, who will have our Affections before he will marry us. When a man goes a wooing for a wife, his care is to get her Affections. He will never marry her, if he be wise, except he may have her affections.[137]

But, whilst love of God was like a marriage, there was a vital differentiation to be made: 'So if our affections be to the world, or the Strumpet-like things of the world, Christ cannot abide us: Know ye not that the love of the world is enmity with God.'[138] In puritan culture, Charles Taylor argued that whilst marriage 'took on a new spiritual significance and value for its own sake...it...must never become an end in itself, but serve the glory of God.'[139] In this view, the puritan 'sanctification of ordinary life' meant that it was perfectly acceptable, indeed 'it was God's will', for spouses to love each other.[140] However, the ideal form of love transcended the worldly form.[141] Clarke

---

[136] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26. In this discussion Clarke often used the term 'affection' specifically to mean love rather than a more general connotation of emotion used elsewhere.

[137] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.

[138] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.

[139] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 226.

[140] Taylor, *Modern Identity*, p. 226.

[141] NB. Although I am discussing the nature of emotion prototypes, this raises the issue of puritan attitudes to conjugal love. Protestants had rejected Catholic ideas that marriage was inferior to celibacy, and discussed marital sex in positive terms. Richard Baxter's unconventional marriage to Margaret Charlton suggests that the somewhat sterile stereotype of puritan married love is overstated, although Jacqueline Eales offers the opinion that 'the Baxters were ill-matched.' See Eales, 'Godly Women', p. 367. See Baxter, *Breviate*, carefully edited by Clarke in *Lives of Sundry* (1683). See F. J. Powicke, *A Puritan Idyll, or the Reverend Richard Baxter's Love Story; A Lecture delivered at the John Ryland's Library on the 14th March 1917* (Manchester; London; New York, 1917-1918). For the affective dimension of Baxter's correspondence see

explained, 'Hereby only doth the soul set up Favourites in her heart. Those are the hearts Favourites whom the heart most affects; Now if Christ be not the hearts Favourite, what a woful condition is that soul in?'[142] Having compared love of Christ to a marriage in *Medulla Theologiæ*, the more specific discussion of married love in Clarke's work was more focused on the companionate and practical aspects. For, example, in *Aurea Legenda*, citing the work of Robert Harris (1581-1658), Clarke gave brief advice on marriage in practical and worldly terms.[143] 'In Marriages' he explained, 'you lay the Foundation of your present Wo or Weal: Therefore here be not rash: Go not alone'. Marriage was about avoiding the sin of fornication, and it must be entered into only after careful consideration and consultation. The qualities required in a wife were grace, good nature, and housewifery. Parentage and financial status were also very important. Finally, and perhaps most significantly for this discussion, a wife should not be chosen on the basis of 'fancy' but 'judgment.' Love did not figure at all, and women were completely passive in these guidelines.[144] In stark contrast, Clarke understood the relationship between the godly and the Almighty in terms that were closest to a conception of intense, overwhelming and passionate love, writing about being 'sick of love' in relation to God.[145]

So, according to this understanding, the prototype of fear connoted the highest form of love. It was endorsed by the injunction to

> Set up a Master affection in your hearts to rule all the rest, and keep them in awe, in order, and in measure, and let that be the holy fear of God that your hearts may not dare to love any Creature overmuch, nor to grieve for any worldly loss too much...and that because you fear God, who will reward and punish your affections as well as actions.[146]

A. Searle, '"My Souls Anatomiste": Richard Baxter, Katherine Gell and Letters of the Heart', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 12:2 (2006).

[142] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.

[143] Clarke, *Aurea Legenda*, pp. 68-9.

[144] Clarke, *Aurea Legenda*, pp. 68-9. In terms of gender roles in marriage, it is not clear that a puritan conceptualisation existed separately within early modern society as a discrete puritan phenomenon. See Kathleen M. Davies, 'The Sacred Condition of Equality: How Original Were Puritan Doctrines of Marriage?', *Social History*, 2:5 (1977), pp. 563-580, pp. 564-5. Furthermore, Mark Kishlansky points out that 'prevailing wisdom held that love was an emotion acquired within marriage rather than before'. Kishlansky, *Monarchy*, p. 12.

[145] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 26.

[146] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 31.

It is difficult to imagine a more controlling emotional regime than one in which fear is identified with love in these terms, and where other affections will be punished. This fear-love nexus is a powerful emotional conceptualisation especially given that elsewhere the direction to fear God was given, not in the more benign sense of showing respect and deference, but with the clear intention of terrorising with the threat of eternal damnation. For example, Clarke instructs that 'The Scripture commands the godly to fear him that is able to cast both soul and body into hell.'[147] It was indeed 'Feare of eternal wrath, as it makes men avoid sinne,' that gave 'confident assurance of eternal happinesse, and final perseverance.'[148] In this context there is a distinctly Orwellian sense about the statement 'Fear is love in awe of the beloved'.[149]

The rationalisation of this experience of fear was, like all emotions, a matter of godliness. Fear of God was to be embraced, but worldly fear was to be moderated in the same way as anger and grief by compartmentalising and internalising. It was a passion requiring mortification, separating a proper godly fear of sin and damnation from unworthy temporal fears and anxieties. The way to do this was to submit entirely to the will of God: 'Especially we must mortifie the passions of Fear, which doth much aggravate the weight of misery, and is oft more intollerable then the evil suffered, both as it deformes the minde of resolution, and as it anticipates the griefs before they come.'[150]

The prescription of the Reformed ministry was to focus upon the eternal and to suppress worldly anxiety. The godly were instructed that fear of God was love, and that godly sorrow, emphatically not hopeless despair, was aspirational; the reprobate masses were offered no such comfort, but perhaps they did not care.

***

As Clarke makes clear, emotions like grief, sorrow, joy, happiness, shame, anger, fear, and love were to be understood as gifts designed to bring the godly into closer union with God. The crucial distinction to be made was not about positive and negative emotions but about the question of the godly authenticity of such feelings. The

---

[147] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30
[148] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 30.
[149] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 33.
[150] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 51.

prototypes of basic emotions discussed in this chapter were presented as the models of feelings to which godly people should aspire and by which they could decode the state of their soul. Clarke's narratives modelled them in exemplary godly lives, and ministers sought to elicit them from the pulpit. But the parallel binaries, between bogus and valid emotion, between godly zeal and worldly moderation, and between social affect and internal feeling, presented challenging paradoxes: the negation of self required self-conscious private introspection, whilst the paradigm of legitimate internal emotion was presented, and often needed to be expressed, in the social context. Calvinist theology underpinned this regimen, but emotion was at the centre of prescribed practice to the extent that affections and passions, and the question of whether they were rational or unruly, was an essential preoccupation of godly people.

The chapters comprising part three have moved the focus from the narrative content of Clarke's work to a consideration that allows an analysis of the rationale and typology of emotion that he presented to his readers. It is here that Clarke's work can be seen to take on a prescriptive intent that stipulates how readers should interpret what they feel, and what they *should* feel, using exemplary emotions from exemplary lives as their guide, and understanding their feelings in the terms explained to them in doctrinal literature like *Medulla Theologiæ*. The discussion of emotional prototypes above has also touched on the importance of the dynamic between individual feeling and social affect. Emotional comportment and expression, as in grief for example, was validated within the domain of the community of faith, that in these terms becomes an emotional community. The final part of this study will explore this question of the relationship between social affect and the individual.

PART FOUR

Social Affect and Individuality

The central idea of this study is that Clarke's published literature can be understood as part of a culture of affect. Clarke's texts described and prescribed models of emotionality and existed within a religious, political and cultural context in which feeling or affect reflected and shaped communal identities, interconnections and conflicts. So, in the foregoing chapters there has been a tacit assumption that, as Stephanie Trigg puts it, 'early modern emotions are much more overtly social, rather than individual or inward, as privileged by modern culture.'[1]

Part four examines this assertion more closely by considering the interaction between, and the dimensions of, personal and social affect in relation to Clarke's texts, and in the context of religious-political communities. Firstly, in Chapter Seven, it considers the impact and consumption of Clarke's literature in terms of both public affect and personal feeling. Secondly, in Chapter Eight, it discusses the emotional lives of individuals who identified themselves as members of the godly Presbyterian community, and considers how far the liminal relationship between social and personal affect shaped individualities whose aggregation is suggestive of emotional community.

---

[1] Trigg, 'Affect Theory', Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p 12.

Chapter Seven: Consumption

In *Pratiques de la Lecture* (1985), Roger Chartier explained the role of printed media in terms that emphasised the interaction of private reading, emotion and the development of individualism.[1] However, the consumption of media, including Clarke's work, occurred within both public and personal contexts.[2] In the discussion below, some individuals can be shown to have incorporated Clarkeian literature into their routines of reading for edification and the writing of pious journals, and one egregious reaction to Clarke's texts can also be observed in public discourse. At the same time, notwithstanding the public or private context, there was a social quality to the reactions of his readers that reflected the affective style of the literature. In these respects, Clarke's work can be contextualised as part of a culture of affect that contributed to the shaping of affect in public discourse *and* to the way in which individuals expressed and understood their feelings in relation to cultural and social norms.

This chapter considers these responses to Clarkeian affect. Firstly, it discusses the character of the public discourse surrounding Clarke's literature arguing that, with a notable exception, the general absence of polemic addressed specifically at Clarke is indicative of his skill in presenting his version of a moderate puritan tradition.[3] The selection of content was central to this aim, as Peter Lake argues, but (as discussed earlier in this study) the shape of the language and emotional style deployed by Clarke also helped to stipulate norms of affect whose cultural influence underpinned the political purpose.[4]

Secondly, the chapter explores the exposition of affect, as a direct response to Clarke's work, in the personal journals of members of Clarke's own constituency of the godly. This section considers the nature of personal and devotional writing, and the intersection between godly reading, diary keeping and biography, and argues that

---

[1] Roger Chartier, *Pratiques de la Lecture* (Paris, 1985). See Luc Racaut, 'Print Media', Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, pp. 251-254, p. 251.

[2] Studies and theories of reading practice seem inconclusive on the whole. In the context discussed here I mean, firstly, that religious practice involved both personal and social reading, and that, secondly, texts often became part of social discourse. For history of reading see Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 24-33.

[3] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 295.

[4] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, pp. 293-318.

Clarkeian literature can be observed to have conveyed an affective style that helped shape perceptions of individual identity within a context of communal affect.

I - Affect in Public

Clarke's work affected his readers. For example, his attack upon Quakers as heretics and schismatics, in *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners*, produced a hostile reaction. Clarke's accusation was supported by a dramatic example. His account (in the 1654 edition) of John Gilpin of Kendal presented the latter's attendance at a Quaker meeting in 1653 as a story of satanic possession, complete with physical manifestations that were described in sensational detail:

> Gilpin was by the devil within him drawn out of his chaire, and thrown upon the ground where he lay all night; all which time his body and members were all in motion, being turned from his back on his belly, and so back again several times, making crosses with his legs, and his hands moving on the ground as if he had been writing.[5]

According to Clarke, this episode was so disturbing that at one point Gilpin 'was forced to take up a knife...and to point it to his throat, and the voice said to him, *Open a hole there, and I will give thee eternal life*'.[6] Clearly, Clarke intended such a histrionic tale, identifying Quakers with every form of demonically inspired heresy, to produce a response of one kind or another, and this is exactly what he achieved.

Unsurprisingly, George Fox (1624-1691) published a rejoinder to this sensational story in 1667, making a personal attack on Clarke's credibility.[7] In *Something in Answer* (1667), enraged by what he perceived as slanders against them in Clarke's *Mirrour or Looking Glasse*, Fox took to print to speak on behalf of the Quaker community. The founder of the Friends accused Clarke sarcastically of historical inaccuracy, 'not having quoted any Author, as Historians use[d] to do'.[8]

---

[5] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1654), p. 233.

[6] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1654), p. 235.

[7] George Fox (1624-1691), *Something in Answer to Lodowick Muggleton's Book...And Something in Answer to Samuel Clarke, who calls himself a pastor in his book called A Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners* (London, 1667).

[8] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 35. For the veracity of the account Clarke cited the hearsay evidence of *'the Major of* Kendal, *the Minister, Schoolmaster, and some others.'* Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1654), p. 238.

Historical authenticity and mockery notwithstanding, it is the depth of feeling expressed in Fox's response that stands out. He referred to Samuel Clarke as one that 'blusheth not to call himself a Pastor'; Clarke obviously knew no shame.[9] Bitterly, Fox expressed the view that 'if we should go to reckon all the bad actions of all their people, we might make a very great Volumn'.[10] And he accused Clarke of 'scoffing at the Light, and the Cross of Christ'. Rubbing salt into wounds whilst simultaneously invoking scripture, Fox stated acerbically that what really troubled Clarke was the knowledge that, with the Great Ejection in 1662, 'the Ministers of England were proved to be false Prophets, and Priests of Baal' who were like 'greedy and dumb dogs that never have enough, seeking gain from their quarter'.[11] He rounded off his attack: 'your blessings are cursed, and your feed corrupt, and dung spread upon your faces in your solemn feasts'.[12] Fox's retort reads as an affective ad hominem against Clarke in which the rhetorical usage of scripture conveys the sharpest sense of anger and resentment.

Thus, we can witness the effect of Clarke's work on the emotions of at least one his readers. This was one sort of reaction, expressed by an enemy through the medium of print and on behalf on an entire religious community. Indeed, here is an example of how, as Nigel Smith suggests, George Fox 'functioned as a performing "text"...for the early Quakers'.[13] So this view, from the perspective of those he viewed as heretics and schismatics, serves to emphasise the performative role of Clarke's work in helping to confirm in-group and out-group identities. Fox was responding very publically in open discourse to what he regarded as Clarke's calumnies. Clarke's narrative produced a direct reaction articulated by single author, but within a context of communal affect.

However, to understand the dimensions of this appeal to collective affect, the broader public and polemical context surrounding Clarke's work needs to be examined more closely. Luc Racaut confirms that 'Early modern print media...appealed to the intended audience's emotions directly, from the satirical woodcuts of the Lutheran Reformation to the lengthy compilations of the ordeals of Protestant or Catholic

---

[9] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 35.

[10] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 35.

[11] Fox, *Something in Answer*, pp. 35-6.

[12] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 36.

[13] Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994), p. 142. NB. he compares John Lilburne to Fox in this regard.

martyrs that were often illustrated with horrific woodcuts.'[14] And, indeed, it has been argued in the forgoing chapters that Clarke's work should be seen in this context. In the diaspora of mid-seventeenth-century English Protestantism, animated exchanges in printed discourse sometimes turned into personal squabbles and feuds conducted in public as authors, representative of differing perspectives, sought to articulate opinion by shaping affect. For example, as well as taking issue with Clarke, George Fox also had *Something in Answer* to anti-Quaker sentiment emanating from two other quite disparate religious positions represented by Ludowick Muggleton (1609-98) and Thomas Fuller (1607/8-61). Muggleton's followers believed that he and John Reeve (1608-58) were the last prophets or 'two witnesses' described in Revelation 11, and they asserted that faith was a divine element, but that reason came from Satan.[15] Muggletonians and Quakers became engaged in an extended and rancorous war of words and insults. Muggleton's *The Quakers Neck Broken* (1663) had riled Fox and prompted his *Answer*.[16] Thomas Fuller, on the other hand, was a moderate churchman and author, most famous for his *Worthies of England* (1662).[17] Fuller's earlier *Church-History* (1655) included an attack upon Quakers.[18] As with Clarke, Fox also questioned Fuller's credentials as an historian: 'This doth not become Thomas to record Lyes.'[19] And he accused Fuller of 'envy and malice'.[20]

But Fuller's *Church-History* was also under fire from another diametrically opposite direction. In *Examen Historicum* (1659) Peter Heylyn, the staunch defender of ecclesiastical conformity, 'famously took up the cudgels against Thomas Fuller's *Church History*, accusing him of pro-puritan bias', as Anthony Milton tells us.[21] This dispute was played out in a public exchange between Fuller and Heylyn. Feelings were running high and Heylyn hated all that Fuller seemed to represent.

---

[14] Racaut, 'Print Media', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 253.

[15] See Hughes, *Primary Sources*, p. 159.

[16] Ludowick Muggleton, *The Neck of the Quakers Broken* (Amsterdam, 1663). NB. Amsterdam was falsely given as place of publication in attempt to foil press censorship.

[17] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662). See W. B. Patterson, 'Thomas Fuller (1607/8-61)', *ODNB*.

[18] Thomas Fuller, Dedication, *The Church-History of Britain* (London, 1655), Eighth Book.

[19] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 33.

[20] Fox, *Something in Answer*, p. 34.

[21] Peter Heylyn, *Examen Historicum* (London, 1659). Anthony Milton, 'Peter Heylyn (1599-1662)', *ODNB*.

Indeed, according to Alexandra Walsham, Heylyn's sustained attack presented a 'caricature of Calvinists as anarchic rebels and deluded enthusiasts who legitimised tyrannicide and engaged in fanatical behaviour'.[22] As we have seen, Heylyn's anthorism aligned Calvinists with sectarians and was deliberately calculated to offend and stereotype.

Here was a context in which political and religious differences were defined through discourse in the public domain. Indeed, Ann Hughes has shown how 'two opposed political communities, the Presbyterian and the sectarian, were...created in print.'[23] For example, between 1646 and 1647, Thomas Edwards published the three parts of his aggressively polemical *Gangraena.*[24] Edwards's style cast 'sectaries' as an out-group defined by a singular antipathetic mentality: 'They agree in their furious outrages and violences against all that oppose their way'.[25] Many and various tracts frequently presented sectarians as deviant, libertine and promiscuous. As Mark Knights makes clear, stereotypes 'were employed everywhere in early modernity' to prejudge, over-simplify and demonize.[26] In another example, Daniel Featley's illustrative frontispiece *The Description of the Severall Sorts of Anabaptists with their Manner of Rebaptizing,* included in *The Dippers Dipt*, displayed crude caricatures of fifteen radical sectarian 'heretics'.[27] By comparison, Clarke's *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (first published at the time of *Gangraena* in 1646)*,* might appear relatively conservative, safe, and even subtle in its focus upon the justice of divine intervention.[28]

Indeed, with the exception of Fox, to whom Clarke apparently made no direct response, Clarke's work seems to have avoided the ad hominem attacks typical of the examples above. There were of course other versions of Church history (like Fuller's), and Heylyn's posthumous *Aerius Redivivus* (1670) was an assault on the entire

---

[22] Walsham, *Charitable*, p. 89. See Peter Heylyn, *Certamen Epistolare, or, The Letter-Combate* (London, 1659) and *Historia Quinqu-Articularis* (London, 1660).
[23] Mario Caricchio, 'News from the New Jerusalem: Giles Calvert and the Radical Experience', in Ariel Hessayon, and David Finnegan (eds), *Varieties of Seventeenth-and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context* (Burlington, 2010), pp. 69-86, p. 77. Caricchio is commenting upon Hughes, *Gangraena.*
[24] Edwards*, Gangraena*. See Hughes, *Gangraena*.
[25] Edwards*, Gangraena*, p 37.
[26] Mark Knights, *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011), p. 8.
[27] Featley, *Dippers*.
[28] Clarke, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse* (1646).

Presbyterian position as inheritors of the true Church.[29] But even Heylyn made no specific reference to Clarke's work. So, there is a noteworthy absence of public discourse, including expressions of social affect, in relation to Clarke's work. The egregious example of George Fox's *Something in Answer* is the exception that seems to prove the rule. Why was this?

As Peter Lake points out, Clarke's collections of *Lives* were published and republished at moments in 1651-2, 1660-2, 1675, 1677 and 1683, marked by the exigencies of the political and polemical context.[30] Clarke's broad aim was to appropriate and establish a via media, 'not between Rome and Geneva but rather between popery and Arminianism, on the one hand, and Brownism and sectarian heterodoxy, on the other.'[31] As the political position moved against Presbyterianism, Clarke expanded and modified the scope of his appeal. For example, Clarke's collection of 1662 offered a more inclusive register of subjects, incorporating 'the respectable independency of John Cotton and the reduced episcopacy of James Ussher.'[32]

But, affect was as important to Clarke's purposes as subject. So, Clarke's collections consistently emphasised the essential moderation and respectability of the lives he eulogised. Here Clarke's intention was to compose 'a perfect meld of moderation and zeal'.[33] We have seen how, in the circumstances of 1661 (described in Chapter One), affect was a key aspect of the rhetorical power of such polemic to divide and typecast. But, as we have also observed in earlier chapters, Clarke's deployment of affective vocabulary, whilst representing what he regarded as the essential qualities of the Presbyterian ministry and puritan piety, also presented a balanced attenuation

---

[29] Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus*.

[30] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*. NB. The dates of Clarke's publications can be seen in the context of the political-religious events of the period: Presbyterian opposition to the Toleration Act 1651, the Restoration and Savoy Conference 1660-1, the Declaration of Indulgence 1672, its withdrawal and the Test Act 1673, the 'Popish Plot' (1678-81), the Exclusion Crisis (1679-81) and Bills for comprehension and toleration in 1680. See timeline of Clarke's work in appendix one. See fn. 76 in Chapter Three of this study.

[31] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 297.

[32] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 304. See Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (1662). John Cotton (1585-1622), grandfather of Cotton Mather (1663-1728). James Usher (1581-1656), famous for establishing the date of Creation (22 October, 4004BC).

[33] Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 297.

of qualities such as, for example, religious zeal. Clarke's indexes highlighted the 'painfulness, diligence and industry' of his subjects, as well as their 'humility', 'patience', 'charity' and 'prudence'.[34] Clarke's work (as we have seen) sought to represent paradigms of affect in which emotions like anger and sorrow were conceptualised in terms of rational affections, qualified as 'holy anger' and 'godly sorrow'. Mourning for loved ones was to be moderate and where the narrative highlighted intense emotions like 'unspeakable joy' these were reserved for the moment of the realisation and actualisation of salvation. Clarkeian affect did not lend itself as a trigger for emotive polemic within the compass of mainstream religious opinion. Quakers were so far outside the pale that Fox's attack was more likely to serve Clarke's purpose and legitimise his position.

II - Affect in Private

Somewhat counterintuitively, affect expressed in ostensibly private pious practice is more revealing of the social nature of Clarkeian affect. It is, of course, difficult for the historian to recover, as cause and effect, the emotional reaction of a specific reader to a particular author. Nevertheless, this section offers some glimpses of the emotions attached to the reading of Clarke's texts, usually as part of a broader culture of devout reading, but sometimes with specific reference to his work. We have seen George Fox's reaction to what he regarded as a poisonous calumny contained in one of Clarke's publications. But amongst Clarke's own community of the godly, the pious practices of reading and writing allow us to view how affect emerges in their interaction. In particular, the Presbyterian minister of King's Norton, Worcestershire, Thomas Hall, provides an example of how an individual's reading, and his reading of Clarke in particular, was connected emotionally to his own efforts at writing. In this example the genres of biography, autobiography and spiritual diary can be seen to coalesce, and Clarke's work may be observed as instrumental in shaping Hall's performance of self. The performativity of Clarke's narratives can be perceived in the emotional response of an individual.

Within Clarke's own constituency the response to his work was mediated through the necessarily affecting process of reading for edification and writing a

---

[34] See Chapter Three.

spiritual log. In his journal entry for 23 May 1650, Ralph Josselin connects us with these two fundamentals of devout practice. He wrote, 'I went to him [God] in his word for something to live on this day and I lay at catch waiting what he would touch my heart with, and in reading thes[e] texts spoke to mee.'[35] Reading would give him 'something to live on' and in his subsequent write-up he can be observed reflecting on what touched his heart. For Josselin, reading and writing were synergetic emotional practices. The ways puritans wrote about their daily feelings and the events that shaped the bio-narrative that they told themselves were influenced by the cultural circumstances in which they lived, and this included the important aspect of what they read. Of course, puritan spiritual logs were a type of self-writing whose form was prescribed by pious practice.[36] But, far from being able to 'hide a variety of personal narratives - of suffering, of sexual or social need, even of madness - within its formulaic and didactic outlines', I will argue here, and in the following chapter, that such accounts provide an important source for the historian of affect.[37] This is because, as Sara Ahmed explains, emotions help to define the individual and the social: an observation that seems to apply particularly to those who maintained and expressed themselves in devotional journals.[38]

Indeed, the writers of spiritual logs, like Josselin, and of course Nehemiah Wallington, necessarily wrote about their feelings. As Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales explain, they shared 'both a preoccupation with the need for constant self-examination and vigilance against sin and temptation, and a deep sense of personal unworthiness.'[39] In many respects diary keeping was a response in Reformed Protestant culture to the abolition of the sacrament of confession; as such it was effective as a release for feelings of guilt and anxiety. Although the traits of mental strife, anguish and introspection observed in the diaries of Josselin and Wallington were not unique to puritans, Durston and Eales assert that there is 'sufficient

---

[35] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 202.
[36] NB. Kathleen Lynch discusses how the 'status of autobiography in the early modern period' is highly contested, and how neologisms such as life writing and ego-documents have been used to describe 'first-person texts.' By focusing upon reader reception, she argues that the term 'autobiography' best fits her analysis of the rhetoric of the 'truthful' self. Lynch, *Protestant* Autobiography, pp. 12-21, pp. 12-13.
[37] Henk Dragstra, Sheila Ottway, and Helen Wilcox (eds), *Betraying Ourselves: Forms of Self-representation in Early Modern English Texts* (New York, 2000), p. 4.
[38] Ahmed, *The Cultural* Politics, pp. 9-10.
[39] Durston and Eales, *Culture*, p. 12.

correlation between puritanism and these mental traits for us to regard them as an important mental seam running through most of the movement's spiritual and cultural manifestations.'[40]

But, as Josselin's comment reveals, they conveyed other expressions and feelings as well, sometimes in response to what they read. Indeed, as Andrew Cambers argues, 'reading was vital to the practice of puritanism' in terms of the way it 'intersected with, and was intimately related to, other crucial components of godly religiosity'.[41] Although pious reading was not a practice exclusive to puritans, in their 'word-centred piety' forms of reading and writing were inseparable from other forms of religious practice.[42] Attempts to define puritanism have highlighted the practice of social reading, but Josselin's intimate account of reading the Bible privately, seeking an emotionally fulfilling experience that would touch his heart, and then writing about it in his personal journal, seems equally to capture the character of godly practice.[43] Indeed, both reading and writing were twin facets of godly life that performed as conduits for emotion; there was an emotional link between reading words that edified the spirit and writing in a spiritual diary.

There is also a correlation between spiritual diaries and the models provided by Clarke's staple of biography that informs an understanding of puritan affective culture, and which this section aims to explore. I have argued that Clarke's texts reflected and represented the feeling or affect of a community; they were written by an author, but they were shaped by a cultural habituation of ways of thinking and feeling about a version of the past. Furthermore, they were intended to be performative, affecting cognition and feeling in the present. I am arguing that we can see this effect in the examples discussed below.

This section is divided under two subheadings. The first part discusses the importance of the connection between spiritual diaries and the Clarkeian genre of biography in order to provide a context for the second part which considers the

---

[40] Durston and Eales, *Culture*, p. 13.
[41] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 7-8.
[42] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 7.
[43] See Peter Lake 'Defining Puritanism - Again?', in Francis J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993), pp. 3-29. NB. Cambers discusses interpretations of the role of social reading in puritan culture, stating that 'The point is that the godly self-consciously adopted a mode of social reading as part of their practice of puritanism.' Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 7, fn. 12.

formative and performative role of Clarke's writing in shaping affect in the lives of particular readers. In part two the examples of John Rastrick and Ralph Thoresby, and, particularly Thomas Hall reveal how Clarke's work helped to shape the emotional construction of self.

a) Biography and Self-Writing

For the believer, the journey towards sanctification required the complete reconstruction of the self. As David Booy explains, 'Sermons and treatises drummed home these ideas, and the godly understood that, if they were to be saved, they had to cast off their carnal, unregenerate self and seek a new self in Christ.'[44] The writing of a spiritual diary performed as a space in which the self was observed, refashioned and recorded. In the context of a form of piety that prescribed the pattern of a believer's inner life, the maintenance of a spiritual journal or log was both a religious duty and necessity. It arose out of the obligation of spiritual introspection. John Beadle's *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian* (1656), originally preached as a sermon in 1644, also advocated the keeping of a journal as a means to document political events in treacherous times.[45] It was required he said, 'In times of commotion, when the bands of love are broken into severall parties and factions, as they have been lately amongst us'.[46] But, in spiritual terms, he saw journal keeping as a means to interrogate the heart. 'Ask your own hearts often what good you your selves get by all that God hath done for you,' he wrote.[47] And emphasising the emotionality of the thoughts that should be set down, he continued,

> Deep afflictions should raise up strong affections...Afflictions meeting with a gracious temper, will melt the heart, and make it tender and humble...Never doth a poor prostrate soul, brought down to extremity, seek Gods face with prayers and tears in vain, but meets with a gracious answer.[48]

Furthermore, he wrote, 'God himself seems to keep a Journall by him of all the care he hath of us, the cost he bestows upon us, and the good things he gives to us. He hath

---

[44] David Booy (ed.), *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654, A Selection* (Aldershot; Burlington, 2007), 'Introduction', p. 15.
[45] John Beadle, *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian* (London, 1656). See Mascuch, *Individualist Self*, pp. 113-4.
[46] Beadle, *Journal*, p. 25.
[47] Beadle, *Journal*, p. 137.
[48] Beadle, *Journal*, p. 143.

a book of remembrance of every passage of providence that concerns us.'[49] Beadle's long argument for maintaining a journal manifested a universalist conception of existence under the aegis of divine providence in which all things were written: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.'[50]

In Clarke's narratives of godly lives and martyrs the pilgrim could find models for this new self, worthy of emulation. As Allan Pritchard points out, the purpose of such biography was 'not so much to explore individuality as to provide models of life and character for instruction and imitation.'[51] Clarke's contemporaries understood the purpose and importance of supplying worthy models. Richard Baxter wrote, in his introduction to an extensive biography of Joseph Alleine (1634-1668), 'it is not a small benefit of this kind of History, that the Weak and Lame Christians may see such excellent Examples for their imitation'.[52] Furthermore, such models were particularly important for the young. As Baxter explained, 'it is a notable benefit of this kind of History, that it is fitted to Insinuate the Reverence and Love of Piety into *young unexperienced Persons*'.[53] And Baxter identified the potency of Clarke's work in particular noting that 'such men as...Mr. *Samuel Clark,* &c. that have served the Church with this sort of History, have done no small or useless Service'.[54]

Narratives of martyrdom and persecution demonstrated an emotional template for suffering, whilst Clarke's collections of lives offered a focus upon another paradigm of the emotions attached to a godly struggle for faith and assurance of election.[55] Pritchard tells us that the most characteristic feature that defined the 'difference between Puritan and Anglican biographies is the greater prominence given in the Puritan lives to inner religious experience and conversion'.[56] Gaining access to this inner life could set up a problem for the biographer. However, to an extent this was obviated in puritan biography by the prescribed formula of a narrative that represented a journey from horrified self-awareness of sin and corruption, through an

---

[49] Beadle, *Journal*, p. 166.
[50] Beadle, *Journal*, p. 76. John 1:1.
[51] Pritchard, *English Biography*, p. 40.
[52] Richard Baxter, 'Introduction', in Theodosia Alleine, *The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine* (London, 1672), p. 15. NB. this account was abridged later by Clarke and included in *Lives of Sundry* (1683).
[53] Baxter, 'Introduction', in Alleine, *Joseph Alleine*, p. 15.
[54] Baxter, 'Introduction', in Alleine, *Joseph Alleine*, p. 15.
[55] Pritchard, *English Biography*, p. 40.
[56] Pritchard, *English Biography*, p 39.

emotionally charged longing for redemption, spiritual progress and setbacks, to the realisation at last of sanctification as one of God's elect. Finally, assurance would be achieved through the work of grace, and the believer would find ways to manage and sustain themselves spiritually.[57] This was the template of Clarke's biographical narratives, as indeed it was the model for the spiritual diary.

Allan Pritchard notes that puritan biography suffered from a number of disadvantages which included the fragmented nature of puritanism and the application of censorship before 1640, and for much of the period after 1660.[58] However, these serve only to emphasise the role and significance of Clarke's collections. Given the success and importance of autobiographical accounts by John Bunyan and George Fox, Pritchard is probably right to suggest that 'the great Puritan forms of life-writing were the autobiography and the diary, rather than biography.'[59] But these examples sprang from independent and radical puritan communities. Even Richard Baxter, whose *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* is no doubt an impressive example of the genre, would not necessarily have been regarded as orthodoxly Presbyterian by all, and his account did not appear until 1696.[60] Godly biographies like Clarke's, gathered and published between the 1650s and 1680s, supplied the best available model for aspirant Presbyterian saints like those discussed below.[61] In Clarke's work readers would find narratives that provided emotional templates for how to live the godly life, made all the more instructive because of the affect these tales were capable of eliciting.

b) Affected Readers

It is possible to observe the affective performativity Clarke's work in some specific instances. For example, the practices of religious piety that shaped the life of John Rastrick (1650-1727) were influenced by Clarke's works from an impressionable

---

[57] See Booy, *Wallington*, p. 14.

[58] Pritchard, *English Biography*, p. 39.

[59] Pritchard, *English Biography*, p. 39. See John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding* (1666) and George Fox (1624-1691), *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings and Christian Experiences &c. of George Fox* (1694). Also see Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*.

[60] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*.

[61] NB. see discussion of the place of Clarke's work in Protestant hagiography of the period in Chapter Two of this study, pp. 80-84.

age.[62] As a student at Cambridge between 1667 and 1674 Rastrick clearly felt alienated from his fellows, recording in his journal that 'their Society was Generally worse than none'.[63] It was here that he came across a copy of Clarke's *Lives* that his roommate had borrowed from the library at Trinity College. Reading it thus for the first time, he was inspired to purchase his own copy.[64] The youthful Rastrick seems to have identified himself more closely with the saints described in Clarke's texts than with the young men among whom he lived and studied. He wrote, 'Clark's Martyrology and Lives exceedingly pleased and delighted me...The examples there mightily excited, and encouraged me, for here I met with persons in my own condition, and with the onely suitable company the University did afford me.'[65] In the same passage Rastrick also records, 'I got some of Mr Baxter's works which very much affected me.'[66] It is clear that Rastrick's godly reading helped to shape his identity and his social interactions. As a result of his godly reading habits, Rastrick recalled how he was derided by his fellows. He wrote that 'I was ever the object to their scorn and derision: If I did but read a Greek chapter at Prayer time, or repeat my Sermon notes...my tone was enough for them to laugh at and jeer me for afterwards.'[67] Thus, social emotions like scorn and resentment characterised Rastrick's interactions with others. At the same time in a letter to his father he reports that 'I have been very Melancholly ever since I came hitherto'.[68] Rastrick's diary reveals how the norms of student life at Cambridge made him depressed, but the pious practice of godly reading encouraged him. The virtuous, clichéd, third-hand models of Clarke's reconstructed lives were Rastrick's only friends and were instrumental as part of the cultural context in which Rastrick's character and emotional identity was forged. [69]

---

[62] See J. A. Oddy, 'John Rastrick (1650-1727)', *ODNB*. Oddy describes him as 'moderate and eirenic, a figure in the Baxterian tradition'.

[63] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 154-5. Andrew Cambers (ed.), *The Life of John Rastrick, 1650-1727*, Camden 5th series, vol. 36 (Cambridge; New York, 2010), p. 58.

[64] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 154. Cambers, *John Rastrick,* p. 51.

[65] Cambers, *John Rastrick*, p. 51.

[66] Cambers, *John Rastrick,* p. 51. At this time Baxter had already published several influential volumes of spiritual guidance including *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650) and *A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live* (1658).

[67] Cambers, *John Rastrick*, p. 58.

[68] Cambers, *John Rastrick*, p. 58.

[69] Later in life, Rastrick's enthusiastic sessions of household reading with two female servants prompted 'Envy and Jealousy' in his wife. Shockingly, Jane Rastrick (nee Wilson) went into a spiritual and physical decline that resulted in her early death in 1684. John Rastrick believed the communal reading to have been the cause of her

The characterisation of affect in Clarke's work also performed its work in the life of Presbyterian Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725). We might expect the household of the Leeds antiquarian to have been well resourced in terms of religious literature. This was a household in which textual accounts were quite literally performative; in Thoresby's pious household in Leeds in the 1680s, printed sermons were collectively read aloud.[70] Yet, David Wykes says that Ralph Thoresby did not have his own copy of Foxe, but drew instead upon Clarke's accounts of martyrology. Wykes explains that it 'is clear...that it was Clarke's *General Martyrology* and not Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* which shaped Thoresby's understanding of Catholic persecution.'[71] Furthermore, Thoresby's study of Protestant martyrs in the early months of 1680 coincided with the process of grieving for his father and his increasing anxiety at the threat of popery. It is possible to suggest that this was more than coincidence and that for Thoresby, attempting to manage his grief, Clarke's martyrs suggested parallels and paradigms of feeling that were of comfort. In this emotional state he sought to 'imprint good examples of faithful servants so fully in my mind that I may imitate them in my life...that if thou callest for it I may cheerfully suffer for thy name and truths sake.'[72] This was exactly Clarke's purpose. Thoresby's fear of the threat of Catholicism was rooted in Clarke's affective tales of Protestant martyrs. It encompassed the connection between joy and suffering presented in the genre of martyrology. Thoresby was one who accepted the prescription of piously cheerful suffering, narrated and endorsed by Clarke, as an aspirational condition.

Michael Mascuch tells us that 'Though few nonconformists actually stepped forward to write their own lives as Clarke did, several were motivated to create small archives of personal historical materials out of which others might fashion a biography

---

demise because he 'directed my Self and my Speech to them more than to her [,] looking upon them to be more Capable to understand and reply than my wife was.' Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 101. Rastrick was also the focus of raw anger. At King's Lynn in Norfolk, a party in his congregation furiously objected to his form of discipline and locked him out of the chapel. Cambers, *John Rastrick*, p. 188. Oddy, 'Rastrick', *ODNB*.

[70] Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 48. Cambers cites York Minster Archives, Add. MS 214 (Diary of Henry Stubbs, 1678).

[71] Wykes, 'Dissenters', in McElligott, *Fear,* p. 182, fn. 36.

[72] Wykes, 'Dissenters', in McElligott, *Fear,* p. 182. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, MS 21 (Thoresby's diary), p. 109 (3/4 March 1679/80).

worthy of print.'[73] Thomas Hall, the rigidly Presbyterian minister and schoolmaster of King's Norton, Worcestershire, provides an example of one for whom the Clarkeian narrative was influential in shaping a self-identity that encompassed the emotional dimension.[74]

Hall's extensive collection of over 1400 books included the core body of Clarke's output as integral to his catalogue of puritan religious works.[75] According to Denise Thomas, Clarke was a fellow member of Hall's Warwickshire circle; they were friends and colleagues.[76] When Hall embarked on his own publishing career in 1651, Clarke's work provided inspiration and sources of reference. Indeed, Hall cited Clarke's work on many occasions. Clarke's *Mirrour* (so hated by Fox) seems to have been a particular favourite of Hall's, to judge from the frequency with which he referred to it in, for example, his commentary upon St Paul's Epistle to Timothy.[77] *Golden Apples*, Clarke's discourse against toleration, was also often cited by Hall, and his own copy was a personal gift from Clarke. Hall revealed both his pride and delight in the gift, and his fulsome admiration of Clarke, by inscribing on the flyleaf in Latin the comment, 'Ex donor doctissimi delectis - simque Authoris.'[78] Hall loved Clarke's work.

Between 1657 and 1664, Hall composed a manuscript self-biography written in the third person, after the style of Clarke's godly lives.[79] As such, Hall's account of

---

[73] Mascuch, *Individualist Self*, p. 112. NB. Clarke's autobiography, though substantially written in 1660, was not published until 1683, after his death.

[74] C. D. Gilbert, 'Thomas Hall (1610-1665)', *ODNB*. NB. This is not Thomas Hall, the vicar of Warwick.

[75] Denise Thomas, 'Religious Polemic, Print Culture and Pastoral Ministry: Thomas Hall B.D. (1610-1665) and the Promotion of Presbyterian Orthodoxy in the English Revolution (Doctoral Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011). Hall owned copies of Clarke's *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, *Caution Against Sacriledge*, *England's Remembrancer*, *Golden Apples*, *Medulla Theologiae*, *A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse*, and the martyrologies. See Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, vol. II, p. 449.

[76] Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, p. 20, p. 367.

[77] Thomas Hall, *A Practical and Polemical Commentary, Or, Exposition Upon the Third and Fourth Chapters of the Latter Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy* (London, 1658). Hall cites Clarke's *Mirrour* on pp. 75, 78, 101, 107, 140, 168, 226, 241, and 321.

[78] Hall's copy of Clarke, *Golden Apples* (1659) in The Library of Birmingham; Thomas Hall Library, A094/1659/10. A loose translation of the Latin inscription might read, 'A gift from the expert authority - the definitive author'.

[79] Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, p. 360. The manuscript, 'A Briefe Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Thomas Hall Late Pastor of Kings-Norton', is in Dr Williams's Library, Baxter papers, MS 61.1. Denise Thomas's thesis includes a transcript in appendix III.

himself does not conform to a specific genre of spiritual journal, biography or autobiography, but combines elements of all three. This is an example of a narrative form with an 'unfixed referentiality of terms', as Kathleen Lynch explains it: the 'Spiritual Autobiography, Confession, Testimony, Confession Narrative' are among the semantically unstable terms that have been deployed to describe these devotional first-person writings.[80] It was never published, but as an exercise of personal introspection Hall's self-biography is interesting. It is possible to view Hall's own account as an attempt to emulate the godly life format provided by Clarke. In this respect it might be described as a performance of self. This narrative was prefaced somewhat self-consciously, or pretentiously, with the words of Luther's self-composed, anti-Roman epitaph, 'Pestis eram vivens, moriens tua mors ero Papa'. Clarke had quoted this in his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (first published in 1650), a work in Hall's possession.[81] Perhaps, as Denise Thomas suggests, Hall hoped to be included after his death in later editions of Clarke's anthologies, though his rigid Presbyterianism made this unlikely given Clarke's ulterior political agenda, to gain legitimacy by drawing from a broader puritan tradition.[82] Hall's biographical version of himself presented a construction of self to fit the criteria of the Clarkeian model. Denise Thomas explains that

> the image he projected of himself was not simply a portrait that he created for the occasion, but the outward manifestation of his sanctified self, which had for many years been forged in accordance with the same ideal ministerial image that was promoted throughout godly culture and experience.[83]

Hall's manuscript self-biography - the fact of its existence - is telling evidence of the power of cultural habituation and the influence of the genre promoted by Clarke.

These influences shaped how Hall thought about, and wrote about, feeling. Thomas Hall's description of the qualities of a godly minister highlighted what might be described in modern terms as a form of emotional intelligence suited to a particular

---

NB. Autobiography is a disputed term to apply to self-writings of this period driven as in the case of Protestant conversion narratives by uniformity to an established genre.

[80] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 19.

[81] Clarke translates it as 'I living, stopt Rome's breath: And dead, will be Romes death.' Clarke, *Marrow*, p. 246.

[82] Thomas, 'Hall', pp. 354-372, p. 367. See earlier discussion and Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*.

[83] Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, p. 366.

social and cultural environment. In his published account of the scriptural prophesy of Amos, Hall explained that, 'Every minister...must harden his face like a flint, and have browes of brass to oppose the wicked; yet must he withal be a Load-stone, by his amiable, tender, and compassionate carriage to win them to Christ'.[84] The affective dimension of this identity was constructed as a binary of 'browes of brass to oppose the wicked' and 'tender and compassionate carriage' to win souls for Christ. And for Hall such emotional qualities were part of the self-conscious act of self-creation. He explained this conception of the religious self as an act of labour that required both physical and emotional effort. He wrote,

> It is easie to say I can build a house, it is but laying the foundations, rearing the wals, and covering it with a roof, and the house is made: but he that will build indeed, shall find much hewing, squaring, cost and labour...And if it be such easie work to be saved, why are we commanded to Ask, seek, knock, strive, wrestle, run and workout our salvation with fear and trembling, denying our selves, and taking up our crosse daily.[85]

Hall is describing a deliberate self-fashioning in imitation of Christ and of godly models like those in Clarke's accounts; his own biography was intended to represent this model of himself to the world. It was also the story he told himself about himself, of spiritual and emotional self-creation. Such 'quasi-autobiographical' self-writings no doubt had their limitations, but for people like Hall the religious self was the only recognisable form of self-identity, and it was formed in the context of the models offered by religious practice and belief, as Margo Todd's work on the diary of Samuel Ward confirms.[86] When Hall wrote in his manuscript that 'We find it true by Experience that men are more easily led by [precedents] th[a]n by Precepts, by Examples th[a]n by Rule', he was explaining how example is more effective than

---

[84] Thomas Hall (1610-1665), *An Exposition By Way of Supplement, on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Chapters of the Prophecy of Amos* (London, 1661), p. 371.

[85] Thomas Hall, *The Beauty of Holiness or a Description of the Excellency, Amiableness, Comfort and Content Which is to be Found in Wayes of Purity and Holinesse* (London, 1653), p. 149.

[86] See Margo Todd, 'Puritan Self-fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 3 (1992). See Mascuch, *Individualist*, p.117, where he discusses the 'quasi-autobiographical' character of puritan self-writing.

instruction because of its ability to move or affect people.[87] The preface to Clarke's *Marrow* included the same sentiment written by Edmund Calamy: 'The nature of man is more apt to be guided by Examples then by Precepts.'[88] Thomas Hall's effort to shape the temporal and spiritual events of his own life to the template of godly lives speaks to their power to motivate and fashion concepts of self that stressed an emotional identity. In the example of Thomas Hall, Clarke's narratives were instrumental in shaping affect as an attribute of his religious identity.

Indeed, as part of his personal reading practice Hall performed the binary emotional disposition of 'browes of brass' and 'compassionate carriage' that he wrote about. The texts in his possession included several representing sectarian positions, of which he clearly disapproved.[89] His purpose in owning and reading these was to allow him to be better able to refute them. For example, Hall would often mark passages with a large 'X' to express anger and disapproval, or agreement with another author's rebuttal of something unacceptable. In these marginalia we can see traces of the direct interactive experience of reading. Although as Joad Raymond says, 'Marginalia are not always a transparent medium for detecting the reader's first impression', in Hall's case they seem indicative of an affective model of reading.[90] For example, John Goodwin's *Twelve Considerable Serious Cautions* (1646) published by Clarke's brother-in-law, Henry Overton, came in for this kind of attention. Hall despised Goodwin as a schismatic and Independent.[91] In Hall's copy, Overton's name is underlined and marked with an angry 'X'. (See image below). The same title page shows where Hall has underscored Goodwin's name and linked it with angry irony to the author's own injunction to 'beware of false Prophets'. On the pages that follow, more indignant crosses mark Hall's censure, and in marginal notes Goodwin is abused as 'beast', 'sop' and 'raylor'. At the end Hall has written 'Let lying lips be put to silence

---

[87] Hall, 'A Briefe Narrative of the Life', fol. 1, quoted in Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, pp. 364-5.

[88] Clarke, *Marrow*, 'To the Christian Reader', sig. A4r (1654 edn).

[89] Denise Thomas, 'Collecting and Reading for Godly Reformation in Mid-Seventeenth Century Worcestershire: Thomas Hall of Kings Norton and His Books', *Midland History*, 40: 1 (2015), pp. 24–52, p. 46.

[90] Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in Kevin Sharpe, and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 185-121, p. 190.

[91] See discussion of Clarke, Overton and Goodwin in Chapter Two of this study, pp. 76-77.

in the grave.'[92] Hall's reading habits were marked by an animated emotional engagement.[93]

Photographic Image: Hall's Annotations
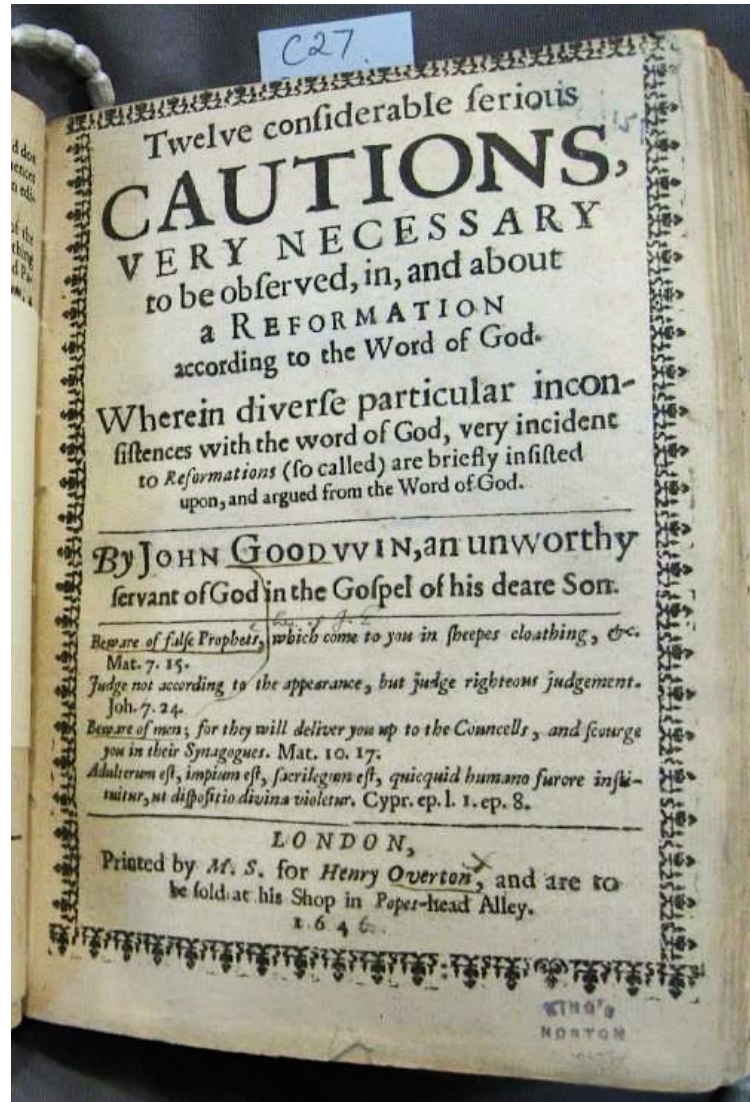
John Goodwin, *Twelve Considerable Serious Cautions* (1646), THL 094/C27.
(Photograph by permission of Dr Denise Thomas and The Library of Birmingham).

---

[92] Thomas, 'Collecting and Reading', pp. 46-9. John Goodwin, *Twelve Considerable Serious Cautions* (London, 1646) in The Library of Birmingham, Thomas Hall Library, 094/C27. Hall made similar annotations to Goodwin's *Theomachia* (1644), also published by Overton, underlining the location of Overton's shop in Pope's-Head Alley. See Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 241.

[93] Denise Thomas raises the question of how far Hall's decision to leave his collection of books to public libraries may also indicate that his marking of texts was intended to guide future readers, or to shape his pious image for posterity. Nevertheless, comments and marks like these do seem to have an immediate and personal quality to them. Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, p. 51.

For Thomas Hall it may be that, as Raymond says, 'Reading provoked writing'.[94] Certainly the two activities were closely related: the one informed the other. There are generic similarities between the formulaic style of Clarke's *Lives* and Hall's self-biographical effort, although the latter would have benefitted from the attention of a competent editor like Clarke. But Hall's manuscript self-biography also permits us to witness a specific moment where Hall extracted and emulated an emotional model from his reading of Clarke's *Lives*. He had clearly taken note of Clarke's description of the spiritual struggles of St Augustine, whose life provided the prototype for the Protestant conversion narrative. In the *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* Clarke explained how, after his conversion, the saint

> was grievously vexed with inward conflicts against his corrupt affections, complaining of his inward, hereditary, habitual, inveterate vices; and after long struling with them by purposes, vows, strong resolutions, watching, fasting, self-revenge, and other good means, finding still his own weakness, and the encreasing violence of his corruptions.[95]

In his manuscript, Hall cited Clarke's account of St Augustine as the model of his own suffering and struggle. Hall explained how,

> Against these Satanicall buffetings he prayed much, and hath fasted and Prayed three dayes together against th[em], yet could never totally be rid of th[em]. He observed y[et] much of his distemp[er] came fr[om] want of sound and quiet sleepe, he seldom slept well, he had scarce twenty good quiet nights rest in 20 yeeres so y[et] t'was a miracle he was not utterly overwhelmed.[96]

In the margin Hall has written '*T'was S. Austins case. See Mr Clerks Lives the first Part p.160 2 Edit.*' A few pages later he records that 'God who delights to bring light out of darkness and strength out of weaknes turned there [temptations] to the good of his servant'.[97] Reading Clarke's account of Augustine's personal spiritual battle with his 'corrupt affections' affected the way Hall experienced and expressed his own internal tussles. Hall seems to be consciously inhabiting and feeling the role as scripted by Clarke's cultural narrative. And his personal account of being nearly 'utterly

---

[94] Raymond, 'Reading the News', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Reading*, p. 194.
[95] Clarke*, '*The Life of Augustine', *Marrow*, pp. 160-1.
[96] Thomas Hall, 'A Briefe Narrative of the Life', p. 27. See transcript in Thomas, 'Hall', Thesis, appendix III, p. 684 (27).
[97] Thomas Hall, 'A Briefe Narrative of the Life', p. 31.

overwhelmed' and desperate for sleep is made all the more moving by his decision to write it in the third person, as an observer looking in at his own life. Pathos verging on self-pity characterised Hall's account of himself, as he imagined himself as one of the saints depicted in Clarke's godly lives.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Dan Sperber's conception of culture has been explained by Steven Pinker as the '*epidemiology* of mental representations: the spread of ideas and practices from person to person'.[98] The analogy of contagion seems to apply to the culture of affect described here. The examples described above speak to the influence of one writer upon the feelings of an individual and, given a willing, or vulnerable, or indeed defensive, subject and an appropriate environment, affect could be transferred or conveyed through the medium of print. It is possible to see how Clarke's emotive narrative influenced the way in which Thomas Hall expressed his concept of self and how the Clarkeian story helped to shape Hall's self-aware representation of his own emotional disposition. It is also possible to observe the effect of Clarke's writing upon those, like George Fox, who saw things quite differently. Either way the narrative was emotive.

But Samuel Clarke and the likes of Thomas Hall were part of much a larger picture. Clarke's narratives belonged to a cultural tradition that was itself shaped by many influences. In a similar way Thomas Hall's outlook was the product of multiple complex agencies. Furthermore, the context in which Hall wrote his account and Clarke produced his collections was one in which the Presbyterianism to which they both adhered was being challenged from various directions by other English Protestants. These challenges represented different political and religious positions and produced powerfully emotional responses, as during the period of the Savoy Conference in 1661, and in the example of George Fox's response to Clarke's attack on Quaker 'heresy'. So, although we can point to specific examples of where the affect contained in Clarke's works performed in the life of an individual, it is important not

---

[98] Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London, 2002), p. 65. He cites Dan Sperber, 'The Modularity of Thought and the Epidemiology of Representations', in Lawrence A. Hirschfeld and Susan A. Gelman (eds), *Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 39-67.

to lose sight of the bigger stage upon which emotional community played its role. Clarke, Hall, Josselin, Rastrick and Thoresby were separated generationally, but they belonged to the same emotional community where affect was shaped and swayed by the same cultural prompts. Clarke's narratives were created within that culture, and they performed as part of the same culture.

The emotions expressed by individuals in puritan spiritual logs have been touched upon in this chapter. As this analysis develops in the next chapter it will shed further light upon the relationship between the individual and the emotional community.

Chapter Eight: Emotional Community and Individuality

On 29 May 1642, the London artisan Nehemiah Wallington recorded that,

> being the Lords day betwixt three and foure a clock in the morning I did he[ar]
> [someone] cry Mackerell in the streete and it did so grive and trouble my heart
> to heare the Lords day brock in such an open manner that I was glade to get up
> into my study out of the hearing of the breach of this royall law of God[;] this
> brought comfort to my poore soule with teeres in mine eyes that my God should
> so worke on mee that I should like his sarvant Lot whose righteous soule was
> agrived with the uncleane conversation of the wicked.[1]

Apparently, the cry of a vendor on the street early in the morning of the Sabbath was
enough to upset Wallington. The shout of 'mackerel' seems to have been an emotional
stressor which prompted flight to a private safe space and manifested in the form of
tears.

For Wallington, his tears were a physical manifestation of his godliness: an
expression of sorrowful joy - the convergence 'betwixt joy and sorrow'. Yet
Wallington's tears seem still more ambiguous and the character of this emotional
response warrants further investigation. To what extent does this reaction represent a
cultural habituation? How does this individual's response inform the idea of emotional
community? Wallington is saddened, but at the same time he is pleased with himself
for experiencing appropriate feeling at the disrespect shown by others for the Sabbath.
It is this equivocality that establishes the theme of this chapter which explores the
relationship between the cultural prescription for godly feeling, as developed and
modelled in Clarke's narratives, and the emotion experienced by individuals: the
extent to which an affective culture can be observed in the experience of people as
they recorded it.

Wallington's tears seem to express the feeling experienced by an individual
self-consciously in accordance with the norms and prescriptions of an emotional
community. But Wallington's apparent relief at finding within himself a fitting
response to Sabbath breaking is also suggestive of an internal struggle. Like the other
people discussed in this chapter, Katherine Clarke and Ralph Josselin, Wallington did

---

[1] Nehemiah Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', BL Add. MS 40883, fol. 31v,
transcribed in Booy, *Wallington,* p. 165.

not always find it easy to match his actual feelings to his sense of what he ought to have been experiencing. Although able to rationalise this emotional gap in terms of the process of spiritual development, in their personal journals each revealed individualities of temperament, and at times the emotional community to which they belonged may be observed as a discomforting emotional regime.

This final chapter aims to consider these questions of the relationship between the individual and the emotional community, which may also be expressed as the relationship between social affect and personal feeling.[2] It may be helpful, at this stage, to be reminded of how Barbara Rosenwein understands the concept of emotional community:

> Emotional communities are groups – usually but not always social groups – that have their own particular values, modes of feeling and ways to express those feelings...they...share important norms concerning the emotions that they value and deplore, and the modes of expressing them.[3]

But how do we navigate these abstractions and locate the reality and existence of such identities? Counterintuitively, the answer lies in not always seeking the broad cohesions of the group, but in the lives, personalities and relationships of individuals. Conflict between individuals may occur within the tightest of communities, however defined, because shared political or doctrinal principles, or social status and moral values, do not guarantee a state of harmony between individuals or diverse personality types. As Peter Marshall reminds us, '"Community" ...was not a state of cosy togetherness. Hell has always been other people.'[4] But where norms or models of feelings and their expression exist so do *emotional* communities, and perhaps their existence can be inferred, if not from an absence of intramural dissonance, at least from evidence of the internalisation of emotional stresses in individuals arising from the effort to conform.

So far, I have argued that Clarke's work used the performative power of text to model godly feelings and to trigger appropriate affective response, shaping the modes of feeling to which Rosenwein refers. At the same time, however, there is also the suggestion that an emotional regime was at work in the presentation of a conception

---

[2] See earlier discussion of individuality in Introduction pp. 30-32.
[3] Rosenwein, *Generations*, p. 3.
[4] Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, 2017), p. 11.

of legitimate or appropriate godly emotional deportments. To an extent these arguments stand on their own. We can see what writers like Clarke were trying to do and how they understood godly feeling, its place in their community of saints and its significance to the vital question of the assurance of salvation among the elect. However, this is one unbound variable of a binary simultaneous equation. The previous chapter has started to address the balance of this calculation by showing how Clarke's texts were able to impact upon the emotional identities of individuals in personal and social contexts. This chapter expands the scope of this theme to explore the emotional propensities, responses and feelings of individuals who counted themselves part of the same religious community. This analysis helps to demonstrate the commonalities of feeling that may be described as an emotional community, but also how different personalities could experience such cultural norms as the stipulations of an emotional regime.

The journals and spiritual logs of godly people provide my source. Rightly, it will be pointed out that materials like these cannot be taken 'as direct reflections of their authors' inner states without regard to literary genre or linguistic traditions.'[5] It was a religious duty for the believer to confront sin and personal corruption, seeking assurance by routine introspective examination, and the norms, narratives and expressions contained in such accounts naturally reflect a standardised prescription - to an extent. So, when we consider the personal writing of early modern people there is inevitably a blurring of the distinction between the social quality of affect and inward feeling.[6] As Stephanie Trigg explains, 'Consideration of the different cultural frames and expectations around emotions, affects and their representation is an important part of early modern history'.[7] Nowhere is this clearer than in the spiritual logs maintained by godly individuals. Here was a space in which a religious culture of affect was translated into a quasi-personal discourse through which the believer articulated their thoughts and feelings in the presence of God. As Andrew Cambers expresses it, devotional writings like these contain 'at once, facets of internalisation and externalisation, of sociability and the self'.[8] The duality of social affect and

---

[5] Sally Alexander and Barabara Taylor, 'Introduction', in Sally Alexander and Barabara Taylor (eds), *History and Psyche* (New York, 2012), pp. 1-10, p. 4.
[6] See appendix two for discussion of emotion and affect.
[7] Trigg, 'Affect Theory', Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 12.
[8] Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:4 (2007), pp.796-825, p. 802.

personal emotion in these accounts is highlighted in those *Lives* published by Clarke in which personal spiritual diaries are quoted and made public. Clarke's wife Katherine (discussed later in this chapter) is one example. Richard Baxter also used his wife's journal to create a moving account, 'A Breviate of the Life of Margaret', and Clarke's own edited version included some of these extracts.[9] Clarke's publications were part of a culture of affect: they existed in the public domain and, as George Fox's open printed response (discussed in chapter seven) demonstrated, social affect and the emotion of the individual interacted to the extent that it is often difficult to discern any real distinction.[10]

Nevertheless, the performative quality of such personal writing is also apparent. As Kathryn Lynch tells us, 'private devotional writings' were 'the very engine of Protestant devotional life.'[11] The constructed written expression of thoughts and feelings through an internal monologue, in the form of an intimate dialogue with God, endowed these cognitions with conscious and functional form, and the self-aware mental exertion shaped and conditioned the feelings expressed. Although, as Kate Narveson says, self-writing 'witnesses how people had been taught to think about their feelings' nevertheless, 'there are ways in which such writing does reveal the writer's particular experience.'[12] And, as Alec Ryrie writes, we should 'acknowledge the experience'.[13] Furthermore, if emotions and their expression are indeed partly shaped by social constructions, we might ask whether there was any substantive distinction to be made between the performative process of writing about feelings and the experience of them. As Laura Downs asserts, 'things are no less real for all that they are socially constructed.'[14] For the historian these sources are, in any case, probably the closest we can obtain to understanding the intimacies of individual feeling. They are, as Alec Ryrie says, 'the best evidence we have for inner experience'.[15] Accordingly, this chapter centres around an examination of two well-known examples in manuscript of the genre - the surviving journals of Nehemiah Wallington and Ralph

---

[9] Richard Baxter, *Breviate*. Clarke, 'Margaret Baxter', *Lives of Sundry*.
[10] See Trigg, 'Affect Theory', Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, pp. 10-13.
[11] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 11.
[12] Narveson, 'Resting Assured', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, pp. 176-7.
[13] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 42.
[14] Downs, 'Reply', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, p. 448.
[15] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 82.

Josselin - and the biographical account of Clarke's wife, Katherine Overton, published by Samuel Clarke and based on her spiritual logs. The chapter considers the extent to which these accounts help to confirm the existence of both an emotional community and an emotional regime, and the nexus between them.

In this analysis, the personalities and emotional propensities of these individuals become apparent. They shared the common experience of seeking assurance whilst trying to reconcile what they regarded as the corruption of their natures with the vagaries and tribulations of human existence. All the events of their lives were interpreted in terms of providence and the operation of grace at a personal level. Thus they were bound to represent common modes of feeling which inevitably constrained the expression and, perhaps, the realisation of self. But, puritans were people too; they did not share an homogenous personality and psychological profile. As Kate Narveson correctly points out, 'puritan piety accommodated a variety of temperaments and experiences of what was assuring.'[16] Although it may be that certain character types were drawn towards the beliefs and values of a godly regimen, it is still possible to reveal individuality and the extent to which conformity to the norms of an emotional regime was more or less challenging. So, Kate Narveson is right when she says of Wallington that 'he is able to fit his experiences into the standard pattern of the contest between the old man and the new.'[17] However, it is not clear that Wallington, and the other godly people discussed here, found that their 'emotions were always subordinated within a narrative of election', as she goes on to state.[18] Indeed, it is interesting that, in spite of the limitations of the genre of spiritual self-writing, it is still possible to observe how individualities of temperament found emotional expression as the godly tried, and sometimes struggled, especially in the management of grief, to inhabit and express the norms of their emotional community. And it is this individuality that confirms the parallel existence of an emotional regime.

So, this chapter presents an argument with two main strands. Firstly, I contend that the formulaic nature of spiritual journals like those discussed in this chapter emphasise the social quality of the affect expressed by their writers, and that this is

---

[16] Narveson, 'Resting Assured', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 175.

[17] Narveson, 'Resting Assured', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 178.

[18] Narveson, 'Resting Assured', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 178.

suggestive of the norms of an emotional community. Secondly, I will argue that such writing was also performative, and that the determinative nature of the genre makes expressions of individuality all the more apparent. The first section considers the extent to which the intense feelings expressed in Wallington's journals reflected the emotional norms of his community, and how far the performance of Wallington's emotional repertoire represented an authentic personal emotional experience. Section two considers how the spiritual log of Katherine Clarke was shaped into the formula of a godly biography by her husband Samuel, and how this biography is able to shed light on her temperament and upon her understanding of emotional trauma and spiritual struggle. Section three develops the theme of the intersection between the norms of an emotional community and the requirements of an emotional regime by considering how Nehemiah Wallington's emotional performance was affected by loss and tragedy. Finally, section four considers the emotional disposition of Ralph Josselin as he expressed himself in his journal. Although it is possible to perceive his obsessions as neurotic, from the viewpoint of a godly community in the context of the uncertainties of seventeenth-century life, Josselin's emotional temperament may be viewed as adjusted to the norms of his emotional community. In these examples, we can observe three godly people, of different character, background, gender and circumstance, expressing a normative performance of emotion whilst revealing something of their individuality.

I - Nehemiah Wallington: Corruption and the Emotional Community

In the notebook he originally started to write in 1619, Nehemiah Wallington frequently recorded an intensely emotional level of self-introspection. For example, in June 1634 he described 'having labored exceedingly under some corruptions of my filthy, polluted heart which was ready to break forth, that it made me very heavi and pray, cry and sigh to my God continually for some munths together'.[19] Apparently convinced of his own wickedness, and his 'filthy and odious heart', he describes being 'striken in grate masse and astoni[sh]ed, and as it were tied hand and foote (in my mind) that I

---

[19] Nehemiah Wallington, 'A Record of God's Marcys, or a Thankfull Remembrance', London Metropolitan Archives, MS 204, p. 13, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 40.

could not stirre...my heart being very heavie'.[20] Were these worrying feelings authentic? Were they considered normal? How did Wallington deal with them?

As we have seen, an understanding and acceptance of human depravity was a universal truth in the early modern age for any who accepted the doctrine of original sin. This emphasis was to be found in Wallington's personal reading. He noted in 1650 that he had read over two hundred books, including works by John Dod, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Perkins.[21] Indeed, his own rhetorical and spiritual discourse echoed the familiar puritan style deployed by these authors.[22] Although it was published in the year following Wallington's death in 1658, the style and content of Samuel Clarke's theological opus, *Medulla Theologiæ*, would have been very familiar to him because Clarke's work was harvested almost entirely from the catalogue of puritan literature with which Wallington was so conversant.[23] Clarke and Wallington were exact contemporaries and, although separated by education, profession and social status, they shared the godly heritage and outlook embodied in Clarke's work.

We might expect beliefs that emphasised personal spiritual corruption to have a profound emotional and psychological impact. Assurance of salvation could not occur without the initial terrifying realisation of the absolute corruption and sinfulness of the self. The gift and experience of God's grace would come only after spiritual trials and setbacks, and the struggle to mortify the passions arising from a state of sin would remain until the moment of death. The full title of Wallington's notebook number 3 (according to his own list) begins 'my misrab[le] and sad condition of my corrupt nater'.[24] He describes God's mercy in allowing him to understand 'the corruption of my nature, and filthynesse and deceitfulnes of my hart'.[25] Baring his shame and embracing it, he declares that 'if any thinke I am to[o] plaine and may be ashamed to write downe this my sinne: I say so that I am ashamed in some kind, yet my intent is to bring Glory to God by shaming myselfe'.[26] He explains his lifelong

---

[20] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 13, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 40.

[21] Paul Seaver published *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (London, 1985), p. 5.

[22] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, p. 16. NB. Booy does not share Seaver's view 'that Wallington's own prose is indistinguishable from that of the writers whose work he transcribed without attribution'. Booy, *Wallington*, x-xi, fn. 2.

[23] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*.

[24] Wallington, 'A Record', transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, pp. 29-30.

[25] Wallington, 'A Record', p. xiii, transcribed in Booy*, Wallington*, p. 29.

[26] Wallington, 'A Record', p. xiii, transcribed in Booy*, Wallington*, p. 29.

spiritual travails in elaborate and repetitive detail. For example, he writes, 'For Rest comfort and quietnesse I could find none...but still groning and cryings out many times, I am wearie, I am wearie of my life oh what shall I doe'.[27] In January 1643 he reported waking at two o'clock in the morning with troubled thoughts which continued for three more days until a period of fasting enabled him to reflect on God's mercy.[28] This experience allowed him to conclude, 'thus you may see how the spirit of God...is goeing and comeing, goeing and comeing...And therefore this teacheth me to waight and trust in my God and to be content in what condistion soever.'[29] David Booy explains that the

> whole sequence demonstrates again that Wallington's mental habits were thoroughly conditioned by puritan theology and doctrine, and that, while his self-examination is meticulous and, in its own terms, acute, his understanding of self is fashioned entirely in accordance with the ministerial model of the elect but flawed man.[30]

The narrative and examples Wallington provides seem to represent the epitome of puritan conduct and the expression of emotion matches the template as described by Clarke. Indeed, Peter Lake suggests that Wallington could have been 'extrapolated out of, or indeed was constructed at the time' from the sermons of the puritan clergyman Stephen Denison (d. 1649).[31] When he writes that, 'The effects of grace doe not always the same: for sometimes they seme to be quite overwhelmed with contrary effects', Wallington is conveying an experience of powerful but perplexing feelings, necessarily distilled, expressed and authenticated through the learned constructs of his faith.[32] Wallington understood that such emotional confusion was in itself part of the experience and indicative of progress towards assurance. As Clarke explained, the spirit fought with the flesh in a 'continual conflict between the affections, and passions,

---

[27] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 47, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 50.

[28] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 26.

[29] Nehemiah Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', BL Add. MS 40883, fols 64v-65r, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 26.

[30] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 26.

[31] Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001), p. 76. See Booy, *Wallington*, p 26, fn. 44. See Anna Bayman 'Stephen Denison, d. 1649', *ODNB*.

[32] Nehemiah Wallington, 'A Record', p. 266, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 52.

wherein sometimes the same affections being divided between grace, and corruption do strive against themselves'.[33]

Wallington's intensely emotional introspection and personal crises seem to relate to the normative values of his religious community. Indeed, Margo Todd has argued that 'Because puritan self-fashioning was conditioned by scriptural authority and models, its result was an identification that was fundamentally communal rather than individualistic in nature'.[34] Discussing the diaries of Samuel Ward (1572–1643) she argues that he

> was a functional product of his own culture, or at least he fashioned himself in strict accord with the guidelines provided by his culture. It is certainly true that moments of apparently autonomous self-fashioning visible in Ward's diary as in other Renaissance texts involved choices "among possibilities whose range was strictly delineated by the social and ideological systems in force".[35]

The social and educational distance between the leading puritan scholar Samuel Ward and the London artisan Nathaniel Wallington make the similarities all the more striking. Like Wallington, Ward was troubled in his sleep by 'my ill dreams' and with 'private' sins, 'not feeling the reverence that I ought'.[36] Thus, the individuality of the examination of personal corruption occurred within a communal context that prescribed obligations and norms. When Ward prayed 'Preserve thy whole church dispersed[,] Our realm enlarge around us', as Margo Todd observes, 'he was praying for himself in the plural'.[37] Similarly, as David Booy says, Wallington's private spirituality occurred in a context in which he understood that 'many like-minded people were going through the same discipline, that they conceived of their lives in the same way, and that they were all aspiring to the same ideal of selfhood'.[38] In the community around him, and in the materials he read, Wallington could draw on many

---

[33] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, pp. 406-6.

[34] Todd, 'Ward', p. 252.

[35] Todd, 'Ward', p. 264. She quotes Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), p. 256. NB. Samuel Ward (1572–1643), theologian, Fellow of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, not Samuel Ward (1577-1640), puritan preacher at Ipswich.

[36] Samuel Ward, Sidney MS 45, fol. 17v, quoted in Todd, 'Samuel Ward', p. 252. She adds, in a footnote, 'The dream entry is recorded in a different ink from entries around it, suggesting that Ward may have recorded it in the middle of the night-so great was his anxiety over sins of the heart.'

[37] Todd, 'Ward', p. 254. Samuel Ward, Sidney Sussex MS 45, fol. 59v.

[38] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 22.

homogenous examples of 'what the godly self and life could be'.[39] This, indeed, was the purpose of Samuel Clarke's texts. Godly selves in the plural become an emotional community.

It is clear that Wallington was able to affirm his sense of self in terms of belonging to a godly community, and that the community often marked its identity by reference to the reprobation of others.[40] The views Wallington expressed regarding the sanctity of the Sabbath and the evils of drink represent some of the generic marks of identity for the godly community.[41] And these attitudes were capable of translation into emotional experiences. Wallington's correspondence, collected as 'Profitable and Comfortabl Letters', contains many examples of his personal reaction to the sinful conduct of others.[42] For example, he says that 'my contience constraineth me to write a few words' because of what he had seen and heard on a recent visit to Lewisham 'on lecter day'. Describing 'many ignorant, Drunken, swearers, Mockers and profaineers of the Lords day' he continues that he

> cannot but lament for the wickednesse of [Lewisham] And shurely sir it makes
> me shake and quiver to thinke what an heavi account you have to give for so
> many soules as you have under your charge for you are guilty of all those sinnes
> you reprove not and labour not by all maner and m[e]anes to reforme.[43]

His account of shaking and quivering, and being constrained by conscience, is a physical emotional reaction conditioned by the norms of his community. Furthermore, to Wallington the sins of others incorporated a reproach to the godly. In 1642 he wrote, 'What hast thou to doe with peace whiles the whoredomes and witchcrafts are yet in great number...I did tell you then, wee must looke narrowly into ourselves.'[44] This

---

[39] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 22.

[40] Wallington's notebook number five, entitled 'A Memorial of Gods Judgments upon Sabbath Breakers, Drunkerds and Other Vile Livers', recorded providential punishments between 1618 and 1655. Wallington, 'A Memorial of God's Judgements upon Sabbath Breakers, Drunkards and Other Vile Livers', BL Sloane MS 1457.

[41] Clarke's own version was published as *A Warning-Piece to All Drunkards and Health-Drinkers* (London, 1682), and was itself derivative of an earlier work by Samuel Ward (the Ipswich preacher, 1577-1640), *Woe to Drunkards A Sermon*, (London, 1622).

[42] Wallington, 'Profitable and Comfortabl Letters', BL Sloane MS 922.

[43] Wallington, 'Profitable and Comfortabl Letters', fol. 132v - 133r, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, pp. 248-9.

[44] 'Profitable and Comfortabl Letters', fol. 142r - fol. 142v, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, pp. 251-2.

sensitivity helps to explain why he was so affected and moved to tears by the street vendor selling mackerel on the Sabbath in May 1642.[45] In this example, Wallington seems to have decided that his tears sprang from his sensitivity to the sinfulness of others, happily confirming his identity in emotional terms.

But tears were ambiguous, and the emotional community valued the right kind of tears, as Wallington was well aware. John's Gospel informs us that 'Jesus Wept', and did so publically, but not all tears were holy.[46] Clarke wrote that 'Wicked men by feares and terrours of the Law may be restrained, and may spend a few sighes, and drop a few teares sometimes'.[47] So tears could be self-pitying and self-indulgent. Borrowing from William Perkins, Clarke explained that 'we can finde teares upon other occasions but not for our sins'.[48] Tears of genuine repentance were a sign of godliness, and it was imperative in the case of 'sinfull lusts' that 'we should...drown them in the tears of true repentance as soon as they are born'.[49] Tears of repentance in turn depended upon the godly emotion of shame arising from the realisation of personal corruption. Clarke explained the requirement, 'Out of humility, to humble our selves for our faults even before men'.[50] Wallington's introspection articulated these orthodox godly concerns about the sanctity of tearfulness, repentance and true humility in terms that seem impossibly convoluted, but utterly sincere. For example, he wrote,

> I have made an Idol of my teers for I have thought very well of myself when I have sheed teers and if I have not sheed teeres then it could not be well with mee...And there is pride in Humility so that you may see I have just cause to weepe and lament over my teers and I am humbled that I am no more humbled.[51]

From another more sophisticated pen these sentiments might have been ammunition for a biting satirical attack on puritanism. The sense of wanting to weep over his own

---

[45] Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', BL Add. MS 40 883, fol. 31v, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 165.

[46] John 11:35. See Bernard Capp, '"Jesus Wept" But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 224:1 (2014), pp. 75-108.

[47] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 130, citing Perkins, *Two Treatises*.

[48] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 103, citing Perkins *Two Treatises*.

[49] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 420, citing Perkins *Two Treatises*.

[50] Clarke, *Medulla Theologiæ*, p. 394, citing Edward Reyner (1600-68), *Rules for the Government of the Tongue* (London, 1656).

[51] Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', fol. 134r-134v, transcribed in Booy, *The Notebooks*, pp. 201-2.

tears, and being humble that he was not humbler, nevertheless confirms by exponential function the emotional identity of Wallington's devotion.

His youthful propensity to private acts of self-harm and self-negation also speak to the effectiveness of his conditioning in the core beliefs of his religion. According to Christopher Haigh, 'he took his lustful feelings as a sign of reprobation.'[52] However, Wallington's sense of his own worthlessness may also have been symptomatic of individual personality traits, apparent in periodic bouts of depressive behaviour, that he might have experienced regardless of the godly influences upon him. Clearly, at times, he suffered 'intense misery' and describes several attempts in his early years to commit suicide by poison, drowning and hanging.[53] For Wallington, in these accounts, the Devil has substantive existence.[54] He is an intimate acquaintance and identified using the possessive 'my great enemie'.[55] On the other hand, the 'promises and covenantes with my God' are equally personal.[56] Thus the teenager's urge to attempt to end his own life, and his routine failure to do so, is presented as a dissociated event; he was being manipulated by otherworldly forces. For example, on the tenth such occasion he describes in great detail the nefarious cunning by which he was able to obtain the 'ratesbane' with which to poison himself: 'Then said Satan doe not goe to a groser that Knows you for feere they misstrust you and so hinder your purposes but goe to a stranger that knowes you not'.[57] Yet, by his own account, the young Nehemiah's consumption of this poison was incremental and not really suggestive of a thoroughly committed intention. Again, this was not his doing, but God's. When 'by and by the rattesbane came up into [his] mouth againe as bitter as gall...so it did [him] no hurt', Wallington praised 'the Lords Name...for ever and ever Amen'.[58] Clearly these were episodes whose emotionality was imprinted in his memory, relived and recorded later in vivid detail. The adolescent psychological

---

[52] Christopher Haigh, 'The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', in *History*, 85:280 (2000), pp. 572-588, p. 580.

[53] Narveson, 'Resting Assured', in Ryrie and Schwanda, *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 179.

[54] Protestants blamed the devil for tempting despair. See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 32.

[55] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 439, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p 73.

[56] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 409, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 59.

[57] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 6, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 36.

[58] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 7, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 37.

pathology may suggest various interpretations but, in terms of the purposes of this study, it is Wallington's conditioned perception of the role of God and the Devil in his life, pulling his mood in opposite directions, that is significant.[59]

But, like Ward, he was also capable, within the frame of his social and religious habituation, of semi-autonomous, self-help intervention. For example, Wallington rationalised a conscious decision to desist from cutting his own throat on the grounds that it would cause 'the wicked to speak ill of our profession...they would say "look on these Puritans, see Master Wallington's son hath killed himself", and so I would bring slander upon our religion.'[60] Thus both his impulse to consider suicide and his conscious decision (on this occasion) not to, were driven by the intensity of his religious convictions. This conflicted validation of self, of both being in control and at the same time subject to divine providence, seems as tortuous as the doctrine of predestination must have seemed. Wallington's accounts demonstrate moments of personal crisis that are attuned to the received bi-polar emotional narrative of a godly personal quest for assurance of salvation, endorsed and shared within his emotional community. Wallington's individual identity, characterised by such highly emotional occurrences, can be interpreted as deriving from the demanding terms of reference set by the emotional community to which he belonged. However, this is not to suggest that the feelings he expressed were any less real to him: they also reveal a troubled temperamental disposition that was amplified and given form by the reality he perceived and was indoctrinated in.

Evidently Wallington felt that such intense expression of emotion was godly, but equally so was the mortification of ungodly passion. This inevitably created 'a tension', as David Booy puts it, 'between what he should feel and what he actually does feel'.[61] But how far did his emotional community afford space for individual expression? In one example, from November 1643, Wallington describes being cheated in a business transaction. After due reflection he decided that,

> my God had a hand in it and did believe it was for my good (although I could
> not shew any reason nor for the present apprehend which way it could be for my

---

[59] This was thought of in terms of a dialogue between the soul and the Devil. See See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 32.
[60] Haigh, 'Taming', pp. 580-1. He cites Seaver, *Wallington's World*, pp. 22-3.
[61] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 27.

good but my much hurt) because it is said all things shall worke together for good to those that love God.[62]

In parenthesis he reveals his natural perplexity at the mysterious workings of providence, whilst expressing acceptance of the benevolence of God's will. It is as if the bracketed interruption represents an aside comment, not addressed to God, but for his own consumption and self-vindication. Or, perhaps, he expects God to overhear. It would be wrong to ascribe a modern sense of fatalistic irony, but the passage does vividly illustrate the nature of Wallington's internal discourse and the development of a personal identity in terms of his relationship with God. He had prefaced his account of the failed transaction by stating that 'my God did here mee in the shewing mee my corruption as allso I did see my mind, that excellent grace of faith and patience and contentednesse and resting and relying on my God allthough I could not attaine unto it'.[63] Thus there is a dissonance in the passage which, whilst representing an orthodox expression of spiritual struggle, also expresses Wallington's individuality: an individuality negotiated through spiritual struggle and necessarily expressed through the conventions that governed the discourse of self.

II - The Sufferings of Katherine Clarke

Another example of these tensions, at the nexus of an emotional community and an emotional regime, can be found in the story of Samuel Clarke's wife Katherine Overton, in an account first published separately in 1677.[64] To a large extent, in writing about his wife, Clarke follows the template of such narratives describing the subject's background and parentage briefly, their spiritual struggles prior to conversion and the manifestation of saving grace, their qualities (which are usually according to a formula based on the subject's station in life), their piety, and the manner of their assurance of salvation as they faced death.[65] In his publications of other lives, Clarke's work represented a 'triple refraction': written by men, prepared as didactic funeral

---

[62] Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', fol. 170v, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 209.
[63] Wallington, 'The Groth of a Christian', fol. 170r, transcribed in Booy*, Wallington*, p. 209.
[64] Clarke, *A Looking-Glass...Katherine Clarke.*
[65] The original template was Philip Stubbes's account of his wife Katherine, *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women* (1592).

sermons by puritan ministers, and edited further by Clarke.[66] However, the published account of the life of Katherine Clarke would have seen a somewhat different genesis. Clarke had immediate first-hand knowledge and access to his wife's spiritual diaries, and he quoted lengthily from these to the extent that Katherine's story is (ostensibly) often told in her own words. Unfortunately, we have no access to Katherine's manuscripts, and cannot discover the extent of Clarke' edit. However, offering the example of Clarke's retelling of the *Life* of Mary Vere as 'a paradigm for the synthesis of the public and the personal to be found in "godly lives"', Jacqueline Eales suggests that, although Clarke's narratives 'cannot be treated as straightforward, factual accounts...they do provide us with a framework within which ideal and reality can be sifted and compared.'[67] I am arguing that Clarke's edited and published account reveals the traces of Katherine's personality and emotional life.

Katherine can be seen to interpret, understand and describe her life experience according to the norms of the godly tradition she inhabited throughout her life. This is evidenced in much soul searching and introspection, and it is made clear that Katherine was both deeply sensitive and diligent in her piety. But, despite the observation that a prescriptive formula was being applied, and that 'mental life is in part historically contingent', Katherine's accounts of her sufferings, particularly in bereavement, seem entirely convincing.[68] In other words, the affect revealed by reading the pages of Katherine Clarke's biography, though conforming to the cultural script, is not synthetic but actually affecting.

Clarke introduces his wife's story by commenting on her religious upbringing and the spiritual struggles of her adolescence. He notes that a once cheerful young girl became 'serious and somewhat melancholy' when, at about fifteen, she realised the 'corruption of her nature'. [69] Clarke's edit of Katherine's account is at pains to establish the standard pattern for godly lives and he provides notes in parentheses as a guide for

---

[66] Eales, 'Godly Women', p. 368.

[67] Eales, 'Godly Women', p. 375. Clarke, 'The Life and Death of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Vere, who died, Anno Domini, 1671', *Lives of Sundry, 2,* pp. 144-51.

[68] Alexander and Taylor, *Psyche*, p. 7. NB. Acutely conscious of the limitations of the source, I am not trying to do 'psychohistory', but I am observing the affecting and performative quality of these accounts. As Alexander and Taylor go on to say 'we ignore [the mental life] at our peril.' At the same time emotions history does not need to subscribe to any theory of the mind. See Roper, *The Witch*, p. 88.

[69] Clarke*,* 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry,* p. 152. NB. also published as Clarke, *A Looking-Glass for Good Women to Dress Themselves By* (1677).

this purpose. Katherine, we are told, found support and guidance in scripture although she felt isolated in her spiritual struggles. Quoting from Katherine's own spiritual diary, Clarke reassures us that through deep introspection she slowly began to find her faith. She wrote, 'Hereupon I fell to Examination of my self and though I could not find the Marks of a Strong, yet (through Gods Mercy) I found the Marks of a true, though but weak Faith, which was some Comfort and support to me.'[70] By godly religious practice, 'Hearing the Word Preached [,] Receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and use of other private Duties', she made spiritual progress.[71]

However, in her late teens, Katherine experienced a psychological crisis when she was sent away. She explains that 'being sent so far from my neer and dear Relations, and meeting with some other discouragements in the Family, through want of the means of Grace, which I formerly enjoyed, I grew very Melancholy.'[72] The impact of this experience upon Katherine was emotionally devastating. In this company, away from her own family and their familiar pieties, loneliness and home-sickness were exacerbated by habits of introspection:

> Thus I continued a great while, bearing the burden of grievous Temptations, and inward Afflictions of Conscience, yet durst I not open the wound, nor reveal my condition to any, as thinking and judging my condition and case to be like no Bodies else.[73]

Despite earnestly asserting that God 'was graciously pleased to preserve, strengthen, and uphold me', it is clear that her feeling of isolation produced 'melancholy'. She describes sinking into 'Despair, running out of my Wits'.[74]

But crises like these were necessary to provide the set-up for the conversion narrative. Katherine describes her anxious quest for assurance in the following terms:

> It pleased God (saith she) for many years, to keep me...in a sad and disconsolate estate, and condition, not cleerly Evidencing the certain Assurance of his Love to my Soul: So that many times I questioned whether I was a Child of God or no...Whether I should ever attain to Life and Salvation or no: And this made me walk with a drooping, and disconsolate Spirit, so that I could take no true

---

[70] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.
[71] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.
[72] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.
[73] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.
[74] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.

comfort in any thing.[75]

And the breakthrough moment was expressed using a standard metaphor borrowed from scripture. She wrote, 'But though heaviness endured for a Night, Yet joy came in the Morning, when the Lord caused the Light of his Countenance to shine upon me, which was better then Life.'[76]

Clarke's aim was to provide commentary and editorial skill in order to present a coherent and sympathetic account of the virtuous and exemplary life of a godly woman, and to present her piety and godliness in terms of a complete negation of self. So, we are told that Katherine discovered this imperative in her teens and, after many trials, was eventually assured of her own salvation. This was a formula consistent with the models provided in Clarke's anthologies.

However, this does not mean that we can easily dismiss the emotionality of Katherine's accounts as insincere. The intensity of the emotion she expresses is self-evident. Her juvenile anguish may be compared with Wallington's youthful suicide attempts and considered in terms of adolescent angst. But it does not follow that the internal and mental experience was any less real or profound for Katherine (or Nehemiah).

Indeed, there are two parallel levels of sentiment in the parts of Katherine's account published by Clarke. On the one hand the structure, pattern and expression of the spiritual narrative is conventional. For example, when she describes the moment 'joy came in the morning', she is leaning heavily upon a familiar trope. On the other hand, the sentiment attached to the statement that 'my Dear Parents they scarce knew me' seems to be movingly personal.[77] In Katherine's spiritual journal conventional forms of self-negation run alongside an articulation of pitiful and existential angst. Her parents hardly knew her because 'by reason of my continual grief and anguish of Heart Night and Day, I was so weakned and changed within the compass of these six Months'.[78] Thus, Katherine's story blends the formulaic and imitative with an intimate authenticity to the extent that, as between social and personal affect, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. In terms of the lived reality perhaps there was no

---

[75] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 158.
[76] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 158. Psalm 30:5, 'but joy cometh in the morning'.
[77] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.
[78] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 153.

distinction to be made. In writing thus, Katherine (like Nehemiah) performed the feelings she describes.

The same coalescence of conventional expression and authentic feeling becomes more apparent in Katherine's accounts of loss and bereavement. In 1962, Philippe Ariès was arguing that before the eighteenth century parents displayed low levels of emotion on the death of their children, perhaps in order to protect themselves emotionally in a period of high infant mortality.[79] But Katherine's account does not seem to evidence any lack of emotion, rather an attempt to understand her feelings in terms of the progress of her journey to spiritual sanctification. Drawing together studies of childhood and the history of emotions, Katie Barclay and Kimberley Reynolds explain that 'The relationship between children and death provides a prism through which the emotional practices of individuals and communities can be explicated'.[80] Indeed, by reading Katherine's account, we can observe how an individual sought to rationalise their feelings of grief in terms of the norms of her community.

Katherine Clarke recorded her reaction to the death of her youngest child in terms that seem to recognise the pain of bereavement as a necessary and instrumental trial of faith. Katherine wrote,

> It pleased God upon the Death of my youngest Child, that it lay very heavy upon my Spirit, insomuch as I was brought oft upon my Knees to beg support from God and to crave his Grace and assistance that I might not break out to speak, or act any thing whereby Gods Name might be dishonoured, or the Gospel discredited.[81]

And, she continues by reassuring herself that such loss did indeed work to increase her faith: 'And I found a seasonable, gracious, and speedy answer to these my Requests. For though I lay long under the burden of that loss, yet in this time did the Lord sweetly manifest his special Love to my Soul'.[82] In this passage Katherine imitates what she has been taught, that real sorrow did not manifest in mourning for loved ones, but in the absence of God's love. In time she says (and Samuel publishes)

---

[79] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962).
[80] Katie Barclay, Kimberley Reynolds and Ciara Rawnsley (eds), *Death, Emotion and Childhood in Premodern Europe* (London, 2016), p. 4.
[81] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 159.
[82] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 159.

she found spiritual comfort and indeed greater love and faith.

Nevertheless, unsurprisingly, the death of her youngest child did affect Katherine greatly and in another passage she expresses her deep anxiety that her feelings of sadness were a sign of her own sinfulness: 'my Spirit was oft much troubled, and cast down in me; fearing lest I had some secret Sin undiscovered, and unrepented of, which caused the Lord thus to hide his Face from me.'[83] Yet, at last she was able to find comfort in the belief that such afflictions were deliberate trials of faith which in due course were rewarded with grace because 'the Lord doth sometimes afflict us for the exercise, and improvement of our Graces, as well as to humble us for our Sins.'[84]

So far these contemplations and reactions might be described as orthodox Calvinist responses to affliction and tragedy. But it is apparent (even in this edited account) that Katherine found this a precarious emotional equilibrium, and one difficult to sustain. If excessive mourning in the face of tremendous loss was evidence of lack of faith and an inability to mortify inner corruption, how was it possible to cope in the face of further calamity? In 1669 the death of her second son, John Clarke, 'a godly, faithful, and painful Minister', produced a measure of grief which seemed all the more overwhelming because she understood her inability to bear it as indicative of her own spiritual state,

> not having Grace and Wisdom to behave and carry my self as I ought under his various Dispensations and providences, as appeared at this time by his laying so great and grievous an Affliction upon me in taking away so dear a Son...This caused my Grief and Sorrows to take the greater hold on me, upon the loss of one who was so useful to me.'[85]

She was at last able to examine her own heart and explains that God heard her prayers, rewarding her with a 'new experience of God's readiness to hear and help'.[86] Nevertheless, despite the terms in which Katherine inevitably understood her feelings, the emotive language in which she expressed her grief is also utterly authentic and resonant:

> Upon this sad occasion my Grief grew so great that I took no pleasure of any

---

[83] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 159.
[84] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 160.
[85] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, pp. 160-1.
[86] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 161.

thing in the World: But was so overwhelmed with Melancholy, and my natural strength was so abated, that little Food served my turn, and I judged that I could not live long in such a condition.[87]

This account, published by her husband, deliberately conveys all the emotional markers that characterise their community. We are presented with the model of a godly woman whose self-negation and awareness of personal corruption contended with quiet spiritual courage and acceptance of providence. She clearly experienced great unhappiness at times, but continued to maintain and monitor her own spiritual progress. The pervading sense of sadness provides an essential backdrop for a narrative of godliness, perseverance and grace. However, the feeling expressed in Katherine's personal writing is nonetheless profound and tangible. Here is evidence of an emotional life shaped according to the norms of an emotional community, at times suffering great stress under the aegis of an exacting emotional regime.

III - Wallington and the Emotional Regime

Returning to the journals of Nehemiah Wallington we can find similar themes and responses which, though expressed with more rawness and immediacy, and without benefit of skilled editorship, resonate with Katherine Clarke's. In 'A Record of Gods Marcys' large sections of his writing display acute anxiety relating the health of his children to his relationship with God. Wallington's relief at his son John's recovery from measles, in February 1625, is palpable: 'The Lord did here our prayrs, and the prayrs of his church for him and restored him to us againe his Name be praised for evermore Amen'.[88] Unfortunately, the same year, 1625, 'It pleased God to sende among us in this sitie and the suburbs such a plague (for our sinnes and abominations)'.[89] Wallington recorded his thought processes and feelings in some detail:

And thus I would meditate with myself alone what if the sicknesse should come into this house: who would I willingly [spare]...many tears I did shead with these thoughts: And I desired the Lord if it mite stand with his glory and my soules

---

[87] Clarke, 'Katherine Clarke', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 161.
[88] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 404, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 57.
[89] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 407, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 57.

good that I mite die first and never see that day[.][90]

Faced with the devastating reality of plague at the door, Wallington appears to be engaged in a bargaining process. He understands these contemplations as the performance of a dialogue with God as he states the orthodox view that the dead are fortunate to escape the corruption of the world, hoping to be taken first. Such pious thoughts must surely stand him in the favour of the Almighty. So, once again, his 'many tears' have a complex provenance. Fear, anxiety, and the imagining of bitter loss, seem to mingle with spiritual joy at the imminent prospect of salvation at hand.

But the reality transcended the scope of these meditations and was too painful to bear. He records that his 'sweete child' his daughter Elizabeth, not quite three, 'died at fore a clocke in the morning being the eleventh day of October and was beuried that day at night'.[91] Like the godly Katherine Clarke, Wallington was overwhelmed with grief. He wrote, 'The greefe for this child was so greate that I forgoote myself so much that I deed offend God in it.'[92] Like Katherine Clarke, he understood his emotional response in terms of the weakness of his spirit. He wrote, 'For I brooke all my porposes: promises and convenantes with my God: For I was much distracted in my mind, and could not be comforted Allthoe my freends speake so confortabelly unto mee'.[93] And, like Katherine Clarke, he was married to a godly partner who reminded him of the orthodox construction and management of such loss: 'And my wife sayd unto mee: Husband I am perswaded you offend God in greeving for this childe so much[.]'[94]

These accounts expose the complexity of the relationship between an emotional community and an emotional regime. A model of social emotional deportment, when faced with the most devastating of losses, presented as a pressing requirement to manage, or mortify feeling. Over the next few pages, as he attempts to reconcile his grief, Wallington seems to convince himself of the ultimate benevolence of providence, demonstrating its operational role in affective culture. But the narration of relatively minor incidents of providential favour is interrupted in April 1628 by the death of his son John. Later that year, Wallington references the fact that 'the

---

[90] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 408, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 58.
[91] Wallington, 'A Record', pp. 408-9, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 59.
[92] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 409, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 59.
[93] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 409, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 59.
[94] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 409, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 59.

Lord...tooke from us our sweete sonne Nehemiah the seventh day of November 1628 for causes best known to himselfe'.[95] This time Wallington is able to offer a seemlier response in his private journal. He wrote, 'A bitter portion it was too part from an onely sonne: yeet it was wholesome[.]...So this affliction brought to our minds many heavenly meditations [.]'[96] There is a sense of resignation, of learning to accept God's will and of submitting to the impositions of a harsh emotional regime which translated such tragedies as 'marcys'. Wallington's sense is that he is making spiritual progress, but he also understands the cost in both emotional and material terms. For example, under the heading 'Comfortable meditations in the mides of my sorrowes in the want of outward meanes', he comments upon his 'hard strait in want of wor[d]ly things' and continues, 'my desire and strife is not to be so much cast downe as to forgeete the thousands marcyes of God'.[97] These mercies are such that he comments that he feels God 'hath hedged mee in with many marcys'.[98] Here, there is a sense of vexation that God's abundant promptings of his sinful nature have kept him both humble and poor. He says he has often questioned 'why the Lord should restra[in] or keepe backe these outward things from me'.[99] And eventually concludes that this is

> none of the least favoures of God...For I feare if my estate were better to the world, it might be worse to God...in the mides of all my sorrowes and wants I have considered what I have desarved, and have bine stired up to much thankfulnes that things have bine no worse with me.[100]

These comments, apparently written in 1631, convey both submission and a lingering disgruntlement. Although he expresses the proper sentiment, the fact of addressing these concerns indicates the extent to which they filled his mind and continued to trouble him. Faced with trials and great tragedies Wallington's individuality emerges in the pages of his 'record of Gods Marcys', though what he expresses is necessarily constrained by his understanding of the spiritual purposes of his journal.

Though conforming to the prescribed formula of the puritan spiritual log, Wallington's pain, unhappiness, disappointment and puzzlement is often vivid and tangible, in much the same way as the actuality of Katherine Clarke's inner turmoil is

---

[95] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 421, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 64.
[96] Wallington, 'A Record', pp. 421-2, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 64.
[97] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 439, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 73.
[98] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 439, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 74.
[99] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 440, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 75.
[100] Wallington, 'A Record', p. 441, transcribed in Booy, *Wallington*, p. 75.

exposed in her husband's published account. The fact that it is the intention to confront the corruption of the human condition on a journey to grace and salvation does not negate the emotional impact of the great struggle to reconcile the sting of substantive worldly loss with the demands and social habituations centred around belief. Furthermore, the introspective requirement of the spiritual log was instrumental to the realisation of an individual identity. Yet such individuality was also subject to a requirement of conformity. As John Stachniewski puts it, 'People were unable to shake their own minds free of the stern patriarchal power which punished impulses to autonomy'.[101] But sometimes the impulses of autonomous individuality can be glimpsed.

The resultant internalised emotional stresses arising from the effort to inhabit the norm, that can be observed in both individuals, are testimony to the reality of existence conforming to an emotional complex. Wallington's sense of godly identity, and belonging within an emotional community, did not prevent expressions of individuality and dissatisfaction. Nor had it averted mental crises which included 'hallucinations and a series of attempts to commit suicide'.[102] In these respects, as John Stachniewski argues, the 'punishing routine…imposed on the London turner Nehemiah Wallington and countless others, derived from a discourse, promulgated from the pulpit, in which they learnt to construct their identity, their sense of themselves, and from which there was no escape'.[103] Maybe such an identity could indeed be self-defeating and excluding for those for whom the Calvinist requirement of religious introspection produced profound feelings of guilt and anxiety. But such feelings were necessarily, of themselves, also expressions of the self as part of an emotional community.

IV - The Neuroticism of Ralph Josselin

Perhaps some found it easier than others to square these ambiguities. Ralph Josselin was another puritan whose spiritual log, in the form of wide-ranging a personal journal, has survived. Josselin's diary is interesting for the extent to which it both resonates and deviates from the emotional tone evident in the discussions of Nehemiah

---

[101] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 70.
[102] Booy, *Wallington*, p. 2.
[103] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p. 5.

Wallington and Katherine Clarke above. In Josselin's intimate thoughts we can discern the familiar anxieties of the spirit. Yet, differences of disposition can also be observed which suggest that, despite a 'normal' level of puritan neuroticism, Josselin was abler to cope temperamentally with the exigencies of godly emotional management.[104] The observation of a spectrum of personalities helps to confirm the existence a functioning emotional community precisely because it reveals the extent to which different individuals shared common feeling and managed to conform.

Josselin was a Presbyterian clergyman, the vicar of Earls Colne, Essex, from 1641 until his death in 1683.[105] But he was also active in the economic life of his community, building and managing a large farm. His diary confirms his immersion in many other roles as well: as schoolmaster; family man; author and collector of books; and as a Parliamentary chaplain.[106] Perhaps these facts are indicative of a relatively rounded individual and in a context other than puritanism they might be taken as such. In this, his journal reveals similarities with the autobiographical account of Richard Norwood which, according to Kathleen Lynch, 'illustrates the intermeshing of personal and social motivations in autobiographical writing'.[107] Like Norwood, Josselin's journal reveals 'a religiosity that was fully engaged with the social and political forces of its world.'[108] Notwithstanding, his godly credentials are evident in his attitudes and contemplations. He opposed Laud's reforms and supported the Parliamentary cause. John Walter confirms his 'strict Calvinist beliefs' and 'his desire... to exclude from the sacrament of the communion those who were not in the company of God's saints, and his pressing concern to promote throughout his parish a moral

---

[104] Given the enduring construct of a puritan stereotype, it is tempting to apply the descriptors of neuroticism to puritans whose sensitivities and obsessions often appeared abnormal from external perspectives. However, neuroticism is not an absolute state but one of several basic personality dimensions which exist in a variable and overlapping relationship to others. See Michael W. Eysenck, 'Neuroticism', in Sander and Scherer, *Emotion*, p. 281. He explains the 'Big Five' factor approach to personality in which neuroticism, relates on a multi-dimensional scale to agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion and openness.

[105] For biographical details see John Walter, 'Ralph Josselin (1617-1683)', ODNB.

[106] Macfarlane, *Josselin,* xxii.

[107] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p 8. See Sarah Bendall, 'Richard Norwood (1590-1675)', *ODNB*, and Wesley Frank Craven and Walter B. Hayward (eds), Richard Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, 1639-1640, Surveyor of Bermuda* (1945).

[108] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p 5.

reformation that required regular and universal church attendance'.[109] He was concerned about the rise of separatism and preoccupied in the 1650s with the emergence of Quakerism, and the imminence of the Millennium. He supported the Westminster Confession of Faith, signing the petition of Essex ministers in support of a Presbyterian settlement in 1648.[110] He was part of a conventicle known as 'the society' whose meetings are referred to in the diary from 1647 to 1657.[111] Like other Presbyterians he was very troubled by the execution of the King; when he describes 'the blacke providence of putting the King to death', he states that 'my teares were not restrained'.[112] To his own surprise, unlike hundreds of other Presbyterian ministers, he was not ejected from his living in 1662, a fact that would be hard to explain if Josselin's ministry had aroused the same antipathy as someone like Zachary Crofton.

His spiritual introspections were orthodox: alert to spiritual danger but also concerned to temper immoderate passion and worldly concerns. For example, on 7 December 1648 he wrote, 'Sathan is busy in his troubles and temptacons to old vanities, and I am ready to neglect my watch, oh how good is God that doth not leave me to his rage, nor give me up to inward troubles of spirit'.[113] The entry for 4 February 1654 expresses a typical plea, asserting his own unworthiness while expressing the perennial quest for spiritual comfort: 'oh blessed be god that will know and consider such a worm as I am, the lord keepes my heart inquiring after the worke he is doing, and endearing my heart unto him, and helping mee to prefer him to all other things'.[114] On this occasion Josselin's prayer for his own soul also connects with other concerns. The entry quoted above ends with the statement 'Smal pox, observations thereabout'. In other words, his spiritual anxieties did not manifest themselves in isolation from the material aspects of his life and the common apprehensions of mortal existence.

Often, Josselin's reflections on his spiritual state seem to relate directly to his physical ailments, expressing physical illness as a divine metaphor for spiritual corruption. On 18 March 1649 he wrote,

---

[109] Walter, 'Josselin', *ONDB*.
[110] Anon, attributed to James Biddle, *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex* (London, 1648). Josselin's name is on p. 7.
[111] Walter, 'Josselin', *ONDB*.
[112] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 155. Josselin's entry for 4 February 1649.
[113] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 150.
[114] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 339.

this weeke my navel sore, I blesse god for it: if god will heale me of any corrupcion by his chastisement, is it not good, I see more into the deceit of my heart, my weaknes, heale me also oh god, my heart is fixed on god that he will doe me good by it, and therefore I am now at rest.[115]

However, he praises God for 'a spirit of patience and submission he was pleased to give mee' in times of illness.[116] Josselin also acknowledged the connection between his mood and his health. In December 1648 he had been suffering from a cold and asked 'the Lord in mercy give me health that I my serve him with cheerfulness'.[117] In other words, his humour, expressed in spiritual terms, often tracked his physical health. Indeed, in many passages it is impossible to separate out the various concerns of his mood, his health, his religious practice and the state of his soul. The chronic condition affecting his navel understandably seemed to also have a profound effect upon his spirit. For example, in February 1649 he recorded that, 'David saith it was good for me that I was afflicted; and I trust in god, I shall say so, my navels sorenes god made use of to [re]minde me of my folly, god was good to me'.[118] Thus, he is reminded that physical afflictions are a prompt from God. But, whilst acceding to this view, his mind is drawn inexorably back to his physical condition: 'I desire thy grace wherby I may bee enabled to improve it to make mee more holy, and heavenly minded. also I observe that I swett very much too or three nights before it was sorish'.[119] But then, once his navel seemed better, the onset of a cold disturbed his 'thoughts in reference to the Sabbath'.[120] In April 1649, his physical condition seemed to improve - and so did the weather. The tone of the diary seems to reflect this:

> Aprill: 1: This weeke the lord was good to us in all our outward mercies; and in the season which was dry and healthfull, this morning was a growing warme, moist morning, divers times this weeke I feared my navel, but through mercy it was not sore, the lord I trust will heale mee, I putt my trust in him, and am at rest.[121]

---

[115] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 160. 18 March 1649
[116] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 111. 13 February 1648.
[117] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 149.
[118] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 157. February 1649.
[119] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 157.
[120] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 157.
[121] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 162. 1 April 1649.

His earnest prayer that 'no corruption whatsoever have dominion over mee this week' seemed to have had a positive effect:

> all this weeke my navel was well I often supposed it ill, but I blesse god that it was neither moist nor open, it seemes to be a litle loosed, the lord in mercy hath healed me, oh keepe mee that I sin not, least a worse thing happen unto mee. [122]

Josselin's obsession with his own health may be described as neurotic. On the other hand, it might be considered quite within the range of normal for ill health to depress mood. Given the prevalence of humoral medicine, a Calvinist take on the interaction of body and soul, alongside a providential world view, it was impossible for Josselin not to understand his physical condition in terms of his own spiritual welfare. The corruption of his soul and his navel were as one, and the fact that his mood was responsive to variables like colds, and changes in the weather, might suggest that he was not so neurotic after all. His emotional responses conformed to the particular norms of his emotional community; but they also reveal something of his personality.

Within these complex relativities, Ralph's individuality is apparent. This assertion is supported by his reaction to tragedy. Nehemiah Wallington and Katherine Clarke were emotionally broken by the deaths of their respective children and suffered spiritual crises as a result. Ralph Josselin's diary records an entry for 31 July 1673:

> This morning after 2 of the clocke my deare Ann in her twentieth year died with mee at Colne. a good child, following her brother to London. and from thence hither, to lie in his grave, loving in their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. lying in the same grave[.] twenty three yeares before god opened the grave and Mary first the eldest of that brood and Ralph the youngest after, lay in the same grave[.] god hath taken 5 of 10. lord lett it bee enough. and spare that we may recover strength. [123]

His sadness at these losses is profound. Yet, it seems, so is his resilience. Having lost five of ten children, the prayer, 'Lord let it bee enough' is both plaintive and authentic. But the conviction of his beliefs and his emotional comportment still appear to be intact, despite such appalling tragedy. Just three days later he writes,

---

[122] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 163. 8 April 1649.
[123] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 568.

> Aug. 3. a misling morning, a Sabbath wherin my heart awakens for god to doe good to soules that he may bee glorified. my soule humbles it selfe before the Lord with hopes in his mercy[.] from whom I encourage my heart, to trust in him for all good, he wilbee my salvacion[.] Lord bee so to poore John and my daughters; a very wett day and sad time[,] god good in his word to mee giving mee a view of some fitnes for a better state.[124]

Josselin's expressions of mourning and faith can be understood as balanced and compliant with the doctrines which, as a minister, he understood and professed. Nevertheless, there is nothing to hint at the insincerity of these sentiments. Josselin can be observed in the process of actively mortifying his grief, and (so far as his journal permits us to see) he appears to have been largely successful. A few days later, on 10 August he states,

> God hath stood by mee in many straits, and carried mee through them. I trust he will carry mee through all the difficulties of my outward condicon and inward. I will stir up my heart from this promise, and god shall command his blessing: A fine morning, my heart presseth after god with delight in him as my porcion and my hope. god was good to mee in the sabbath word and affections, my heart working warmely after him.[125]

And in the days and weeks following he returned to a routine of recording the weather and its effect upon the harvest. Life went on.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

In his account of 'Shame and Guilt in Early New England', John Demos suggests that emotional character traits can be applied to New England puritans as a community. In his example this took the form of 'an extreme sensitivity to the opinions and attitudes of others'. 'Indeed', he says, 'Puritans maintained an expectation of *attack* as part of their cultural repertoire.'[126] This assessment may well apply to the generality of puritans both in the New World and in England, whilst the principle that character

---

[124] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, p. 568.
[125] Macfarlane, *Josselin*, pp. 568-9.
[126] John Demos, 'Shame and Guilt in Early New England', in R. Harré, and W. Gerrod Parrott, *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions* (London, 1996), pp. 74-88, p. 82.

traits can be ascribed to a group provides a useful analytical tool. Demos's suggestion that puritans shared a communal strain of paranoia seems to resonate with the observations above of a tendency to obsessions and anxieties. Such socially observed group sensitivities and expectations are compatible with the concept of an emotional community, and the accounts depicted here demonstrate how individuals expressed emotionality which conformed within the bounds of 'normal' for puritans.

However, a reading of the personal accounts of individual godly people also invites an appreciation of their singular emotional inclinations. These written manifestations of feeling are not phony or unreliable merely because they were recorded as part of a routine of spiritual exercise. Indeed, despite the constraints set by conditioning cultural and religious norms, their separate individualities and emotional propensities are very apparent, usually in response to moments of tragedy and loss. Indeed, the limitations of the genre of godly self-writing serve to highlight these expressions of personality. The stresses and ambivalences endured by these individuals evidence the degree to which each endured an inner struggle with their own socially constructed conceptualisation of a godly emotional regime.

From these accounts, we can discern the emotional behaviour of three quite different people whose commonalities allow us to confirm the existence of an emotional community. At the same time by observation of the individualities of emotional response we can observe the character of an emotional regime. Thus, it is possible to suggest that, whilst the two terms describe a different dynamic, the emotional community is functionally inseparable from the emotional regime. But, it is stressful relationship, and the examples of these godly people highlight the equivocal and sometimes paradoxical quality of puritan affective culture.

Conclusion

'Thus through God's mercy,
I continued the exercise of my Ministry for the space of forty years'.[1]

In *Emotions and Religious Dynamics* (2014), Douglas Davies makes the point that issues of religious experience seem 'more important than ever given the political and social weight carried by religious convictions, especially when allied with political agendas and religious apologetics.'[2] At the same time, as Lyndal Roper explains, the 'history of emotions is on our agenda because it brings us hard up against what is historical and socially constructed in human experience; and what is physiological.'[3] These twin perspectives suggest a validation for this study of emotions and religion in which I have considered what Davies describes as the 'emotional repertoire' and 'underlying emotional configurations of identity' of a distinctive historical religious tradition, and how this influenced its relationship with others.[4] My argument has been centred on the view that a concept of affective culture helps us to understand more fully the complex nature of political-religious identities as they developed in the seventeenth century. This study has adopted this approach by considering the relationship between culture, published text and affect. It has focused upon Presbyterianism as a competing orthodoxy at the centre of the nexus of religion and politics in England, and the work and career of Clarke as an example of how this community interacted with the world and sought to shape it. Differences in attitudes, beliefs and outlook relate closely to the contested cultural values that condition the cognition of individuals, and feeling attaches to all of these aspects, confirming, motivating and constructing. This is an iterative process (rather than a circular argument), a view of which helps to achieve a different perspective upon conflicts often considered by historians in other terms. Feeling and affect shaped and were shaped by the political, religious, cultural and social dimensions of seventeenth-

---

[1] Clarke, 'Life of the Author', *Lives of Sundry*, p. 11.
[2] Douglas James Davies, 'Introduction: Emotion, Identity and Group Communication', in Douglas James Davies and Nathaniel A. Warne (eds), *Emotions and Religious Dynamics* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 1-8, p. 1.
[3] Roper, *The Witch*, p. 87. She goes on to explain a context: 'This is the rock upon which gender history foundered in the 1990s.'
[4] Davies, 'Introduction', in Davies and Warne, *Emotions*, p. 1.

century crisis and conflict.

The historiography of puritanism continues, as ever, to be concerned with matters of definition and diversity. Recently, for example, in *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (2014)*,* W.B. Patterson, like Alec Ryrie, elides a distinction between puritanism and English Protestantism in general by highlighting Perkins' role in shaping the traditions of the Church of England.[5] This assessment seems to run counter to another tendency that stresses the cultural cohesion of godly identity, exemplified in Andrew Cambers' study of *Godly Reading* (2011).[6] And, Randall Pederson's *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603-1689* (2014), highlights the commonalities which suggest the existence of 'the "ethos" of the Puritan', and argues, quite reasonably, that different historiographical attempts at definition are 'all partially correct'.[7] Extrinsic and intrinsic studies, and indeed revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations, shed their own light, but inevitably manifest differences that relate to the specificities and contingencies of period and focus.[8] To this extent this study is no different in so far as I have chosen to highlight the emotional characteristics of mid-century orthodox Presbyterianism. But, by placing the emphasis within a context of affective culture, I have endeavoured to observe a dimension that spans the continuities and discontinuities across the period and provides insights into the relationship between communities, and between collective and individual identities. As Pederson says, 'there must be greater communication across disciplines in order to provide more holistic portraits of early modern Puritans.'[9] So the adjacent and interdisciplinary perspectives of cultural and emotions history, which are central to this study, do offer a means by which to address the challenges posed by the multifaceted religious-political identities of the period.

But the affective dimensions of puritanism also open upon new areas of debate: or perhaps, adapting von Clausewitz's aphorism, emotions history is the continuation of politics by other means. At the core of this is a divergence between John Stachniewski's view of the despairing, 'persecutory imagination' of puritans, backed

---

[5] Patterson, *Perkins*.
[6] Cambers, *Godly Reading*.
[7] Randall Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603-1689* (Leiden, 2014), p. 314. He studies the puritanism of John Downame (1571-1652), Francis Rous (1580/1-1659) and Tobias Crisp (1600-1642/3).
[8] See Lake, 'Historiography', in Coffey and Lim, *Puritanism*.
[9] Pederson, *Unity*, p. 311.

by Weber's bleak view of their 'extreme inhumanity', and a more recent rehabilitation of the vitality of the inner spiritual life advocated by scholars among whom Alec Ryrie is pre-eminent.[10] This is mirrored in different approaches to emotions history, particularly in the apparent dissonance between identities defined in terms of Rosenwein's emotional community and Reddy's emotional regime. Furthermore, constructions of affect and emotion - their private and public, social, physical and psychological dimensions - require some definition. And then there is the question of seventeenth-century ontological understanding of emotion and religious conceptions of spiritual life. I have tried to suggest that the godly experience of emotion, understood in terms of an inner spiritual and mystical experience, is nevertheless compatible with the idea of an emotional regime that insisted upon mortification of sinful affections, and that a conception of emotional community is also encompassed within this affective cultural habituation.

The approach I have adopted is broad in its methodological concept of emotions history, but also it is narrowly contextualised in its historical focus upon orthodox Presbyterianism and Clarke. The term affective culture is intended to embrace a broad approach to emotions history as a means of offering insights into puritan identities; it is thus intended to reflect the complexities of these ethno-affective identities whilst giving form and shape to them. Clarke's publications underpin and reveal his outlook and they sought to affect and shape the habitus of others. In an assessment which considers experience, language and expression as interrelated, I have argued that Clarke's output also evidences the existence of an emotional community. Although I have devoted chapters to different aspects, it has been my intention to demonstrate the interconnectedness between culture and affect. In this I have taken the view, as expressed by Jan Plamper, that emotional communities 'have affinities with Foucault's "discourse", Bourdieu's "habitus" and William Reddy's "emotives".'[11]

Community as 'an expression and a source of identity and meaning' inevitably has an affective dimension.[12] For *emotional* communities, affect is at the centre of a

---

[10] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*; Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, p. 104; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*; Ryrie and Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion*.
[11] Plamper, *History of Emotions*, p. 69.
[12] Shepard and Withington, *Communities*, p 8. They cite Jeffrey C. Alexander and Steve Seidman (eds), *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge, 1990), especially pp. 26-8.

system of beliefs and values, and characterises the face they show to the world and how others see them. One aspect of this study has observed Clarke's orthodox Presbyterianism as an emotional community, using this term flexibly to mean 'the historical "mind-sets" in which past emotions were expressed and understood,' as Andrew Lynch explains it.[13] The emotional community has been viewed from different perspectives, and at different moments. This study commenced with a focus upon a decisive moment as the Restoration settlement dashed Presbyterian ambitions and forced adherents to choose between impossible alternatives: episcopal Anglicanism and separatist nonconformity. The events of 1661 surrounding the Savoy Conference were pivotal in the story of Clarke's life and in this account of his emotional community. The anti-Presbyterian and highly emotive polemic, published during this period, revealed a deep rift that was surely wider and more bitter than one that can be imagined or understood solely in terms of political and ecclesiological differences and the belligerent rhetoric that found expression in such discourse. Cultures of affect on both sides underpinned cultures of difference; indeed, the effect of affect was to insist upon social, political and cultural discord.

However, communities are not monolithic, neither do they exist in a simple binary relationship to one another. Clarke's religious community transcended geographical location and social class; it existed inside familial structures and in local, national and, indeed, transnational congregations, and in a context of challenge and threat. Clarke's career was a paradigm of the Presbyterian ministry through the middle part of the century, from his preoccupation with the reform of manners as a parish minister in Alcester, through the turmoil and divisions of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, and in his role as a leading Presbyterian minister in London. This context of friction with others, including the alternative 'Puritanisms' of Independents and sectarians as they emerged in the 1640s and 1650s, emphasises the emotional aspect of religious communities, and provides sight of the porous nature or 'genome mosaic' of emotional community. Clarke's orthodox version of Presbyterianism sought to appropriate the legitimacy of godly feeling, defining rational affections not only in terms of the unruly passions of a personal spiritual struggle, but also against an assessment of the irrational passion of those others, like Quakers, who espoused

---

[13] Andrew Lynch, 'Emotional Community', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, pp. 3-6, p. 3.

heterodox doctrine and practice, and whose passions were perceived to translate into immoderate and immoral deportments and positions on Church practice and questions of toleration. In this way, a broad conception of emotional community helps to explain the cultural, political and religious conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century. It helps us to mark the fluidities of puritan culture as it evolved and, in this context, to mark the continuity and the boundaries of Clarke's orthodox religiosity as he sought to circumscribe the dimensions and character of its emotionality in relation to other forms of dissent and conformity.

The argument ventured in this thesis has worked through a dual conception of performativity. On the one hand, the idea that textual sources reflect cultural discourse and concepts and also work to shape the context has provided a foundation. The ontologically determinative quality of Clarke's vocabulary and range of content has been considered as shaping the character of his narratives, both reflecting and contributing to the cultural discourse from which it emerged. In these contexts, I have argued that textual accounts like Clarke's necessarily and deliberately included an affective quality that added to their potency. Furthermore, as Katie Barclay tells us, 'textual forms provide a key source of evidence to the making - the performance and so the experience - of emotion in the past.'[14] So, the second strand of performativity relates to the individual performance and experience of emotion. Alec Ryrie's view of the emotionality of the religious experience of Protestants is, to an extent, born out in this study. Cultural practices, which include textual forms, inevitably affected the way individual identity or selfhood was constructed. We cannot recreate the momentary feelings of individuals in the past, but we can observe how they wrote about their feelings and place these assessments in their proper cultural context.

Both of these elements of performativity also relate to a view of emotion and affect as in part socially constructed. I have taken as an assumption the view, expressed by Susan Broomhall, that 'emotional display and practice are culturally - and historically - specific, and should be understood as expressions of early modern society.'[15] I have also drawn upon the understanding of social psychologists like James Averill for whom emotions are social constructions, the experience of which are necessary to validate social norms, beliefs and values.[16] And, Monique Scheer's

---

[14] Katie Barclay, 'Performance', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 15.

[15] Susan Broomhall, 'Introduction', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, xxxvi.

[16] James Averill, 'Reading 21', in Parrott, *Emotions*, p. 351.

conception of emotion-as-practice has helped to provide a means by which the interaction of historical culture, social affect and physical disposition can be understood.[17] In this she adopts Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' to offer a view of how culture, cognition and emotion condition one another.[18] Clarke's texts were part of this cultural habitus and in this way they contributed to a culture of affect.

The performativity of language across different communities also speaks to the idea of different emotional communities. In Chapter Three I have discussed the way different concepts of 'zeal' conjured diverse and fundamentally emotional responses, and I have made comparisons of the nature of the vocabulary of religious-political discourse across a range opposing and diverging positions, which evidence the existence of contrasting and conflicting norms and values. This is one point at which Reddy's conception of emotives intersects. The vocabulary of published discourse often carried an emotive intent and effect. However, context also mattered and affect could be conveyed without necessarily using or specifying a language of emotional expression. Martyrdom, persecution, providence and toleration were emotive subjects because of their cultural importance. A cultural narrative of godly lives, martyrdom and the operation of divine providence, discussed in Chapter Four, crafted a performative and affective cultural script, as Anna Wierzbicka expresses it.[19] Clarke's narratives were representative of a cultural habituation to which they also contributed. In describing and attributing specific emotions to godly and ungodly behaviours they allocated norms to emotional expression and contributed to a cultural habitus. I have argued that sources like Clarke's narratives of godly lives and martyrs did not just represent a construction of affect applied to those described in the stories, but also that they constituted the 'social practice' of emotion.[20]

I have explained how Clarke's Reformed theology and accounts of godly lives established prototypical models of affect in terms of primary emotions, and how his puritan community understood anger, joy, love, sorrow, shame and fear in respect of the critical question of assurance of salvation. These questions of the understanding of emotion as part of religious experience and the relationship to broader cultural conceptions are central to my study because they address emotional identity. The

---

[17] Scheer, 'Emotions', p. 193.
[18] Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, pp. 53-6. Swartz, *Culture and Power*.
[19] Wierzbicka, *Emotions*.
[20] Katie Barclay, 'Performance', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p 15.

meaning of the word 'emotion' was fluid in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[21] Puritan thinkers discussed emotions using the thought of Aristotle and Augustine, and a concept of the three-part structure of the soul.[22] Emotions were located within a flourishing spirituality and a life lived according to godly reason, requiring the passions to be ordered.[23] However, this raises an issue that goes to the heart of an understanding of the puritan construction of emotion, because whilst sinful passions required moderation, religious zeal was the mark of godliness. The puritan doctrine of the mean, understood in terms of godly authenticity as opposed to a middle way between extremes, and their definition of the rationality of zeal did not only mark fundamental philosophical disagreements between puritans and others who might be described as eudaimonists, they marked fundamental differences in how the experience of emotion was interpreted.

These constructions were formulaic, and Clarke's presentations are easy to characterise as 'the baroque emotionalism of high puritan pietism'.[24] Nevertheless, it is evident that the imperative of experiencing godly feeling, and the need to mortify sin as a condition of the heart, affected the way individuals referenced their feelings. In the last part of this study, these discussions led on to a consideration of the relationship between social affect and the individual's experience of emotion. There are, as Stephanie Trigg points out, 'many areas of cultural theory, philosophy and the social science who claim a much more specific meaning for "affect", as quite separate from conscious or linguistic expression of feeling and emotion.'[25] And although it is usually helpful for the historian to try to escape this 'taxonomic morass' it is, nevertheless, useful sometimes to consider the distance between the social quality of affect and the personal experience of emotion. This is not at all intended to suggest an oppositional meaning as argued by Brian Massumi and Lauren Berlant, for example.[26]

---

[21] David Thorley, 'Towards a History of Emotion, 1562–1660', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28:1 (2013), pp. 3–19.

[22] See McGrade, A. S. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2003).

[23] See Nathaniel A. Warne, 'Metaphysics, Emotion and the Flourishing Life: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Use of Aristotle on Religious Emotions', in Davies and Warne, *Emotions*, pp. 75-94.

[24] P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe and Zwicker, *Writing Lives*, p. 311.

[25] Stephanie Trigg, 'Affect theory', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 11. See appendix two for key concepts, including emotion and affect, as referred to in this study.

[26] B. Massumi, 'The Autonomy of Affect', *Cultural Critique*, 31 (1995), pp. 83–109.

Social and cultural affect necessarily impact upon the internal experience and vice versa. Furthermore, historical context is important. Citing the work of Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, Trigg propounds the overtly social quality of early modern emotions.[27] Cultural emotional practice inevitably affected the way individual identity or selfhood was constructed because emotions are part of a performance of self that draws upon a cultural habituation. As Katie Barclay explains, 'human beings feel in response to material stimuli, but their performance of that emotion is both a learned behaviour and dependent on context.'[28] So, the emotional self that we have seen expressed in journals like those of Rastrick, Hall, Wallington and Josselin, or translated into godly biography as in the example of Katherine Clarke, was both social and personal. The 'private' emotions expressed were conditioned by the affective culture in which they were habituated. Cultural expectations framed how emotion was translated into personal experience.

The internal emotional life is of course difficult to pin down. Puritan constructions of the 'unspeakable joy' associated with the mystery of a spiritual union with Christ, an ideal that appears repeatedly in Clarke's accounts of godly lives and martyrs, was an aspirational model of an emotional prototype. It needs to be set against the imperative of mortification imposed by the perceived reality of the sinful corruption of all, and the universal requirement of spiritual introspection. But, especially when examining formulaic and prototypical examples like those supplied by Clarke, it is possible to lose sight of the lived reality for individuals. A close reading of the journals of Wallington and Josselin reveals fluctuating levels of neuroticism, stoical acceptance, contentment and deep anxiety. But is unclear how far their emotional behaviours are indicative of personality type and the other natural concerns and anxieties about health and life as it was lived in the seventeenth century. From a modern perspective, the requirements of moderation (in Shagan's sense of regulation) in grief and mourning do seem to register the sense of an emotional regime.[29] And, if for a moment we expurgate the pious modes of expression, Katherine Clarke's account of her inner struggles to manage in the face of devastating loss seem to resonate with

---

L. Berlant and J. Greenwald, 'Affect in the End Times: A Conversation with Lauren Berlant', *Qui Parle*, 20 (2010), pp. 71–89, p. 77.

[27] Stephanie Trigg, 'Affect Theory', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p 12. Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, *Passions*, p. 6. See quotation on p. 199 of this study.

[28] Katie Barclay, 'Performance', in Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 15.

[29] See Shagan, *Moderation*.

modern concepts of grief and depression. But, it is also possible that her Reformed faith allowed her to cope, and that the social and cultural requirement of moderation in grief she experienced is not so far removed from modern expectations. In any case expression was integral to cognition and experience. What is clear is that personal emotions were usually interpreted and expressed through the cultural conventions of religious piety, and this affected the face puritans like these presented to the world, and how the world responded to them. At the same time, their emotions as expressed reveal the traces of their individuality.

It is therefore in these terms that a concept of affective culture is valuable. That feeling actively related to political and religious orientations is manifest. The public face of affect reflected cultural conditionings, clarified identities, set the terms of the discourse between conflicting interests and affiliations, and shaped the inward experience.

Yet, despite its thematic structure, there is an historical narrative at the heart of this account. Samuel Clarke lived a long life; he was eighty-three when he died in 1682. He had born witness to, and participated in, dramatic events as the seventeenth century unfolded. Clarke was trained from childhood in the puritan Presbyterian ministry. He served this cause in various roles as curate, parish minister, senior representative and elder statesman. His many publications were intended to further the aims of the ministry. Clarke had also been nurtured in a godly household led by a patriarchal figure and his own family life reflected absolutely the same precepts. It is hard to underestimate how disappointing the apparent failure of the Presbyterian project of a national Church must have been for people like Clarke. His own ejection in 1662 would have been shattering. He suffered the loss of children and his beloved wife predeceased him in 1675. Yet, despite tragedy and setback in his life, it seems clear, as he was at pains to affirm in his own autobiography, that his experiences did not cause him to doubt or amend, but rather confirmed his outlook and worldview. For most people, personal tragedy, bereavement and career disappointment are life experiences that exact a high emotional toll. We do not know his innermost thoughts and feelings, yet Clarke was apparently planning the publication of his final major opus *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons of this Later Age*, just months before he died.[30] The narrative of his own life, contained therein, follows the same generic

---

[30] His 'Preface' is dated 25 March 1682. He died on 25 December 1682. See Lake,

pattern of all the other lives Clarke published. Furthermore, it fitted perfectly into the broader narrative of the continuity of Church history from apostolic times, and of national history presented as a story of Protestant manifest destiny. His commitment to his cause is evident and it speaks to the level of absolute certainty he felt about the deep spiritual and religious-political matters that had concerned his entire approach to life. He felt the guiding hand of providence in all things. By his own account, he was consistent, even stubborn, in thought, belief, attitude and behaviour. Peter Lake is no doubt right to argue that, in terms of the political stance and purposes of Clarke's work, there was a subtle shift after 1660, as Clarke expanded the range of the Presbyterian tradition to include respectable Independents and some episcopalians. He aimed to present a moderate and inclusive form of Presbyterianism. Nevertheless, this does not suggest a change to the deeper purposes or an adjustment of Clarke's beliefs, but merely confirms some subtlety of approach.

So, in this dissertation, there is a story of continuity set against a background of political, religious and social upheaval and change. And continuity was the constant theme of Clarke's discourse. But Clarke's career straddled the Restoration, and his Presbyterian orthodoxy came to inhabit a period in which the modes of puritan religious enthusiasm started to seem out of touch. In 1676, Robert Conold's conformist estimation of the distance between Dissenters who had 'not lost that Christian Temper of Modesty, and Humility', and those 'who hast given up thy Name, and thy Reason too', emphasised the importance of 'reason' over 'passion'.[31] Present historiography helps to explain Conold's appropriation of rationality: Mark Knights confirms that 'the idealization of reason marked late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century politico-religious discourse'.[32] For Barbara Tuchman 'the rejection of reason' was 'the prime characteristic of folly'.[33] And, no doubt, many of the positions and decisions taken on the basis of religious principle and feeling in this period can be demonstrated as 'folly', in Tuchman's sense, in that they can be seen ultimately as destructive to self-interest. But, surely this is a formula that can be applied right across the spectrum of religious-

---

'Reading Clarke's Lives', in Sharpe, and Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives*, pp. 303-8.
[31] Conold, 'To the Reader', *Notion of Schism*.
[32] Mark Knights, 'How Rational was the Later Stuart Public Sphere?', in Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 252–67, p. 252.
[33] Barbara Tuchman, *The March of Folly* (New York, 1984), p. 352.

political thought and action. In the wake of the Restoration Settlement, two thousand or so minsters like Clarke chose to accept ejection in 1662 rather than conformity. Schism was a great sin to these people, but so were toleration and heresy. In this context, faced with decisions involving conflicting goals and values, the decision not to conform seems both rational and irrational; in modern terms it seems to have been informed by beliefs that engaged both head and heart. Their cultural habituation, that merged a particular sense of godly reason with godly feeling, shaped their actions. Clarke's perception of reason and verifiable truth, and that of many others, depended upon a cultural and affective conditioning; they were inured in, and emotionally committed to, a particular version of the rational. In these circumstances it is small wonder that he bought into the 'folly' (as it turned out) of the popular narrative of the 'Popish Plot'.[34]

In this changing context the aging Samuel Clarke continued to advocate his orthodox conception of zeal as an essential quality of the piety of the godly ministers whose lives he anthologised. For Clarke, and the community he represented, feelings and spirituality were inseparably united and indicative of the state of the soul. The distinction that mattered was between bogus or unruly passions and authentic or rational affections. Pious zeal or religious enthusiasm, combined with the ability to mortify unruly passions, often looked irrational and uncivil to others but, if genuine rather than affected, these were the marks of godliness and assurance; rationality was defined by God not man. His affective nonconformist identity represented a lifelong continuity which attempted, as Larry Siekawitch puts it, 'to balance head and heart, seeking to learn from both perspectives by valuing all three faculties of the soul: mind, affections and will.'[35] This was an identity still defined by the essential rationality of religious zeal. In Robert Conold's reckoning Clarke died 'a Schismatick', ultimately, therefore, failing in that 'Christian Temper of Modesty and Humility'.[36] But Clarke would have felt quite differently.

This study has aimed to employ cross-disciplinary perspectives to access the nature of an historical religious culture in order to advance, as Davies and Warne put

---

[34] See Clarke's account of the plot, 'A Discourse Giving Some Account of the Late New Design of the Papists, Anno Domini, 1678. Against His Majesties Life, Government, and Protestant Religion', in Clarke, *England's Remembrancer* (1679).
[35] Larry Siekawitch, *Balancing Head and Heart in Seventeenth Century Puritanism: Stephen Charnock's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God* (Milton Keynes, 2012), p. 221.
[36] Conold, 'To the Reader', *Notion of Schism*,

it, 'our grasp of how emotion and identity interplay in the life of individuals and communities.'[37] It has proposed a concept of affective culture, viewing it in relation to the mid-seventeenth-century orthodox Presbyterianism, personified in the life and career of Samuel Clarke, and offering a different historical perspective on the political and religious conflicts of the period by drawing upon and developing emergent approaches to emotions history.

---

[37] Davies, 'Introduction', in Davies and Warne, *Emotions*, p. 8.

Appendix 1

Timeline of Clarke's Works

Date	Key Events	Publications
1640	Short Parlt, Second Bishops' war, Long Parlt meets Nov	
1641	Irish Rebellion, second army plot, Grand Remonstrance, Militia Bill, breakdown of censorship, Baptist statement of doctrine	
1642	Attempt to arrest 5 MPs, riots, King leaves London, Edgehill, Turnham Green	*The Saints Nosegay*
1643	Sieges Hull & Gloucester, Covenant with Scots, Clarke leaves Alcester for London, gains living at St Benet Fink, Westminster Assembly meets	*Englands Covenant Proved Lawful and Necessary*
1644	Marston Moor, Independents call for toleration, Congregationalist church in Hull	
1645	Self Denying Ordinance, New Model army, Naseby, Campaign for toleration, Levellers emerge	
1646	King surrenders to Scots, peace terms presented to King at Newcastle, delay, rejection, Westminster Confession of Faith	*A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse both for Saints and Sinners 1stedn*
1647	Parliament attempts to disband NMA, growing agitation and Leveller activity, Solemn Engagement, Army General Council, Heads of Proposals, Putney debates, King flees to Wight, Engagement with Scots, 2nd Civil War	
1648	Leveller talks end, new proposals to King, Pride's Purge	
1649	King executed, Lords abolished, Commonwealth est., Levellers arrested, army mutiny suppressed, pacification of Ireland	
1650	Fairfax succeeded by Cromwell, 3rd Civil War, Battle of Dunbar, Toleration Act	*The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie*
1651	Charles II defeated at Worcester, Presbyterian Plot, Toleration Act	*A Generall Martyrologie (including lives of sundry modern divines)*
1652		*A Martyrologie containing a collection of all the persecutions which have befallen the Church of England (including lives of ten English Divines)*
1653	Cromwell dissolves Rump, Army Council of State, Barebone's Parlt, Cromwell Lord Protector, Instrument of Government	*An Item Against Sacriledge; The Life of Tamerlane the Great*
1654	Forced 'recognition', purge of Fifth Monarchists	*Christian Good-Fellowship*
1655	Protectorate Parlt dissolved, Major-generals, Penruddock's rising	*A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 2nd edn; The Marrow 2nd edn*
1656	2nd Protectorate Parlt	*Englands Remembrancer - a true and full narrative of those two never to be forgotten deliverances; A Geographicall Description*
1657	Plot against Cromwell, Humble Petition, Cromwell refuses crown, new two chamber Parlt, Fifth Monarchist rising	*A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 3rd edn*
1658	Parlt. Dissolved, Death of Cromwell, Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector	
1659	3rd Protectorate Parlt, R. Cromwell forced to dissolve by Army Council, resigns, Rump Parlt recalled	*Golden Apples; A Caution against Sacriledge; Medulla Theologiæ*
1660	Rump dissolved by army and restored by Monck, Long Parlt restored, Long Parlt dissolved, Convention Parlt, Declaration of Breda, Charles II returns, Worcester House conference	*A Generall Martyrologie. 2nd edn; An Antidote against Immoderate Mourning for the Dead; The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines*
1661	Savoy Conference, Cavalier Parlt, censorship imposed, Corporation Act	

1662	Prayer Book, Act of Uniformity, Declaration of Indulgence, Black Bartholomew Day, Clarke ejected.	*A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent*
1663	Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn	
1664	Triennial Act, Conventicle Act	*Herod the Great; Nebuchadnezzar; Christ; Tamerlane.*
1665	2nd Dutch War, Five Mile Act	*Hannibal; Julius Cæsar; Alexander the Great; Pompey the Great; The Lives and Deaths of Such Worthies; A Briefe...Germany*
1666	War with France and Denmark, Great Fire. Clarke takes Oxford Oath moves to Isleworth	
1667	Dutch raid on Medway, Clarendon flees	*The Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*
1668		
1669		
1670		*Plantations of the English in America; Henry Cockeram's: The English Dictionary*
1671		*William the conqueror; Sir Francis Drake A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 4th edn; Englands Remembrancer 2nd edn*
1672	Declaration of Indulgence	*A Description of the Seaventeen Provinces*
1673	Bill for relief of Dissenters, Indulgence withdrawn, Duke of York known to be Catholic	*Edward the Black Prince*
1674	Test Act proposed, Comprehension and toleration raised in Parliament, Cabal disintegrates	*A Looking-Glass for Persecutors*
1675		*A Looking-Glass for Persecutors 2nd edn The Marrow 3rd edn; The Lives and Deaths of Most of those Eminent Persons*
1676		*England's Remembrancer, 3rd edn*
1677		*A Generall Martyrologie. 3rdedn; Life and Death of Mrs. Katherine Clarke; England's Remembrancer 4th edn*
1678	Titus Oates and Popish Plot, new Test Act, execution of York's secretary, Danby's secret negotiations with Louis XIV	
1679	Cavalier Parlt dissolved, 1st Exclusion Crisis, Covenanters' Rebellion	
1680	2nd Exclusion Bill. Proposals for comprehension and toleration	
1681	3rd Exclusion Bill, Oxford Parlt dissolved, Shaftesbury arrested, flees, dies	
1682	Clarke's Death Dec 25.	*The Illustrious Queen Elizabeth; A Warning-Piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers; Aurea Legenda, or Apothegms*
1683	Rye House Plot	*The Illustrious Queen Elizabeth 2nd edn; The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age*
1684	King refuses to summon Parlt	
1685	Death of Charles II, James II King, Monmouth Rebellion	
1686	King issues Directions to Preachers to suppress anti-Catholic sermons, Godden v Hales, New Court of Ecclesiastical Commission	
1687		
1688	Glorious Revolution	
1689	Toleration Act	*A New Description of the World*

Appendix Two

Key Concepts

1. Emotion and Affect

The relationship between 'emotion' and 'affect' as guiding concepts for historical study has sometimes been seen as problematic. Brian Massumi, for example, insists that affect and emotion are different.[1] Stephanie Trigg explains that in this view 'affects are often regarded as more social and collective in orientation as opposed to emotions.'[2] To an extent this divergence represents an interdisciplinary tension between humanities, social sciences, and cognitive sciences. However, despite the question of whether or not the term has currency in the period in question, '"emotion" has become the default umbrella term', and 'many cultural historians and critics use "emotion" and "affect" and their adjectival forms "emotional" and "affective" interchangeably, often as a deliberate choice.'[3] This is indeed the choice I have made in this study. By invoking Monique Scheer's approach to the study of emotion as a form of cultural practice, 'driven by both mind and body as well as historical traditions and conventions', I have hoped to evade what has been described as a 'taxonomic morass'.[4]

So, much of this study is concerned with the collective and social operation of affect. However, I have also aimed to show how the public dimension of affect was translated and negotiated in the emotional life of individuals.[5] This is an aspect that places people in their early modern social and cultural context by recognising, as Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson put it, that 'The way we describe the workings of our bodies and minds, and how we characterize our habituation in the world may shape

---

[1] Massumi, 'Autonomy'.

[2] Trigg, 'Affect Theory', Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions*, p. 11. See Sara Ahmed, 'Happy Objects', in M. Gregg and G.J. Seigworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 29–51, quote 30.

[3] Trigg, 'Affect Theory', p. 11.

[4] Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, *Passions*, p. 6.

[5] See R. Meek and E. Sullivan (eds), *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). This focuses upon reading emotions in a cultural context rather than a more usual emphasis upon the humoral model.

and colour our emotional experiences.'[6] In this way I have taken the view of emotions history, expressed by Ryrie and Schwanda, that 'What unites the field as a whole' is 'the conviction that no understanding of historical cultures can be convincing unless it is grounded in the inner experiences of which those cultures consisted.'[7]

2. Emotional Community

This term is used in this study to describe a community or group in terms of shared feeling or affect within the group, and about (either towards or against) a common object. Groups or communities thought of in this way may be large or small, and may exist across geographical distance and the passage of time. They may fluctuate in terms of scale and intensity. But, because they arise from and help to create a common set of socially constructed values (whether social, religious, political or ethical), cultural norms of understanding, and behaviour and outlook, members of emotional communities will identify with common emotional stressors, understanding and expressing feeling in comparable terms. It follows that those who share political or religious views, or belong to connected social groups or social strata, may well also be said to identify often with a particularly emotional community. But, emotional communities, as defined here, will sometimes traverse these identities, and this is what makes the concept useful.

3. Emotional Regime

 Emotional regime is meant to describe the dynamic whereby an individual has to navigate the norms of the culture and society she or he inhabits in terms of a perception of the requirement to feel and express feeling that is appropriate. So, emotional regime speaks to the sometimes stressful relationship between the socially normative dimensions of affect and the characteristics and individuality of personal identity.

4. Affective Culture

Affective culture (or culture of affect) is a broader term that describes the emotional aspect of an historical culture. It embraces both the emotional community and the

---

[6] Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, *Passions*, p. 16. NB. This is a description that relates to phenomenological psychology: the study of subjective experience as 'Being-in-the-World'. This was associated originally with the work of Edmund Husserl.
[7] Ryrie and Schwanda, 'Introduction', *Puritanism and Emotion*, p. 7.

emotional regime in a way intended to suggest that historical cultures, like the godly culture in this study, necessarily involve both dimensions. At another level, its use allows the opportunity to assert, that emotions are both culturally contingent and biologically innate: they manifest on the interface between the individual and the social. A culture may be described as affective because it prescribes and constructs modes of emotional practice and performance, and often finds expression in affective terms. At the same time, these prescriptions and constructions tap into an inherent human propensity to express and act upon feelings, the modality of which depend greatly upon cultural habituation. The broad concept of affective culture is intended to facilitate an exploration of the liminal relationship between the public dimension of affect and the internal experience of the individual.

5. Other Emotions History Concepts

Culturally accepted emotions have been described as 'emotional styles'. William M. Reddy argues that socialisation according to social norms of an emotion style punishes non-compliance.[8] Barabara Rosenwein discusses how emotional styles may indicate variations of emotional vocabularies, and how the rise and fall of such emotional styles may suggest long term political, social and ideological change. Rosenwein also discusses 'emotion scripts' in terms of a process of social interaction. She also considers a model of 'emotional circles' which relates to another idea of emotional communities as similar to a genome mosaic.[9] Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities also bears comparison to Brian Stock's concept of 'textual communities' based on shared assumptions about the meaning of text.[10] Sara Ahmed uses the term 'affective economies' to suggest the materiality of emotions that circulate and acquire value like a form of capital.[11]

---

[8] William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love* (Chicago, 2012).

[9] B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006), *Generations of Feeling*, and 'Worrying about Emotions History', *The American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002), pp. 821-845.

[10] B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

[11] Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*. For a lucid explanation see Sarah Randles, 'Materiality', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London; New York, 2017), pp. 17-20.

Appendix Three

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of 135 Emotion Names

Primary Emotion	Secondary Emotion	Tertiary Emotion
Love	Affection	adoration, affection, love, fondness, liking, attraction, caring, tenderness, compassion, sentimentality
	Lust	arousal, desire, lust, passion, infatuation
	Longing	longing
Joy	Cheerfulness	amusement, bliss, cheerfulness, gaiety, glee, jolliness, joy, delight, enjoyment, gladness, happiness, jubilation, elation, satisfaction, ecstasy, euphoria
	Zest	enthusiasm, zeal, zest, excitement, thrill, exhilaration
	Contentment	contentment, pleasure
	Pride	pride, triumph
	Optimism	eagerness, hope, optimism
	Enthrallment	enthrallment, rapture
	Relief	relief
Surprise	Surprise	amazement, surprise, astonishment
Anger	Irritation	aggravation, irritation, agitation, annoyance, grouchiness, grumpiness
	Exasperation	exasperation, frustration
	Rage	anger, rage, outrage, fury, wrath, hostility, ferocity, bitterness, hate, scorn, spite, vengefulness, dislike, resentment
	Disgust	disgust, revulsion, contempt, loathing
	Envy	envy, jealousy
	Torment	torment
Sadness	Suffering	agony, suffering, hurt, anguish
	Sadness	depression, despair, hopelessness, gloom, glumness, sadness, unhappiness, grief, sorrow, woe, misery, melancholy
	Disappointment	dismay, disappointment, displeasure
	Shame	guilt, shame, regret, remorse
	Neglect	alienation, isolation, neglect, loneliness, rejection, homesickness, defeat, dejection, insecurity, embarrassment, humiliation, insult
	Sympathy	pity, sympathy
Fear	Horror	alarm, shock, fear, fright, horror, terror, panic, hysteria, mortification
	Nervousness	anxiety, nervousness, tenseness, uneasiness, apprehension, worry, distress, dread

268

This table is drawn from 'Reading 1, Emotion Knowledge: Further Exploration of a Prototype Approach', by P. Shaver, J. Schwarz, D. Kirson, and G O'Connor, in Parrott *Emotions*, pp. 26-56, and based on the detailed analysis of a study described on pp. 32-38. In the study one hundred students were asked to sort cards displaying emotion terms into categories of their own choosing, and the results were analysed statistically. It will be noted that the same emotion word designation appears occasionally in different subcategories reflecting the polyvalence of such words. 'For example, within the love category, the affection subcategory seems to designate the generic form of love, which Sternberg and Grajek found applies to friendship, family relations, and marital relations.' There are also reservations about the 'surprise' cluster which is smaller and less differentiated. See S. Grajek and R. J. Sternberg, 'The Nature of Love', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 47 (1984), pp. 119-135. Daniel Goleman presents a similar classification in Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence*, Appendix A, pp. 289-90.

Appendix Four

'Principle Things' contained in *A Generall Martyrology* (1651)

Anabaptist wickedness	Love of Christians
Anger Implacable	Meekness of Christians
Apostasy dangerous, wickedness	Ministers martyred
Burnt (Bibles)	Ministers sheltered
Blasphemy	Miracles
Charity	Mothers encouraging children in their
Chastity	sufferings (– appears several times,
Children Martyrs	also parents)
Suffering children encouraged by parents	Nobility true
Christians Slandered	Ordination
Murdered in churches	Patience in suffering
Reproached	Perfidiousness
Conscience evil	Persecution spreads the gospel
Constancy	Persecutors converted
Conversions strange	Plagues terrible
Comfort at death, in afflictions	Popish Perfidiousness
Courage	Popish malice, subtilty, uncleanness
Cruelty of heathens, hereticks, schismatics,	Prayer in times of danger, powerful and
papists	prevalent
Subtilty of devil	Predictions and prophesies
Dissimulation	Prodigies
Edicts and laws good, cruel	Pride
Envy	Profaneness
Faith	Providence
False witness	Prudence
Famines terrible	Recovery
Fasting and prayer	Riches are snares
Fidelity	Schismatics plagued by god, profane,
Flattery	subtle
Flight – persecution	Schism come from pride
Hereticks – profane- proud- subtile	Scripture
Heroical acts	Soul dutiful and loving
Human(e) frailty	Southsayers (soothsayers) wickedness
Humility	Speeches excellent
Husbands malice against wife	Subtilty of the church enemies
Hypocrisie	Success no sign of good cause
Idolatry gross, detested, reformed	Sympathy
Jews murthered refusing to fight on the	Synods
Sabbath	Temptation resisted
Ignorance	Thanksgiving for mercies, for sufferings
Image of Apollo broken with lightening	Treachery rewarded (as in punished)
Ingratitude	Visions
Inquisition	Vainglory
Joy unspeakable	Wife good
Joy in tribulations	Wisdom of Christians (see prudence)
Judases	Witnesses false plagued by god
Judgements of god	Women's courage
Life refused	Zeal

'Principall Things' contained in The English Martyrology (1652)

Afflictions spiritual the greatest	Modesty
Apostasy, dangerous	Money contemned
Beating and Whipping	Mothers unnatural
Bibles burnt	Child suffering
Blasphemy	Patience
Brothers unnatural	Peace
Charity	Perjury punished
Chastity	Perfidiousness
Comfort at death	Persecutions
Conversion	Persecutors plagued by god
Conscience terrified	Pestilence
Counsel good	Piety
Courage and constancy in persecution	Plenty attends peace
Cowardize punished	Testimonies against pope
Cruelty	Popish subtilty
Death not feared	Popish cruelty
Death	Popish ignorance
Despair divisions drunkenness	Prayer and fasting
Fathers unnatural	Prayer powerful
Faith	Prayer the best refuge in dangers
Flight – persecution, refused	Predictions
Friendship	Pride dangerous
Stephen Gardiners wicked life and woful	Profaneness
death	Prodigies
Gospel – blessings, prospers, though	Prophesies
persecuted	Providences special and extraordinary
Dangerous heresy	Prudence
Hereticks burnt	Recovery after relapses
Humility	Repentance
Unnatural husbands	Mercy
Good husbands	Sabbath
Hereticks dangerous	Scoffers punished
Hypocrisie	Scripture
Idolatry destroyed	Signs given
Industry	Sin
Ingratitude	Judgement
Injustice punished	Speeches
Joy in tribulation	Temptations resisted
Just judgements	Valour
Laws good	Visions
Laws wicked	Vows
Learning advanced	Whipping
Lyes	Wives good/wicked
Justice	Zeal
Martyrs, martyred archbishop	
Ministers faithful	
Ministry true	
Miracles	

Appendix Five

The Character of a Happy Life.

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's Will,
Whose Armour is his honest thought
And simple Truth his utmost skill?

Whose Passions not his Masters are,
Whose Soul is still prepar'd for Death;
Unty'd unto the World by care
Of Publick Fame, or private breath.

Who envies none whom Chance doth raise:
Nor Vice hath ever understood.
How deepest Wounds are given by Praise;
Nor Rules of State, but Rules of Good.

Who hath his Life from Rumours freed;
Whose Conscience is his strong Retreat:
Whose State can neither Flatterers feed,
Nor ruin make Oppressors great.

Who God doth late, and early pray,
More of his Grace, than Gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmless Day
With a Religious Book, or Friend.

This Man is freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;
Lord of himself tho not of Lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

Sr. Henry Wotton.

From Clarke, *Aurea Legenda* (London, 1682), pp. 96-7.

Bibliography

Manuscript sources

Bodleian

Correspondence and Papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1640-9, MS Rawl: Lett. (1): 50, fol. 9.

British Library

Diary of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, Add. MSS 45965, March 1665/6-November 1673', fols. 122v-123v.

Nehemiah Wallington, historical and autobiographical notes and meditations, Sloane MS 1457, 'A Memorial of God's Judgements upon Sabbath Breakers, Drunkards and Other Vile Livers'.

Nehemiah Wallington, historical and autobiographical notes and meditations, Add. MSS 40883, 'The Groth of a Christian'.

Nehemiah Wallington, Letter Book, Sloane MS 922, 'Profitable and Comfortabl Letters'.

The Diary of Thomas Dugard, Add. MSS 23146.

Dr Williams's Library

Thomas Hall, 'A briefe Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Thomas Hall late Pastor of Kings-Norton', Baxter papers, MS 61.1.

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Nehemiah Wallington Journal, 'An Extract of the Passages of my Life', MS V.a.436.

London Metropolitan Archives

Nehemiah Wallington, Journal, 'A Record of God's Marcys, or a Thankfull Remembrance', MS 204.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge

Samuel Ward Commonplace Book 1596-9, MS 45, fols 17v, 59v.

University of Leeds Special Collections

Diary of Ralph Thoresby, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 21.

Warwickshire County Records Office

Warwick Castle MSS (Alcester's Court Leet), CR1886/1323.

York Minster Archives

Diary of Henry Stubbs, Add. MSS 214.

Published primary sources

- All titles were published in London unless otherwise stated.
- Short-Title Catalogue (STC and Wing) and Thomason Tract numbers are provided to aid identification and disambiguation.

i.   Samuel Clarke's published works in date order

The Saints Nosegay, or, A Posie of 741 Spirituall Flowers Both Fragrant and Fruitfull, Pleasant and Profitable (Henry Overton,1642), C4555 (Wing).

Englands Covenant Proved Lawful and Necessary (Henry Overton, 1643), C4508 (Wing), C4506 (Wing), C4506 (Wing 2nd edn), E. 600[5] (Thomason).

A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners (1646), C4548 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1104[1] Thomason.

The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie (1650), C4543 (Wing 2nd edn), E. 591[1] Thomason.

The Second Part of The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History (1650), C4556 (Wing) and C4556A (Wing 2nd edn), E.611[1] Thomason.

A Generall Martyrologie (1651), C4513 (Wing)*,* including *The Lives of Sundry Modern Divines*, C4538A (Wing).

A Martyrologie Containing a Collection of All the Persecutions which have Befallen the Church of England since the First Plantation of the Gospel to the End of Queen Maries Reign (1652), C4546 (Wing), including lives of ten English divines, Jasper Coligni and Joanne of Navarre.

An Item Against Sacriledge - or, Sundry Queries Concerning Tithes (1653), C4525 (Wing 2nd edn), E.712[3] Thomason.

The Life of Tamerlane the Great (1653), C4535 (Wing 2nd edn), E.686[14] Thomason.

A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners (1654), C4549 (Wing).

The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History (1654), C4544 (Wing).

The First Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History (1654), C4544A (Wing).

Christian Good-Fellowship, or, Love and Good Works Held Forth in a Sermon Preached at Michael's Cornhill London Before the Gentlemen Natives of Warwickshire at their Feast November the 30, 1654 (1655), C4505 (Wing).

A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Both for Saints and Sinners (1657), C4551 (Wing).

Englands Remembrancer - A True and Full Narrative of Those Two Never to be Forgotten Deliverances, the One from the Spanish Invasion in Eighty Eight, the Other from the Hellish Powder Plot, November 5, 1605: Whereunto is Added the Like Narrative of that Signal Judgement of God upon the Papists, by the Fall of the House in Black-Friers, London, upon Their Fifth of November, 1623 (1657), C4510 (Wing).

A Geographicall Description of All the Countries in the Known World (1657), C4516 (Wing).

A Caution Against Sacriledge or Sundry Queries Concerning Tithes (1659), C4504. (Wing 2nd edn), E.989[18] Thomason.

Medulla Theologiæ, or, The Marrow of Divinity (1659), C4547 (Wing).

Golden Apples - Or Seaonable and Serious Counsel...Collected out of the Writings of the Most Orthodox, and Judicious Divines, both Presbyterians, and Independents (1659), C4518 (Wing 2nd edn), E. 1881[3] Thomason. (NB. Thomas Hall's copy is in The Library of Birmingham, Thomas Hall Library, A094/1659/10).

An Antidote Against Immoderate Mourning for the Dead. Being a Funeral Sermon Preached at the Burial of Mr. Thomas Bewley Junior, December 17th. 1658 (1659/60), C4501 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1015[5] Thomason.

A Generall Martyrologie...whereunto are added two and twenty lives of English modern divines...as also the life of the heroical Admiral of France slain in the partisan massacre and of Joane Queen of Navarre (1660), C4514 (Wing).

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. The humble and grateful acknowledgement of many ministers of the Gospel in, and about the city of London to his Royal Majesty for his gracious concessions in his Majesties late declaration concerning ecclesiastical affaires (1660), T1517 (Wing), 669.f.26[28] Thomason.

The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines (1660), C4540 (Wing). NB. Also included in 2nd edn of *General Martyrology* (1660), C4514 (Wing) and 3rd edn as *Lives of Thirty-Two* (1677), C4515 (Wing).

A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines (1662), C4506 (Wing). NB. Also included in 3rd edn of *General Martyrology* as *Lives of Thirty-Two* (1677), C4515 (Wing).

The Wicked Life and Wofull Death of Herod the Great (1664), C4560 (Wing).

The Life and Death of Nebuchadnezzar, the Great (1664), C4530 (Wing).

The Blessed Life and Meritorious Death of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (1664), C4502 (Wing).

The Life of Tamerlane the Great (1664), C4535B (Wing).

The Life and Death of Nebuchadnezzar, the Great (1665), C4530A (Wing).

The Blessed Life, and Meritorious Death of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ - The second edition (1665), C4502A (Wing 2nd edn).

The Life and Death of Julius Cæsar...also, The Life and Death of Augustus Cæsar, in Whose Raign Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Chri[s]t was Born (1665), C4529 (Wing).

The Life and Death of Hannibal (1665), C4528 (Wing).

The Life and Death of Alexander the Great...also, The Life and Death of Charles the Great, Commonly Called Charlemagne, the First Founder of the French Empire (1665), C4526(Wing), C4527 (Wing).

The Life and Death of Pompey the Great...also The Life and Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon (1665), C4531 (Wing 2nd edn).

The Lives and Deaths of Such Worthies (1665), C4536 (Wing).

A Briefe and Yet Exact and Accurate Description of the Present State of the Great and Mighty Empire of Germany (1665), C4503 (Wing).

A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America (1670), C4558 (Wing).

Henry Cockeram's: The English Dictionary, or, An Expositor of Hard English Words...The Twelfth Edition Revised and enlarged by S.C. (1670), C4871 (Wing 2nd edn).

A Mirrour or Looking-Glass Both for Saints and Sinners (1671), C4552 (Wing).

A Geographical Description of All the Countries in the Known World Whereunto are now Added an Alphabetical-Description of all the Counties in England and Wales, and of the Four Chiefest English Plantations in America (1671), C4517 (Wing).

The Life and Death of the Valiant and Renowned Sir Francis Drake (1671), C4533 (Wing).

The Life and Death of William, surnamed the Conqueror, King of England and Duke of Normandy (1671), C4534 (Wing).

A True and Full Narrative of Those Two Never to be Forgotten Deliverances One from the Spanish Invasion in 88, the other from the Hellish Powder Plot, November 5, 1605 (1671), C4559 (Wing).

A Description of the Seaventeen Provinces Commonly Called the Low-Countries (the present stage of action) (1672), C4507 (Wing).

The Life and Death of the Thrice Noble and Illustrious Edward Surnamed the Black Prince (1673), C4532 (Wing).

A Looking-Glass for Persecutors (1674), C4541 (Wing).

A Looking-Glass for Persecutors (1675), C4542 (Wing).

The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History Divided into Two Parts (1675) C4545 (Wing).

The Lives and Deaths of Most of those Eminent Persons Who by Their Virtue and Valour Obtained the Sirnames of Magni, or the Great. (1675) C4537 (Wing).

England's Remembrancer (1676), C4511 (Wing).

England's Remembrancer (1677), C4512 (Wing).

The Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines (1677), C4539 (Wing). NB. Also included in the third edition of *General Martyrology* (1677), C4515 (Wing).

A General Martyrologie (1677), C4515 (Wing).

A Looking-Glass for Good Women to Dress Themselves by Held Forth in the Life and Death of Mrs. Katherine Clarke, Who Dyed, Anno Christi, 1675. Late Wife of Mr. Samuel Clarke, Minister (1677), C4540A (Wing 2nd edn). NB. Included in *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683).

England's Remembrancer (1679), C4512A (Wing).

The History of the Glorious Life, Reign, and Death of the Illustrious Queen Elizabeth (1682), C4523 (Wing).

A Warning-Piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers Faithfully Collected from the Works of English and Foreign Learned Authors of Good Esteem, Mr. Samuel Ward and Mr. Samuel Clark, and Others (Printed for the author, at the sign of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey near Fleeet-bridge, 1682), W931 (Wing).

Aurea Legenda, or Apothegms, Sentences, and Sayings of Many Wise and Learned Men, Useful for All Sorts of Persons (1682), C4488A (Wing).

The History of the Glorious Life, Reign, and Death, of the Illustrious Queen Elizabeth (1683), C4524 (Wing).

The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age in Two Parts - I. of Divines, II. of Nobility and Gentry of Both Sexes… With the Life of the Author, and To the Reader by Richard Baxter (1683), C4538 (Wing).

A New Description of the World (1689), C4554(Wing).

A New Description of the World (1696), C4554A (Wing).

A General Martyrology (Glasgow: J. Galbraith and Company, 1770), N018257 (estc).

ii.   Other printed primary sources

A Countrey Minister, *Terms of Accomodation, Between Those of the Episcopall, and their Brethren of the Presbyterian Perswasions Supposed to be Consistent with the Declared Principles of the Most Moderate of Both Parties, and Humbly Presented to the Consideration of His Majesty, and Both Houses of Parliament* (1661), T756 (Wing).

Alleine, Richard (attributed), *A Murderer Punished and Pardoned* (1677), A997 (Wing).

Alleine, Theodosia, *The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine* (1672), A1011A (Wing 2nd edn).

Ames, William, (1576-1633), *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof Devided into V. Bookes.* (Leyden and London: 1639), 552 (STC 2nd edn)

Anon., *A Nest of Serpents Discovered. Or a Knot of Old Heretiques Revived, Called The Adamites* (1641), N470 (Wing 2nd edn), E.168[12] (Thomason).

⸺ *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to The Truth of Jesus Christ and to The Solemn League and Covenant, As Also Against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these Times and of The Toleration of Them* (1648), B1674C (Wing 2nd edn), E.438[4] (Thomason). Attributed to James Biddle by Wing (2nd edn, 1972).

⸺ *An Apologeticall Declaration of the Conscientious Presbyterians of London* (London, 1649), A3935A (Wing).

—— *The Execution of the Covenant, Burnt by the Common-Hang-Man Edw. Dun, Presbyter, May 22. 1661* (1661), E3854 (Wing).

—— *A Lively Pourtraict of our New-Cavaliers, Commonly Called Presbyterians* (1661), L2594 (Wing).

—— *Semper Eadem, or, A Reference of the Debate at the Savoy, 1661, to The Conference at Hampton-Court, 1603/4* (1662), S2491 (Wing).

—— *A Catalogue of the Names of those Holy Martyrs who were Burned in Queen Maries Reign* (1679), C1404 (Wing).

—— By a Lover of Moderation, Resident upon his Cure, *Moderation a Vertue, or, A Vindication of the Principles and Practices of the Moderate Divines and Laity of the Church of England* (1683), 0772 (Wing). (Listed sometimes as by John Owen).

Ayres, Philip, *Vox Clamantis, or, An Essay for the Honour, Happiness and Prosperity of the English Gentry, and the Whole Nation* (1684), A4314 (Wing).

Ball, John (1585-1640), *Power of Godliness...Both Doctrinally and Practically Handled* (1657), B561 (Wing).

Barckley, Sir Richard (1578?-1661), *The Felicitie of Man, or, His Summum Bonum* (1598), 1381 (STC 2nd edn).

Baxter, Richard, *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), B1383 (Wing).

—— *A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live* (1658), B1196 (Wing).

—— *A Breviate of the Life of Margaret, the Daughter of Francis Charlton of Appley in Shropshire esq., and Wife of Richard Baxter* (1681), B1194 (Wing).

—— *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (1696), B1370 (Wing).

—— *Preservatives Against Melancholy and Overmuch Sorrow: Or the Cure of Both by Faith and Physick* (written about 1683, published 1713), T174807 (estc).

Beadle, John, *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian Presented in Some Meditations Upon Numb. 33:2 by J.B., Master of Arts, and Minister of the Gospel at Barnstone in Essex* (1656), B1557 (Wing).

Beard, Thomas, *The Theatre of Gods Judgements; or, a Collection of Histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiastical, and Prophane Authors, Concerning the Admirable Judgements of God Upon the Transgressours of His Commandements* (1597), 1659 (STC 2nd edn).

Bellamie, John, *A Justification of the City Remonstrance* (1646), B1814 (Wing 2nd edn).

Billingsley, Nicholas (1633-1709), *Brachy-Martyrologia, or, A Breviary of All the Greatest Persecutions Which Have Befallen the Saints and People of God from the Creation to our Present Times* (1657), B2910 (Wing).

Brooke, Robert Greville Baron, *The Nature of Truth, its Union and Unity with the Soule* (1641), B4913 (Wing).

—— *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie Which is Exercised in England* (1641), B4911 (Wing).

Bunyan, John, *Grace Abounding to The Chief of Sinners* (1666), B5523 (Wing).

Burges, Anthony, *The Doctrine of Original Sin Asserted and Vindicated Against the Old and New Adversaries Thereof, Both Socinians, Papists, Arminians and Anabaptists* (1658), B5645 (Wing); (1659), B5646 (Wing).

Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: 1621), 4159 (STC 2nd edn).

Butler, Samuel (attributed), *Hudibras, The First Part Written in the Time of the Late Wars* (1663), B6297 (Wing).

—— *Hudibras in Three Parts* (1684), B6319 (Wing).

Byfield, Nicholas, *An Exposition Upon the Epistle to the Colossians* (1615), 4216 (STC 2nd edn).

—— *Sermons upon the First Chapter of the First Epistle Generall of Peter* (1617), 4234 (STC 2nd edn).

—— *The Marrow of the Oracles of God* (1630), 4222 (STC 2nd edn).

Calamy, Edmund, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, Who Were Ejected and Silenced After the Restoration in 1660* (1727), T109851 (estc).

Calvin, John, tr. Thomas Norton, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1561), 4415 STC (2nd edn).

Chamberlayne, Edward (1616-1703), *The Converted Presbyterian, or, The Church of England Justified in a Serious Discourse Between George, a Devout English Protestant, and Andrew, a Zealous Scotch Presbyterian, Touching Some Practices in the Church of England* (1668), C1838 (Wing).

Charles II (and George Monck, Duke of Albemarle), *King Charles II. His Declaration to All His Loving Subjects of the Kingdom of England. Dated from his Court at Breda in Holland, the 4/14 of April 1660. And read in Parliament, May, 1. 1660. Together with his Majesties Letter of the Same Date, to his Excellence the Lord General Monck* (Edinburgh: 1660), C2985 (Wing 2nd edn).

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, 2 vols

(Oxford, 1857).

Conold, Robert, *The Notion of Schism Stated According to the Antients, and Considered with Reference to the Non-Conformists, and the Pleas for Schismaticks* (1676), C5891 (Wing).

Corbet, John, *The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion the First and Second Parts:* (George Thomason, 1661), C6256 (Wing).

⸺ *A Second Discourse of the Religion of England* (1668), C6263 (Wing).

Crofton, Zachary, *Catechizing Gods Ordinance* (1657), C6990 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1665[1] (Thomason).

Denham, John (1615-1669), *The True Presbyterian Without Disguise or, A Character of a Presbyterains Wayes and Actions, in Verse* (1661), D1012 (Wing 2nd edn, 1994), E.1086[11] (Thomason).

Dent, Arthur*, The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heaven* (1601), 6626 (STC 2nd edn).

Downame, George (d. 1634), *A Briefe Summe of Divinitie* (1652), D2058 (Wing).

Downham, John (d. 1652), *The Conflict Betweene the Flesh and the Spirit* (1618), 7139 (STC 2nd edn).

Dryden, John (1631-1700), *The Hind and the Panther: A Poem, in Three Parts* (1687), D2282 (Wing).

Du Moulin, Peter (1601-84), *Of Peace and Contentment of Minde* (1657), D2560 (Wing 2nd edn), E. 1571[1] (Thomason).

Dyke, Daniel, *Two Treatises. The One, of Repentance, The Other, of Christs Temptations* (1616), 7408 (STC 2nd edn).

Edwards*, Thomas, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena* (1646), E227 (Wing).

Featley, Daniel, *The Dippers Dipt* (1646), F587 (Wing).

Fenner, William, *A Treatise of the Affections* (1650), F708 (Wing).

Fox, George (d. 1661), *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings Given Forth by that Faithful Servant of God and his People George Fox the Younger* (1662), F1996 (Wing).

Fox, George (1624-1691), *Something in Answer to Lodowick Muggleton's Book...and Something in Answer to Samuel Clarke, Who Calls Himself a Pastor in His Book Called A Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners* (1667), F1914 (Wing).

⸺ *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings and Christian Experiences &c. of George Fox*, (1694), F1854 (Wing).

Foxe, John, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Dayes* (1563), 11222 (STC 2nd edn).

—— *A Sermon of Christ Crucified, Preached at Paul's Crosse* (1570), 11242.6 (STC 2nd edn).

—— *Martyrologia Alphabetikē, or, An alphabetical Martyrology* (1677),   F2042 (Wing).

—— *Acts and Monuments of Matters Most Special and Memorable* (The Company of Stationers, 1684), F2036 (Wing).

Fuller, Thomas, *The Church-History of Britain* (London, 1655), F2416 (Wing).

—— *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), F2441(Wing).

Geree, John, *The Character of an Old English Puritan, or Non-Conformist* (1646), G590 (Wing); (1659), G592 (Wing); (1672), G593 (Wing).

Goodwin, John, *An Apologeticall Narration* (1643), G1225 (Wing).

—— *Theomachia* (Henry Overton, 1644), G1206 (Wing).

—— *Twelve Considerable Cautions* (Henry Overton, 1646), G1211 Wing (2nd edn), Thomason, E.322[31]. (NB. Thomas Hall's copy is in The Library of Birmingham, Thomas Hall Library, 094/C27).

Greenham, Richard, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham* (1612), 12318 (STC 2nd edn).

Hales John, *A Tract Concerning Schisme and Schsmaticks* (1642) H277 (Wing); (1700), H279 (Wing).

Hall, Thomas (1610-1665), *The Pulpit Guarded with XX Arguments* (1651), H437 (Wing).

—— *The Beauty of Holiness* (1653), H426 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1471[2] (Thomason).

—— *A Practical and Polemical Commentary, or, Exposition Upon the Third and Fourth Chapters of the Latter Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy* (1658), H436 (Wing).

—— *An Exposition by Way of Supplement, on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Chapters of the Prophecy of Amos* (1661), H431 (Wing).

Hartley, William, *The Prerogative Priest's Passing Bell. Or Amen to the Rigid Clergy* (1651), H975 (Wing 2nd edn), E.637[6] (Thomason).

Heath, James, *A New Book of Loyal English Martyrs and Confessors* (1665?), H1336 (Wing).

Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662), *Examen Historicum* (1659), H1706 (Wing).

—— *Certamen Epistolare, or, The Letter-Combate* (London, 1659), H1687 (Wing 2nd edn).

—— *Aerius Redivivus, or, The History of the Presbyterians* (Oxford, 1670), H 1681 (Wing).

—— *Historia Quinqu-Articularis* (1660), H1721 (Wing 2nd edn).

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* (1651), H2246 (Wing).

Hookes, Ellis (bap. 1635, d. 1681), *The Spirit of the Martyrs* (1664), H2663A (Wing 2nd edn).

—— *A Christian Plea Against Persecution for the Cause of Conscience Grounded upon Scripture, Reason, Experience and Testimonies of Princes and Learned Authors* (1676), H2659 (Wing 2nd edn).

Kirkman, Francis, *The Presbyterian Lash. Or, Noctroff's Maid Whipt. A Tragy-Comedy* (1661), K636 (Wing).

L'Estrange, Roger, *State-Divinity, or, A Supplement to The Relaps'd Apostate* (1661), L1311 (Wing).

L.G., *The Presbyterian Bramble, or, A Short Discourse of Church Government* (1661), G45 (Wing).

Love, Christopher, *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees Thereof* (1652), L3156 (Wing 2nd edn).

The London Provincial Assembly, *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici. Or The Divine Right of the Gospel-Ministry* (1654), J1216A (Wing 2nd edn).

—— *A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government, and Ministry* (1649), V523 (Wing 2nd edn), E.582[3] (Thomason).

Mall, Thomas, *A Cloud of Witnesses, or, The Sufferers Mirrour Made Up of the Swanlike-Songs, and Other Choice Passages of Several Martyrs and Confessors to the Sixteenth Century, in their Treatises, Speeches, Letters, Prayers, &c. in Their Prisons, or Exiles, at the Bar, or Stake, &c.* (1665), M329 (Wing).

Milton, John, *Areopagitica; A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parlament of England* (1644), M2092 (Wing 2nd edn).

—— *A Defence of the People of England* (1695), M2104A (Wing).

Muggleton, Ludowick, *The Neck of the Quakers Broken* (Amsterdam, 1663), M3048 (Wing).

Nedham, Marchamont (1620-1678), *The True Character of a Rigid Presbyter with a Narrative of the Dangerous Designes of the English and Scottish Covenanters* (the Assignes of J. Calvin, and are to be sold by Z. Crofton, Presbyter, 1661), N407 (Wing).

Ormerod, Oliver, *The Picture of a Puritane* (1605), 18851 (STC 2nd edn).

Perkins, William, *Two Treatises: II. Of the Combat of the Flesh and Spirit* (Cambridge 1593, 19758 STC 2nd edn).

⸺ *The Arte of Prophecying, or, A Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Methode of Preaching* (1607), 19735.4 (STC 2nd edn).

Phillips, John (1631-1706), *A Satyr Against Hypocrites* (1661), P2104 (Wing).

⸺ *The Religion of the Hypocritical Presbyterians, in Meter* (1661), P2097 (Wing).

Price, John, *The City-Remonstrance Remonstrated, Or an Answer to Colonell John Bellamy* (Henry Overton, 1646), P3339 (Wing 2nd edn).

⸺ *The Pulpit Incendiary: or, The Divinity and Devotion of Mr Calamy, Mr. Case, Mr. Cauton, Mr. Cranford, and other Sion-Colledge Preachers in their Morning-Exercises* (1648), P3346 (Wing 2nd edn), E. 438[10] (Thomason).

Prynne, William, The *Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianisme* (London, 1629), 20457 (STC 2nd edn).

Reading, John, *The Ranters Ranting* (1650), R450 (Wing 2nd edn), E.618[8] (Thomason).

Reyner, Edward (1600-68), *Rules for the Government of the Tongue Together, with Directions in Six Particular Cases* (1656), R1230 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1594[2] (Thomason).

Reynolds, Edward, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man* (1640), 20938 (STC 2nd edn); 1647, R1294 (Wing); 1650, R1295 (Wing); 1656, R1297 (Wing); 1658, R1298 (Wing 2nd edn).

⸺ *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward Reynolds DD., Late Bishop of Norwich* (1679), R1235 (Wing).

Rogers, John*, Ohel or Beth-Shemesh: A Tabernacle for the Sun* (1653), R1813 (Wing).

Sanderson, Robert, *XXXVI Sermons viz. XVI Ad Aulam, VI Ad Clerum, VI Ad Magistratum, VIII Ad Populum* (1686), S638 (Wing).

⸺ *Ten Lectures on the Obligation of Human Conscience, Read in the Divinity School at Oxford in the Year 1647* (1660), S631 (Wing).

Sheffield, John (d. 1680), *A Good Conscience the Strongest Hold* (London 1650), S3062 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1235[1] (Thomason).

Sibbes, Richard (1577-1635), *Evangelicall Sacrifices In xix. Sermons* (1640), 22491 (STC 2nd edn).

Stubbes, Philip, *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women* (1592), 23382 (STC 2nd edn).

Taylor, John (1578-1653), *The Booke of Martyrs* (1639) 23733 (STC 2nd edn).

Tilbury, Samuel, *Bloudy Newse from The North, and the Ranting Adamites Declaration* (1650), T1162 (Wing).

Ward, Samuel, *Woe to Drunkards A Sermon by Samuel Ward Preacher of Ipswich* (1622), 25055 (STC 2nd edn).

—— *A Coale From the Altar to Kindle the Holy Fire of Zeale* (1627), 25042.5 (STC 2nd edn).

Wood, Anthony (1632-95), *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (1691-2), W3382 (Wing).

The Westminster Assembly of Divines, *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster Together with their Humble Advice Concerning Church Government and Ordination of Ministers* (1649), C5760 (Wing 2nd edn), E.1419[1] (Thomason).

iii. Edited primary sources, transcriptions and translations

Anderson, James (tr.), Jean Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 5 vols, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1949).

Booy, David (ed.), *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654, A Selection* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

Cambers, Andrew (ed.), *The Life of John Rastrick, 1650-1727*, Camden 5th series, vol. 36 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2010).

Craven, Wesley Frank and Walter B. Hayward (eds), Richard Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, 1639-1640, Surveyor of Bermuda* (1945).

Duncan, Douglas (ed.), Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1972).

Freese, John Henry (tr.), Aristotle, *The 'Art' of Rhetoric* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959).

Gee, H., and W. J. Hardy (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: Macmillan 1896).

Goldie, Mark (ed.), *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice 1677-1691* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press in association with the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2007).

Hughes, Ann (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century England. vol.1, Primary Sources: A Changing Culture* (London: Ward Lock Educational in association with the Open University Press, 1980).

Laing, David (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie: Principal of the University of Glasgow, M. DC. XXXVII-M. DC. LXII, Vol 3, Edited from the author's manuscripts* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle, 1841-2).

Macfarlane, Alan (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1976), Oxford Scholarly Editions Online (2015).

Macpherson, C. B. (ed.), Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Aylesbury: Pelican Classics, 1968).

Matthews, A. G. (ed.), *Calamy Revised; Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934).

McNeill, John T. (ed.), Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* translated and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

Miller, Eugene F. (ed.), David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1987).

Nuttall, Geoffrey F. and N. H. Keeble (eds), *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter, vol. 1: 1638–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Palmer, Samuel (ed.), *The Nonconformist's Memorial…Originally Written by…Edmund Calamy*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London, 1802–3).

Styles, P. (ed.), 'The Genealogie, Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke' by Thomas Spencer in *The Dugdale Society*, 31: I (1977).

Turner, J. H. (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A. 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, Illustrating the General and Family History of Yorkshire and Lancashire*, 4 vols (Brighouse, 1881-5).

Secondary sources

Adamson, John, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007).

Ahmed, Sara, 'Happy Objects', in M. Gregg and G.J. Seigworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 29–51.

⸺ *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

AISB (Society for the Study of Artificial Intelligence and Simulation of Behaviour) 'Adjectives and Adverbs as Indicators of Affective Language for Automatic Genre Detection', in *Proceedings of the AISB Symposium of Affective Language in Human and Machine*, 2 (2008), pp. 65-72.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. and Steve Seidman (eds), *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Alexander, Sally and Barabara Taylor (eds), *History and Psyche* (New York, 2012).

Anderson, Philip J., 'Sion College and the London Provincial Assembly, 1647–1660', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37:1 (1986), pp. 68-90.

Anstey, Peter (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Arnold, M. B., and J. A. Gasson, 'Feelings and Emotions as Dynamic Factors in Personality Integration', in M. B. Arnold, and J. A. Gasson (eds), *The Human Person* (New York: Ronald 1954), pp. 294–313.

Arnold, M. B., *Emotion and Personality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

⸺ (ed.), *The Nature of Emotion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

Ariès, Philippe, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage, 1962).

Averill, J. R., and E. P. Nunley, 'Grief as an Emotion and as a Disease: A Social-Constructionist Perspective', in M. S. Stroebe, W. Stroebe and Robert O. Hansson (eds), *Handbook of Bereavement: Theory, Research, and Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 77-90.

⸺ Reading 21: 'Studies on Anger and Aggression: Implication for Theories of Emotion', in W. Gerrod Parrott (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology: Essential Readings* (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001), pp. 337-52.

Barbour, Ian G., *Myths, Models and Paradigms: The Nature of Scientific and Religious Language* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

Barclay, Katie, Kimberley Reynolds and Ciara Rawnsley (eds) *Death, Emotion and Childhood in Premodern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

—— 'Performance and Performativity', in Susan Broomhall, *Early Modern* Emotions*: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 14-17.

Berlant, L. and J. Greenwald, 'Affect in the End Times: A Conversation with Lauren Berlant', *Qui Parle,* 20 (2010), pp. 71–89.

Bernard J., D. F. McKenzie and M. Bell, The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. IV, 1557-1695 (Cambridge, 2002).

Bibring, Edward, 'The Mechanism of Depression', in Greenacre, Phyllis (ed.), *Affective Disorders; Psychoanalytic Contributions to their Study* (Oxford: International Universities Press, 1953), pp. 13-48.

Black, Joseph (ed.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Bourdieu, Pierre, tr. Richard Nice, *The Logic of Practice*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

Bremer, Francis J. (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993).

Brigden, Thomas E., *Stray Notes on some Warwick Worthies*, (Henry T. Cooke, Warwick, c. 1895), WCRO CR 3067/8/19.

Broomhall, Susan (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017).

Burke, Peter, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978).

Cambers, Andrew, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:4 (2007), pp.796-825.

—— *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Capp, Bernard*, '*A Door of Hope Re-opened: The Fifth Monarchy, King Charles and King Jesus,' *Journal of Religious History,* 32:1 (2008), pp. 16-30.

—— *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

—— '"Jesus Wept" But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early

Modern England', *Past and Present*, 224:1 (2014), pp. 75-108.

Caricchio, Mario, 'News from the New Jerusalem: Giles Calvert and the Radical Experience', in Ariel Hessayon, and David Finnegan (eds), *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 69-86.

Carver, Charles S., and Michael F. Scheier, *On the Self-Regulation of Behavior* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Chapman, A., J. Coffey, and B. S. Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way-Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

Chartier, R., *Pratiques de la Lecture* (Paris: Payot, 1985).

Coffey, John, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

—— *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-*1689 (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

—— *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006).

—— (ed.), *Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Coffey, John, and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Coffey, John and Alistair Chapman, 'Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', in A. Chapman, J. Coffey and B. S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way-Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), pp. 1-23.

Cohen, Charles Lloyd, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Collinson, Patrick, 'The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism'*, in Studies in Church History,* 1 (1964), pp. 207-221.

—— *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Cape, 1967).

—— *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

—— 'English Puritanism', *Historical Association General Series*, 106 (1983).

—— *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the*

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

—— 'Foxe and the National Consciousness', in Christopher Highley and John N. King (eds), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 10-36,

—— *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (London; New York: Hambledon, 2006).

—— 'Antipuritanism', in Coffey and Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 27-8.

—— *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Condie, Keith, 'Affection and Intellect in the Thought of Richard Baxter', in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 13-46.

Corns, Thomas N., 'Radical Pamphleteering', in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 71-86.

Corrigan John 'Religion and Emotions', in S. J. Matt, and P. N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), pp. 143-62.

Coward, B. (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

Cowan, Brian, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

Craig, John, 'The Growth of English Protestantism', in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 34-47.

Cressy, David, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989).

Cummings, Brian and Freya Sierhuis (eds), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Cvetkovich, Ann, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Davies, Douglas and Nathaniel A. Warne (eds), *Emotions and Religious Dynamics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Davies, Douglas James, 'Introduction: Emotion, Identity and Group Communication', in Douglas James Davies and Nathaniel A. Warne (eds), *Emotions and Religious Dynamics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1-8.

Davies, Kathleen, M., 'The Sacred Condition of Equality: How Original Were Puritan

Doctrines of Marriage?' *Social History*, 2:5 (1977), pp. 563-580.

Delumeau, Jean, tr. E. Nicholson, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990).

Demos, John, 'Shame and Guilt in Early New England', R. Harré, and W. Gerrod Parrott, *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions* (London: SAGE, 1996), pp. 74-88.

Dixon, Leif, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590-1640* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

Downs, Laura, 'Reply to Joan Scott', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35:2 (1993), pp. 444-51.

Dragstra, Henk, Sheila Ottway, and Helen Wilcox (eds), *Betraying Ourselves: Forms of Self-representation in Early Modern English Texts* (New York, St. Martin's press, 2000).

Drysdale, Alexander Hutton, *History of the Presbyterians in England: Their Rise, Decline and Revival* (London: Publication committee of the Presbyterian church of England, 1889).

Duffy, Eamon, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Dunan-Page, Anne and Beth Lynch (eds), *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

Durkheim, Emile, tr. and introduction by Karen E. Fields, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

Durston, Christopher and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

Durston, Christopher and Judith Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

Eales, Jacqueline, 'Samuel Clarke and the Lives of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), pp. 365-76.

Elias, Norbert, tr. E. Jephcott, *The Civilising Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

Evenden, Elizabeth and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Fincham, Kenneth and Peter Lake (eds), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge: The Boydell

Press, 2006).

Freedberg, David, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Frijda, Nico H., 'Reading 2: The Laws of Emotion', in W. Gerrod Parrott (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology: Essential Readings* (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001), pp. 57-69.

⸻ *The Laws of Emotion* (Mahwah, N.J.; London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007).

Goleman, Daniel, Emotional *Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995).

Grassby, Richard, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

Grajek, S. and R. J. Sternberg, 'The Nature of Love', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 47 (1984), pp. 119-135.

Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Greenacre, Phyllis (ed), *Affective Disorders; Psychoanalytic Contributions to their Study* (Oxford: International Universities Press, 1953).

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Gregg, M. and G.J. Seigworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

Goldie, Peter, *The Mess Inside: Narrative, Emotion, and the Mind* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Habermas, Jürgen, tr. Barbara Fultner, *On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction: Preliminary Studies in the Theory of Communicative Action* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

Halbwachs, Maurice, tr. Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Haigh, Christopher 'The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *History*, 85:280 (2000), pp 572-588.

Haller, William, *The Rise of Puritanism: or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as set forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York: Harper, 1957).

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles E., 'Practical Divinity and Spirituality', in John Coffey, and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 191-205.

Harré, R., and W. Gerrod Parrott, *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions* (London: SAGE, 1996).

Harris, Tim (ed.), *Popular Culture in England 1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).

Harris, Tim, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London; New York: Allen Lane, 2005).

Hessayon, Ariel and David Finnegan (eds), *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

Heyd, Michael, *Be Sober and Reasonable*: *The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

Highley, Christopher and John N. King (eds), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Hill, Christopher, 'Religion and Democracy in the Puritan Revolution', *Democracy*, 2:2 (1983), pp. 39-45.

Hinds, Hilary, *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Hirschfeld, Lawrence A. and Susan A. Gelman (eds), *Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Hodder, Ian, *Reading the Past; Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Hughes, Ann, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

—— *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Hutton, Ronald, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Iggers, Georg. G., *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997).

Ingle, H. Larry, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

James, Susan, 'The Passions and the Good Life', in Donald Rutherford, (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 198-220.

Keeble, N. H. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

—— 'Puritanism and Literature', in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 309-324.

Kelley, Donald. R and Harris Sacks, David, (eds), *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric and Fiction* (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Kerr, Heather, David Lemmings and Robert Phiddian (eds), *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Kishlansky, Mark, *A Monarchy Transformed, Britain 1603-1714* (London: The Penguin Press, 1996).

Klein, Lawrence E., *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Knights, Mark, 'How Rational was the Later Stuart Public Sphere?', in P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 252–67.

—— *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Korpiola, Mia and Anu Lahtinen (eds), 'Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Collegium*, 18 (Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015), available at http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/journal/volumes/volume_18/index_18.htm.

Kuchar, Gary, *The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Lake, Peter, *Moderate Puritans in the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

—— 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', *Journal of British Studies*, 27:2 (1988), pp. 81-116.

—— 'Defining Puritanism - Again?', in Francis J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), pp. 3-29.

—— *The Boxmaker's Revenge: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

—— 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 1-15.

—— 'The Historiography of Puritanism', in J. Coffey and P. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 347-8.

—— 'Reading Clarke's Lives in Political and Polemical Context', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 293-318.

Lake, Peter and David Como, '"Orthodoxy" and Its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of "Consensus" in the London (Puritan) "Underground"', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:1 (2000), pp. 34-70.

Lake, Peter and S. Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Lazarus, R. S., *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

Levinson, Jerrold, *Suffering Art Gladly: The Paradox of Negative Emotion in Art* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Lim, Paul, 'Puritans and the Church of England: Historiography and Ecclesiology', in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 223-40.

Livingstone, E. A., ed. F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Loades, D. (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997).

Lock, Margaret and Nancy Scheper-Hughes, see 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1:1 (1987), pp. 6-41.

Lund, Mary, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading the Anatomy of Melancholy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Lynch, Andrew, 'Emotional Community', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 3-6.

Lynch, Kathleen, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

MacDonald, Michael and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

Maltby, Judith, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Marsh, Christopher, W., *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Marshall, Peter, 'Angels Around the Deathbed', in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds) *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 83-103.

—— *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

Mascuch, Michael, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and self-identity in England 1591-1791* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).

Massumi, Brian, 'The Autonomy of Affect', *Cultural Critique*, 31 (1995), pp. 83–109.

Matt, S. J. and P. N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

Maza, Sarah C., 'Stories in History: Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History,' *American Historical Review*, 101:5 (1996), pp. 1493–1515.

McElligott, Jason (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

McGiffert, H. (ed.), *God's Plot: Puritan Spirituality in Thomas Shepard's Cambridge* (Thomas Shepard, 'Autobiography'), revised edn (Amherst, MA: UMass Press, 1994).

McGrade, A. S. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

McGrath, Alister E., *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2016).

McGregor, J.F. and B. Reay (eds), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

McKenzie, D. F. (ed.), *Stationers Company Apprentices 1605-1640* (Charlottesville,

VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961).

Medick, Hans and David Sabean, *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Meek, R. and E. Sullivan (eds), *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

Mencken, H. L., *A Menken Chrestomathy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).

Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

―― *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Misztal, Barbara A., *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead; Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 2003).

Morrill, John (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649* (London: Macmillan, 1982).

―― *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s* (London: Collins and Brown, 1992).

Mortimer, William Williams, *The History of the Hundred of the Wirral* (London: Whittaker & co., 1847),

Narveson, Kate, 'Resting Assured in Puritan Piety: The Lay Experience', in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 166-92.

Nicholson, Eirwen, 'Eighteenth-Century Foxe: Evidence for the Impact of the *Actes and Monuments* in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in D. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 142-177.

Oatley, Keith, *Emotions a Brief History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

Oldridge, Darren, '"The heavenly heart of zeal": A Puritan Minister in 1630s Warwickshire', *Warwickshire History* 9:3 (1994), pp. 105-112.

Ortony, Andrew, Gerald L. Clore and Allan Collins, *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Parker, Kenneth L., *The English Sabbath*: *A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 8–40.

Parnham, David, *Heretics Within: Anthony Wotton, John Goodwin, and the Orthodox Divines* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014).

Parrott, W. Gerrod (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology: Essential Readings* (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001).

—— 'Psychological Perspectives on Emotion in Groups', in Heather Kerr, David Lemmings and Robert Phiddian (eds), *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 20-44.

Partee, Charles, 'The Soul in Plato, Platonism and Calvin, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 22:3 (1969), pp. 278-95.

Pasnoe, R., 'Human Nature', in A. S. McGrade (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 208-30.

Paster, G. K., K. Rowe and M. Floyd-Wilson, (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Patterson, W.B., *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Peacey, Jason (ed.), *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Pederson, Randall, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603-1689* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014).

Pelikan, Jaroslav (ed.), *Luther's Works, The Sermon on the Mount (Sermons) and the Magnificat,* vol. 21, (St. Louis: Concordia, 1956).

Phythian-Adams, Charles (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580–1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996).

Picard, Rosalind W., *Affective Computing*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

Pinch, Adela, 'Emotion and History. A Review Article', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37:1 (1995), pp. 100-109.

Pinker, Steven, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London: Allen Lane, 2002).

Plamper, Jan, William Reddy, Barabara Rosenwein, Peter Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barabara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns', in *History and Theory,* 49: 2 (2010)*, pp. 237-265.

Plamper, Jan, tr. Keith Tribe, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Plutchik, Robert, 'The Nature of Emotions: Human Emotions have Deep Evolutionary Roots, a Fact that may Explain their Complexity and Provide Tools for Clinical Practice', in *American Scientist*, 89:4 (2001), pp. 344-50.

Pocock, J. G. A., *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Powicke, F. J., *A Puritan Idyll, or the Reverend Richard Baxter's Love Story; A Lecture delivered at the John Ryland's Library on the 14th March 1917,* (Manchester: University Press; London; New York: Longmans, Green 1917-1918), available at John Rylands Library Special Collections (R45911).

Prior, Charles W. A. and Glenn Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Pritchard, Allan, *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century: A Critical Survey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Proust Marcel, tr. C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, *Remembrance of Things Past,* vol. 1*: Swann's Way: Within a Budding Grove*, (London: Penguin, 1989).

Pullin, Naomi, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Quantin, Jean-Louis, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Racaut, Luc, 'Print Media', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 251-254.

Raymond, Joad, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in Kevin Sharpe, and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 185-121.

Reddy, William. M, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

—— 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology*, 38:3 (1997), pp. 327-351.

—— 'Historical Research on the Self and Emotions', *Emotion Review* 1:4 (2009), pp. 302-315.

—— *The Making of Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Rees, John, *The Leveller Revolution: Radical Political Organisation in England, 1640-1650* (London: Verso, 2016).

Reeve, C.D.C., *Practices of Reason: Aristotle's 'Nicomachean Ethics'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Rigby, Paul, *The Theology of Augustine's Confessions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Roberts, S. Bryn, *Puritanism and the Pursuit of Happiness: The Ministry and Theology of Ralph Venning, c. 1621-1674* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

Roper, Lyndal, *The Witch in Western Imagination* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012).

Rosenwein, Barbara. H, 'Worrying about Emotions History', *The American Historical Review*, 107:3 (2002), pp. 821-845.

––– *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006).

––– *Generations of Feeling, A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Russell, Conrad, *The Causes of the English Civil War: The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, 1987-1988* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Rutherford, Donald (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Rublack, Ulinka, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions,' *History Workshop Journal*, 53 (2002), pp. 1-16.

Ryrie, Alec, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Ryrie, Alec and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Sander, D. and K. Scherer (eds), The *Oxford Companion to Emotion and the Affective Sciences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Saville, G.E.(ed.), Alcester and District Local History Society, *Alcester- A History* (Studley: Brewin, 1986).

Scheer, Monique, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, 51:3 (2012), pp. 193-220.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Margaret. M. Lock, 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1:1 (1987), pp. 6-41.

von Scheve, C. and M. Salmela, *Collective Emotions: Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Scott, Joan, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Enquiry*, 17 (1991), pp. 773-97.

Searle, A., '"My Souls Anatomiste": Richard Baxter, Katherine Gell and Letters of the Heart', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 12:2 (2006).

Seaver, Paul, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford: Stanford University Press; London: O.U.P., 1970).

—— *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985).

Seligman, Adam, 'Inner-Worldly Individualism and the Institutionalization of Puritanism in Late Seventeenth-Century New England', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 41:4 (1990), pp. 537-57.

Seligman, Martin E. P., *Helplessness: On Depression, Development and Death* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1975).

Serafin, Steven R. and Valerie Grosvenor Myer (eds), *The Continuum Encyclopedia of British Literature* (New York; London: Continuum, 2003).

Shagan, Ethan H., *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Sharpe, Kevin, 'Religion, Rhetoric, and Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 57:3 (1994), pp. 255-299.

Sharpe, Kevin and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Shaver, P., J. Schwarz, D. Kirson, and G. O'Connor, 'Reading 1, Emotion Knowledge: Further Explanation of a Prototype Approach', in W. Gerrod Parrott, (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology: Essential Readings* (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001), pp. 26-56.

Shaw, William Arthur, *A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth 1640-1660*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900).

Shepard, Alexandra and Paul Withington (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Sheppard, Kenneth, 'J. G. A. Pocock as an Intellectual Historian', in R. Whatmore, and B. Young, *A Companion to Intellectual History* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, 2016), pp. 113-26.

Siekawitch, Larry, *Balancing Head and Heart in Seventeenth Century Puritanism: Stephen Charnock's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God* (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2012).

Skerpan, Elizabeth, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution, 1642-1660* (Columbia; London: University of Missouri Press, 1992).

Skinner, Quentin, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Smith, Nigel, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

Smith, Woodruff, D. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Spencer, Charles, *Killers of the King: The Men Who Dared to Execute Charles I* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

Sperber, Dan, 'The Modularity of Thought and the Epidemiology of Representations' in Lawrence A. Hirschfeld and Susan A. Gelman (eds), *Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 39-67.

Spinks, J. and C. Zika (eds), *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016).

Spurr, John, '"Rational Religion" in Restoration England,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), pp. 563–85.
—— *English Puritanism, 1603–1689* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

Stachniewski, John, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

Stock, Brian, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Strider, Robert. E. L, *Robert Greville Lord Brooke* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958).

Stroebe, M. S., W. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson (eds), *Handbook of Bereavement: Theory, Research, and Intervention,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Sutton, John, 'Souls and Body in Seventeenth Century British Philosophy', in Peter Anstey (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 285-307.

Swartz, David, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Talon-Hugon, Carole, 'The Paradox of Negative Emotion in Art in Enlightenment Aesthetics', in Jerrold Levinson (ed.) *Suffering Art Gladly: The Paradox of Negative Emotion in Art* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 28-44.

Tangney, June Price, Jeff Stuewig, and Debra J. Mashek, 'Moral Emotions and Moral Behavior,' *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58:1 (2007), pp. 345-372.

Taylor, Charles, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

—— *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Thomas, Denise, 'Collecting and Reading for Godly Reformation in Mid-Seventeenth Century Worcestershire: Thomas Hall of Kings Norton and His Books', in *Midland History*, 40: 1 (2015), pp. 24–52.

Thomas, Keith, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

Thorley, David, 'Towards a History of Emotion, 1562–1660', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28:1 (2013), pp. 3–19.

Todd, Margo, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

—— 'Puritan Self-Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies*, 31:3 (1992), pp. 236-264.

Trigg, Stephanie, 'Introduction: Emotional Histories – Beyond the Personalization of the Past and the Abstraction of Affect Theory', *Exemplaria*, 26 (2014), pp. 3–15.

—— 'Affect Theory', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 10-13.

Tuchman, Barbara W., *The March of Folly*, (New York: Knopf/Random House, 1984).

Tyacke, Nicholas, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

Underdown, David, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon: 1985).

Vernon, Elliot, 'A Ministry of the Gospel: The Presbyterians during the English Revolution', in C. Durston, and J. Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 115-36.

Wallace, Dewey D. (ed.), *The Spirituality of Later English Puritans, An Anthology* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).

Walker, David, 'Piety and the Politics of Anxiety on Nonconformist Writing of the Later Stuart Period', in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 144-65.

Walsham, Alexandra, '"The Fatall Vesper": Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London', *Past and Present* 144 (1994), pp. 36-87.

—— *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

—— *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

—— 'The Godly and Popular Culture', in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 277-93.

—— 'Deciphering Divine Wrath and Displaying Godly Sorrow: Providentialism and Emotion in Early Modern England', in J. Spinks and C. Zika (eds) *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016), pp. 21-43.

Walzer, Michael, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965),

Warne, Nathaniel A. 'Metaphysics, Emotion and the Flourishing Life: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Use of Aristotle on Religious Emotions', in Douglas Davies and Nathaniel A. Warne (eds), *Emotions and Religious Dynamics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75-94.

Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Weber, Max*,* tr. Talcott Parsons, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930) (London; New York: Routledge, 1992).

Weimer, Adrian Chastain, 'Affliction and the Stony Heart in Early New England', in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 121-143.

Whatmore, R., and B. Young, *A Companion to Intellectual History* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, 2016).

White, Peter, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Wierzbicka, Anna, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Wood, Andy, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Woolf, Daniel. R, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Worden, Blair, *The Rump Parliament 1648–53* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

—— *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

—— *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in The England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Wykes, David L., 'Dissenters and the Writing of History: Ralph Thoresby's "Lives and Characters"', in Jason McElligott (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 174-88.

Yamamoto-Wilson, John R., *Pain, Pleasure and Perversity, Discourse of Suffering in Seventeenth-Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Yates, Gary E., 'The Prophet Jeremiah as Theological Symbol in the Book of Jeremiah', *Faculty Publications and Presentations*, 372 (DigitalCommons@LibertyUniversity, 2010).

Zafirovski, Milan, 'Protestantism and Authoritarianism: Weber's Secondary Problem', *Journal For The Theory Of Social Behaviour*, 40:2 (2010), pp. 162-89.

Zimmer, Carl, *Soul Made Flesh: The Discovery of the Brain-and How It Changed the World* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

Unpublished papers and theses

Cutmore, Martyn, 'Puritanism at Alcester, 1592-1661' (Master's Dissertation, University of Warwick, 1991).

Pullin, Naomi, 'Female Friends and the Transatlantic Quaker Community: "the whole Family and Household of faith", c.1650-c.1750' (Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 2014).

Thomas, Denise, 'Religious Polemic, Print Culture and Pastoral Ministry: Thomas Hall B.D. (1610-1665) and the Promotion of Presbyterian Orthodoxy in the English Revolution' (Doctoral Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011).

Vernon, Elliot, 'The Sion College Conclave and London Presbyterianism during the English Revolution' (Doctoral Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999).

Worldwide web sources

A Cambridge Alumni Database, University of Cambridge: http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk.

apuritansmind.com: https://www.apuritansmind.com.

British Library, Catalogues and Collections: https://www.bl.uk/catalogues-and-collections.

British Library, English Short Title Catalogue: http://estc.bl.uk.

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Core: https://www.cambridge.org/core.

Church Society: http://archive.churchsociety.org.

COLLeGIUM, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies: http://www.helsinki.fi.

digitalpuritan.net: http://digitalpuritan.net.

Early English Books Texts Creation Partnership (EEBO-TCP Phase 1), (Ann Arbor, MI; Oxford, UK): http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup.

exclassics.com: https://www.exclassics.com.

Google Books: http://books.google.co.uk.

Historical Texts: http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk.

Internet Archive: https://archive.org.

John Foxe's The Acts and Monuments Online: http://www.johnfoxe.org.

JSTOR: http://jstor.org.

Liberty University, LBTS Faculty Publications and Presentations: https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: http://oxforddnb.com.

Oxford English Dictionary: http://www.oed.com.

Oxford Scholarly Editions Online: http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com.

Springer Link: https://link.springer.com.

The Village and Parish of Shotwick: http://www.shotwick.org.uk.

University of Oxford, Libraries Online: http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

University of Warwick Library: https://encore.lib.warwick.ac.uk.