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Oral Tradition, 2/1 (1987): 188-213

The Ramist Style of John Udall: Audience and Pictorial Logic in Puritan Sermon and Controversy

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With Wilbur Samuel Howell's *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (1956), Walter J. Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (1958) helped establish the common contemporary view that Ramism impoverished logic and rhetoric as arts of communication.[1] For example, scholars agree that Ramism neglected audience accomodation; denied truth as an object of rhetoric by reserving it to logic; rejected persuasion about probabilities; and relegated rhetoric to ornamentation.[2] Like Richard Hooker in *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (I.vi.4), these scholars criticize Ramist logic as simplistic. Their objections identify the consequences of Ramus' visual analogy of logic and rhetoric to "surfaces," which are "apprehended by sight" and divorced from "voice and hearing" (Ong 1958:280).

As a result of his analogy of knowledge and communication to vision rather than to sound, Ramus left rhetoric only two of its five parts, ornamentation (figures of speech and tropes) and delivery (voice and gesture). He stripped three parts (*inventio, dispositio*, and memory) from rhetoric. Traditionally shared by logic and rhetoric, the recovery and derivation of ideas (*inventio*) and their organization (*dispositio*) were now reserved to logic. Finally, Ramus' method of organizing according to dichotomies substituted "mental space" for memory (Ong 1958:280).

In the context of this new logic and the rhetoric dependent on it, a statement was not recognized as a part of a conversation, but appeared to stand alone as a speech event fixed in space. Thus, logic became an art of arrangement to fix an apparent truth. This "truth" was guaranteed by intrinsic structures of discursive

meaning—syllogism and especially method, which for Ramus was the "only way of understanding and memory" (1569:501). No longer was logic an interpersonal art of discourse about probabilities. Instead, it had decayed into a mnemonic technique not intended to direct an inner struggle for truth. Rhetoric itself became separated "from other intellectual disciplines" (Zappen 1983:65). As Brian Vickers points out, this distortion colors the statements of even sympathetic modern historians of rhetoric (1981:105-9).

From his early work on Ramus to his more recent *Fighting for Life: Context, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (1981:24) and *Orality and Literacy* (1982), Ong has developed the contrast he introduced in *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* between the public oral contentiousness in classical logic and rhetoric and the private hypervisual thinking of the typographic era typified in Ramism. According to Ong, non-agonistic silent thought processes intensified in the typographically inspired Ramist revision of logic and rhetoric as western Europe shifted from the phonocentrism of primary oral culture, which had been in part carried over into manuscript culture, to the logocentrism accentuated by the manuscript culture and intensified in print culture (1982:168).

Ironically, such logocentrism was first popularized orally in the graphic literary structure of sixteenth-century Puritan sermons and related treatises, as clearly shown in the works of John Udall (c. 1560-1592), a Puritan minister first at Kingston-upon-Thames and then at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Udall's five series of sermons, a posthumously published commentary on Jeremiah, and a polemical treatise all enact the "intertwined dimensions" (Tannen 1985) of orality and literacy.

For example, thirteen printings of Udall's five sermons extended his adaptation of Ramist logic beyond his listeners. Furthermore, published five times from 1593 to 1637, Udall's paradigm of the sermon explained in *A Commentarie vpon the Lamentation of Ieremy* became a standard for preaching in England and America. Finally, Udall's treatise entitled *A Demonstration of the Trueth of That Discipline* (1588 and 1593) supported ministers and laity arguing for the presbyterian program in Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright's *Ecclesiasticall Discipline*. In all these works, Udall attenuated the oral heritage of rhetoric and logic as he replaced rhetoric's interpersonal dialogue and logic's inner dialogue with the monologue of a closed system. His hypervisual

style looked ahead to what Ong identifies in Milton and in the New Criticism as closed-system thinking (1977:189-229, 279-83).

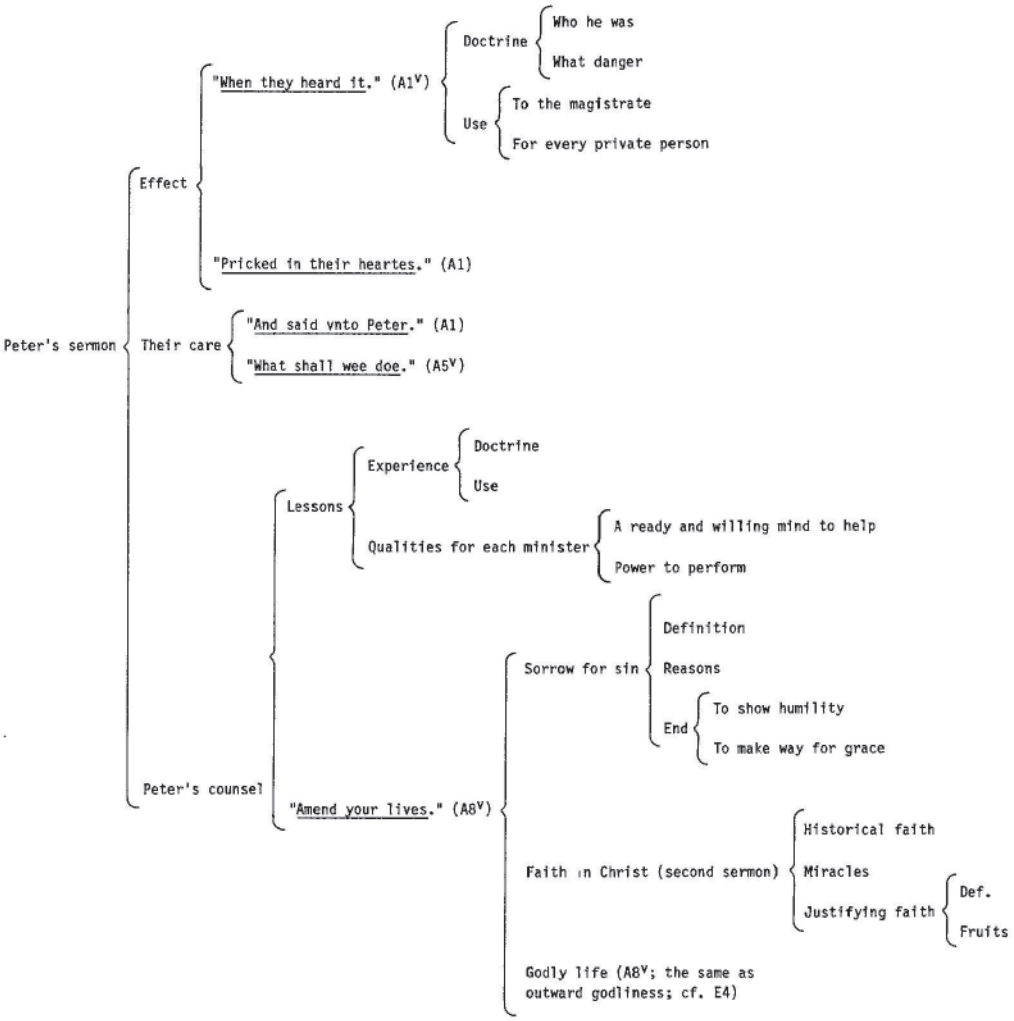
The Development of Udall's Ramist Style in His Sermons

Because Udall addressed two audiences—the non-academic and the educated—his style can be studied to determine the previously unrecognized influence which differences in audience could have on the employment of Ramist "logical" thinking in oral and written discourse. The structure of Udall's sermons resembles that of earlier dichotomous sermons by Laurence Chaderton in 1578 and 1584 and Bartholomew Andrewes in 1583.[3] Perry Miller's and Eugene E. White's "paradigm" of the four parts of the Puritan sermon (text, doctrine, reasons, and application or uses) neglects this early dichotomous organization.[4] It subordinated the parts to diagrams that move from universal to particular in an application of Ramus' "Law of Wisdom." That is, the sermon's pictorial structure controlled the audience in its appropriation of the values proposed by the preacher. The audience uncritically appropriated meaning in place of judging the truth of that meaning. Udall employed such pictorial organization to teach both his parishioners and ministers gathered to study and pray. In three out of five series of sermons, numbers follow the final entries in his Ramist outlines, as in a table of contents.

The organization of Udall's first sermons in *Amendment of Life* can be pictured in tables which include doublets (arranged as if dichotomies), triplets, and a definition with five items. Triplets and doublets organize his second pair of sermons, *Obedience to the Gospell*. Dichotomies, or more properly doublets, characterize his third and fifth series of sermons and his two scholarly treatises, *A Demonstration* and *A Commentarie*. The antithetical nature of a dichotomy of "either. . . or" would at least echo debate in the mind of a solitary thinker. However, in Udall's pairing of ideas that are not antithetical, such contest with self is lost in simple organization.

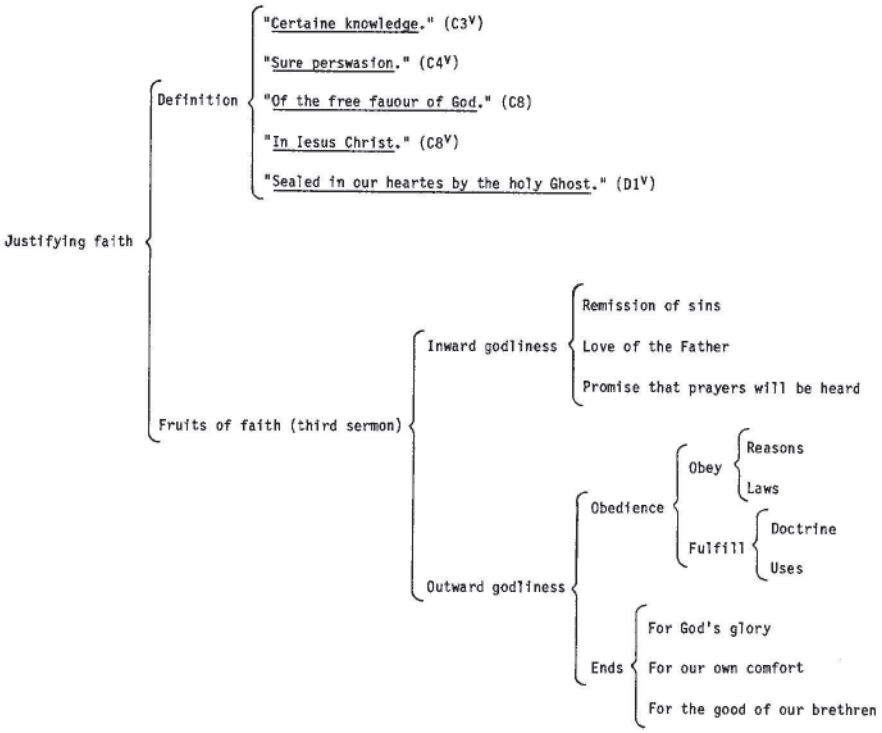
In the series of the first three sermons, *Amendment of Life* (1584a), Udall leaves enough clues that his visual outline can be reconstructed in tables 1 and 2:

Table 1



Udall's *Amendment of Life* (1584)

Table 2



Amendment of Life (contd.)

The more or less associative doublets posing as dichotomies retain the illusion of logic at the same time that they graphically redistribute the more oral structure of question and answer in Peter's sermon. Although a sense of ritual contest with another is largely absent from Ramist dichotomies, the doublets do suggest an illusion of oral contest. Nevertheless, they transform the additive or paratactic bent of oral composing analyzed by Ong (1982:37-38) and Thomas J. Farrell (1979:13-14; 1984:43) into a highly visualized system of apparent dichotomies joined by ostentatiously visible brackets. Furthermore, a primary oral audience probably never visualized the additive paratactic structures, commonly found in primary oral composing, which were carried over and then visually intensified in the composing practices of manuscript culture. In addition to their hypervisual Ramist organization, the tables show that *Amendment of Life* also subjects the dialogue to analysis by applying distinctive elements of Puritan style. The tables identify "doctrine," "use," definition, parts, and "reasons." Eugene Hershon Bernstein identifies such "reasons" as Udall's contribution to the form (1973:93-101, 109).

The major parts of the first sermon, which "divide" the text taken from Acts, establish the outline followed in the second and third sermons. They expand the first sermon's analysis of characters, questions, and answers. Much of the second sermon, about 16 of 20 printed pages, develops six elements which define "justifying faith." The third sermon explains the "fruits of faith," inward and outward godliness.

Throughout these sermons, a synthesis of logic and techniques for oral delivery controls sentence structure, as Udall compares Peter's audience with "carnall christians of our time" (A2) and contrasts evil conduct with God's expectations or punishments. Parallelism and contrast facilitate both delivery and a Ramist "either. . . or" thought pattern:

> The cause whereof [sic] was, for that they dreamed of a worldly king full of pomp and glory, and Christ being so base and poore, they were offended at him: much like the carnall christians of our time, who are ashamed of the baseness of the gospel and simplicitie of religion, and therefore thinke that it is too meane a thing for men of great estat and honor: but we see the contrarye in Gods word: that there is no ioy without Christ, but sorrow: no, [sic] honor, but ignominie: no

> blessednesse, but curssednesse, howsoeuer it seemeth otherwise to carnall people, that iudge fleshly and according to naturall reason . . . (A2-A2").

Two "therefores" which follow indicate that these contrasting examples stand for syllogisms:

> . . . and therefore we reade that the greatest dishonour that euer came to the kings of Iuda and Ierusalem, was their negligence in religion, and their greatest praise is their care to establish it in sinceritie: and therefore, how base, poore and contemptible so euer Christ seem to flesh and blood, there is no glory, riches, nor honor that profiteth, excepte it be gouerned by him, and directed to his glory.

Next, Udall identifies as a "doctrine" that "there is no way in the worlde that can serve to conuert man vnto god, vntill the appointed time too come" (A2^{v}). As proof, he cites the example of the Jews. Finally, Udall draws two "uses" or applications:

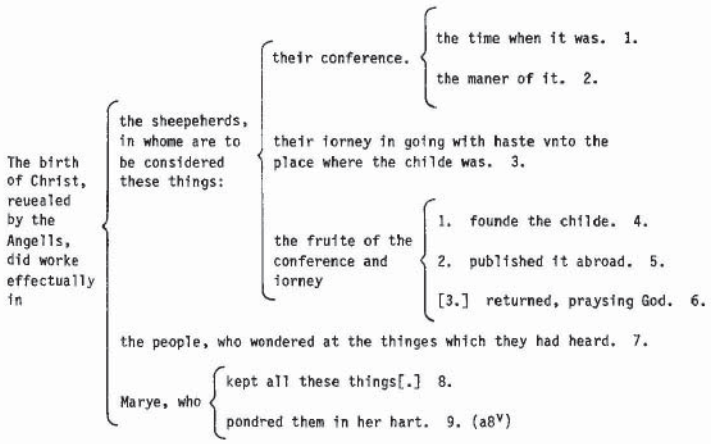
> Which doctrine ministreth a double vse vnto vs: first to the magistrate that he compell all, (yea euen the obstinate) to the outward exercises of religion: for by that meanes it may please God to worke their conuersion. Secondly for euery private person that is already called, (yea and the minister of the worde especially[)] to beare with pacience the vnregenerate, and not to determine or judge rashly of their reprobation: But still to hope for the time of their conuersion (A2^{v}-A3).

The scriptural examples and quotations constitute "reasons." In Udall's sermon, Scripture has replaced ratiocination at the same time it has been subsumed into a syllogistic pattern.

Logic determines the style of each of Udall's sermons. Each of them develops doctrines, reasons, and applications according to syllogisms and pictorial outlines. Such use of logic unfolds a commentary on Scripture that provided a popularized academic lecture to a non-academic audience.

More tightly organized than *Amendment of Life*, Udall's two sermons titled *Obedience to the Gospel* (1584b) analyze a scriptural text in three triplets and two doublets: "The birth of Christ. . . did worke effectually in" shepherds, people, and Mary. The triplet of "conference," "iorney," and "the fruite of the conference and

Table 3


The birth of Christ, reuealed by the Angells, did worke effectually in
the sheepeherds, in whome are to be considered these things:
their conference.
the time when it was. 1.
the maner of it. 2.
their iorney in going with haste vnto the place where the childe was. 3.
the fruite of the conference and iorney
1. founde the childe. 4.
2. published it abroad. 5.
[3.] returned, praysing God. 6.
the people, who wondered at the thinges which they had heard. 7.
Marye, who
kept all these things[.] 8.
pondred them in her hart. 9. (a8V)

iorney" (a8^{v}) develop the "shepherds." "[C]onference," "fruite," and "Marye" are also further divided in table 3.

Perhaps the triplets recall the rhyming formulaic triple comparisons in more rhetorically structured thirteenth-century sermons (d'Avray 1985:248-54; MacLure 1958:152). Nevertheless, these triplets have, after all, replaced the echo of rhyme with a visual structure. Furthermore, the analytic commonplaces have supplanted narrative excitement, which aided the memory (see Becker 1983:9). Commonplaces were relics of an oral past, for they could be taught and memorized by rhyme and were commonly applied by speakers to prompt a continuous flow of words (the ideal of *copia*). However, here they establish logical analysis. Although the ten numbered points follow the narrative structure of the Gospel, commonplaces establish Udall's discursive structure, as he analyzes "who," "when," "how," and "what": "sheepeherds, in whome," "time when," "maner," "place where," "people, who," "Marye, who" (a8^{v}).

In the preface, Udall advises listeners to take notes to be used to guide discussions at home for mutual instruction and to educate children and servants. Practiced in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, such transcription of sermons was not new.[5] For Udall, though, as for Continental reformers (Febvre and Martin 1976:295-96), taking notes became a means to educate the household in the principles of reformation (Hill 1964:443-81). Udall's program may have caused the divisiveness in Kingston-upon-Thames recently noted by Christopher Haigh (1985:209-14).

Udall extended Ramist method to his audience as a mnemonic device. Ramus and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century students trained in a humanist environment continued to associate the derivation and organization of ideas with oral presentation and elocution (Howell 1960:91-92; Joseph 1983:459-71). In contrast, because it lacked the training that linked logic and rhetoric, Udall's audience would not have experienced organization as a means of persuasion (that is, rhetoric, which regards probabilities). Instead, the non-academic practitioner of Udall's advice would have experienced organization as an art of private deliberation abstracted from public communication.

Peter's Fall, Udall's third series of sermons published in 1584, recounts a failure to listen and struggle. Like *Obedience to the Gospell, Peter's Fall* divides the Gospel narrative according to

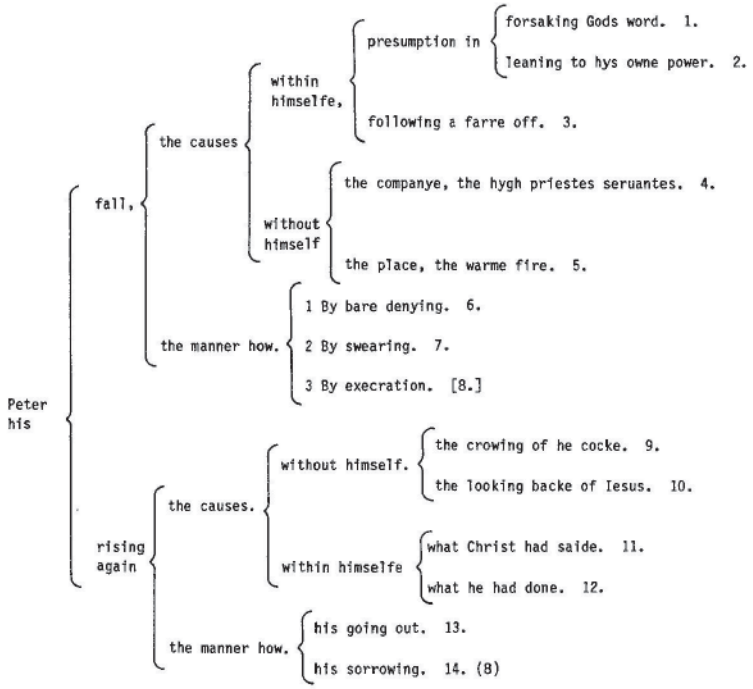
analytic commonplaces. However, the analysis of the sermons investigates the more substantial circumstances of "causes," as well as "manner," rather than the descriptive "who" and "what" developed in *Obedience to the Gospell*. Other analytic commonplaces also appear, such as "what" and "where." They recur throughout to develop "the causes" and "the manner how" of both Peter's "fall" and "rising again." These two commonplaces divide each of the sermons, the first about Peter's "fall" and the second about his "rising." With the exception of one triplet, eleven doublets suggest the increased "*Method and order*"(8) with which Udall labels his table, whose final "particulars" list fourteen points (see table 4).

The lack of true dichotomies of "either. . . or" indicates that Udall drew on method because it aided the memory to visualize, not because he wanted to divide reality through metaphysical analysis. Like the less rigorous table of *Obedience to the Gospell*, this more "dichotomous" table merely reflects mnemonic intention. Udall depended on such organization not just to aid his own memory but to control the memory of his listeners—to guide their notes and subsequent discussions. His Ramist mnemonics contrast sharply with other Renaissance memory practices rooted in oral tradition. Eric A. Havelock in *Preface to Plato* (1963) and *The Greek Concept of Justice* (1978) claims that primary oral mentality is imagistic. Frances A. Yates in *The Art of Memory* (1966) shows that up until the advent of Ramism striking images were used to aid the memory—both to help the *rhetor* remember what he had worked out to say and the auditors to remember what he had said. As Yates notes, Ramism changed those practices rooted in oral tradition with its "inner iconoclasm" (35), a characterization admired by Ong (1971:111). Published a year before Udall's own treatise on the sermon but after these sermons, William Perkins' *Prophetica, sive de sacra et unica ratione concionandi* (1592) rejects Giordano Bruno's association of images as "impious" (1631:570), recommending instead a Ramist-inspired logic (Rechtien 1977a:79-88).

Udall's series of five sermons preached in 1586, *The True Remedie against Famine and Warres. Five Sermons vpon the Firste Chapter of the Prophesie of Ioel*, lacks the kind of extended outline which governs his other sermons. The lack of consistently methodical organization may reflect delivery before revision for publication or haste to respond to an existential situation.

Table 4

The Method and order of the whole matter in this booke.



Although not as methodically as in the other sermons, dichotomies do occur throughout. Commonplaces continue to stimulate both analysis of ideas and their organization. Doctrine and uses also appear throughout the five sermons, such as in the early general doctrines and their particular application to evaluate ministers (4^{v}-10^{v}). As in *Amendment of Life*, Udall applies logic to form his listeners, this time to recognize the qualities which they must expect in a truly reformed minister. He would resemble Joel, whose prophecies are here being analyzed.

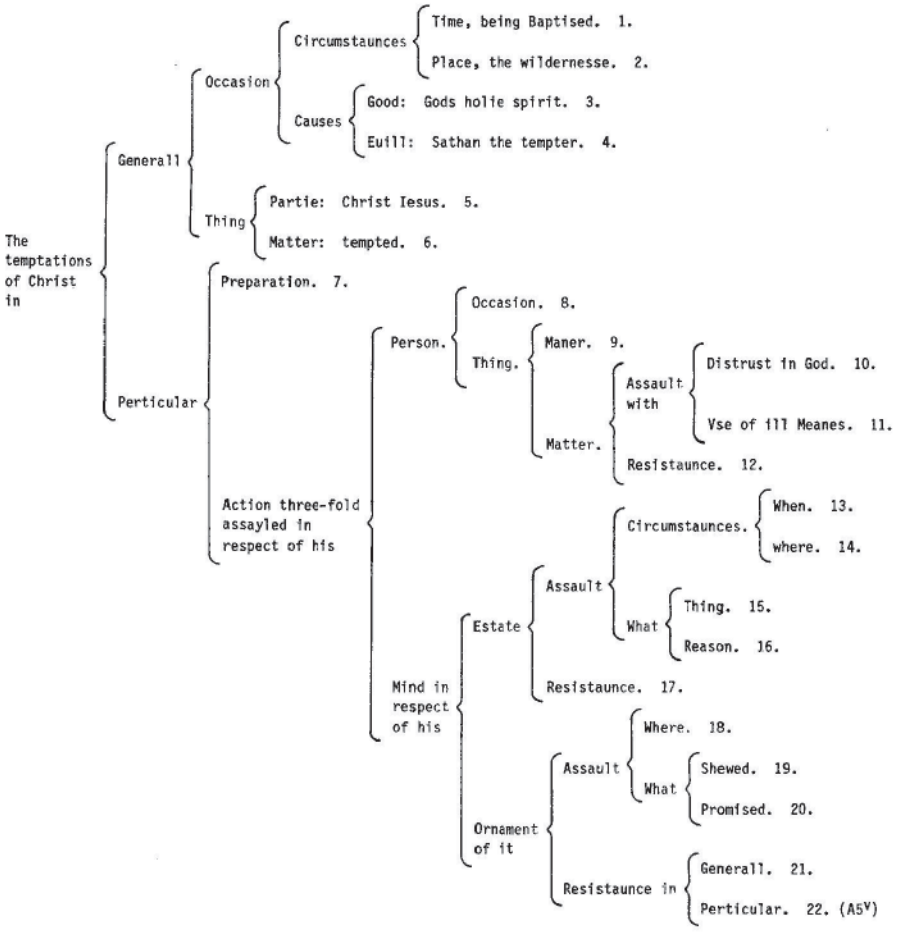
A more systematic distinction between "general" and "particular" establishes Udall's division of *The Combate betwixt Christ and the Devill* (1588), his final series of sermons. Their title expresses the agonistic spirit of orality, as does the repetition shown in table 5 of the words "Assault" and "Resistaunce" (1589:A5^{v}). For the listener or reader of *The Combate*, the struggle between Christ and the devil models the interior struggle of the soul rather than a struggle with an exterior enemy.

As in *Obedience to the Gospell* and *Peter's Fall*, analytic commonplaces replace the narrative structure of a story to organize the dichotomy of "Generall" and "Perticular." "Generall" is divided into "Occasion" and "Thing." The commonplaces of "Circumstaunces" ("Time" and "Place") and "Causes" analyze "Thing." The dichotomies that develop "Perticular" include "Maner," "Matter," "Circumstaunces" of "When" and "where," "What," "Where," "What," "Generall," and "Perticular."

After having published these texts, all to be collected in *Certaine Sermons* (1596), Udall explained the organization and purpose of the reformed sermon in *A Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Ieremy* (1593). Its letter "To the Christian Reader" indicates that concern for "*method and order*" reflects an image of preaching as instruction. Precisely as instruction, preaching was intended to persuade. Twenty-five references to teaching or knowledge depict the "Preacher" (A3) as a "teacher" (A3^{v}) and "the consciences of the hearers" to be "throughly [*sic*] perswaded of the trueth" (A2^{v}) by method. Here and in the subtitle, Udall explains method as "*a Literall Interpretation of the Text*" (a paraphrase of its sense), "*a Collection of Diuers Doctrines*" with examples, the "*Reasons or Proofe of Every Doctrine*," and their "*Particular Vses*." Thus, for Udall the term "method" refers to the structured contents of a sermon, rather than

Table 5

A Methode of the whole matter in this Booke.



Udall's *The Combate betwixt Christ and the Deuill* (1588)

to the dichotomous distinction of general and particular which Ramus meant. Although Udall's letter expands the meaning of method to specify the four parts of the Puritan sermon, an introductory table of 343 "places" outlines five chapters in the usual Ramist fashion.

Table 6 closely, but not completely, transcribes part of "*The Lamentations of Jeremie in a Table*" for most of the first chapter. In addition to its dichotomous organization, the complete table reveals the influence of logic by including analytic commonplaces (place, time, cause, effect, manner, who, what) and, over and over, distinctions of general and particular.

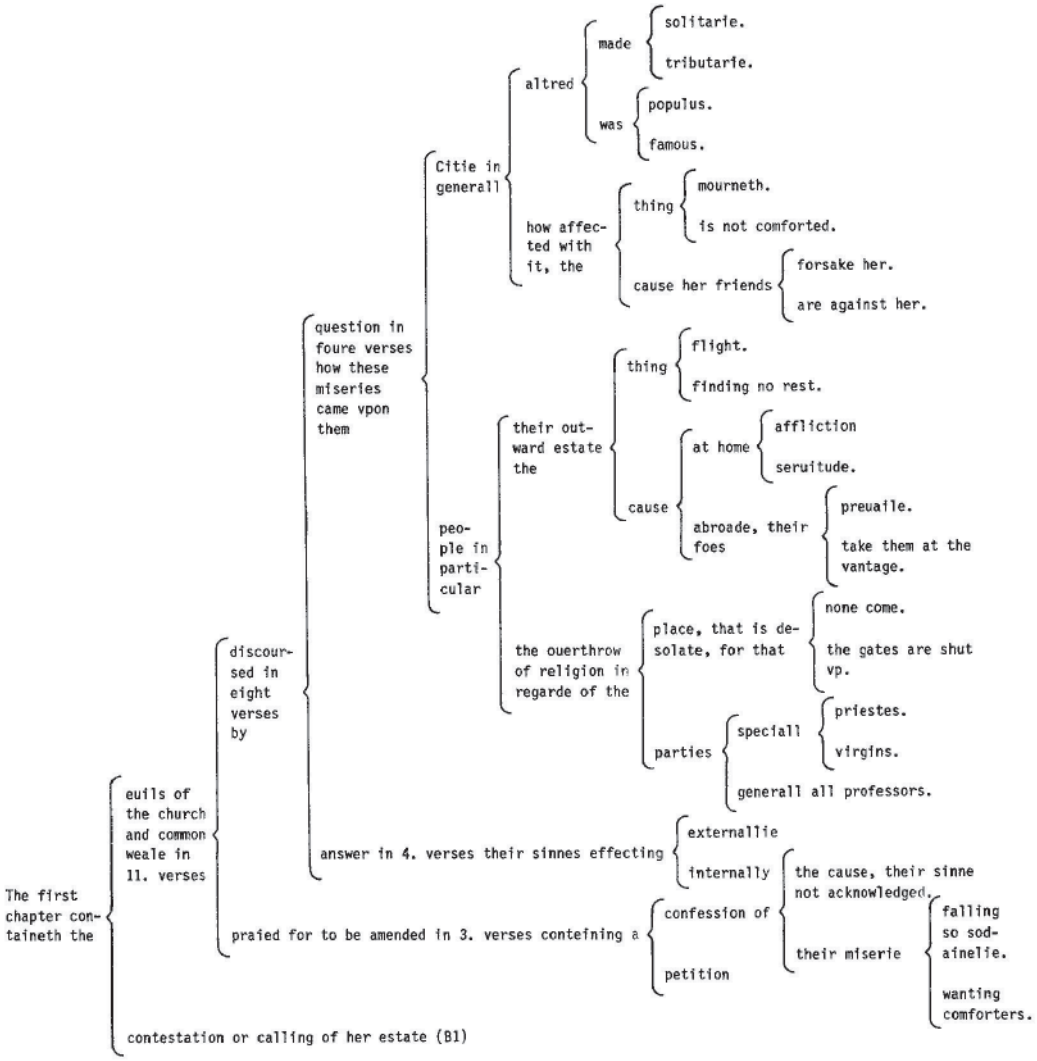
Each of Udall's five chapters opens with an interpretation of a verse, as does, for example, "*The Third Chapter*":

> [*I Am the man*] i. I the Church of GOD being one bodie, am like vnto a man; for heere the Prophet changeth, from the person of a woman (as before) to the person of a man; and speaketh not of himselfe alone, but of the whole Church vnder the person of one man [*that hath seen affliction*] *i*. that hath had experience of all sortes of troubles [*in the rod of his indignation*] *i*. whilest he (to wit the Lord) corrected me with his rodde, that his exceeding anger against me for my sinnes, caused him to lay vpon me (92-93).

Then Udall enumerates doctrines, listing reasons and uses for each doctrine:

> *Doctrine*. [*the man*] the Church and children of God, are the most subiect vnto affliction of all other people. Examples hereof are the Israelites in generall, *Iaacob* [*sic*], *Moses, Job, Dauid: Christ* himselfe in particular. The reason is, because, first, God will not haue them in loue with this world: Secondly, Sathan and the wicked beare an vnappeaseable malice against them: Thirdly, they are thereby made fittest to serue God and obey his lawes, *Psal*. 119.67. The vse is, to teach vs, first, not to looke for any other condition, if we desire soundly to continue in the seruice of God, *Luke* 24.27, else afflictions when they come, prooue either intollerable vnto vs, or cause vs to fall away: Secondly, to esteeme afflictions not a note of infamie, but rather a speciall mark of Gods fauour in his Children (93).

Table 6



Udall's *A Commentarie vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy* 1593)

The sentences which develop the reasons do not reflect the syllogistic structure suggested in the sermons and used in *A Demonstration*. In the sermons, syllogisms lend a sense of climax in delivery, as they do in a more literate fashion in the long periodic sentences of *A Demonstration*. However, "expressed in short sentences," "the particulars" of *A Commentarie*, more briefe then [*sic*] when they were spoken." have been abridged for the "Reader" (A4).

The sermons first address an audience which listens, then one which reads. A *Commentarie* provides teaching to those who read. In it, exposition depends solely on dichotomies and analytic commonplaces. Finally, *A Demonstration* has a reading audience which will speak its evidence. This polemical treatise brought Udall imprisonment and perhaps thus hastened his death.

Audience and Organization in Udall's *Demonstration*

Udall's *A Demonstration of the Trueth of That Discipline* (1588) joined propositions and syllogisms to dichotomies when he turned from the non-academic audiences of parishioners and pastors to an audience of laity and ministers engaged in controversy. Through the use of logic, he wanted to provide these readers with refutations of objections to Travers' program in *A Full and Plainer Declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline*. In 1574, this treatise had appeared at Heidelberg in Latin and in Cartwright's translation (Johnson 1948:284-86). Thus, Udall proved with syllogisms the axiom-like statements which unfold his own dichotomies.

The logical style of *A Demonstration* contrasts with the satiric dialogues of Udall's *The State of the Church of Englande*, previously published for a popular audience in 1588. The audience could be approached with the agonistic irony traditional in dialogues rather than with the more lecture-like and literate techniques that extended logic to the audience of the already converted. Three editions of the dialogues provoked the government's destruction of Robert Waldegrave's London press. This reaction may have prompted the Marprelate tracts, even more strikingly agonistic and residually oral in style and to be printed later on Waldegrave's fugitive East Moseley press along with Udall's *Demonstration* (1588). In Udall's dialogue, Paule, the "Puritan," recommends Travers' *Ecclesiasticall Discipline*, which surrounds dichotomous exposition with Ciceronian introduction and

Table 7

A Table of Discipline, the particular heades whereof, are handled in the seueral chapters, according to the number wherewith they are noted: as followeth.

- The Discipline of the Church is, the order that GOD hath prescribed in his worde, for the ruling of the same. c[h]ap. 1. The offices and officers of whiche, are to bee considered in
  - General, the calling,
    - wherevnto to wit, to
      - A certaine office, Chap. 2.
      - Execute his office faythfully, Chap. 3.
    - how it muste be by
      - Election whiche must
        - be done by
          - The people, chap. 4.
          - Examination, chap. 5.
        - Consent (onely) to a man fit for the place, Chap. 6.
      - ordination
        - By whom it must be: by the eldership. Chap. 7.
        - The manner howe, by
          - publike prayer with the people, chap. 8.
          - laying on of hands, c[h]ap. 9.
  - Particular, the officers and offices,
    - Simple by themselues,
      - Byshops
        - Pastours, chap. 10.
        - Doctours, chap. 11.
      - Deacons or Church seruants,
        - Querseers, chap. 12.
        - Distributers, chap. 13.
    - compound the Synode Ecclesiastically,
      - What
        - Be the parties: Pastours, Doctours, and Elders, Chap. 14.
        - Is the authoritie thereof, chap. 15.
      - wherein it consisteth: in
        - placing and displacing; chap. 16.
        - Censures by
          - Word, chap. 17.
          - deed
            - Suspention, c[h]ap. 18.
            - Excommunication, Chap. 19.

(1588: between C4^{v} and D1)

Udall's *A Demonstration of the Trueth of the Discipline Which Christ Hath Prescribed in His Word* (1588)

peroration, and Chaderton's dichotomous 1584 sermon on the same theme, *A Fruitfull Sermon* (Rechtien 1977b, 1978:268).

The dichotomous organization and syllogisms in *A Demonstration* establish a pictorially clear meaning. This effect is quite deliberate, as ten images of sight or blindness in his introductory letters "To the Supposed Gouernours of the Church of England" and "To the Reader" make clear. Sentence structure in both letters expresses the influence of logic in the unfolding of syllogisms or dichotomies. For example, the letter "To the Reader" expands this dichotomous sentence for slightly more than two pages to specify the audience:

> The course of my enterprise, is first in respect of the favorers of the desired reformation; secondly of the adversaries of the same, [sic] the favourers of it, are also of two sorts; ministers of the word, and private persons, and both I hope, may haue profit by it (1895:9).

Addressed as "Supposed Gouernours" and included in this dichotomy, the bishops are not engaged in agonistic dialogue that includes *ethos* and *pathos*. Instead, their objections are excluded by a *logos* adapted from logic rather than from rhetoric, for Udall discards the residual orality of the Ciceronian exordium, *narratio*, and peroration that enclose Travers' dichotomously arranged proofs (Rechtien 1977b:58-59). *A Demonstration* presents the second two audiences from the dichotomy, convinced ministers and laity, with a model of deliberation.

According to Ramist method, the statement of a universal must open a series of dichotomies that should continue to the least particular. The Scottish Ramist Roland MacIlmaine had explained that the scriptural text constitutes the universal to be interpreted (1574:13). Out of that universal from Scripture, Udall, in his sermons and *A Commentarie*, derived doctrines, reasons, and applications. In *A Demonstration*, a definition of discipline states the universal in table 7.

Chapter 1 begins with a proposition implied by the definition. The following chapters reformulate or divide into "propositions" an initial statement based on Travers' *Ecclesiasticall Discipline*. All propositions are proved by scriptural and patristic testimonies. A means to recover knowledge (*inventio*), testimonies constitute a form of "inartificial" proof in Ramist logic which is dichotomous to "artificial proof" derived from analytic commonplaces. Udall's

scriptural testimonies are incorporated into syllogisms. These syllogisms and the patristic testimonies are then summarized in a concluding enthymeme. Udall's subtitle describes this technique as "*a Plaine Forme of Reasoning*" (1588).

For example, a dichotomous table with chapter numbers divides Udall's definition of discipline into fifteen dichotomies and one triplet. Logic supplies the first distinction ("General" and "Particular") and the analytic commonplaces ("whereunto," "how," "By whom," "maner howe," "What," and "Wherein") (1895:vi). Then Chapter 1 opens by stating that "*The diffinition of Discipline, contayneth this proposition*":

> The worde of God describeth perfectly vnto vs, that forme of governing the Church which is lawfull, and the officers that are to execute the same: from the which no Christian Church ought to swarue.

To disprove the "Assertion" of the bishops, Chapter 1 lists fifteen syllogisms and three patristic testimonies (1895:13). The syllogisms need only summarize or allude to Scripture. Finally, in sixteen out of nineteen chapters, 29 sorites-like chains of clauses begun with "therefore" reformulate the series of syllogisms and testimonies in a "conclusion" like the "Conclusion" of Chapter 1 with eighteen "if" clauses and one "then" clause, all in 311 words (1895:16-17). Although not linking conclusions which become succeeding premises, as they would in a true sorites, the clauses in this enthymeme do follow a sequential order.

Ramus had dichotomized the organization of ideas into axioms and "intelligible order," either syllogisms or method (Ong 1958:251). Method he had dichotomized into "natural" or perfect, proceeding from general to particular, and prudential or imperfect, proceeding from particular to general. The imperfect method was commonly used by poets, orators, and historians, who must address the public (Ong 1958:252-54). *A Demonstration* exemplifies all three means of "natural" organization. Dichotomies develop a definition or general statement. Propositions function as "axioms," a protean Ramist term (Ong 1958:252). From these known propositions or "axioms," syllogisms then prove the previously unknown propositions with which they conclude.

By combining three Ramist techniques of organization, Udall made the dichotomous organization of Travers even more rigid. Whether he addressed a popular or pastoral audience, or an

audience of controversialists—in sermon, commentary, or argumentation—Udall applied logic to teach what he regarded as certainties. Like parents at home in household study sessions, ministers engaged in sermons and disputation were expected in their turn to apply logic as a means of teaching religious reform.

Conclusion

For Udall, the object of communication had become social formation by means of a conviction taught with the aid of logic rather than persuasion through delightful teaching (*docere, delectare, persuadere*), the three purposes of traditional rhetoric. In spite of this constant use of logic, Udall did adapt it for each audience, simplifying the syllogisms and dichotomies of Ramist logic for his parishioners. Thus, unlike a more orally attuned thirteenth-century scholasticism, which did not imprint divisions and subdivisions on the popular sermon (d'Avray 166-78) but reserved such an approach for the classroom, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritan preaching transformed the sermon into a popularized academic lecture. In contrast with this simplification of logic in his sermons and exegesis, Udall combined formal syllogisms and dichotomies to organize the argumentation of *A Demonstration*. Only of the educated audience intended for this tract did Udall demand formal syllogisms. However, like his parishioners, this audience also would have experienced the recovery and organization of ideas as a model of how to think about the practical implications of certainties.

Udall's application of Ramist logic captitalized on its pedagogical nature. Ramism was not a means for discussion among the learned about probabilities, the meaning of the term "dialectic." Nor was it a means to investigate certainties, the Aristotelian understanding of "logic." Instead, Ramism replaced three different procedures (persuasion of the public, discussion among the learned, and investigation of certainties) with one procedure, the recovery and placement of ideas as if they were certainties calling out for appropriation and application. In itself, Ramism meant "a subscientific logic designed for pedagogical convenience."[6] In its adaptation by Udall's new practice of audience accomodation,

Ramism became a pedagogical tool to form audiences which differed in education but shared the same world of meaning.

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Notes

[1]See S. Miller 1982: 50-56 and Steinhoff 1982:32.

[2]Perelman 1982:279, Howell 1982:67-68, Farrell 1979:910-18, Vickers 1981:109-18.

[3]See Rechtien 1978:268 and 1979:245-46.

[4]P. Miller 1961:331-49 and White 1972:22.

[5]Herr 1969:75-86, Thomas 1948:10-21, Regan 1983:155-56.

[6]Ong, personal correspondence, 5 July 1984.

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