



ADVICE TO A SON

*Precepts of Lord Burghley,
Sir Walter Raleigh,
and Francis Osborne*

EDITED BY

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

PUBLISHED FOR

The Folger Shakespeare Library

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS



“Guides to conduct are common to all ages, for writers never cease to believe that the distillation of their wisdom will in some fashion improve the behavior of youth and provide useful instruction to their elders. The sixteenth century was a particularly didactic age and had more than its share of self-appointed instructors with faith in their missions.” So writes Louis B. Wright in his Introduction to *Advice to a Son*.

This volume makes available three of the most famous sets of precepts. The manuals attributed to Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Raleigh and a treatise compiled by Francis Osborne are indicative of both the aspirations and the morals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they provide an index to the social attitudes of the age.

Immensely popular and influential, they were often reprinted, quoted from, and plagiarized. Some students of Shakespeare profess to see a parallel between Polonius' advice to Laertes and Burghley's practical counsel to his son Robert.

The advice that these treatises offer is materialistic and even cynical, because the writers, moving in a political milieu, were realistic in attempting to provide instruction for their sons that would insure suc-

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Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization

APR 1963

ADVICE TO A SON

FOLGER DOCUMENTS
OF TUDOR AND STUART CIVILIZATION

THIS volume is one of a series of publications of Tudor and Stuart documents that the Folger Library proposes to bring out. These documents will consist of hitherto unprinted manuscripts as well as reprints of rare books in the Folger Library. An effort will be made to choose significant items that will throw light on the social and intellectual background of the period from 1485 to 1715. In response to almost unanimous requests of interested historians, the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization will be modernized in printed texts. In some cases, where the original printing is clear and easily read, texts may be photographically reproduced. The Folger Library is prepared to supply microfilm of original texts to scholars who require a facsimile.

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Ithaca, New York

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

First published 1962

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 62-9962

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY VAIL-BALLOU PRESS, INC.

PREFACE

IN PRINTING the texts of the advice that William Cecil Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne saw fit to compile for their sons, we have sought to present versions that are accurate and readable. As with other texts in the Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization, we have tried to keep the documentation to the minimum needed for the comprehension of the documents. Readable texts, rather than critical editions identifying every allusion and source of ideas, are our aim.

To that end we have modernized spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, but we have of course retained all obsolete words and we have not meddled with the authors' grammar. It has seemed best to retain the exact spelling of all foreign language passages, including Latin quotations, because they illustrate the authors' understanding and usage.

For making the transcriptions of these works I am indebted to Miss Ellen Eyler of the Folger editorial staff. She has been of immense help in the preparation of this edition. I wish also to thank officials of the British Museum for making available a photographic copy of Burghley's "A Memorial for Thomas Cecil." In this text, as in many others, the keen eye of Miss Virginia LaMar, chief editorial assistant, has saved us from many errors.

L. B. W.

Folger Library
June 24, 1961

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INTRODUCTION

THE evolution of a literary type which culminated in the eighteenth century in Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* is illustrated by three famous sets of precepts reprinted here.¹ The literary genre of "Advice to a Son," and sometimes "Advice to a Daughter," enjoyed a considerable popularity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but it had its origin in earlier and somewhat different kinds of instruction. Sometimes the later types of "Advice" were merely generalized essays on manners and morals or devices for satirical or facetious commentary. Earlier "Advices," however, like those attributed to Burghley and Raleigh, frequently represented efforts toward the indoctrination of definite individuals. Because of the fame of the compiler or the quality of the advice, some of these precepts found their way into print to serve as guides and admonishment to the general public. Thus, they illustrate an ideal of manners and behavior and serve as an index to what

¹ An unpublished dissertation by Virgil B. Heltzel, "Chesterfield and the Tradition of the Gentleman" (University of Chicago, 1925), traces this evolution. Through the courtesy of Professor Heltzel, I have had the use of a microfilm copy of this dissertation. Useful commentary on the instruction literature will also be found in Virgil B. Heltzel, "Richard Earl of Carbery's Advice to His Son," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 11 (1937), pp. 59-105.

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fathers of the period might wish to see demonstrated in the conduct of their children.

Guides to conduct are common to all ages, for writers never cease to believe that the distillation of their wisdom will in some fashion improve the behavior of youth and provide useful instruction to their elders. The sixteenth century was a particularly didactic age and had more than its share of self-appointed instructors with faith in their missions.² The treatise of instruction might take the form of a sermon by some contemporary preacher, a translation of some book of wisdom from the ancients, a courtesy book taken from the Italians, an original work designed to guide the education of the prince, or a few pious and practical admonitions of a parent to a son or a daughter.

The most famous and most popular guide to behavior in the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Elyot's *Book Named the Governour*, first published in 1531 with at least eight editions by 1580. Elyot's work is a comprehensive discussion of the best way to educate a youth who will have responsibilities in the state, and it provides much incidental information about the state of learning as well as behavior in this period. At the end of the century James VI of Scotland, later James I of England, published *Basilikon Doron, or His Majesty's Instructions to His Dearest Son, Henry the Prince* (1599), which by 1604 also had at least eight editions. Sir Walter Scott declared that *Basilikon Doron* exhibits "that extraordinary mixture of learning and pedantry, sense and folly, reason and prejudice, vanity and prudence, which most deservedly procured James the character of the wisest fool in Christendom."³ At any rate, these two works, of Elyot and King James, are characteristic of the didactic treatises and represent what the sixteenth century believed es-

² See especially the chapter, "From *The Governour* of Sir Thomas Elyot to the *Basilikon Doron* of King James," in John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1935).

³ Quoted by Mason, *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

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sential in the education of aristocratic youths. Works designed for folk of less exalted station also abounded, and many devotional books not only pointed the way to heaven but also provided both pious and practical instruction for making a success of one's present life.⁴

The sixteenth century devoured instruction of all sorts and was particularly addicted to sermons and pious exhortations, whether by ordained preachers or laymen. An age in which more than 43 per cent of the output of the printing press consisted of pious and religious works saw nothing unusual in a man of the world as practical as Burghley prescribing a religious regimen for his household that would have done credit to a monastery. That is not to say that all members of the household adhered to the rules with fidelity, but it is significant that in Burghley's household, as in many others, there was an extraordinary emphasis on religious instruction along with more pragmatic training. We must not discount the sincerity of such people or regard them as members of a particularly pious branch of a Puritan sect. In this period even callous ship captains and buccaneers prescribed religious exercises in their voyages and carried chaplains to see that crews kept their swearing in compass and did not stray too far from the paths of rectitude.⁵ Though they might regard this precaution as a sort of insurance against disaster, they had no doubt of its spiritual value.

In typical manuals of advice religious instruction and religious admonitions were mingled with eminently practical and even worldly counsel on ways to succeed in a world that was anything but ideal. Sophisticates of later ages have laughed at this mixture in Burghley's *Precepts* as they have laughed at the material-

⁴ See pertinent sections in Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935; reprinted Ithaca, N.Y., 1958), pp. 121-296.

⁵ Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1943), *passim*.

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istic advice that Polonius gave to Laertes, but they forget that both Burghley and Polonius were realists familiar with a struggle for position and power that was cruel and ruthless. Rarely in politics does one encounter nice distinctions of ethics, and the courts of the Tudors and the Stuarts were no exceptions. Calculated scheming, sharp practice, the heartless elimination of competition by whatever means seemed safest, and sheer luck helped to account for the rise of many a great man to whom the populace showed honor. A practical father who wished his own son to get ahead in that world would not want him to grow up either tender-minded or ignorant of realities. He would also hope that the youth might enjoy the favor of the Almighty, for no one expected preferment without the intercession of some great person, and the Elizabethan looked to heaven for the happiest intercession of all. Prayer was not without purpose here and hereafter.

Although it is customary to point to the increasing worldliness of the seventeenth century and to talk of the cynicism, not to say the iniquity, of the later seventeenth century, we must not forget that parallel with the growing cynicism, some of which may be illustrated in Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son*, was a deep religious movement that affected many thousands of people. At a time when a small court circle was laughing at Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, multitudes were reading the pious works of John Bunyan, the tinker of Bedford. Scores of manuals of instruction for sons, and sometimes for daughters, appeared throughout the century. Some were as unspiritual and materialistic as Osborne's *Advice to a Son* or George Savile, the Marquis of Halifax', *Advice to a Daughter*, but many continued the tradition of religious instruction that had been characteristic of the sixteenth century. Although many emphasized the world to come, a surprising number included practical guidance here below.⁶

The popularity of the instructions attributed to Burghley and Raleigh in the seventeenth century, long after the deaths of the presumed authors, may be accounted for in part by the distinc-

⁶ Mason, *Gentlefolk*, pp. 58-87. Cf. especially pp. 76-77 and note 107.

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tion and position of the two men, but obviously both little manuals possessed qualities to which the age responded. Both mingled virtue and pragmatism in a way that seventeenth-century readers could approve.

Doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of both Burghley's and Raleigh's instructions, but recent scholarship leans toward acceptance of both as canonical works of the two men.

Although Burghley's *Precepts*, designed for the edification of his son Robert, later the Earl of Salisbury, had a long life in print, Burghley wrote another and less well-known set of instructions for his son Thomas which was far more rigidly religious. These instructions, preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum,⁷ are printed here for comparison with the later *Precepts*.

William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (and referred to here throughout as "Burghley"), was for much of Queen Elizabeth's reign the single most powerful figure in her government. Born in 1520, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of fifteen. He was adept in the classical languages and maintained his love for Latin and Greek until his dying day. Beginning government service in the reign of Edward VI, he quickly became Principal Secretary. A prudent, cautious man who knew how to keep his own counsel, he managed to accommodate himself to Queen Mary's Catholic regime and to serve her in various capacities abroad.⁸ On Elizabeth's accession he once more became Principal Secretary, which office he held until 1572, when he became Lord Treasurer, the post that he held until his death in 1598. Whatever the title of his office, Burghley was Elizabeth's most trusted and faithful counselor.

His first wife was Mary Cheke, who in 1542 bore him a son

⁷ Harleian MS 3638. f. 106.

⁸ Burghley's career is treated in detail in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1955) and *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1960). For his attitude at the time of Mary's accession, see *Mr. Secretary Cecil*, pp. 102-116.

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christened Thomas. Although Thomas' uncle was Sir John Cheke, a noted classical scholar, the boy showed no disposition to emulate the learning of either his father or his uncle. Indeed, he grew up into a sort of Tony Lumpkin and proved a complete disappointment and a trial to his father. Perhaps it was partially Burghley's own fault, for he confessed that he had "never showed any fatherly fancy to him but in teaching and correcting."⁹ A busy, stern man who had little affection for the boy, Burghley was to regret bitterly the youth's failure to measure up to his expectations, and all he could think of by way of rectifying the lad's behavior was to equip him with pious admonitions. In 1561 Burghley decided to send Thomas to the Continent to pick up a little cultivation that might make him more acceptable in the circles where he might be expected to move. On May 8, 1561, Burghley wrote to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton:

I have forborne to send my son Thomas Cecil out of the realm for that I had no more, and now that God hath given me another I am disposed to send him abroad, meaning only to have him absent about one year, so as, at his return, if God so grant, to see him married for that he shall then be full 20. I mean not to have him scholarly learned but civilly trained, and to have either the French or the Italian tongue, in which I know he can have no perfection without greater time, and yet, so he can entertain one in common speech of salutation, it shall suffice.¹⁰

To accompany Thomas on his travels, Burghley chose a discreet man, his secretary, Thomas Windebank, who proved both patient and long-suffering. They went to France, where Thomas showed a greater inclination to dice and cards than to learning. In the spring of 1562 he broke into poor Windebank's strongbox and took his money. A bit later he ravished a maid in Paris. All of this led Burghley to write Windebank:

⁹ Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil*, p. 212.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

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Windebank, I am here used to pains and troubles, but none creep so near my heart as doth this of my lewd son. I am perplexed what to think. The shame that I shall receive to have so unruled a son grieveth me more than if I had lost him by honest death. Good Windebank, consult with my dear friend Sir N. Throgmorton to whom I have referred the whole. I could be best content that he would commit him secretly to some sharp prison. If that shall not seem good yet would I have him sent away to Strasbourg, if it should be possible, or to Louvain, for my grief will grow double to see him until some kind of amends. If none of these will serve, then bring him home and I shall receive that which it pleaseth God to lay on my shoulders: that is, in the midst of my business, for comfort, a daily torment.¹¹

Windebank in the end took Thomas on a trip through the Low Countries and at length sent him home in January, 1563, with the prediction that Burghley would "see him amended."

For the journey to the Continent, Burghley had prepared "A memorial for Thomas Cecil, my son, to peruse and put in ure from time to time concerning things given to him in charge by me, William Cecil, his father, anno Domini 1561." Thomas was instructed to indulge in an incredible amount of prayer and self-examination, to carry about with him commentaries on the Bible, and to read the Psalter twelve times, the New Testament four times, and the Old Testament once during the year. "This is all the study I mean you shall bestow in divinity, saving you shall do well to be present with attention every sermon that you may hear being preached by men of such judgment as accordeth with your profession here," Burghley indulgently comments. At the end of the day, in addition to more prayers for the forgiveness of his sin, Thomas was expected to enter into a journal all matters of moment that had occurred. It is easy to understand that dicing and women proved more alluring.

One may well wonder what became of Thomas after the regi-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

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men that his father tried to prescribe. He came home and married Dorothy Latimer, who produced a large progeny. After her death, late in his life Thomas married the widow of Sir Thomas Smith. In 1599, a year too late for his father to know about his first preferment, he became president of the Council of the North, and in 1605 he was created the first Earl of Exeter. He lived on until 1622 and died at the age of eighty. In his later years he was afflicted with gout and plagued with family quarrels and lawsuits. In a long and uneventful life he showed no evidence that the religious instructions written out by his father did him any good, but at least they did him no harm. Thomas was impervious to indoctrination.

If Thomas Cecil proved a disappointment, Burghley's son Robert made up for the failings of the first-born. Robert was the son of Burghley's second wife, Mildred Cooke, who was one of four extraordinary sisters. One married Sir Nicholas Bacon, one Sir Thomas Hoby, and another Henry Killigrew. They were all learned and determined women. Robert was born on June 1, 1563, and developed a crooked spine that gave him the appearance of being slightly hunchbacked. Unable to take part in outdoor sports, he developed scholarly instincts that he inherited from both mother and father.

The Burghley household was a little academy where, a contemporary wrote, "most of the principal gentlemen of England preferred their sons and heirs to his service."¹² If this statement seems somewhat exaggerated, it is certain that Burghley took in many promising young men and personally supervised their training, for this was the method of educating the aristocracy. Among those who lived and learned in the Burghley household were Philip Sidney, the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Southampton. Oxford later married Burghley's daughter Anne, a match that proved unfortunate for both daughter and father, for Oxford turned out to be a liar, blas-

¹² Read, *Lord Burghley*, p. 124.

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phemer, rascal, and consummate cad, not precisely the person to have written Shakespeare's plays, as some strange cultists would have us believe. The regimen prescribed by Burghley for the young men was strict, as one might expect, and included not only French, Latin, cosmography, writing, drawing, "exercises with the pen," and dancing, but the reading of the Epistles and Gospel before dinner in English and after dinner in Greek. To supervise Oxford's instruction, he had a tutor, Dr. Laurence Nowell, dean of Lichfield Cathedral. Perhaps the very strictness and piety that had made so little impression earlier on his son Thomas also had an unfavorable influence on Oxford.

But young Robert Cecil was an apt pupil and learned languages, good doctrine, prudence, and exemplary behavior in a fashion to delight the heart of his father. Burghley, like many another Elizabethan gentleman, was eager to establish a dynasty, and the purpose of his instruction was to ensure an heir who would carry on his name with distinction. Seeing that Robert had promise, he set about the architecture of his son's fortune with the intention of having Robert take over his duties and responsibilities in the government. In this Burghley succeeded beyond his fondest dream. In 1596 Robert Cecil became Principal Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. So prudently did he conduct negotiations with the King of Scots that when James came to the throne of England in 1603 he made Cecil one of his most trusted counselors. In 1605 the King created Cecil Earl of Salisbury and in 1608 made him Lord Treasurer. Surely Burghley must have smiled in Elysium at the efficacy of the precepts with which he had equipped his favorite son and the manner in which he had followed them.

Sometime in the early 1580's Burghley wrote out *Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life*, sometimes referred to as the *Ten Precepts*, as a supplement to the Ten Commandments, and gave them to his son Robert. Perhaps he gave copies to others besides Robert, or perhaps friends asked to

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have a version of Burghley's distilled wisdom. At any rate the *Precepts* survive in various manuscript versions,¹³ and after Burghley's death they found their way into print. The first printed text was brought out in 1617 followed by other editions in 1618, 1636, and 1637. The version printed here is taken from a copy written ca. 1615 in a manuscript collection of miscellaneous letters and documents in the Folger Library (V.a. 321).

In the first published edition the printer, Thomas Jones, added some further material to fill out his book, since the *Precepts* were too short to make a volume. The title page assures the reader that the *Precepts* are "published from a more perfect copy than ordinary those pocket manuscripts go warranted by." And it advertises that there are "some other Precepts and Sentences of the same nature added, taken from a person of like place and quality."¹⁴ Succeeding editions added other precepts and oddments supposed to be instructive. For example, the 1636 edition contains not only the material that Jones added in 1617 but a "Genealogy of Pride."

In the literature of wise saws Burghley's *Precepts* took their place and enjoyed a long life. How many contemporaries owned what the printer called "pocket manuscripts" no one now can tell. Certainly Burghley's succinct counsel became part of the tradition of seventeenth-century wisdom literature. When James Stanley, the seventh Earl of Derby, wanted to write out some advice to his son, he borrowed paragraphs from Burghley's *Precepts* and expressed the hope that they would guide his son along the path to "repute, honor, and comfort."¹⁵ That Shake-

¹³ A manuscript in the British Museum sometimes quoted is Stowe MS 143. f. 100. In addition to the Folger manuscript printed here, the Folger has excerpts from the *Precepts* in a commonplace book of Henry Oxenden dating between 1642 and 1670. An eighteenth-century manuscript in the Folger bears the title, "The Precepts of Sr. Wm. Cecil, Lord Treasurer of England, 1586."

¹⁴ Quoted from the copy of the edition of 1617 in the British Museum.

¹⁵ Mason, *Gentlefolk*, p. 67.

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speare saw a manuscript of the *Precepts*, deliberately travestied them, and satirized Burghley in Polonius' advice to Laertes is unlikely. The *Precepts* were translated into German in the later seventeenth century and appeared in German versions in 1667, 1673, 1681, and 1697. During the eighteenth century they were frequently quoted and were included in a manual entitled *Instructions for Youth, Gentlemen, and Noblemen* (1722; reissued 1728). Later they were added to editions of Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*. Francis Peck in *Desiderata Curiosa* (1732), after a sketch of Burghley, printed the *Precepts* and added this note:

These precepts have been already twice printed, first at London 1637, 12°, and again since by Mr. Strype. But as I know of nothing more masterly drawn or that can better show the true picture of the Lord Burghley's mind in almost every circumstance of life; so, after the history of his life at large, this paper I thought would best show him in miniature, and might therefore well stand here to wind up the conclusion of his story. For it fills the whole of his character with great and noble sentiments, and shows he was not only one of the greatest but also one of the wisest men of the age he lived in. Besides, I don't know but this manuscript copy may have something more in it than either of the printed ones. And for all these reasons I dare say the reader will not be displeas'd with me for reprinting it.¹⁶

Burghley's contemporaries and the generations that followed saw nothing ludicrous or incongruous in the realistic advice that the Lord Treasurer drew up for his son. For them it represented the wisdom of a practical man who had learned to maintain his credit and his honesty and to succeed in a world that was less than perfect. It was a goal that every seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gentleman might wish for his son.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Instructions to His Son and to Posterity*, first published in 1632, was frequently quoted along with

¹⁶ Peck, vol. I, bk. I, p. 63.

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Burghley's *Precepts* as the essence of practical wisdom. By 1636 it had gone through a fifth edition, and in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it appeared as an item in Raleigh's *Remains* and in the *Works*. In the first edition of 1632 there is included a rather smug piece entitled "A Religious and Dutiful Advice of a Loving Son to His Aged Father," which was later omitted. It seems unlikely that this can be foisted upon Raleigh. In composite works like *Instructions for Youth, Gentlemen, and Noblemen*, Raleigh's advice found a place beside Burghley's *Precepts* and another work of pragmatic wisdom called "Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims."¹⁷ Although the canon of Raleigh's works remains to be determined, modern scholars regard the *Instructions* as his composition.¹⁸

The popularity of Raleigh's *Instructions* in the seventeenth century, like the vogue of *The History of the World*, may be attributed in part to the posthumous reputation of the author. In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh's overweening pride and arrogance made him many enemies. As the dashing Captain of the Queen's Guard, he stood near the Queen, and those who occupied that perilous post were certain to incur the hatred of the envious. Raleigh did nothing to ameliorate their hatred, for he was both proud and scornful. But he was a romantic figure who took part in many adventures, including the voyages to Guiana and the exploration of the Orinoco River. In later times his long efforts to colonize Virginia were also remembered. And his execution in 1618, contrived by a pusillanimous king to please Spain, made him a martyr whose memory was cherished by those who increasingly hated James I and his successor.

¹⁷ T. N. Brushfield, *A Bibliography of Sir Walter Raleigh* (2nd ed.; Exeter, 1908), pp. 137-138.

¹⁸ See Ernest A. Strathmann, *Sir Walter Raleigh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* (New York, 1951), pp. 154-156, and Willard M. Wallace, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), pp. 241-242.

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Raleigh, a bold, dominating personality, known for his hostility to Spain, incurred the King's animosity early in James's reign, and in November, 1603, he was tried on a trumped-up charge of treason and sentenced to death. In December the sentence was commuted and he began a long term of imprisonment in the Tower of London that was to last, with one intermission, until he was finally brought to the block on October 29, 1618. The intermission was the period from March, 1617, to the end of June, 1618, when Raleigh led the ill-fated second expedition to Guiana. King James's cupidity had induced him to release Raleigh, for he was led to believe that the adventurer knew of a mountain of pure gold in the valley of the Orinoco. When Raleigh came back empty-handed and the Spaniards accused him of piracy, his fate was sealed. The expedition was doubly tragic, for Raleigh's favorite son, named for his father but called Wat, was killed in the swamps of the Orinoco.

During his long years in the Tower, Raleigh had employed his time in reading and writing. Unable to give direct attention to the education of his sons, he could at least equip them with written guidance. Precisely when Raleigh composed the *Instructions* we do not know. Perhaps he began the work soon after being committed to the Tower, for the work seems to be directed to his son Wat, who was then a lusty child of ten. Raleigh's wife was permitted to have an apartment in the Tower, and there their second son Carew was born in February, 1605.

Raleigh's biographers have been troubled by the materialistic tone of the *Instructions*. "Expediency guided his own life all too largely, and it is the cornerstone of his moral philosophy," Milton Waldman observes. "And in his advice to his beloved son, wherein the wise and experienced father sets forth for the young man's benefit all that he has learned from life, he counsels him never to trust any man too much, to marry for convenience rather than for love, to please God lest he be punished. There is no

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suggestion of purity of heart or integrity of character, of the beauty of passionately losing one's self in love for a friend or a woman or one's Creator. . . . Luckily, though he preached like Polonius, he could act like Laertes. . . ." ¹⁹ And his latest biographer, Willard M. Wallace, remarks that "it is his deeds set against his admonishments that causes one to marvel at the humorless cynicism and to prefer the erring man to the juiceless counselor." ²⁰

But one should remember that Raleigh, like Burghley, wanted his son to establish himself solidly in the milieu that he himself knew to be dangerous and shifting. He was concerned to give him a working plan for success, not an inspirational lecture on ideals. The grim realities of the world that Raleigh knew dictated the practical and materialistic advice with which he sought to equip his son to cope with his environment. This advice throws light, not only upon Raleigh, but upon the society in which he lived. We must not forget that he was trying to compile a useful manual, not a piece of literature or a monument of idealistic philosophy.

Young Wat, for whom his father designed the *Instructions*, was a wild youth if we can believe Ben Jonson's *Conversations* with William Drummond. Raleigh had persuaded Jonson to undertake the task of tutoring the lad on a journey to France. Jonson reports:

S. W. Raleigh sent him governor with son, anno 1613, to France. This youth being knavishly inclined, among other pastimes (as the setting of the favor of damsels on a codpiece) caused him to be drunken, and dead drunk, so that he knew not where he was, thereafter laid him on a car, which he made to be drawn by pioneers through the streets, at every corner showing his governor stretched out and telling them that was a more lively image of the crucifix than any they had; at which sport young Raleigh's mother delighted

¹⁹ Milton Waldman, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London, 1950), p. 187.

²⁰ Wallace, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 242.

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much, saying his father young was so inclined, though the father abhorred it.²¹

Francis Osborne, who produced the third piece of advice reprinted here, outdid both Burghley and Raleigh in providing the kind of guidance designed to lead to materialistic success, and his work, *Advice to a Son* (1656), enjoyed a great contemporary popularity. It had three editions in the first year of its publication, and it aroused so much interest that Osborne was led to write a second part, much inferior to the first, which he brought out with another edition of the first part in 1658.

Francis Osborne, born in 1593, was the youngest son of Sir John Osborne, of Chicksands Priory, Shefford, in Bedfordshire. As a young country gentleman he went to London and mingled in the court circle, where he attracted the attention of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who made him master of the horse in his household. For a time he held a minor post in the office of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, and after the beginning of the Puritan Revolution he held small offices under the Parliamentary government. His wife was Anna Draper, sister of William Draper, a colonel in the Parliamentary army. A son John matriculated in 1648 at Magdalen College, Oxford. About this time Osborne went to live in Oxford in order to supervise the youth's education, and for him he wrote the *Advice to a Son*.

The lad heeded the good counsel of his father and prospered. Through the influence of his uncle in the Parliamentary army he was made a Fellow of All Souls College in 1650. In 1654 he proceeded to a degree of Bachelor of Civil Law and in 1657 became a member of the Inner Temple. He held various judicial posts in Ireland and was offered but declined the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland. He married his first cousin, a daughter of William Draper. Whether she fulfilled the

²¹ R. F. Patterson (ed.), *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1924), pp. 27-28.

Introduction

requirements that would have satisfied his father's cynical cautions about women, the record does not say.

Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son* was widely read. A sixth edition appeared in 1658, and it was included as a part of Osborne's *Works*, which had a ninth edition in 1689. His other works consisted of miscellaneous historical and philosophical essays of no remarkable value.²² The favorable attention which the *Advice* attracted induced Osborne to bring out the second part, which was more discursive and less pointed than the first. It merely provided more observations of the worldly and materialistic kind that had characterized the first part. Only the first part has been reproduced in the present edition.

Although Dr. Johnson scorned Osborne's *Advice to a Son* and remarked to Boswell, "Were a man to write so now the boys would throw stones at him,"²³ Boswell himself defended Osborne and expressed his pleasure in the essay. Pepys has a passage in his *Diary* describing a conversation with Sir William Petty, who remarked on the great popularity of Osborne's essay:

At noon to the Coffeehouse, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and, among other things (saying, that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—*Religio Medici*, Osborne's *Advice to a Son*, and *Hudibras*)—did say that in these—in the two first principally—the wit lies, and confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of

²² Siegmund A. E. Betz, "Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son*," *Seventeenth Century Studies*, ed. by Robert Shafer (Princeton, N.J., 1937), provides a detailed study of Osborne's works and the "advice" genre.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Introduction

Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne's arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight. . . .²⁴

The antifeminist quality of Osborne's *Advice* induced a hack writer, a certain John Heydon, to reply with a scurrilous and not very coherent attack which he entitled *Advice to a Daughter* (1658). Although Heydon had little reputation to lose, another writer, Thomas Pecke, pointed out that he had stolen whole passages from various authors, including Sir Walter Raleigh's *Instructions*. Pecke's reply to Heydon bore the pleasant title of *Advice to Balaam's Ass* (1658). Heydon brazened it out with a fresh edition in 1659 of *Advice to a Daughter*, which had an appendix, "With a Word of Advice to T. P." All of this of course called attention to Osborne's book and stimulated circulation.

Osborne's *Advice to a Son* proved a great favorite with Oxford undergraduates, and one can well understand how his cynical commentary on women would appeal especially to callow youths who were still too young to realize that man never fully comprehends the vagaries of woman. At any rate, the *Advice* stirred so much excitement at Oxford that the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Conant, on July 27, 1658, haled the booksellers before him and forbade them to sell any more of Osborne's *Advice to a Son*. The news of this attempt at censorship leaked out, of course, and the booksellers, who disregarded the Vice-Chancellor's complaints, had more business than usual.

Osborne's *Advice* caught the spirit of the age, as the previous works of Burghley and Raleigh had done. The ideals of conduct represented by the earlier courtesy books of the Renaissance like Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* had now given way to pragmatic handbooks of success. Burghley, Raleigh, and Osborne, each in his way, attempted to provide practical guidance that would ensure the greatest possible material rewards for the son

²⁴ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Henry B. Wheatley (London, 1894), IV, 23-24.

Introduction

who would follow the counsel offered. If Osborne is more cynical than the others, he reflects the disillusionment of his age, which had gone through a civil war with all the maladjustments that internecine conflict brings. Whether one should regard his commentary on the shortcomings of women as a profound personal reaction or a convention of his generation, which delighted in satirizing women, one can never know. Certainly satire of women is as old as the race, and during the seventeenth century such satirical commentary was common. On the Restoration stage, and in court circles, women were the frequent objects of satire, much of it coarse and brutal. Osborne, a member of the country gentry and a Parliamentarian, could also add his penny's worth of ridicule, perhaps as a literary convention, perhaps as a shrewd bit of materialistic wisdom based on his observation, if not his experience. Osborne was conscious of composing a literary production, even if it was actually directed to his son, and his work, more than Burghley's or Raleigh's, must be regarded as a literary creation in addition to being a practical manual composed for the use of a particular person. It is not a great work, but it is significant as a reflection of the motivations and the ideas of Osborne's segment of society.

TEXTS

The text of Burghley's *Memorial for Thomas Cecil* is the British Museum copy Harleian MS 3638. f. 106 (ca. 1610); that of the *Precepts* is Folger MS V.a. 321. f. 56v-59.

The text of Raleigh's *Instructions* is the Folger copy of the second corrected edition of 1632.

The text of Osborne's *Advice* is the Folger copy of the third edition of 1656. This is a better text than the somewhat altered version which Osborne printed along with the second part of 1658.

A MEMORIAL FOR THOMAS CECIL

(1561)

By William Cecil, Lord Burghley

The Lord Treasurer Burghley, his instruction to Thomas, earl of Exeter, his son, upon his going to travel.

A memorial for Thomas Cecil, my son, to peruse and put in ure from time to time concerning divers things given to him in charge by me, William Cecil, his father, anno Domini 1561.

FIRST, you shall remember before all things the commandment of the Lord your God, the Father of all, saying *Audi Israel, Dominus Deus, tuus Deus unus est, et diliges dominum deum tuum, ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et ex tota virtute tua, hoc est, primum mandatum.*¹

Now for the keeping of this commandment you must daily, yea continually, ask it of God in thought and word using this manner of speech: *Da quod iubes, et iube quod vis.*² And because particular rules are means to observe general commandments, you shall remember to keep these things following. You shall privately every morning before you go out of your chamber upon your knees say the Lord's Prayer, and that with devotion, keeping your mind and intent to the sense of the prayer, for otherwise you shall offend God the more. You shall also repeat the Creed and then humbly and heartily thank Him for your creation, for your redemption through the Lord Jesus Christ, and thirdly for your preservation at all times from the danger of committing any horrible sin and from other bodily harms whereunto you are subject. In these prayers you must not think

¹ Hear Israel, the Lord thy God is one God, and love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment.

² Give to me what you wish and prescribe for me what you will.

Advice to a Son

that God is served with words which be but the labor of your lips, but you must have your heart free and remember that in prayer you are before the majesty of the Almighty, before the Maker of all, before Him to whom all that is in heaven and earth is subject; yea, you a simple creature, a piece of clay, a piece of flesh that shall be carrion, one that by no means might presume to speak to God nor to call Him Father but through the adoption made by Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord and Saviour.

And after this private prayer every morning, whereunto you must bind yourself and for no matter of business leave it undone, you shall make you ready in your apparel in cleanly sort, doing that for civility and health and not for pride. This done, then shall you at your appointed hour resort to such common prayer as shall be accorded to be said by you and your company, and my meaning is that you shall use the manner of the prayer of the Church of England in Latin. And for your instructions you shall do well to get some small commentary of the Psalter, and after your prayer to peruse the exposition of all dark and hard speeches for which purpose you may procure Hominius;³ you shall also do the like in procuring some shorter exposition of the words of the New Testament and the Old, daily perusing the hard places. And for commodity of carriage you shall do well to procure these books to be bound in parchment and to note the same books with your pen in such sort as at your return I may see how you have observed this precept. You may understand that in one whole year you may read over the Psalter twelve times so that you cannot but come to the understanding thereof. And as for the New Testament, you shall by order read it over four times in the year; the Old Testament you shall read over once in the year. This is all the study I mean you shall bestow in divinity, saving you shall do well to be present with attention

³ *Hominius*: perhaps William Hunnis, whose *Certain Psalms Drawn into English Meter* was printed in 1550.

A Memorial for Thomas Cecil

every sermon that you may hear being preached by men of such judgment as accordeth with your profession here.

Also, you shall before you go to sleep every night upon your knees reverently and devoutly ask forgiveness of your offenses, calling them curiously and exactly from the morning through every hour of the day until that time to your remembrance, and not only to remember them but to consider by what occasion you fell unto them, to be sorry for them, to detest them, to make an appointment to avoid the occasions the next day, to beseech Almighty God to guide you in the next day by His Holy Spirit that you fall not into the like. If you offend in forgetting of God by leaving your ordinary prayers or suchlike, if you offend in any surfeiting by eating or drinking too much, if you offend any other ways by attending and minding any lewd and filthy tales or enticements of lightness or wantonness of body, you must at evening bring both your thoughts and deeds as you put off your garments, to lay down and cast away those and all suchlike that by the devil are devised to overwhelm your soul and so to burden it by daily laying on filth after filth that when you would be delivered thereof you shall find the burden thereof too weighty. And so, ending this matter, I commend you to the tuition of the Almighty God, having in this behalf discharged myself of the care committed to me by God, being your earthly and corruptible father, remitting you again by education of you from childhood to this state wherein you are and from ignorance to knowledge to the hands of God from whom I received you as His gift, and if you shall please Him and serve Him in fear, I shall take comfort of you; otherwise I shall take you as no blessing of God but a burden of grief and decay of my age.

Now for your journey and order thereof, you shall consider that I have made choice of Thomas Windebank, one whom I trust well, and for the opinion that I have received of his honesty and of his ability to travel by reason of his language, my commandment and charge is that you do follow his advice and coun-

Advice to a Son

sel in all your proceedings, and if you shall not have grace to allow of his counsel for his worthiness, yet my charge and commandment is such that if you will not therein conform yourself I shall revoke you with some shame.

I would that you keep a book like a journal, entering into the same every night all your passages in the day, with the things of moment of that day's travel; and remember this, that although many things worthy your remembrance may appear so fresh to you as you think not need to enter the same into your book yet trust not your memory therewith but commit it to writing in such sort as at your return you may see as in a calendar your whole doings and travel.

CERTAIN PRECEPTS FOR
THE WELL ORDERING OF
A MAN'S LIFE

(ca. 1584)

By William Cecil, Lord Burghley

SON ROBERT:

The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother, by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me rather in assurance of the hope that thou art not ignorant of that summary bond which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy death as life—I mean the true knowledge and worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other things are vain and miserable. So that, thy youth being guided by so all sufficient a teacher, I make no doubt but he will furnish thy life both with divine and moral documents; yet that I may not cast off the care beseeeming a parent towards his child, or that thou shouldst have cause to derive thy whole felicity and welfare rather from others than from whence thou receivedst thy birth and being, I think it fit and agreeable to the affection I bear to help thee with such advertisements and rules for the squaring of thy life as are gained rather by much experience than long reading, to the end that thou, entering into this exorbitant age, mayest be the better prepared to shun those cautelous courses whereinto this world and thy lack of experience may easily draw thee. And because I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into ten precepts and, next unto Moses' tables, if thou do imprint them in thy mind, then shalt [thou] reap the benefit and I the contentment. And these are they.

1. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in the choice of thy wife, for from thence may spring all thy future good or ill; and it is an action like a stratagem in war where man can err but once.

Advice to a Son

If thy estate be good, match near home and at leisure; if weak, then far off and quickly. Inquire diligently of her disposition and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor how generous soever, for a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Neither choose a base and uncomely creature altogether for wealth, for it will cause contempt in others and loathing in thee. Make not choice of a dwarf or a fool, for from the one thou mayest beget a race of pygmies, the other may be thy daily disgrace; for it will irk thee to have her talk, for then thou shalt find to thy great grief that there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool. Touching the government of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate and according to the measure of thine own estate, rather plentiful than sparing—but not too costly—for I never knew any grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But some consume themselves through secret vices and their hospitality must bear the blame. Banish swinish drunkards out of thy house, which is a vice that impairs health, consumes much, and makes no show, for I never knew any praise ascribed to a drunkard but the well-bearing of drink, which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a drayman than for either gentleman or servingman. Beware that thou spend not above three of the four parts of thy revenue, nor above one-third part of that in thine house, for the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which will always surmount thy ordinaries by much. For otherwise shalt thou live like a rich beggar in a continual want, and the needy man can never live happily nor contented, for then every least disaster makes him ready either to mortgage or to sell, and that gentleman which then sells an acre of land loses an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing but ancient riches. So that if the foundations sink, the building must needs consequently fail.

2. Bring thy children up in learning and obedience yet without austerity; praise them openly; reprehend them secretly; give them good countenance and convenient maintenance ac-

Certain Precepts

ording to thy ability; for otherwise thy life will seem their bondage, and then what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death they may thank death for it and not thee. And I am verily persuaded that the foolish cockering of some parents and the overstern carriage of others causeth more men and women to take evil courses than naturally their own vicious inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time, lest they marry themselves. Suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps, for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they attain to some few broken languages, they will profit them no more than to have one meat served in divers dishes. Neither by my advice shalt thou train them up to wars, for he that sets up his rest only to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or good Christian, for war is of itself unjust unless the good cause may make it just. Besides it is a science no longer in request than use, for "soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer."

3. Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee, for he that must present his hand to the purse for every expense of household may be likened to him that keeps water in a sieve. And for that provision thou shalt need lay for to buy it at the best hand, for there may be a penny in four saved betwixt buying at thy need or when the market and seasons serve fittest for it. And be not willingly attended or served by kinsmen, friends, or men entreated to stay, for they will expect much and do little, neither by such as are amorous, for their heads are commonly intoxicated; keep rather too few than one too many; feed them well and pay them with the most, and then mayest thou boldly require service at their hands.

4. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy table, grace them with thy countenance, and ever further them in all honest actions, for by that means thou shalt so double the bond of nature as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off these glowworms—I mean parasites and sycophants—who will feed and fawn upon

Advice to a Son

thee in the summer of prosperity, but in any adverse storm they will shelter thee no more than an arbor in winter.

5. Beware of suretyship for thy best friend, for he which payeth another man's debts seeks his own decay; but if thou canst not otherwise choose, then rather lend that money from thyself upon good bond though thou borrow it, so mayest thou pleasure thy friend and happily also secure thyself. Neither borrow money of a neighbor or friend but rather from a mere stranger, where paying for it thou mayest hear no more of it, for otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy freedom, and yet pay to him as dear as to the other. In borrowing of money be ever precious of thy word, for he that cares to keep day of payment is lord commander many times in another man's goods.

6. Undertake no suit against a poor man without receiving much wrong for therein making him thy competitor. Besides it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against any man before thou be fully resolved that thou hast the right on thy side, and then spare not for money nor pains, for a cause or two so being well followed and obtained may after free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

7. Be sure ever to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often, present [him] with many yet small gifts and of little charge, and if thou have cause to bestow any great gratuity let it then be some such thing as may be daily in sight, for otherwise in this ambitious age thou mayest remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion to spurn at.

8. Towards thy superiors be humble yet generous; with thy equals familiar yet respective; towards inferiors show much humility and some familiarity, as to bow thy body, stretch forth thy hand, and to uncover thy head, and suchlike popular compliments. The first prepares a way to advancement; the second

Certain Precepts

makes thee known for a man well-bred; the third gains a good report which once gotten may be safely kept, for high humilities take such root in the minds of the multitude as they are more easilier won by unprofitable courtesies than churlish benefits. Yet do I advise thee not to affect nor neglect popularity too much. Seek not to be E. and shun to be R.¹

9. Trust not any man too far with thy credit or estate, for it is a mere folly for a man to enthrall himself to his friend further than if just cause be offered he should not dare to become otherwise his enemy.

10. Be not scurrilous in conversation nor stoical in thy jests; the one may make thee unwelcome to all companies, the other pull on quarrels and yet the hatred of thy best friends. Jest when they savor too much of truth leave a bitterness in the mind of those that are touched. And although I have already pointed all this inclusive, yet I think it necessary to leave it thee as a caution, because I have seen many so prone to quip and gird as they would rather lose their friend than their jests, and if by chance their boiling brain yield a quaint scoff they will travail to be delivered of it as a woman with child. Those nimble apprehensions are but the froth of wit.

¹In an eighteenth-century transcript of the *Precepts* in a Folger MS (X.d. 212) which bears a date 1586, these initials are spelled out as Essex and Raleigh.

Sir
Walter Raleigh's
Instructions
to His
Son and to
Posterity

The second edition,
corrected and enlarged
according to the author's
own copy.

London:

Printed for Benjamin Fisher,
dwelling in Aldersgate street
at the Talbot, 1632

TO THE READER:

Many things seem most perfect till more perfect in the same kind do appear. This little book was lately published, as we then thought, according to the true copy of the great author. Such as could have the opportunity to read it did not only approve it but justly admire it and made us believe that there wanted nothing to it, which is the very essence of perfection. But they who had seen the original knew the contrary. They found that there were in it not only divers omissions but some errors also. The omissions, they thought, caused too great a loss to the reader, and the errors they took for an unsufferable wrong to so famous an author. It hath, therefore, seemed good to the wisdom and justice of authority to give order that in lieu of the former copy, now discovered to be imperfect, this perfect one should be thus published.

Here then thou hast, gentle reader, those instructions that have been so much and so long desired by many, though peculiarly belonging but to one. Nor is there injury done hereby to him for whom alone they were at first written, for faithful counsel in matters general is, among many others, the chief of those benefits named by the wise Roman which may be communicated to others without detriment either to the giver or him to whom it is particularly given. Here thou hast them now perfect, complete, and most corrected, for it is our desire and hath been our care that a piece so fairly drawn should be presented to thy view pure without stain or blemish.

CHAPTER I

THERE is nothing more becoming a wise man than to make choice of friends, for by them thou shalt be judged what thou are. Let them, therefore, be wise and virtuous and none of those that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy, for if thou givest twenty gifts and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also especial care that thou never trust any friend or servant with any matter that may endanger thine estate, for so shalt thou make thyself a bondslave to him that thou trustest and leave thyself always to his mercy. And be sure of this: thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment, and then all thou givest is lost and all wherein thou shalt trust such an one will be discovered. Such, therefore, as are thy inferiors will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of men if thou preserve thy estate will always be had. And if thy friends be of better quality than thyself thou mayest be sure of two things: the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any

Advice to a Son

great vanity or ill, from which I hope God will bless thee, then therein trust no man, for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such men labor for themselves and not for thee. Thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger but not in the honor, and to venture a sure estate in present in hope of a better in future is mere madness. And great men forget such as have done them service when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a mean of their advancement than acknowledge it. I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it and have tasted it in all the course of my life. When thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the best so long as they do well, but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate before all others, for the fancies of men change and he that loves today hateth tomorrow. But let reason be thy schoolmistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

CHAPTER II

The next and greatest care ought to be in choice of a wife, and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And although I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery, yet I cannot omit to warn thee as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time it is true that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honor, credit, and

Instructions to His Son

safety in respect thereof. But remember that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withal in a mistress than in a wife, for when thy humor shall change thou art yet free to choose again (if thou give thyself that vain liberty). Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty thou bindest thyself for all thy life for that which perchance will neither last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be unto thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember when thou wert a sucking child that then thou didst love thy nurse and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry nurse and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and therefore though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love.

Yet I wish thee above all the rest, have care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect, for comeliness in children is riches if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches. Have care, therefore, of both together, for if thou have a fair wife and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want, for she is the companion of plenty and honor, for I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, "Favor is deceitful and beauty is vanity." She saith further that "a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness."

Have, therefore, evermore care that thou be beloved of thy wife rather than thyself besotted on her, and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations: first, if thou perceive she

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have care of thy estate and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in conversation without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour nor stern to thy wife, for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred. Let her have equal part of thy estate whilst thou livest if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger and most times to an enemy, for he that shall marry thy wife will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labors, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet always remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate, especially if thou hast few children and them provided for. But howsoever it be or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children in which thou livest upon earth whilst it lasteth. To conclude, wives were ordained to continue the generations of men, not to transfer them and diminish them either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower will despise thee in thy fall and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirty, for as the younger times are unfit either to choose or to govern a wife and family, so if thou stay long thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers are in effect lost, and better were

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it to be unborn than ill-bred, for thereby thy posterity shall either perish or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend the prime and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself, for there never was any such affection which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, "There is a way which seemeth right to a man but the issues thereof are the wages of death, for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee." If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands and dost mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow, therefore, thy youth so that thou mayest have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof whilst thou art young; thou wilt think it will never have an end, but, behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once that it never turn again. Use it, therefore, as the springtime which soon departeth and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

CHAPTER III

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors, for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies as thou shalt never by their will discern evil from good or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain

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the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not, therefore, praise thyself except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool; neither take delight in the praises of other men except thou deserve it and receive it from such as are worthy and honest and will withal warn thee of thy faults. For flatterers have never any virtue; they are ever base, creeping, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling. It is said by Isaiah in this manner, "My people, they that praise thee seduce thee and disorder the paths of thy feet," and David desireth God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, so are they obsequious and full of protestations; for as a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labor as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth, therefore, yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

CHAPTER IV

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts or at tables amongst choleric or quarrelsome persons, and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with ruffians, for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle wherein thou mayest get honor to thyself and safety to thy prince and country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely that they may fear thee after. To shun, therefore, private fight be well advised in thy words and behavior, for honor and shame is in the talk and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall. Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remem-

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ber how much thou art bound to God who hath made thee wiser! Defame not any woman publicly though thou know her to be evil, for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, "He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life." Do, therefore, right to all men where it may profit them and thou shalt thereby get much love, and forbear to speak evil things of men though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge. Do not accuse any man of any crime if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country, for there is nothing more dishonorable, next to treason itself, than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee for any respect lose thy reputation or endure public disgrace, for better it were not to live than to live a coward if the offense proceed not from thyself; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms than to hazard thyself, for if thou overcome thou art under the cruelty of the law, if thou be overcome thou art dead or dishonored. If thou, therefore, contend or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee and utter what they have learned from thee for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honor and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words is a niggard in deeds, and as Solomon saith, "The mouth of a wise man is in his heart; the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth, and by thy words and discourses men will judge thee." For as Socrates saith, "Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed, and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy

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life as thy deeds." Therefore, be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking is like a city without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take than to hold his tongue. Therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies thou shalt seldom err: restrain thy choler, hearken much, and speak little, for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good and greatest evil that is done in the world. According to Solomon, life and death are in the power of the tongue, and as Euripides truly affirmeth, "Every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate." For in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction ariseth from unadvised speech, and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to talebearers, to inquisitive persons and such as busy themselves with other men's estates, that creep into houses as spies to learn news which concern them not; for, assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper or respected among worthy or wise men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar, for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward, for he dares not avow truth; a liar is trusted of no man; he can have no credit either in public nor private. And if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. John saith that it is a vice proper to Satan, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth, and the gain of lying is nothing

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else but not to be trusted of any nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs that God hateth false lips and he that speaketh lies shall perish. Thus thou mayest see and find in all the books of God how odious and contrary to God a liar is, and, for the world, believe it that it never did any man good (except in the extremity of saving life), for a liar is a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

CHAPTER V

Amongst all other things of the world take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve if thou observe three things. First, that thou know what thou hast, what everything is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is that thou never spend anything before thou have it, for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults and scourged for other men's offenses, which is to be surety for another, for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men. If thy friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a rich man, it needs not. Therefore, from suretyship as from a manslayer or enchanter bless thyself, for the best profit and return will be this: that if thou force him

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for whom thou art bound to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar and believe thy father in this and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Besides poverty is oftentimes sent as a curse of God; it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit. Thou shalt neither help thyself nor others; thou shalt drown in thee all thy virtues, having no means to show them; thou shalt be a burden and an eyesore to thy friends; every man will fear thy company; thou shalt be driven basely to beg and depend on others; to flatter unworthy men; to make dishonest shifts; and, to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let no vanity, therefore, or persuasion draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live and defend themselves and thine own fame, where it is said in the Proverbs that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger and he that hateth suretyship is sure. It is further said the poor is hated even of his own neighbor but the rich have many friends. Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him count it but lost; be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety think to pay it.

CHAPTER VI

Let thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen to whom thou givest wages, for those that will serve thee without thy hire will cost thee treble as much as they that know their fare. If thou trust any

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servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep, for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards for tediousness neglect it; I myself have lost thereby more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby he will never thank thee but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides, it is the way to make thy servants thieves which else would be honest.

CHAPTER VII

Exceed not in the humor of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion, but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion, and no man is esteemed for gay garments but by fools and women.

CHAPTER VIII

On the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely nor attain them by evil means; destroy no man for his wealth nor take anything from the poor, for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God and most dishonorable before worthy men to wrest anything from the needy and laboring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein. But use thy poor neighbors and tenants well; pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expenses to thyself. He that hath pity on another man's sorrows shall be free from it himself, and he that delighteth in and scorneth the misery of another shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept: he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given. I do not understand those for poor which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labor to live such as are old and cannot travail, such poor widows and

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fatherless children as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents and are driven to poverty by mischance and not by riot or careless expenses; on such have thou compassion and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful; defer not the gift of the needy, for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul his prayer shall be heard of Him that made him.

CHAPTER IX

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honor or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old and despised of all wise and worthy men, hated in thy servants, in thyself, and companions, for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And remember my words that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it, for all other vanities and sins are recovered; but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness, for the longer it possesseth a man the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth the more he shall be subject to it, for it dulleth the spirits and destroyeth the body as ivy doth the old tree or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut. Take heed, therefore, that such a cureless canker possess not thy youth nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to the posterity who shall study to forget that such a one was their father.

Anacharsis saith, "The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for mad-

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ness,"¹ but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire and wasteth the natural heat and feed of generation. And, therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule: that thou never add an artificial heat to thy body by wine or spice until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature the sooner she will forsake thee and trust altogether to art. "Who have misfortune," saith Solomon, "who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without sighing, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes?—even they that sit at wine and strain themselves to empty cups." Pliny saith, "Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things."

Whosoever loveth wine shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret; wine maketh a man not only a beast but a mad man, and if thou love it thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offense they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health and a life free from pain. "And yet by drunkenness and gluttony (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on," saith Hesiod, "a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age."² And St. Austin describeth drunkenness in this manner, *Ebrietas est blandus daemon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quam qui habet, seipsum non habet; quam qui facit, peccatum non facit sed ipse est peccatum.*³ Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin; which whosoever hath, hath not himself;

¹ *Anacharsis*: a Scythian sage whose activities are described by both Herodotus and Plutarch. Lucian wrote an imaginary dialogue between Solon and Anacharsis.

² *The Works and Days* of Hesiod, an early Greek poet, was frequently cited by Elizabethan writers.

³ *St. Austin*: St. Augustine.

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which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin but he himself wholly is sin.

Innocentius saith, *Quid turpius ebrioso cui faetor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, promit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur; nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum; faecundi calices quem non fecere desertum.*⁴ What is filthier than a drunken man to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; which uttereth foolish things and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate and face transformed? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold whereof the owner was given to drink, "I thought at the last," quoth Diogenes, "he would spew out a whole house." *Sciebam, inquit, quod domus tandem evomeret.*

CHAPTER X

Now for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof, rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto or may practice upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse. Resolve that no man is wise or safe but he that is honest. Serve God; let Him be the author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavors to Him that must either wither or prosper them; please Him with prayer lest if He frown He confound all thy fortunes and labors like drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice and fatherly instructions sink deep into thy heart, so God direct thee in all His ways and fill thy heart with His grace.

⁴*Innocentius*: Pope Innocent III, whose *De contemptu mundi* was translated by H. Kerton as *The Mirror of Man's Life* (1576), a popular work that went through four editions in the next ten years.

ADVICE TO A SON
or
Directions
for Your Better Conduct
through the Various
and Most Important Encounters
of This Life
under These General Heads
I. Studies, etc.
II. Love and Marriage
III. Travel
IV. Government
V. Religion
Conclusion

[By Francis Osborne]

OXFORD

Printed by H. Hall, Printer to the University,
for Thomas Robinson, 1656.

To the Reader

SUCH as make it their business with the spider to suck out the crudities and corruptions in books are unlikely to fail of matter here yet may come far short of the credit, and good might accrue to themselves and others did they pore less on what is really amiss and more on that which is not yet brought under a perfect knowledge (impossible to be taken up pure by those that begin but now to scramble for it), new opinions, though perhaps untrue, rather gaining than losing repute by opposition. This breeds matter of wonder why so many should hazard their fame by running and yelping after those prodigious wits of this last age, B., D., H., etc., men not unable with Abner to silence these swifter writers with the butt end of their quills, and so richly endowed from nature as they are able to traffic upon their single stock without obliging the credit of ancient authors, who, for aught I know, were of poorer parts and might learn of them were they in being. This is said to honor those that can take their pastime in the depths of reason, and not to shroud my poor interest under theirs whose books deserve better coverings than can be picked out of the choicest of my papers or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. To conclude, many that can buy books want wit to use them.

Published of late by the author of this advice, *A Persuasive to a Mutual Compliance under the Present Government.*

To His Son

SON: I have forborne to set your name on the forehead of these instructions, not that I am ashamed either of them or you, but for suchlike reasons:

First, because some truths I here endeavor to make legible the tyranny of custom and policy labors to conceal as destructive to the project of government and therefore unlikely to pass by wise men without a formal reproof, who have been long since taught by unerring experience that ignorance draws with the least reluctancy in the yoke of obedience, being of so sheepish a nature as she is nobody's foe but her own.

Next, to spare you the trouble of arming your reason in way of defense upon every alarm they may receive from the censures of wiser or weaker judgments. For, not carrying the marks of your particular interest, you may stand, as it were, unseen behind the curtain of indifferency and hear without blushing the opinions of others, if chance or your will should please to make them the object of their discourse. Amongst whom if any accuse them as too cheap and obvious, they are unadvised questioners of their own charter, in case they should be fathers who were never denied yet the freedom to teach their children to manage an hobbyhorse without offering violence to gravity or discretion.

Neither do we so ordinarily fall through the unevenness or difficulty of the way as carelessness and ignorance in the journals

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of former experience. This makes it the greatest demonstration of paternal affection, like the pelican, to dissect myself before you, and by ripping up mine own bowels to let you see where the defects of humanity reside, which are not only the occasions of many corporeal diseases but of most of the misfortunes accompanying this life. And though in passing through so much weakness they are rendered more deficient than, considered in their own nature, in truth they are; yet being the best I am able to afford you, they cannot but be looked upon by you for as lively a monument of my love as if they bear the magisterial impress of a work of Solomon's.

And in regard of time none can be more opportune than this, in which men carry breasts of steel against those of their own profession (some niceties excepted) under the imperious pretense of religion.

If any blinded with ignorance or misled by a more candid nature should engage for the sufficiency of these or anything else I have writ that may perhaps hereafter be made public, I am conscious of too many flaws in myself to be swelled beyond my natural proportion. Your sake alone produced them, that during the little time I have to live you might turn to my judgment upon all occasions without trouble, and converse with me, being dead, without fear.

There is no great difference between good days and evil when past; yet if thus fortified by the advice of a father no less than the prayers of an incomparable indulgent mother you should break out into extravagancies, presuming on the opinion of your own judgment and the mediation of our love, though it would be the severest curse remaining in the custody of fortune yet unlaid upon me, I doubt not but to receive more comfort from a patience able to bear it than you shall from a repentance sufficient to blot it out.

But it is neither delight in me nor charity unto you by jealousy to antedate crimes never yet committed. I desire you, therefore,

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to take these admonitions as marks to sail by, not for presages of shipwreck.

For any faults escaped here through haste or other infirmity, I hope your love will be large enough to cover them, not exposing out of ostentation or idleness your father's shame; whereby not only what is perfect may prove useful, but the very mistakes and blots obtain as great a design by exercising your wit and industry in their emendation, which I expect you should faithfully perform in relation to these or anything else you find may traduce the credit or stain the memory of

YOUR LOVING FATHER, etc.

Advice to a Son

I. Studies, etc.

1. Free schools. 2. Universities. 3. Mere scholars. 4. Collegiate discipline. 5. Physic. 6. Volumes. 7, 8. History. 9. Choice books, negotiations, ambassadors. 10. Converse. 11. Pedants. 12. Strong lines. 13. Exercise, of 14. Style. 15. Letters. 16. Sordid phrases. 17. Courtesies. 18. Counsel. 19, 20. Secretaries. 21, 22. Intelligencers. 23. Serving wicked masters. 24. Observance. 25. Dependency. 26. Writing things dangerous. 27. Poetry. 28. Music. 29. Clothes. 30. Buying. 31. Horses. 32. Riding. 33. Wrestling, vaulting, fencing. 34. Swimming. 35, 36. Suretyship, trusting. 37. Public faith. 38. Contracts. 39. Implicit judging. 40, 41. Pride, baseness. 42. Gesture in speaking. 43. Boldness. 44. Covetousness. 45, 46, 47. Thrift. 48. Rising out of bed. 49. Eating. 50. Drinking, tobacco. 51, 52, 53. Drunkenness. 54. Diet, plots. 55, 56. Company. 57. Jeering. 58, 59. Proverbs, injuries, fighting duels. 60. Insulting. 61. Ordinaries. 62. Dogs, boys, whores. 63, 64, 65. Secrecy and boasting of the favors of women. 66. Married [women]. 67. Great ladies. 68. Masks, plays, etc.

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1. Though I can never pay enough to your grandfather's memory for his tender care in my education, yet I must observe in it this mistake: that by keeping me at home where I was one of my young masters I lost the advantage of my most docile time. For, not undergoing the same discipline, I must needs come short of their experience that are bred up in free schools, who by plotting to rob an orchard, etc., run through all the subtleties required in taking of a town, being made by use familiar to secrecy and compliance with opportunity, qualities never after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all whereas these see the danger of trusting others and the rocks they fall upon by a too obstinate adhering to their own imprudent resolutions, and all this under no higher penalty than a whipping. And 'tis possible this indulgence of my father might be the cause I afforded him so poor a return for all his cost.

2. As your education hath been befriended by a foundation, so you may endeavor the requital if God makes you able. However, let not the contrary afflict you, since it is observed by some that his name who burnt the temple of Diana outlasted theirs that built it—a fortune God grant may never fall upon our universities! Nevertheless, if zeal, overheated in the narrow hearts of men ignorant and covetous, should dry up the fountains of learning by appropriating their revenues and demolishing those monuments (to the fame of which foreign nations resort in pilgrimages for to offer up honor and admiration to these shrines never empty of glorious spirits and return more laden with satisfaction than they could possibly bring prejudice), yet she should pull down no more than she had formerly raised when incited by a contrary affection to charity and knowledge, therefore a provocation not strong enough to distemper a wise man's patience who may easily observe in his own or precedent books of experience as great maps of devastation. For if one age did not level what another had erected, variety were lost and no

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means left to render the present or future generations famous or infamous.

3. Let not an overpassionate prosecution of learning draw you from making an honest improvement of your estate, as such do who are better read in the bigness of the whole earth than that little spot left them by their friends for their support.

4. I have observed in collegiate discipline that all the reverence to superiors learned in the hall or chapel is lost in the irreverent discourse you have of them in your chambers. By this you leave the principal business of youth neglected, which is to be perfect in patience and obedience, habits nowhere so exactly learned as in the foundations of the Jesuits could they be fetched thence without prejudice to religion and freedom.

5. If a more profitable employment pull you not too soon from the university, make some inspection into physic, which will add to your welcome wherever you come, it being usual, especially for ladies, to yield no less reverence to their physicians than their confessors. Neither doth the refusal of fees abate your profit proportionably to the advancement it brings to your credit. The intricacy of the study is not great after an exact knowledge in anatomy and drugs is attained, not hard by reason of the late helps. Yet I advise you this: under such caution as not to imagine the diseases you read of inherent in yourself, as some melancholic young men do that make their first experiments upon their own bodies to their perpetual detriment. Therefore, you may live by, not upon, physic.

6. Huge volumes, like the ox roasted whole at Bartholomew Fair, may proclaim plenty of labor and invention but afford less of what is delicate, savory, and well-concocted than smaller pieces. This makes me think that though upon occasion you may come to the table and examine the bill of fare set down by such authors, yet it cannot but lessen ingenuity still to fall aboard with them, human sufficiency being too narrow to inform with the pure soul of reason such vast bodies.

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7. Be conversant in the speeches, declarations, and transactions occasioned by the last wars, out of which more natural and useful knowledge may be sucked than is ordinarily to be found in the moldy records of antiquity.

8. When I consider with what contradiction reports arrived at us during our late civil wars, I can give the less encouragement to the reading of history, romances never acted being born purer from sophistication than actions reported to be done, by which posterity hereafter, no less than antiquity heretofore, is likely to be led into a false or at best but a contingent belief. Caesar, though in this happy that he had a pen able to grave into neat language what his sword had first more roughly cut out, may in my judgment abuse the reader; for he that for the honor of his own wit doth make people speak better than can be supposed men so barbarously bred were able, may possibly report they fought worse than really they did. Of a like value are the orations of Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, and most other historians, which doth not a little prejudice the truth of all the rest.

9. A few books well studied and thoroughly digested nourish the understanding more than hundreds but gargled in the mouth as ordinary students use. And of these choice must be had answerable to the profession you intend. For the statesman, French authors are best, as most fruitful in negotiations, and memoirs left by public ministers and by their secretaries published after their deaths, out of which you may be able to unfold the riddles of all states, none making more faithful reports of things done in all nations than ambassadors, who cannot want the best intelligence because their princes' pensioners unload in their bosoms all they can discover. And here by way of prevention let me inform you that some of our late ambassadors, which I could name, impaired our affairs by treating with foreign princes in the language of the place, by which they did not only descend

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below their master's dignity but their own discretion, betraying for want of words or gravity the intrinsic part of their employment and going beyond their commission oftener by concession than confining themselves within it or to it, the true rule for a minister of state not hard to be gained by a resolute contest, which if made by an interpreter, he like a medium may intercept the shame of any impertinent speech which eagerness or indiscretion may let slip. Neither is it a small advantage to gain so much time for deliberation what is fit farther to urge, it being besides too much an honoring of their tongue and undervaluing your own to profess yourself a master therein, especially since they scorn to learn yours. And to show this is not grounded on my single judgment, I have often been informed that the first and wisest Earl of Pembroke did return an answer to the Spanish ambassador in Welsh, for which I have heard him highly commended.

10. It is an aphorism in physic that unwholesome airs, because perpetually sucked into the lungs, do distemper health more than coarser diet used but at set times. The like may be said of company, which if good is a better refiner of the spirits than ordinary books.

11. Propose not them for patterns who make all places rattle where they come with Latin and Greek. For the more you seem to have borrowed from books, the poorer you proclaim your natural parts which only can properly be called your own.

12. Spend no time in reading, much less writing strong lines, which like tough meat ask more pains and time in chewing than can be recompensed by all the nourishment they bring.

13. Books flatly writ debase your style; the like may be truly objected to weak preachers and ignorant company, pens improving like children's legs proportionally to their exercise, so as I have seen some stand amazed at the length of their own reach when they came to be extended by employment, as appeared in

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the late King Charles, who after his more imperious destiny had placed him under the tutorage of an unavoidable necessity attained a pen more majestical than the crown he lost.

14. The way to elegance of style is to employ your pen upon every errand, and the more trivial and dry it is the more brains must be allowed for sauce. Thus, by checking all ordinary invention, your reason will attain to such an habit as not to dare to present you but with what is excellent. And if void of affectation it matters not how mean the subject is, there being the same exactness observed by good architects in the structure of the kitchen as the parlor.

15. When business or compliment calls you to write letters, consider what is fit to be said were the party present and set down that.

16. Avoid words and phrases likely to be learned in base company lest you fall into the error the late Archbishop Laud did, who, though no ill speaker, yet blunted his repute by saying in the Star Chamber, "Men entered the Church as a tinker and his bitch do an alehouse." But this may easily be declined by those who read for their imitation the incomparable lines of the late king, written in a style as free from affectation as levity.

17. Grant, if ever, a courtesy at first asking; for as expedition doubles a benefit, so delay converts it into little less than an injury and robs you of the thanks—the fate of churlish natures. Whereas some I have known able to apparel their refusals in such soft robes of courtship that it was not easily to be discerned whether the request or denial were most decent.

18. Be not nice in assisting with the advantages nature or art may have given you such as want them, who do not seldom in exchange part with those of fortune to such as can manage their advice well, as they only do that never give counsel till called nor continue it longer than they find it acceptable.

19. It is not safe for a secretary to mend the copy his master hath set him unless owned as from his former inspirations, lest

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he should grow jealous that you valued your conceptions before his who measures his sufficiency by the latitude of his employment not the depth of his natural parts. This made the Lord Chancellor Egerton the willing to exchange incomparable Dr. D. for the less sufficient, though in this more modest, Mr. T. B.¹

20. But in case his affairs be wholly left to your management, you must not only look to correspond for his miscarriages but as obstinately renounce any honor may be given you to his prejudice, imputing all to his single sufficiency, yourself owning no higher place than that of the executioner of his commands. For though many great men like properties or puppets are managed by their servants, yet such are most dear to them as can so carry their hands in their actings that they make them appear less fools than in truth they are, easily done by giving them the honor to concede or deny in public, without interposing any other arguments against it than may become the mouth of a servant, however you may order him in private.

21. Write not the faults of persons near the throne in any nation you reside in, lest your letters should be intercepted and you sent out of the world before your time. But reserve such discourse for the single ear of your master, into which you must pour it with more caution than malice lest it should come to be discovered, as it is odds but it will. And then the next endeavor is revenge, it being less danger to traduce a king than his minions; the first still looked upon as above blame because incapable of punishment, but the latter are not only subject to accusations but the aggravation of their enemies, which fills them full of caution and prejudice to all they fear are able or but willing to detect them. I could produce sad effects that have followed the

¹ *Dr. D.*: John Donne, private secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, remained in his service for five years. Mr. T. B. may be Thomas Bell, chiefly known for his anti-Catholic writings, among which *The Woeful Cry of Rome* (1605) was dedicated to Egerton.

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want of care in this but that I intend advice not an history.

22. It is an office unbecoming a gentleman to be an intelligencer—which in real truth is no better than a spy, who are often brought to the torture and die miserably though no words are made of it, being a use connived at by all princes—to whom I give this caution, that they do not stay after their patrons are called home, which do not seldom, in emulation to their successor or to gratify the prince they have treated withal, and it may be from whom they have received presents and high commendations to their own king, discover all that are employed to do him hurt.

23. That it is not unlawful to serve, bear office or arms under such as ascend the throne or other high places by steps washed in blood, you may be abundantly satisfied in conscience by the church in Nero's house, the good centurion, and many others mentioned in Scripture.

24. Court him always you hope one day to make use of, but at the least expense you can, observing it the condition of men in power to esteem better of such as they have done courtesies for than those they have received greater from, looking upon this as a shame, upon the other as an honor.

25. Mingle not your interest with a great man's made desperate by debts or court injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest followers and friends, averred in the last Earl of Essex but one, where Merrick, his steward, and Cuffe, his secretary,² though of excellent parts, were both hanged. For such unconcocted rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote them, being commonly guided by the directions of their enemies as this was by Cecil,³ whose creatures persuaded Essex to this inconsiderate attempt.

² Henry Cuffe and Sir Gelly Meyrick, implicated with the Earl of Essex in the ill-fated rebellion of 1601, were both hanged. Essex accused Cuffe of instigating the plot.

³ Robert Cecil was charged by friends of Essex with having helped to bring about his downfall.

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26. Let nothing unjustifiable or dangerous appear under your hand which many years after may rise up in judgment against you when things spoken may be forgot, as happened to the Duke of Norfolk,⁴ Sir Gervase Helwys,⁵ and a great earl I knew led by the nose all King James his reign for fear of being questioned about letters writ to so high a person as is treason by the law to solicit, etc. Therefore, I charge you as you tender the blessing of your own safety not to write in all ill sense whatever your character be; for, if not tedious examination, sharp torture will force you to produce a key.

27. Be not frequent in poetry how excellent soever your vein is, but make it rather your recreation than business. Because though it swells you in your own opinion, it may render you less in that of wiser men who are not ignorant how great a mass of vanity for the most part coucheth under this quality, proclaiming their heads like ships of war richer in trimming than lading.

28. The art of music is so unable to refund for the time and cost required to be perfect therein as I cannot think it worth any serious endeavor, the owner of that quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating the difference between the morose humor of a rigid refuser and the cheap and prostituted levity and forwardness of a mercenary fiddler, denial being as often taken for pride as a too ready compliance falls under the notion of ostentation, those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin or give over; especially women, who do not rarely decline in modesty proportionably to the progress they make in music, such, if handsome, being traps baited at both ends and

⁴ Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, implicated in the Ridolfi plot of 1570, was ruined by a letter in cipher which his secretary entrusted to a Shrewsbury merchant.

⁵ Gervase Helwys, lieutenant of the Tower of London, hanged because of implication in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613, made the mistake of corresponding with Frances Howard, divorced Countess of Essex, who contrived Overbury's poisoning.

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catch strangers as often as their husbands, no less tired with the one than the other.

29. Wear your clothes neat, exceeding rather than coming short of others of like fortune, a charge borne out by acceptance wherever you come. Therefore, spare all other ways rather than prove defective in this.

30. Never buy but with ready money, and be drawn rather to fix where you find things cheap and good than for friendship or acquaintance, who are apt to take it unkindly if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing else by going from one shop to another, you shall gain experience.

31. Next to clothes a good horse becomes a gentleman, in whom can be no great loss after you have got the skill to choose him, which once attained you may keep yourself from being cozened and pleasure your friend. The greatest danger is haste; I never loved to fix on one fat, for then I saw him at the best without hope of improvement. If you have fallen on a bargain not for your turn, make the market your chapman rather than a friend.

32. Gallop not through a town for fear of hurting yourself or others, besides the undecency of it, which may give cause to such as see you to think your horse or brains none of your own.

33. Wrestling and vaulting have ever been looked upon by me as more useful than fencing, being often outdared by resolution because of the vast difference between a foin⁶ and a sword, an house and a field.

34. Swimming may save a man in case of necessity, though it loseth many when practiced in wantonness by increasing their confidence. Therefore, for pleasure exceed not your depth, and in seeking to save another beware of drowning yourself.

35. Such as are betrayed by their easy nature to be ordinary security for their friends leave so little to themselves as their liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others, experi-

⁶ *Foin*: foil or kind of small sword with a blunt edge.

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ence having recorded many, whom their fathers had left elbow-room enough, that have by suretyship expired in a dungeon. But if you cannot avoid this labyrinth, enter no farther than the thread of your own stock will reach, the observation of which will at worst enable you to bail yourself.

36. Let not the titles of consanguinity betray you into a prejudicial trust, no blood being apter to raise a fever or cause a consumption sooner in your poor estate than that which is nearest your own, as I have most unhappily found and your good grandfather presaged, though God was pleased to leave it in none of our powers to prevent, nothing being truer in all Solomon's observations than that a good friend is nearer than a natural brother.

37. He that lends upon public faith is security for his own money and can blame none more than himself if never paid, common debts like common lands lying ever most neglected.

38. Honesty treats with the world upon such vast disadvantage that a pen is often as useful to defend you as a sword, by making writing the witness of your contracts. For where profit appears it doth commonly cancel the bonds of friendship, religion, and the memory of anything that can produce no other register than what is verbal.

39. In a case of importance, hear the reasons of others pleaded, but be sure not to be so implicitly led by their judgments as to neglect a greater of your own, as Charles of England did to the loss of his crown. For as the ordinary saying is: "Count money after your father," so the same prudence adviseth to measure the ends of all counsels, though uttered by never so intimate a friend.

40. Beware, nevertheless, of thinking yourself wiser or greater than you are. Pride brake the angels in heaven and spoils all heads we find cracked here. For such as observe those in bedlam shall perceive their fancies to beat most upon mistakes in honor or love. The way to avoid it is duly to consider how many

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are above you in parts yet below you in condition, and that all men are ignorant in so many things as may justly humble them, though sufficiently knowing to bar out despair.

41. Shun pride and baseness as tutors to contempt, the first of others, the latter of yourself, a haughty carriage putting as well a mean esteem on what is praiseworthy in you as an high excise on that appears amiss, everyone being more inquisitive after the blemishes than beauties of a proud person, whereas the humble soul passeth the strictest guards with more faults, like the fair-mouthed traveler, without scorn or so much as searching.

42. When you speak to any, especially of quality, look them full in the face, other gestures bewraying want of breeding, confidence, or honesty, dejected eyes confessing to most judgments guilt or folly.

43. Impudence is no virtue yet able to beggar them all, being for the most part in good plight when the rest starve and capable of carrying her followers to the highest preferments, found as useful in a court as armor in a camp. Scotchmen have ever made good the truth of this, who will go farther with a shilling than an Englishman can ordinarily pass for a crown.

44. I do not find you guilty of covetousness, neither can I say more of it but that like a candle ill-made it smothers the splendor of an happy fortune in its own grease.

45. Yet live so frugally, if possible, as to reserve something may enable you to grapple with any future contingency.

46. Provide in youth, since fortune hath this proper with other common mistresses: that she deserts age, especially in the company of want.

47. But I need not use other persuasions unto you concerning thrift than what the straitness of your own fortune points you to, more contracted by others' covetousness than my prodigality.

48. Leave your bed upon the first desertion of sleep, it being ill for the eyes to read lying and worse for the mind to be idle,

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since the head during that laziness is commonly a cage for unclean thoughts.

49. It is nowhere wholesome to eat so long as you are able, especially in England, where meat aptest to inveigle the stomach to an overrepletion comes last. But in case you transgress at one meal, let no persuasion tempt you to a second repast till by a fierce hunger you find yourself quite discharged of the former excess. An exact observance of this hath under God made me reach these times and may through His mercy preserve you for better. I have heard that the Indians, by the great moderation they use, are well able to digest raw flesh, thought by some of more natural, if not easy, concoction than what is dry-roasted. All compositions with milk are dangerous in a heat and not seldom deadly.

50. Drink not, being hot, unless sack, etc., such drougths residing rather in the palate and throat than stomach, and so safer quenched by gargles, liquorish, a cherry, or tobacco, the use of which I neither persuade nor prohibit, having taken it myself since sixteen without any extraordinary marks of good or ill, but cannot approve of nosing or swallowing it down as many to my knowledge have done not long-lived.

51. Nothing really acceptable to the gusto of humanity but prudence may experiment without detection or waking the clamorous multitude—gratified in all opportunities they have to accuse others though far more guilty themselves—a temper not possible to be attained by the lovers of drink, which will not only render my reasons but your own useless.

52. Were drink capable of counsel, I should advise, if unfortunately overtaken by such a distemper, not to remove from the place you received it in, by which some part of the shame may be avoided and more of the danger attending the irregular motions of this giddy spirit.

53. Drink during the operation of the distemper will act all the humors habitual in madmen, amongst both which I have seen

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some very zealous and devout, who the fit once over remained no less profane. This proves godliness capable of being feigned and may raise an use of circumspection in relation to such as profess more than is suitable to human frailty.

54. He that always regulates his diet by the strict rules of physic makes his life no less uncomfortable to himself than unsociable unto others. The like doth he that useth palpable plots in trivial things, who is made by this so suspected in commerce as none will approach him unarmed with the like weapons. For though wisdom may purchase reverence and attention, subtlety, distinguished from it only by a sly carriage, raiseth always suspicion. Wherefore the closeness of the heart in matters of consequence is best concealed by an openness in things of less moment.

55. Experience hath found it no less shame than danger in being the chief at a merry assignation, since what is of evil favor falls most to their mess at the upper end of the table but good to the meanest, who have the impudence to scramble up anything that suits to their advantage as readily as they can find oaths to decline what may redound to their loss.

56. Beware what company you keep, since example prevails more than precept, though by erudition dropping from these tutors we imbibe all the tinctures of virtue and vice. This renders it little less than impossible for nature to hold out any long siege against the batteries of custom and opportunity.

57. Let your wit rather serve you for a buckler to defend yourself by a handsome reply than a sword to wound others though with never so facetious a reproach, remembering that a word cuts deeper than a sharper weapon and the wound it makes is longer in curing, a blow proceeding but from a light motion of the hand agitated by passion, whereas a disgraceful speech is the result of a low esteem settled of the party in your heart.

58. Much wisdom resides in the proverbs of all nations and, therefore, fit to be taken notice of, of which number this is com-

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mon amongst us: "Play with me, but hurt me not," it being past peradventure that more duels arise from jest than earnest and between friends than enemies, serious injuries seldom happening but upon premeditation, which affords reason some though perhaps no full audience, whereas this extemporary spirit conjured up by shame and smart hearkens to nothing but the rash advice of a present revenge.

59. If an injury be of so rank a nature as to extort in point of honor an unsavory word never suitable to the mouth of a gentleman, swordmen advise to second it with a blow by way of prevention, lest he striking first, which cannot but be expected, you should be cast behindhand. But this their decree not being confirmed by act of Parliament, I cannot find it suitable with prudence or religion to make the sword umpire of your own life and another's no less than the law upon no more serious an occasion than the vindication of your fame, lost or gained by this brutish valor in the opinion of none that are either wise or pious, it being out of the reach of question that a quarrel is not to be screwed up to such a height of indiscretion without arraighing one or both parties of madness. Especially since formal duels are but a late invention of the devil's, never heard of in relation to private injuries among the Romans, the gladiators fighting for their pleasure as the Horatii and Curiatii⁷ for the safety of the people. It cannot be denied but that story lays before us many killed for private revenge but never accompanied with so ridiculous a formality as the sending of challenges, which renders the dead a greater murderer than he is that kills him, as being without doubt the author of his own death. This makes me altogether believe that such wild manhood had its original from romances in which the giant is designed for death and the knight to marry the lady whose honor he hath preserved, not so

⁷ In Roman legend, three brothers, the Horatii, fought three Curiatii from Alba Longa. Two Horatii were killed but the third one by a stratagem killed all of the Curiatii.

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gently treated by the English law, where if his legs or friends be not the better he is hanged and his estate confiscated to the perpetual detriment of his family, besides the sting of conscience and a natural fear like that of Cain's attending blood, by which the remainder of life is made tedious and miserable to such unfortunate men who seem in all honest company to smell too strong of blood to be taken into any intimate relation.

60. Prosecute not a coward too far, lest you make him turn valiant to your disadvantage, it being impossible for any standing even in the world's opinion to gain glory by the most he can have of those that lie under such a repute. Besides, valor is rather the product of custom than nature and often found where least expected; do not, therefore, waken it to your prejudice, as I have known many that would still be insulting and could not see when they were well.

61. Speak disgracefully of none at ordinaries or public meetings, lest some kinsman or friend being there should force you to a base recantation or engage you in a more indiscreet quarrel. This renders all free discourse dangerous at meetings of mixed companies.

62. Carry no dogs to court or any public place, to avoid contests with such as may spurn or endeavor to take them up. The same may be said of boys not wise or strong enough to decline or revenge affronts, whose complaints do not seldom engage their masters, as I knew one of quality killed in the defense of his page. The like danger attends such as are so indiscreet as to man whores in the street, in which everyone pretends to have an interest for his money and therefore unwilling to see them monopolized, especially when they have got a pot in their pate.

63. Reveal not the pranks of another's love, how serious or ridiculous soever you find them, it being unlikely the mirth should compensate the danger. By this you shall purchase yourself a retentive faculty and sell your friend a stronger confidence of your secrecy, hanging on him the lock of a perpetual obligation

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of which you may ever be keeper of the key either out of love or fear; yet many other faults are not more dangerous to commit than know without detecting.

64. Be not the trumpet of your own charity or vices; for by the one you disoblige the receiver as well as lose your reward and by the other you alarm the censures of men, most being condemned through the evidence they give against themselves by their words and gestures.

65. If it be levity and ostentation to boast when you do well, in what class of folly must they be ranked that brag of the favors of women, rendering themselves by this no less frail than they, it being more shame for a man to be leaky and incontinent at the mouth than for a woman to scatter her favors.

66. To make love to married women doth not only multiply the sin but the danger; neither can you, if questioned by her husband, use with hope of victory any sharper weapon than repentance sheathed in a modest excuse.

67. Fly with Joseph the embraces of great ladies, lest you lose your liberty and see your legs rot in the stocks of the physician, they being often unwholesome, ever so unreasonable as to exact a constancy from you themselves intend not to observe, perverting so far the curse of God as to make your desire subject to theirs.

68. Usher not women to masks, plays, or other such public spectacles into which you have not an easy access for money or favor, such places being apter to create injury than afford a handsome opportunity for revenge. Besides, if those you carry be old and deformed they disparage you; if young and handsome, themselves.

*To the reader concerning the following
discourse of love and marriage*

THIS had not appeared, being a result of more juvenile years, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a false impression and one more scandalous to that sex than becomes my complexion or obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no less inhuman than unnatural imputation of a woman-hater, I do here protest with a reference to their charity and my own most serious affections that if the party advised had been a daughter, my ink must have cast blacker than the rich grain of their angelical beauty is capable to be aspersed by, it being observable that such idolaters as made she-deities the object of their worship were by all celebrated for most learning, wisdom, and civility. Nevertheless, though women be cordials when desire is past and juleps while the heat continues, yet since it is ordinary for dabblers on beauty to mistake poison for physic—such feminine boxes not always bearing drugs suitable to their inscriptions but being often painted with more perfections than they carry in them—I hope this discourse may the better be excused, having the example of Solomon to justify the harshness of my expressions no less than his follies to warrant the necessity of the caution, lest my son should mire himself and his hopes in the pursuit of such foolish flames as have

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tempted the strongest, wisest, and most religious out of the ways of peace. I shall forestall the reader with no farther complement than that he would forbear to condemn or praise beyond reason, lest he should appear too severe towards my levity or indulgent to his own morosity in relation to beauty.

II. Love and Marriage

1. The nature and effects of love. 2. Upon youth, tempting it. 3. To marry. 4. Unhappily for beauty. 5. Without money, and 6, 7. To swallow the fatal bait. 8. Not answering expectation. 9, 10. Marry not a famed beauty. 11. Laws concerning marriage. 12. Somewhat strange: polygamy, priests' 13. Marriage, the result of policy. 14. Fruition tedious. 15. Wives' lust, jealousy. 16. Discomforts from children and 17. Other wedlock inconveniences. 18. Best palliated by an estate. 19. Portion, jointure. 20, 21, 22, 23. The unhappiness of poor marriages. 24. Travel, to avoid the danger from 25, 26. A handsome woman. 27. Fond love an ill counselor. 28. Children, how much to be desired. 29. Conclusion.

1. Love, like a burning glass, contracts the dilated lines of lust and fixeth them upon one object, bestowed by our fellow creatures—the exacter observers of the dictates of nature—promiscuously without partiality in affection on every distinct female of their respective species. Whereas man, being restrained to a particular choice by the severity of law, custom, and his own more stupendous folly, out of a jealousy to be robbed of a present desire, is so hurried away with the first apparition of an imaginary beauty—supposed by his fancy grossly abused by her servants, the senses—corrupted and suborned through an implacable appetite, which nature for her own end of continuance stirs up in all to this fleshly conjunction that no reason can for the present be audible but what pleadeth in favor of this soft passion, which makes a deeper or lesser impress proportionable to the temper of the heart it meets with; causing madness in some, folly in all; placing like stupid idolaters divinity in a silly creature set by the institutes of nature in a far inferior class of perfection

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to that which makes it his business to worship and adore it; imagining as false felicities in the fruition as they apprehend miseries in the loss, when all they desire is but the fruit of that tree, the kernel of that apple which first destroyed us all, fair to sight but of fatal and dreadful consequence to the taster, rendering him subject to slavery that was born free and suffering her to command who ought in righter reason to serve and obey.

2. To cure youth wholly of this desire were as uneasy a task as to divest it of humanity. Therefore, I expect you should be tossed in this storm, but would not have you shipwrecked by contracting yourself to the ocean, unless with the Duke of Venice you might yearly repeat the ceremony to as great an advantage.

3. For if ever marriages were on all sides happy, which is no schism to doubt of, experience never found them among such as had no other nealing but what they received from the flames of love, which cannot hold without jealousy nor break without repentance and must needs render their sleep unquiet that have one of these cads or familiars still knocking over their pillow.

4. Those virtues, graces, and reciprocal desires bewitched affection expected to meet and enjoy, fruition and experience will find absent and nothing left but a painted box, which children and time will empty of delight, leaving diseases behind and, at best, incurable antiquity.

5. Therefore, I charge you (as you will answer the contrary another day to your discretion and upon the penalty of a bitter though vain repentance) not to truck for or entertain commerce upon the credit of marriage with a solitary, that is, an unendowed beauty—which if really intended, you question your own judgment; if otherwise, the honesty of you both—from whence I have known such sad consequences to result as have made some, wise enough to presage the mischief of the event, so far concede to the tears and misery of the party as they have cast themselves out of mere pity and conscience into the precipice of marriage,

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burying their own fortunes and future felicity only to satisfy the affection of another.

6. Marriage, like a trap set for flies, may possibly be ointed at the entrance with a little voluptuousness, under which is contained a draught of deadly wine more pricking and tedious than the passions it pretends to cure, leaving the patient in little quieter condition in the morning than him that hath overnight killed a man to gratify his revenge.

7. Eve, by stumbling at the serpent's solicitations, cast her husband out of paradise. Nor are her daughters surer of foot, being foundered by the heat of lust and pride and unable to bear the weight of so much of our reputation as religion and custom hath loaded them withal, that an unballasted behavior without other leakage is sufficient to cast away an husband's esteem. Neither doth the penalty of a light report laid on the mother conclude there but diffuseth itself like a leprosy over posterity, being incapable of any other cure than length of time can deduce out of forgetfulness.

8. It were something yet if marriage could answer the expectation of all she boasts the cure of in the large bill our mountebank teachers proclaim in every street, which upon trial she often comes so far short of as to satisfy none but rather aggravates the sins of solitude, making simple fornication to sprout into adultery. And if it happen that your wife be impotent or infected, as not a few are, with one or more of those loathsome diseases incident to weak feminine nature which render her unsociable, you are posted off both by lawyers and divines to the same patience I do here more opportunely propose before you are fallen under so mischievous and expensive a conjunction.

9. If none of my persuasions nor others' woeful experience daily met with in the world can deter you from yoking yourself to another's desires, make not a celebrated beauty the object of your choice; unless you are ambitious of rendering your house as populous as a confectioner's shop to which the gaudy wasps

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no less than the lickerish flies make it their business to resort in hope of obtaining a lick at you[r] honeypot, which though bound up with the strongest obligations or resolutions and sealed by never so many protestations, yet feminine vessels are obnoxious to so many frailties as they can hardly bear without breaking the pride and content they naturally take in seeing themselves adored. Neither can you according to the loose custom of England decently restrain her from this concourse without making demonstration of jealousy towards her—by which you confess yourself a cuckold in your own imagination already—or incivility to such as come to visit you, though it may be strongly presumed your sake hath the least share in this ceremony, however tied in manners to attend with patience till his worship, perhaps his lordship, hath pumped his wit dry, having no more compliments left but to take his leave. Thus, with his invention rebated but not his lust, he returns home, where the old preserver of bawdry, his kinswoman, perceiving by his dejected countenance that he came short of his desires, and wanting a new gown, embarks herself for the employment, and to put the honester face upon so ugly a design she contracts a straight alliance with your (yet possibly unconquered) bedfellow, and under pretense of a gossiping, or perhaps a voyage to some religious exercise, hurries her away in his honor's coach to a meetinghouse, where though she be taken by storm is fairly sent home with bag and baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miss, and finding it unsafe to complain, returns again upon parole or so often as her new governor pleaseth to summon her; sheltering the fault under custom, your unavoidable fate, or perhaps providence (which for their excuse some are wicked enough to plead), till her forehead be as much hardened with impudence as yours is by reproaches, etc. And yet he is the happier owner who hath a wife wise enough to conceal the real horns of her husband than she that being innocent doth by her light carriage make the base symptoms appear

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in the world's opinion. Oh, remember this when you are about to forget the pleasure and safety only to be found in a single life.

10. If you consider beauty alone quite discharged from such debentures as she owes to the arts of tirewomen, tailors, shoemakers, and perhaps painters, you will find the remains so inconsiderable as scarce to deserve your present thoughts, much less to be made the price of your perpetual slavery. Be not then led like a child by these gaudy butterflies amongst the briars and nettles of the world, since, obtained, a little time and use will wear off their fading colors leaving nothing in your possession but a bald, drowsy moth, which if good will by accident, if bad make it her business to, discontent you.

11. The English laws are composed so far in favor of wives as if our ancestors had sent women to their Parliaments whilst their heads were a woolgathering at home, allowing no abusing of husbands' capital nor marriage dissolvable but in case of adultery, not subject to proof but under the attest of two witnesses at one and the same time. Nor is noncohabitation a sufficient discharge from his keeping all such children as her lust shall produce during his abode between the four English seas; so as if his wife be a strumpet he must banish himself or deal his bread and clothes to the spurious issue of a stranger, a thralldom no wise man would sell himself to for the fairest inheritance, much less for trouble, vexation, and want during life. Whence it may be strongly presumed that the hand of policy first hung this padlock upon the liberty of men, and after custom had lost the key, the church, according to her wonted subtlety, took upon her to protect it, delivering in her charge to the people that single wedlock was by divine right, making the contrary in divers places death, and where she proceeded with the greatest moderation excommunication; condemning thereby, besides four-fifths parts of the world, the patriarchs, who among their so frequent dialogues held with their maker were never reprov'd for multiplying wives and concubines, reckoned to David as a bless-

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ing and to Solomon for a mark of magnificence. Nevertheless, the wily priests are so tender of their own conveniencies as to forbid all marriage to themselves upon as heavy a punishment as they do polygamy unto others. Now if nothing capable of the name of felicity was ever by men or angels found to be denied to the priesthood, may not marriage be strongly suspected to be by them thought out of that list?—though to render it more glib to the wider swallow of the long abused laity they have gilt it with the glorious epithet of a sacrament, which yet they loathe to clog their own stomachs withal.

12. However, the patient submission to the institution of marriage is the more to be wondered at since man and woman not being allowed of equal strength are yet so far prevailed upon by policy as quietly to submit themselves to one yoke.

13. For there is not any other constraint to this conjunction but what results from understandings so muffled for the present that they cannot discern that marriage is a clog fastened to the neck of liberty by the juggling hand of policy, that provides only for the general necessities of all in gross, not the particular conveniencies of single persons, who by this give stronger security to the commonwealth than suits with prudence or liberty. And to such as ask how should the world subsist did all observe the like caution, it may be answered, “As well as without unthrifths, who by spending their estates profusely make way for wiser men to be the more happy,” and as it is impossible to find a dearth of the latter though not compelled thereunto by any other law than the instigation of their own folly, so doubt not but there will be enough found of the former to stock the world without putting so chargeable an experiment on your own conveniency.

14. Ask yourself what desire you ever attained that a long and often-repeated fruition did not render tedious if not loathsome, though the thing wished for remained in the perfection it was before enjoyment? And can your reason promise you to

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continue the same unto beauty, so transitory as it is in a manner lost before you can truly consider whether it belongs to nature or the dress? Therefore, when discontented with your present condition, tumble towards any change rather than into that bottomless pit out of which no repentance can bail you.

15. After that age, weariness, wisdom, or business hath dispossessed you of this dumb and deaf amorous spirit and concluded all desires to uxorious vanities, it is possible your wife's appetite may increase and that disease of lust which your youth cured before she had leisure to discover it may then unseasonably interrupt your sleep, calling for that there shall be nothing in her but importunity to provoke you to, nor in you but the desire of quiet and to conjure down the fierce devil of jealousy which haunts the houses of married folks, rendering them no less unhappy, dismal, and clamorous than the Temple of Moloch, where such children and servants as you most delight in shall pass through the fire of daily contention.

16. Were it possible to assign to your choice the virtues of your mother, which I confess are inferior to none, and fancy a son with as rich parts as imagination is able to endow a creature withal, yet a daughter may come that for want of good behavior or care in marriage shall infuse so much gall into your cup as will be able to embitter all the pleasure taken in the rest. Or if you should escape this in regard of one, the least deformity happening to any of the others will cause more grief than all the towardliness of the most perfect can outtalk.

17. Our beldam Eve, to save her longing, sold us all for an apple, and still as we fall into the same desires, apprehending felicities in things we never tried, we are carried away by her peevish daughters, the true sirens wise Ulysses stopped his ears against, who under pretense of pleasure and love lead us into dens and obscure holes of the rocks, where we consume our precious time and bury our parts which might enable us to despise or honor this world as best suited our complexions, feed-

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ing all our lives upon the dry bones of want and affliction, and like Actaeon torn by our families, nothing being more certain than that a married man changeth the shape of natural freedom and enrolls himself among such as are rendered beasts of burden under reason of state, whereas those unclogged with this yoke, if they like not the service and discipline of their own, may the easier exchange it for that of any other commonwealth.

18. Though nothing can wholly disengage marriage from such inconveniences as may obstruct felicity, yet they are best palliated under a great estate, all other arguments for it receiving commonly confutation from time and experience or are evaporated by fruition, birth imposing a necessity of charge as beauty doth of jealousy if not of a bad report, innocency being often found too weak to guard itself from the poison of tongues.

19. The true extent of her estate, therefore, is first to be surveyed before you entail yourself upon the owner. And in this common fame is not to be trusted, which for the most part dilates a portion or jointure beyond its natural bounds, proving also not seldom litigious and that found given by will questionable, by which husbands are tied to a black box more miserable than that of Pandora, there being in the law hope of nothing but trouble and injustice. Neither do widows seldom put their estates out of their own reach, the better to cheat their husbands, perverting so far the course of nature as to make him thrash for a pension who ought to command all. This requires love to be ushered into this undissolvable noose by discretion, since it hath rarely fallen within the compass of example that both parties, if wise, should be cordially pleased with their bargain. Therefore the yoke of marriage had need be lined with the richest stuff and softest outward conveniences, else it will gall your neck and heart so as you shall take little comfort in the virtue, beauty, birth, etc., of her to whom you are coupled.

20. As the fertility of the ensuing year is guessed at by the height of the river Nile, so by the greatness of a wife's portion

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may much of the future conjugal happiness be calculated. For to say truth, a poor marriage, like a father's theft or treason, entitles shame and misery upon posterity, who receive little warmth from the virtue, much less from the beauty, of their mother.

21. The best of husbands are servants, but he that takes a wife wanting money is slave to his affection, doing the basest of drudgery without wages.

22. Experience cries in the streets that he who takes his maid into the marriage bed finds her no less imperious a mistress than he that is coupled in the highest link. For such as bring nothing esteem themselves slighted if they command not all, whereas better educations are apter to confess an obligation than those basely born.

23. Vast estates are not so sensible of the inconveniences of poor marriages as having, besides greater diversions, the staff of power to keep the lean wolf from the door, want being no less the original of most sins than the mother of all plagues, so as the depth of poverty calling upon the bottomless pit of despair tempts the ill-bred son for want of better education—to change a life he thinks cannot be made more wretched—to marry the chambermaid, by which the no less unadvised daughter learns to run away with the groom. Do not the careful looks of all fathers give evidence to the truth of that saying: "Children are uncertain comforts but certain troubles"?

24. Therefore, dear son, if you find yourself smitten with this poisoned dart, imitate his prudence who chose rather to cast himself into the arms of the sea and travel than to let his hopes and parts wither in those of a poor whining Dido,⁸ who is no more able to give you caution for the continuance of her own affection than you are of yours or of her beauty.

25. I have heard a well-built woman compared in her mo-

⁸ *Whining Dido*: Characteristically Osborne reduces to a whine the Queen of Carthage's tragic lamentation over Aeneas' desertion as described by Virgil.

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tion to a ship under sail, yet I would advise no wise man to be her owner if her fraught be nothing but what she carries between wind and water.

26. A neat wench, like a fairy picture, may adorn a room for a general commerce, or like a painted inn post may tempt you as a stranger to while away some scorching hours, but to hang her in your heart and turn host to a bare holly bush is so high a blasphemy against discretion that it would not only exceed repentance but pity and forgiveness, especially in relation to you who have had these rocks marked out on all sides by the advice of splinters or an indulgent father.

27. But if once you render yourself a pupil to whining love, he will read you such contrary politics as shall persuade you to make a league with misery and embrace beggary for a friend. And after this you are capable of no higher honor than to be registered in one of his martyrological ballads and sung by dairymaids to a pitiful tune.

28. To conclude, if you will needs be a familist and marry, muster not the want of issue among your greatest afflictions as those do that cry, "Give me children or else my name dies"—the poorest way of immortalizing that can be and as natural to a cobbler as a prince, and not seldom outreached by a gravestone. This proves them no fools that made their own choice by adoption out of the mass of humanity, not confining themselves to such as the doubtful chance of marriage obliged them to, since wives do worse than miscarry that go their full time with a fool or a bossive⁹ birth. Yet less ugliness resides in the greatest personal deformity than in an ordinary mulct of the mind. Nor can there be a greater dissemblance between one wise man and another though strangers in blood than daily falls out betwixt them and their own issue, so as it is rarely observed that a prudent father begets a like son, in which nature proclaims things of moment not made for stallions and to bury their rich

⁹ *Bossive*: crooked or deformed.

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talents in the tedious commerce and loathsome sheets of a silly woman. And if we consult right reason not opinion, more of our blood runs in a brother than a child, the surer side being always a stranger to the family. The truth is they are really no more ours than the curls of our hair or paring of our nails, carrying often such thoughts towards us as we should detest any for but them, made ours rather by use than nature, as appears in the rest of God's creatures, who look no longer after their young than whilst they are unable to shift for themselves. This also speaks an immoderate sorrow for their loss, as impertinent as the like desire to procure them, none being truly capable of felicity that situate it out of the extent of their own reach and are overpassionately affected with other foreign misery than what doth purely belong to themselves.

29. But if this savor too much of the stoic, you may qualify it as you please. For I doubt not but the zeal your youth doth yet retain towards the creed and practice of others possibly not so well taught may at present make much of this look like blasphemy. But when so many winters have snowed on your head as on your father's you will think it canonical and fit to be read to posterity.

III. Travel

1, 2, 3. Its consequence, good and bad. 4, 5. To travel, with an ambassador, as a merchant. 6. In case of war, whither? 7. Directions about 8. Performing divine duties. 9, 10, 11. Declining disputes of religion. 12. Regulating zeal. 13, 14. Vindicating customs. 15. Comparisons. 16. The Inquisition, prohibited books. 17. The Eucharist. 18. Crucifixes. 19, 20. Foreign churches. 21. Scoffers at their own religion. 22. English in orders. 23. Or otherwise, the worst companions. 24. Injuries. 25. Gaming. 26. Women's favors. 27, 28. Wenches. 29. Impatient desires: charms of 30. Women in love. 31, 32. Italian lusts. 33. Gifts. 34. Money, removes. 35. Inns, new acquaintance, servants. 36. Experience, languages. 37. Turkish incivility. 38. Plantations.

1. Some, to starch a more serious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought vanities, cry up travel as the best accomplisher of youth and gentry, though detected by experience in the generality for the greatest debaucher, adding affectation to folly and atheism to the curiosity of many not well principled by education, such wanderers imitating those factors of Solomon that together with gold returned apes and peacocks.

2. They and only they advantage themselves by travel who, well-fraught with the experience of what their own country affords, carry over with them large and thriving talents as those servants did commended by our Saviour. For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, despicable, and solitary parts may be so far from improvement as he hazards quite to lose and bury them in the external levity of France, pride of Spain, and treachery of Italy; because not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more prudence than he meets with in the streets and other public

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places, the activity of his legs and arms may possibly be augmented, and he by tedious compliments become more acceptable in the eyes of silly women but useless, if not pernicious, to the government of his own country in creating doubts and dislikes by way of a partial comparison.

3. Yet since it advanceth opinion in the world without which desert is useful to none but itself—scholars and travelers being cried up for the highest graduates in the most universal judgments—I am not much unwilling to give way to a peregrine motion for a time, provided it be in the company of an ambassador or person of quality, by whose power the danger may be rebated no less than your charge of diet defrayed, inconsiderable in such a retinue as persons of their magnitude are forced to entertain.

4. Or if your genius, tempted by profit, incline to the life of a merchant, you have the law of nations and articles of a reciprocal amity to protect you from other inconveniences than such as indiscretion draws upon rash and unadvised strangers.

5. And thus manned out, your experience may receive lading at the first hand when others, failing of the like advantages, must take up that little they make at the common beam yet pay more custom and run greater hazards than the whole return when cast up is able to compensate.

6. Or in case this nation should again break out into partialities, it may not be ill prudence to go where you may have the prospect of the war with safety whoever prevailed. And for the place, I say France, if you have a purse, else some town in the Netherlands or Flanders that is wholesome and safe where French may be attained with little more difficulty than at Paris, neither are the humors of the people so very remote from your own.

7. Now if it be your fortune on any suchlike accounts to leave your native country, take these directions from a father wearied (and, therefore, possibly made wiser) by experience:

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8. Let not the irreligion of any place breed in you a neglect of divine duties, remembering God heard the prayers of Daniel in Babylon with the same attention He gave to David's in Zion.

9. Shun all disputes, but concerning religion especially, because that which commands in chief, though false and erroneous, will like a cock on its own dunghill line her arguments with force and drive the stranger out of the pit with insignificant clamors, all opinions not made natural by complexion or imperious education being equally ridiculous to those of contrary tenets.

10. But where you find such discourse unavoidably obtruded, mold your arguments rather into queries than dogmatical assertions, professing it more the business of travelers to learn than teach. This, besides the removal of jealousies, will proclaim you civil and not bury the hope of a future compliance, muzzling the mouths of the rigid zealots who think none worthy of life are found out of the train of their own opinions, no less than engaging the more moderate rather to pity you as one misled than accuse you for willful and contumacious, observing herein the prudence of our Saviour, who prohibits the casting of pearls before such as are more likely to employ them to your damage than their own edification. And, therefore, silence ought not in reason to be reckoned for a desertion of truth where it cannot be maintained but to the prejudice of what the imperative power hath declared so to be.

11. A sceptic humor, as it is most suitable to any man out of power, so especially if he travels, less offense being taken at doubters than such as boldly undertake to determine, there not always remaining a necessity either in religion or discretion to give a positive answer, as appears by Christ, who did not seldom oppose one ambiguous question against another no less dangerous to resolve. Therefore, you may be as well a murderer as a martyr if you run too unadvisedly into ruin.

12. Keep your zeal chained for a guard to your conscience,

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not letting it fly upon such things as custom hath not made it familiar withal, remembering that the Sadducees who denied angels and spirits are not registered for such implacable enemies to our Saviour as the Pharisees who confessed both. The fury of which passion hath transported some so far as to strike the Eucharist out of the priest's hands that carried it, choosing like giddy Phaetons to burn rather than not manifest themselves, unseasonably, the children of God.

13. Do not imitate their follies who conceit themselves bound in honor to assert all customs used in the places they come from, which besides contraction of quarrels brands such sophisters with the imputation of a partial incivility, custom being of that insinuating nature as it can convert into the shape of comeliness diet, apparel, gestures, and sins that to a stranger may appear most distasteful, ugly, and unnatural. This renders a defense of the errors of your own country as undecent as the too loud proclaiming of them is shameful and unworthy.

14. As it is neither mannerly nor safe to discommend anything used abroad, so likewise is it disadvantageous; for by commendation you shall the better serve out the true opinion themselves have of it, which upon your dislike will be concealed or heightened out of shame or ostentation.

15. Fall not into comparisons, for what doth it concern the advancement of wisdom whether London or Paris, St. Mark's Church or Paul's be the fairest? The like modesty must be observed at your return home, lest you should seem to have lost in your travel through other nations the natural affection so justly due to your own, which may raise suspicion of a change either in your religion or allegiance.

16. If the wisdom of the states of Holland were warily observed—who give no other answer for the present to any new proposition but *peut-être* (in English, "it may be so"), by which they civilly evade a peremptory asserting or denying the validity of any argument—the hell of the Inquisition would not be so

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replenished with the souls of poor unadvised Christians who, made giddy with an impertinent zeal and confident in the promises of the treacherous Jesuits, their countrymen (that have ways enough to betray you without discovering themselves), communicate to them prohibited books in hope to convert them, which I advise you by no means to carry with you. This Mr. Mole found true in a tedious and sharp captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sir T. M. at the instigation of the Lord R., to whom he was assigned tutor by the Earl of Ex[eter].¹⁰

17. To the Eucharist met in the streets, through which it is often borne to the houses of the sick, custom no less than the injunction of the magistrate obligeth all to kneel or bow. The which if a stranger neglect, he is liable to the inquisitors. Now if it be an idol, St. Paul saith an idol is nothing. And if it renders the meat offered unto it no ways distasteful to a sound conscience, how should it deprave me to be uncovered as the rest are? it being palliated, if not absolutely decided this way in the case of Naaman,¹¹ and the Duke of Saxony, whom Luther permitted to assist the Emperor Charles the First at a mass only to preserve a temporal dignity, covering it with the title of civil respect.

18. Pity rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a crucifix, considering we find it enjoined by the penner of *The Practice of Piety*,¹² too often printed to carry the marks of

¹⁰ John Mole, tutor to Lord Roos, Exeter's grandson, was arrested in Rome in 1608 and imprisoned for thirty years by the Inquisition. He was charged with disseminating anti-Catholic writings. "Sir T. M." is probably Sir Tobie Matthew, who had been converted to Catholicism in 1606. Cf. *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. by Logan Pearsall Smith (Oxford, 1907), II, 473, and *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 255, 265.

¹¹ Naaman, a great Syrian captain, was annoyed that Elisha the prophet ordered him to do such a simple thing as bathe in the Jordan to cleanse his leprosy, but was induced to do so and was healed. See II Kings 5:11-12.

¹² Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (1613) was so popular that it had at least forty-three editions before 1640.

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anything contrary to the genuine mind of the then Protestant church, that all communicants at the article of their receiving should imagine the postures of Christ upon the cross. And if so, doth it not leave room for a query? Who is the most mistaken, he that makes to himself a representation in his heart or on the wall? Yet this with the rest is laid before you only as an adviso, not a stumbling block and occasion of offense.

19. Enter no further into foreign churches than the hand of your own religion and conscience leads you; for though the body of their worship do not take you, the higher expressions of zeal and austerity in the preciser sort of churchmen and people taken for the soul of all professions may seem to discover some defects in your own. And so displeas'd on all sides, you dash upon the rock of atheism as such do that value the merits and sanctity of Christ by his who pretends to be His vicar and all moral virtue by the scant standard they find it measured by at Rome, where they put out the eyes of the less advised with the dust of antiquity, which we seeming to want are not so catching to those not wise enough to look behind the curtain of formalities.

20. Yet where conscience and reason give you leave to comply, as possibly they may in many things, do it ingenuously without compulsion or dint of an argument, lest opposing a truth upon the bye you give them cause to think you guilty of a falsehood in the main.

21. Consort with none who scoff at their own religion but shun them as spies or atheists, for strangers honor them most next to those of their respective tenets that are modestly zealous in the observation of their own.

22. Eschew the company of all English you find in orders, for as they have imitated the lapsed angels in falling from their first station, so they bear the like malevolence to all they despair of bringing into the same condemnation, being for the most part despicable, poor, and melancholy; the Protestants eying

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them as apostates and the Catholics as fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the natives' bread. Thus young scholars, because not able to reach all they desire at home, like prodigals abandon the bosom of their mother, unadvisedly casting themselves into that of want and reproach; Viscount Mont's brother being but a porter to a religious house, and many of the rest exposed to such hard and desperate missions into the Indies and other remote climates as their lives are rendered no less tedious than uncertain.

23. Besides, he that beyond sea frequents his own countrymen forgets the principal part of his errand—language, and possibly the opportunity to get experience how to manage his expense, frugality being of none so perfectly learned as of the Italian and Scot, natural to the first and as necessary to the latter. The English also are observed abroad more quarrelsome with their own nation than strangers and therefore marked out as the most dangerous companions.

24. An injury in foreign air is cheaper passed over than revenged, the endeavor of which hath not seldom drawn on a greater. Besides, if patience and evasion be not learned by your travel, the bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged as to the merchant but quite lost in regard of any return of profit to such inconsiderate men as suffer themselves to be transported with their passions, since he that is master of them shall act and speak reason when others destitute of that moderation appear mad, uttering nothing but noise.

25. Play is destructive to estates everywhere but to the persons of gamblers abroad, rendering them the objects of cheating and quarrels, all bystanders being apt to attest to the prejudice of a stranger.

26. He that desires quiet and to decline quarrels, undertaken by strangers upon irreparable disadvantages, must above all avoid giving or receiving favors from women, there being none out of the list of common whores anyways acceptable to which some ruffian—in Italy called *braves* who will murder a man for

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a crown—doth not pretend an interest either as a husband, a kinsman, or a servant. Neither are they safely conversed withal in relation to health, participating so far of the nature of devils that they are not only instrumental in the sin but many times also in the punishment.

27. Make not the promise of marriage a band to your lust, nor think her fruit worth owning shall yield possession upon no more formal obligation; presuming that if she can dispense with the ceremony by which law only makes her yours, it is no less possible that the time and wearisome repetition of the same embraces may upon as handsome a provocation tempt her to change the substance.

28. He that owns a whore in a more peculiar sense than a common jakes descends from the dignity of reason. And yet I have known some so far transported as to marry such an one to the infamy of their families no less than their own future discontent, making a mercenary woman arbitrator and guardian of their issue—contrary to the wiser practice of Spain, where none are admitted judges of another's interest that have taken fees as pleaders themselves lest former use should convert them into bribes, it being hard to forego a profitable custom and as impossible to impropriate such cattle as to monopolize the air. For the bar of honor being once leaped over by that sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner but the open fields of shame and repentance.

29. If tempted by an impatient affection to anything not without danger or difficulty attained, catechize yourself with this question: What wish [has] fortune or labor ever presented you with that after a full fruition did not soon grow tedious, or at best came not far short of what creaking expectation had undertaken it should perform? And let this contemplation moderate your desires: that all worldly profit or pleasure is correspondent to a like measure of anxiety and wearisomeness. Therefore, let no importunity warp you contrary to right reason

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and conveniency, ever arming your constancy against flattery and impudence, strong assailants especially marching under the tears and caresses of an handsome and seeming innocent woman, from whom it is no dishonor to fly and with whom there is no safety to treat, for fear like blind Samson you grind out the remainder of your days between want and repentance and be led in triumph by her friends and those suborned to seduce you, more ready to sacrifice the thanks to their own nets than to the easiness of your nature to which it is only due.

30. If any then be furiously enamored on you whose fortune cannot correspond for the troubles incident to marriage—which God knows are not a few—venture the loss of her rather than yourself, it being one of the highest pieces of madness to hang an indissoluble padlock upon your future hopes only to save a wench's longing, with whose soft humor miscarriage is more suitable than a man's armed with so much advice. Therefore, fly from such as incurable plagues, nothing being more catching to unbiased nature than a seeming violent affection, which if not built upon a former promise you may leave her justly to the melancholy society of her own folly, out of which it is all odds but she may happily recover or imitate the voluptuous death of that tailor reported to have whined away himself for the love of Queen Elizabeth.

31. Who travels Italy handsome, young, and beardless may need as much caution and circumspection to protect him from the lust of men as the charms of women, an impiety not to be credited by an honest heart did not the ruins of Sodom, calcined by this unnatural heat, remain still to witness it.

32. And, as I have heard, they continue so enamored this uncouth way of lust, led by what imaginary delight I know not, that such as age and weakness have set beyond the power of acting suffer themselves to be patients in that noisome bestiality, maintaining to this end emissaries abroad to entice men of delicate complexions to the houses of these decrepit lechers under

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pretense of an assignation made by some feminine beauty, and, thus ensnared, the poor uncircumspect young man cannot with conscience do, or safely refuse, this base office.

33. Where you never mean to return, extend your liberality at first coming or as you see convenient during your abode. For what you give at parting is quite lost.

34. Make no ostentation of carrying any considerable sum of money about you, lest you turn that to your destruction which under God is a stranger's best preservation. And remove not from place to place but with company you know, the not observing whereof is the cause so many of our countrymen's graves were never known, having been buried in as much obscurity as killed.

35. Inns are dangerous and so are all fresh acquaintance, especially where you find their offer of friendship to outbid a stranger's desert. The same may be said of servants, not to be entertained upon ordinary commendations.

36. Next to experience, languages are the richest lading of a traveler, among which French is most useful, Italian and Spanish not being so fruitful in learning except for the mathematics and romances, their other books being gelt by the fathers of the Inquisition.

37. He that is carried by his curiosity under the jurisdiction of the Turk or other Mahometan princes shall be used, as they esteem him, like a dog, and so to be armed with a more invincible patience than commonly accompanies a man freeborn. Insomuch as I heard a kinsman say who had been at Jerusalem that the richest experience he brought from thence could not in the least proportion recompense the trouble he met with, bringing home certain marks of the incivility of the people for an uncertain discovery of the places famed for Christ's death and burial. And though he thought he merited by it—a conceit I know incapable of place in your head—yet no reward could hire him to repeat again those weary steps. Therefore, I advise you to believe rather

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what you may read in your study than go thither to disprove it.

38. I can say little of plantations,¹³ having had no experience of them, but that he which changeth his own country shall not in my mind do so well to go farther from the sun or where he may not at least share in the government.

¹³ *Plantations*: colonies.

IV. Government

1, 2. Change. 3. Commotions. 4. Tumults, incendiar-
ies. 5. Ambition. 6. A war for religion, oppression. 7.
Submission to wicked governors. 8. Not approving them.
9. Weariness and fidelity. 10. Submission to. 11, 12. Rec-
ognition of present powers. 13. The original of dominion.
14. Fresh families: state martyrs for 15, 16. Fame. 17.
High birth, titles of honor. 18. Mean birth. 19. Obligation
to governors, what? 20, 21. To a monarch, to a free state:
siding. 22. Enemies reconciled. 23. Trust not. 24. In-
gratitude. 25. Foreign interests. 26. Preferments under
monarchies and republics compared. 27. Insurrections, con-
spiracies. 28. Oratory. 29. To speak last, M. Hampden.
30. No perfection here. 31. Directions to a magistrate about
preferments. 32. Punishments. 33. The soldiery. 34. The
clergy.

1. Contract not the common distemper incident to vulgar
brains who still imagine more ease from some untried govern-
ment than that they lie under, not having passed the first form
of experience where we may learn that tyranny is no less natural
to power than lust to youth.

2. If happy for the present, 'tis no better than madness to
endeavor a change; if but indifferently well, folly. For though
a vessel may yield the more for tilting or stirring, it renders all
in it unpleasant to present use, the die of war seldom turning
to their advantage that first cast it. Such, therefore, as cannot
make all well, discharge their conscience in wishing it so,
government being the care of providence, not mine.

3. But if it be your fortune to fall under such commotions,
imitate not the wild Irish or Welsh, who during eclipses run
about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamor and vexa-

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tions available to the assistance of the higher orbs, though they advance nothing but their own miseries, being often maimed, but at best laid by without respect or reward so soon as the state is returned to its former splendor, common soldiers resembling cocks that fight for the benefit and ambition of others more than their own. This proves it the wholesomer counsel to stay within doors and avoid such malignant effects as people attribute to the supposed distempers of the superior planets. But if forced to take a stream, let it be that which leads to the desires of the metropolis, the chief city being for the most part preserved whoever prevails in a civil commotion, abounding in money and friends, the readiest way to purchase quiet.

4. Be not the pen or mouth of a multitude congregated by the jingling of their fetters, lest a pardon or compliance knock them off and leave you as the soul of that wicked and deformed body hanging in the hell of the law or to the vengeance of an exasperated power. But rather have patience and see the tree sufficiently shaken before you run to scramble for the fruit, lest instead of profit and honor you meet a cudgel or a stone. And then, if possible, seem to fall in rather out of compulsion than design, since the zeal of the rabble is not so soon heated by the real oppressions of their rulers but may be as easily cooled by the specious promises and breath of authority.

5. Nurse not ambition with thine own blood, nor think the wind of honor strong enough to blow away the reproachful sense of a shameful, if possibly that of a violent, death. For if Solomon's rule be true that a living dog is better than a dead lion, a quick evasion cannot but be deemed more manlike than a buried valor.

6. A multitude inflamed under a religious pretense are at first as unsafely opposed as joined with, resembling bears exasperated by the cry of their whelps, and do not seldom, if unextinguished by hope or delays, consume all before them to the very thing they intend to preserve; zeal like the rod of Moses

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devouring all for diabolical that dares but appear before it in the same shape; the inconsiderate rabble with the swine in the Gospel being more furiously agitated by the discontented spirits of others than their own who cannot be so happy in a sea of blood and devastation; the dire effects of war as in peace though invaded with some oppression, a scab that breaks out oftentimes in the most wholesome constituted bodies of states and may with less smart be continued on than picked off. And because the generality are incapable in regard of number either of reward or punishment, therefore not of use to the ambition or safety of others but for the present, like gunpowder during the flash of their discontent, and as a lock in a river, are only of force upon the first opening to drive on the design of innovation, losing themselves afterwards in a more universal dilution either out of weariness or doubt of the consequence.

7. The example of Brutus rather than Cato is to be followed in bad times, it being safer to be patient than active or appear a fool than a malcontent—an evasion not only justified in the person of David and by the eloquence of Paul before his heathen judges, but our Saviour Himself is not heard to inveigh against the present power though it had made the head of the Baptist the frolic to a feast.

8. Own the power but not the faults of the magistrate, nor make law assigned for a buckler to defend yourself a sword to hurt others, lest partiality should allure you to pass the sentence of approbation upon anything unwarrantable in its own nature. Neither let any formalities used at a mimical tribunal—as that was set up in the case of Naboth¹⁴—persuade you to more than a passive compliance, since such may seem to make greater rather than diminish the wages of their iniquity that seek to cover rapine with a gown which the sword might pa-

¹⁴ When Naboth refused to give up his vineyard to King Ahab, the king's wife Jezebel trumped up charges of treason and blasphemy against Naboth, had him stoned to death, and took the vineyard. See I Kings 21:1-15.

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tronize with more decency. And this observed, the people might cheaper receive all their injury at the first hand which these retailers of wickedness utter at more intolerable rates. The result of all is: Ahab might better have committed murder single than render so many accessory under the formal pretense of a religious fast, etc.

9. Before you fix, consult all the objections discretion is able to make. But once resolved, desert not your party upon every access of a fever, as many melancholy spirits did these wars who by their often and unseasonable flittings wore themselves so out on both sides as they were not worth owning when success undertook for them that they did turn in earnest; irresolution rendering pardon more difficult from either faction than it could have proved had they remained constant to any; divesting themselves of the ensigns of fidelity; looked upon by all with the eyes of pity; and do often meet with honor, seldom fail of forgiveness from a noble enemy, who cannot but befriend virtue though he hath found it in arms against him. Yet if you perceive the post you have contracted to totter through undermining treachery or weakness, you may purchase your preservation by all honest endeavors. For he that prolongs his life by the forfeiture of a trust he has undertaken husbands it worse than if he buried it in the field of honor, traitors in all ages being equally detested on both sides.

10. Submit quietly to any power providence shall please to mount into the saddle of sovereignty without inquiring into their right for conscience sake or their births in relation to honor, remembering that not only David but the most ramous¹⁵ for success did not only cut off others' lines but were natural shepherds under the cope of heaven before they attained to be metaphorically so under the canopy of the chair of state, which once possessed clarifies the present incumbent's title from the greatest imputations incident to birth or proceeding.

¹⁵ *Ramous*: branchlike or prolific.

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And the many-headed beast, the multitude, is seldom more, sometimes less, galled and vexed by the new than the old saddle of riders who out of their greater experience of her brutish patience are more apt to load her with the trappings of power and the furniture suitable to a throne, whose inventory pride increaseth proportionable to continuance and the presumption they have of their own ability to keep the people from attempting their remove. This may render it indifferent to a wise man what card is trump, whose game may possibly prove as fair under clubs as diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether his fetters consist of many links or but one.

11. If authority exacts an acknowledgment from you, give it with all readiness, it being the highest frenzy to dispute your innocency with those who are able to convert the greatest into a fault. For if it be no dishonor to submit to thieves if fallen into their hands, let not the example of a few fools—who like lice thrive nowhere so well as in a prison—tempt you to oppose your felicity against the imperative power under which the dispose of your person doth wholly remain and therefore madness to deny it words.

12. I abhor the idolatry of the heathen yet cannot but mind you of their humility in adoring anything the people set up though but hewed out of the body of an oak, most auspicious unto swine, and principally after shaking by such storms as devils are reported to have raised. Therefore, if you may enjoy the liberty of your own conscience and estate, question not the desert or right of those under whom you do it.

13. He that suffers his conscience to mislead him in civil obedience makes his guide a stumbling block, and doth not consider that all states and kingdoms now extant had their foundations laid in the dirt though time may have dried it up by oblivion or flattering historians licked it off.

14. Think it no disparagement to your birth or discretion to give honor to fresh families, who cannot be denied to have

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ascended by the same steps those did we style ancient, "new" being a term only respecting us, not the world. For what is was before us and will be when we are no more; war follows peace and peace war as summer doth winter and foul weather fair. Neither are any ground more in this mill of vicissitudes than such obstinate fools as glory in the repute of state martyrs after they are dead, which concerns them less than what was said a hundred years before they were born—it being the greatest odds their names shall not be registered or, if they be, after death they are no more sensible of the honor than Alexander's great horse or any beast else his master's indulgence or the writer's are pleased to record. Neither in a strict sense do they deserve such honor for being able to date their possessions from before the Conquest, since if any be due it wholly belongs to them that were buried in the ruins of their country's liberty and not to such as helped to make their graves, as in likelihood most did whom the Normans suffered to remain. Therefore, 'tis madness to place our felicity out of our own reach or to measure honor or repute by any other standard than the opinion we conceive of it ourselves, being impossible to find a general agreement in any good or evil report, the reign of Queen Elizabeth being no less traduced than that of Richard the Third is justified.

15. Be not, therefore, lickerish after fame, found by experience to carry a trumpet that doth for the most part congregate more enemies than friends.

16. If you duly consider the inconstancy of common applause and how many have had their fame broken upon the same wheel that raised it and puffed out by their breath that kindled the first report of it, you would be as little elevated with the smiles as dejected by the frowns of this gaudy goddess formed like Venus out of no more solid matter than the foam of the people; found by experience to have poisoned more than ever she cured; being so volatile as she is incapable of fixation

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in the richest jewels of nature, virtue, or grace; the composition of that body wholly consisting of contradictions no readier to set up this day than she may be to pull down the next. This renders it the lowest puerility to be pleased or angry at reports, good being inflamed and evil quenched by nothing sooner than a constant neglect.

17. Ostentation of birth, at no time decent, cannot in this be safe wherein the very foundations of honor are not only shaken but laid bare. Besides, many are so abused in the sound of their own or their father's titles that by bustling for the upper end they often render that a shame which in itself is no crime, as, for example, if the son of the common hunt—in English, the lord mayor's dogkeeper—by reason of the title of esquire annexed to his place should consider himself as a man of worship, etc. Were it not ridiculous, when, God knows, the appellation is used for the honor of the city, not the person that wears it? The same might be said of all mechanic places at court, which to render them the more vendible were blazoned with the false alchemy of a like title so far from advancing repute that it sets it back in the opinion of all judicious men. Observe how ridiculous such animals are to pride themselves in the shadow and tail of honor when the substance is vanished and the head, etc.

18. Despise none for meanness of blood, yet do not ordinarily make them your companions for debasing your own unless you find them clarified by excellent parts or gilded by fortune or power—Solomon having sent the sluggard to the pismire to learn industry and to the living dog rather than the dead lion for protection.

19. It cannot be looked upon as an act of prudence to do more for another than in reason may be expected from him again upon a like occasion, unless so far as I am obliged to it out of gratitude, and no farther can my prince or anyone else expect assistance from me. For if I have not my livelihood by him, I cannot apprehend any cause why I should expose it for

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him, especially if I may with any probability be happy and keep it without him. And because most of the first proprietors of government in our days and long before have ascended the throne at the cost and trouble, if not contrary to the mind of, the people they command, why should any lose that for their preservation which was never gained by their benevolence? Therefore, if those at the helm have lost their power and I not able to find a particular engagement or interest strong enough to make their good success inseparably necessary to my present or future well-being, I am not bound to go farther on with them than suits with my safety and the security my judgment gives that they are able to bring me off. All we owe to governors is obedience, which depends wholly on power and therefore subject to follow the same fate and perish with it. For friendship can be contracted between none that stand so far remote from the line of parity. Therefore, all superlative powers are excepted out of this commerce because situated in truth or pretense under a divine right, which no interest of mine can reach, much less procure. Then, being so far above us, they can be nothing to us longer than able to support themselves. For if they have an extraordinary and particular establishment in heaven, it were blasphemy to think they can be pulled down by any but God, in the opposition of whose vengeance I am no more able than willing to stand as those must that appear unseasonably for them. Besides, powers are established to protect us who are to live happy under them, not miserably for them if possibly to be prevented; since all sorts of government may be reckoned among the rest of God's plagues, poured down upon men for their oppression and disobedience in the primitive parity which makes our wills, like Eve's, subject to others.

20. No government can be safely engaged by a single person beyond requital, kings thinking it a diminution of honor and

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republics a dangerous step to popularity. Here you may see the continual use of circumspection, since 'tis possible for virtue to form a weapon against itself.

21. If it be dangerous to overoblige a king, it is mortal in relation to a free state, whose ingratitude no less than requital is divided among so many as they are scarce capable of shame or thanks, every particular disavowing what is generally thought amiss and all faults buried in his grave that hath the fortune to die next. Therefore, if possible, avoid siding; yet, if compelled, remember it is deducible both from the history of the great Earl of Warwick¹⁶ and Stanley¹⁷ that a king may be as safely destroyed as preserved. And for commonwealths, they are in nothing more perfect than ingratitude, either government finding it better husbandry to pardon enemies than reward friends.

22. A reconciled enemy is not safely to be trusted, yet if any, a great one, it being easier for such to execute their malice than conceal it.

23. To conclude this part, imagine few the more capable of trust because you have formerly obliged them, nothing being more ordinary than natures that quit such scores with hatred and treachery. And if you consider whose hearts have been most empty of pity towards unfortunate princes, experience may present you with millions of such whose hands formerly were filled with their bounty.

24. Ignorance reports of witches that they are unable to hurt till they have received an alms, which though ridiculous in itself, yet in this sense verified, that charity seldom goes to the gate but it meets with ingratitude, they proving for the most

¹⁶ Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (the "King-Maker"), was instrumental in establishing Edward IV of the House of York on the throne.

¹⁷ Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, at a decisive moment in the Battle of Bosworth Field, threw his forces into action on the side of Henry Tudor and thus assured him of victory and the crown as Henry VII.

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part the greatest enemies that have been bought at the dearest rates of friendship which proceeds from the high pride of humanity. Therefore, be as little flattered to do good out of hope of requital as I would have you terrified out of fear of the contrary.

25. Providence or a severer destiny hath housed under all our roofs a sufficient proportion of calamities. Therefore, 'tis folly to send to market for troubles as those do that contract foreign infelicities, vexing themselves for the loss of the Prince of Condé in France, the death of the King of Sweden in Germany, or the progress of the Turks in Candy, etc., tophets prepared of old as well to torment the ambitious and unquiet spirits of busy subjects as kings.

26. One may attain to a higher degree of honor and power under a monarch than can be found room for in a republic, as is apparent in some favorites that have had the administration of all affairs. Yet in my opinion this is abundantly recompensed in the multitude which the latter employs, who are securer in what they enjoy in not being subject to the passions of a single judgment.

27. Republics lie most obnoxious to popular commotions, monarchies to clandestine attempts. In the first it is not safe to be found unless they be so epidemical as may more than probably assure success; in the latter not decent for a person of honor though warranted by never so much security, no hands being more loathsome than those that smell of blood and treachery.

28. Though law perish—a thing unlikely, being the guard of all peace—yet oratory will still keep in repute as having more affections to work upon in a republic than a monarchy, one judgment being easier forestalled than many. So as I may safely presage, if a golden tongue fall under a subtle head it may have a great influence upon the whole senate.

29. At a conference to speak last is no small advantage, as

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Mr. John Hampden¹⁸ wisely observed, who made himself still the goalkeeper of his party, giving his opposites leisure to lose their reasons in the loud and less significant tempest commonly arising upon a first debate, in which if he found his side worsted, he had the dexterous sagacity to mount the argument above the heads of the major part; whose single reason did not seldom make the whole Parliament so far suspicious of their own as to approve his or at least give time for another debate, by which he had the opportunity to muster up more forces. Thus, by confounding the weaker and tiring out the acuter judgments, he seldom failed to attain his ends.

30. He that seeks perfection on earth leaves nothing new for the saints to find in heaven. For whilst men teach there will be mistakes in divinity, and as long as no other govern, errors in the state. Therefore, be not lickerish after change lest you muddy your present felicity with a future greater and more sharp inconvenience.

31. As I would have you primarily to intend the stopping of the leaks in your own bottom—if called to the helm from which in free states none are exempt—so you must by no means neglect the repairing the broken fortunes of others found to be of excellent parts, who if not made friends by preferment may prove dangerous to a new-founded state. Neither are preferments so scarce or these so numerous but that there is provision enough for them in these three nations. I confess Queen Elizabeth most happy in this, which preserved her from civil wars, whose foundations are commonly laid by such as are too subtle to be discovered. Flames, as in hay or straw, may be kindled in the more combustible people by such as shall appear rather to bring water than fire, nothing in experience being found more mortal than an unseasonable commendation from an elo-

¹⁸ John Hampden, the great parliamentary statesman, was noted for his skill in debate and the adroitness with which he employed parliamentary maneuvers.

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quent tongue or a forced compliance from a discontented politician. The Consistory and Jesuits maintain throughout the world the traffic of sedition and privy conspiracy yet have had so much wit as to land it in Presbyterian bottoms and to cover their disobedience to governors under the attempts of the Anabaptists that naturally acknowledge none. The truth is, if wise men will make it their business they may be easily able where the people are unsettled to obstruct all good and promote much evil under the specious pretenses of religion and safety. Therefore, far cheaper pleased than discontented, being otherwise in true policy capable of no slighter security than shall be able to cut off all hope or desire of future revenge, the consideration of which though it cannot make me altogether approve yet it abates my severity in the condemnation of that legislator said to have writ his laws in blood, which might be more suitable to the complexion of some times than may possibly hitherto have been thought.

32. The like may be imagined of men proscribed, who between thirst of revenge and a desire of returning do not seldom promote their country's ruin. This also may authorize their tenets that hold punishing children with the loss of goods for their fathers' crimes as dangerous as unjust. And under this head may be reduced all penal laws laid upon faults not really prejudicial to the state. Nor can a too rigid scrutiny either after personal lapses in manners or uncouth tenets in religion produce any good effects to a commonweal where no Inquisition is, which under the Papacy draws the envy wholly upon the church, made incapable not only by custom but an awful reverence of all revenge.

33. Another error may happen, especially where a free state is founded in arms, by conceding too great a power to the soldiery, who like the spirits of conjurers do oftentimes tear their masters and raisers in pieces for want of other employment. Therefore, since it is beyond the plenty of any nation to propor-

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tion a reward suitable to the opinion they have of their own merit, it behooves the supreme power to bury the covetousness and ambition in the fields of others by a foreign war, yet as little to their discontent as may be, always giving them the honor of good servants though bad masters, remembering that the cause you raised them for is not so deep buried but it may rise again to the terror of all that withstand it.

34. Neither can the clergy be rendered with less danger despicable than great, both these extremes equally crossing the ways of peace. Yet more safety possibly may accrue from estating them in so comfortable a competency as the losing of it may create fear than such a power as they have in other nations, found by experience to produce pride and ambition besides an encroachment on the people's liberty, whose natures they are used to warp towards any side by the hope and terror they raise in their consciences in relation to another world, the exploding of which belief would be no less diminution to the reverence of the civil magistrate than the profit of the priesthood.

V. Religion

1, 2. The Bible, the church, expositors. 3. Brightman out. 4. Universal consent. 5. Profession. 6. Hypocrisy, scandal. 7. Criticisms, school divinity. 8. Controversies. 9. Socinians. 10. Popery. 11. Purgatory, etc. 12. The Reformation. 13. Works, profession, faith. 14. Millenaries. 15. Schismatics. 16. Levelers. 17. The present wild errors. 18. Tend to anarchy: Moses, Mahomet. 19. Zeal in excess. 20. Tender conscience. 21. Obstinacy of heretics. 22. Courtiers and common people's religion. 23. Reason, the Scripture, belief. 24. Antiquity. 25. Reason, revelation, etc., faith. 26. Honesty of the Indians. 27, 28. Difference of religions, good conscience. 29. Fortunetellers. 30. Hope and fear. 31. Divine vengeance. 32. Witchcraft. 33. Rash judgment. 34. Charity. 35. Impiety, improbity. 36. Injustice. 37. Purchase of church lands. 38. Enmity to the clergy, or religion established, or— 39. New lights. 40. Tithes. 41. Wisdom of Moses. 42. Cardinal Wolsey's folly.

1. Read the book of God with reverence and in things doubtful take fixation from the authority of the church, which cannot be arraigned of a damnable error without questioning that truth which hath proclaimed her proof against the gates of hell. This makes me wish that our Samsons in success, who have stripped her of her ornaments—riches, power, and honors which the ancient piety left her to cover her nakedness withal—and given them to vain expounders of riddles, may not one day have cause to repent when they find themselves annoyed no less than the eyes of truth put out by the dust and rubbish the fall of so great an[d] antique a frame is like to make.

2. Therefore, be content to see your judgment wade rather

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than swim in the sense of the Scripture, because our deep plungers have been often observed to bring up sandy assertions and their heads wrapped about with the venomous weeds of error and schisms, which may for the present discountenance the endeavors of modester learning yet will no doubt sink and vanish after some time and experience had of their frequent mistakes, as those of our bold expositors of the revelation have most shamefully done.

3. For if Brightman,¹⁹ known by myself pious and learned, could be so out in his calculation for the Pope's fall as to the time, what encouragement remains for you to perplex your studies or expectation when those hieroglyphical obscurities shall be performed?

4. He may be less prudent, if not religious, who strains at a gnat contrary to the stomach of the church he lives in than such as swallow greater things owned by her universal consent. For he that herds with the congregation, though in an error, hath obedience to stand by him, whereas a truth in the other may be rendered more peccant through a solitary obstinacy, since it is ordinary with the Holy Spirit to register such kings for good as had not quite expunged all marks of idolatry though possibly in their power to have done it, which a private person cannot but want, having nothing but arguments to oppose blunted through prejudice arising from a contrary practice.

5. Despise not a profession of holiness, because it may be true, but have a care how you trust it, for fear it should be false, the coat of Christ being more in fashion than his practice, many pulpit men like physicians forbidding their patients that you may ordinarily find on their own trenchers.

6. Hypocrisy, though looked upon by the church, the spouse of Christ, as a gaudy and painted adulteress, yet if she passeth

¹⁹ Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), a Biblical commentator, busied himself like many before and since with trying to prove that the Apocalypse foretold the imminent destruction of the Papacy.

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undiscovered the result is not so dangerous as that of open profaneness. Therefore, shun all occasions of scandal which commonly arise from drink, whose followers have their lapses scored on every wall.

7. Criticism and curious questions in school divinity may whet the wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of faith and were never famous for edification, and though looked upon in these last centuries as the right hand of learning, yet better cut off than used, as they have long served for weapons of contention devised to puzzle the laity and render the clergy no less necessary than honorable, who have work enough cut out for them till doomsday, to resolve which is least suitable to the divine essence: to have bound the hands of men or left them at liberty? By which a constraint must needs be put upon us or our maker, etc.

8. I can approve of none for magisterial divinity but that which is found floating in the unquestioned sense of the Scriptures. Therefore, when cast upon a place that seems equally inclined to different opinions, I would advise to count it, as bowlers do, for dead to the present understanding, and not to torture the text by measuring of every nicety but rather turn to one more plain, referring to that all disputes without knocking one hard place against another, as they have done since this Iron Age, till an unquenchable fire of contention is kindled and so many jarring and uncertain sounds of religion heard as men stand amazed not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were possible for truth to contradict herself.

9. I grant the Socinians²⁰ are not at this time unworthily looked upon as the most chemical and rational part of our many

²⁰ Although Osborne is careful not to approve the Socinians, followers of the Italian theologian Faustus Socinus, who denied belief in the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, he gave the impresson of such tolerance of heresy that contemporary religionists called him an atheist.

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divisions; yet going contrary to the ancient canons of the church—esteemed in the school of the fathers the best grammar of a Christian's creed—and wanting the principal buttresses of prescription, universality, and consent to uphold the convenience and justify the truth of their doctrine, I cannot award them so much approbation as they seem in reason to plead for, yet are so far confident that if just proof can be made of their adulterating the faith of antiquity, few professions extant can justly take up the first stone against them who upon a conscientious scrutiny may possibly appear equally culpable. However, such as call them Arians do not think they honor them with a former universal consent, Athanasius only excepted.²¹ And other less probable opinions may learn this candor and charity from them—not to bar heaven gates against all professions but their own, or like our retailers of new lights pull passengers into their preaching houses by the sleeves as if all wanted religion but themselves.

10. And as the Socinian doctrine appears too airy, high, and mercurial for ordinary capacities, whose understandings are usually consumed like Jupiter's mistress in the splendid commerce of such sublime speculations; so the Roman is too earthly and saturnine, participating of the dross of merit, images, indulgences, etc., which convinceth her of so much worldly respect as she stands condemned by all but such as are betrayed to her devotion through ignorance, profit, or honor on the one hand, or chained to her obedience by the iron Inquisition on the other.

11. Yet were not purgatory, with the rest of the Romish goblins, obruded as articles of faith, I should be the less scandalized at them in hope by accident they might occasion good,

²¹ The Arians were a widespread sect in the early church and for a time threatened its unity. They were finally condemned in 325 at the Council of Nicaea. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, was one of the leading opponents of the Arians.

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finding human nature so childish as to be sooner scared than persuaded out of the dark entries of sin, the real rod not being so terrible in the hand of the magistrate as these phantasms which tradition and the priests' subtlety hath formed in the people's brains.

12. But, in conclusion, you will find the Reformation most conformable to the duty we owe to God and the magistrate, if not too phlegmatic in passing by decent ceremonies or too choleric and rigid in obtruding upon weak and tender consciences.

13. And yet it was no unhappy rencounter to him that said a good religion might be composed out of the papist's charity, the Puritan's words, and the Protestant's faith. For where works are thought too chargeable, outward profession too cumbersome, the third renders itself suspected. The two first, being only palpable to sense and reason, stand firm like a rock, whereas the other shakes under the weight of every phantasy as Peter did when he walked upon the sea. To speak English, in good works none can be deceived but the doer in valuing them too high; in the two latter all but God, who only knows the heart.

14. I confess the millenaries are of so jovial a creed as I could be content it stood with the will of God I might herd with them, who, if not approved, I do not find condemned by any council, at least for the first three hundred years.

15. But for the vagabond schismatic, he is so fiery as he cannot last long unconsumed; being ready upon the least advantage to melt all into sedition; not sparing to burn the fingers of government longer than they shower down offices and preferments upon him; whining for a sanctity here God never yet trusted out of heaven; therefore, incapable of quiet but under a severe restraint or an absolute liberty.

16. And our new leveling opinions, though they seem to transcribe their authority from the no less inimitable than miraculous practice of the primitive times, stand, if taken at the far-

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these extent, in so diametrical an opposition to all human felicity as not likely to proceed from the Lord of order, being, if lights, in such dark lanterns as rob human society of all reward and consequently endeavor of desert. Yet the owners, though unconstant in their new ways, pronounce it damnable to keep the old.

17. It is observable in the present humor that those who carry an impress of the wildest errors have a safer passport to travel by and a nearer step to preferment than such as retain the tenets our fathers kept in gross during the flames of the ancient persecutions and by retail under the modern; making the honor of that doctrine scandalous for which our ancestors were not asha[med] to die, who are by this rendered the worst of murderers as having through obstinacy been guilty of their own death.

18. Will not such proceedings incline to anarchy and, that proving loathsome to all, make room for the old or some more acceptable family, if not for conquest by a foreign nation? Because people lying uneasily are apt to such tumbings and changes as cannot but at last bring them under a power strong enough to constrain or cunning enough to persuade them with a pretense of holiness and righteousness to a mutual compliance in relation to a change of government. Of the first, there are multitudes of examples throughout all profane histories; of the later, few but sacred, where the Jews under Moses, being led by the miraculous hand of God, are not capable to be comprised within the erring axioms of human policy. As for Mahomet, he tolled on his untutored rabble by mixing profit and rapine with his religion, which he left uncertain; grounding his precepts upon success ever owned as dropped upon them out of heaven; making himself still confident of the event, which I cannot undertake, therefore unable in these aporetic²² times to give you better counsel than to keep your compliance so

²² *Aporetic*: skeptical.

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loose as if possible you may fix it to the best advantage of your profit and honor.

19. Nevertheless, though a high, palpable, and external zeal is taken by the present age as a mark of confidence, yet I cannot look upon it with such affection because screwed up to these altitudes in many by the wooden pins of worldly respects, not likely to hold longer in tune than a harmony can be made amongst all parties now possibly at odds or under a jealous aspect. Therefore, I advise you to put no more of it on than with decency you may divest in case the fashion should alter and the rich dye the wars have dipped it in be rubbed off, since all customs rise or fall proportionable to the exchange they make for the preferments in the state, to which in discretion you are bound to suit your obedience though not your conscience. For I would have my persuasions understood to reach only to what is consonant to religion, which doth not bind you to choke you[r] fortunes with the criticisms of such postilers²³ of the age as value their interpretations of Scripture above liberty or life; and by this overweening one century makes martyrs of those the precedent thought heretics and such liberators of their country as were formerly held traitors.

20. Keep then your conscience tender but not so raw as to wince and kick at all you understand not, nor let it baffle your wit out of the bounds of discretion as such do that suffer themselves to be moped by it; to prevent which, keep reason always in your eye, whose light ought never to be lost in any worldly action and but eclipsed in what relates to heaven, the tribunal of conscience being erected in our soul to detect our miscarriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore subordinate not only to a superlative authority but also to our own honest, safe, and wholesome conveniences. Neither is conscience seldom misled by education, custom, and the false representations of teachers who, benighted in the dark interests of covetousness

²³ *Postilers*: commentators.

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and ambition, seek to lodge others under the roof of such institutes as they believe not themselves, yet employ all their art, sufficiency, and endeavor to make them pass for authentic and the pure mind of God, like jugglers that beguile our senses with what is not to have the better opportunity to pick our pockets of what is really useful to themselves. For as the more subtle wind got into the narrow and delicate parts of our body is able to act the stone, gout, and other most acute diseases not really present, so doth superstition represent in this changeable and concave glass of a suborned conscience things for sinful that are indeed but natural and indifferent, and other pious that are really vain and destructive, the prosecution of which leads readily to atheism or an overbiased holiness which persecutes all that carry the impress of any contrary tenets.

21. Fly that self-murdering tyrant obstinacy, who like our witches is not seldom found to pamper the imps of heresy with her own blood, being not only now but from all antiquity able to bring clouds of witnesses to the stake for the proof of the wildest opinions. And if I am not much mistaken, from the reverberation of her heat the flames of the ancient persecutions as well as those that followed were at least increased, if not kindled.

22. As it is manifest that most princes and men in power, the not unlikeliest to know truth because it is suspected they did at first disguise it, make no more account of religion than the profit and conveniency it brings is able to compense, so the unbiased rabble, if once emancipated out of the fetters their former creed confined them to, value the church as they do the old coins they dig up, which they take for counters because they find them subject to rust, and are not able by reason of their Roman inscriptions—the character of the beast which opinion rather than judgment imagines them branded withal—to make them pass in the strict commerce of these intoxicated times; whereby they exchange that for baser metal which in

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itself perhaps is pure gold, only attached unhappily by the cankers and corruptions of age easier scoured off than melted.

23. But if St. Peter's pretended successor, the Pope, be found guilty of such erroneous mistakes, it cannot be so much a solecism in reason with our seekers to place St. Thomas in the chair, believing like him no more than lies patent to human understanding, which is as much as can decently be imposed upon a new believer without a miracle—reason being all the touchstone besides left in our hands to distinguish this gold from the dross they pretend our religion hath contracted; the Scripture alone seeming unable by reason of her divers readings and the several sounds variety of expositions have put upon it to decide all differences. Besides, the long abode she hath made at Rome, where who knows whether or no or how far that bishop hath put in his foot, may render her in some opinions suspected as participating of the like corruptions we see manifested in the translations. So as it may possibly be wished learning had never taken her out of the hands of tradition, where for many years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew domestical with all sorts of understandings who have been connived at by the state—how prudently I dare not determine—whilst they cut her more short or intend her longer as best fitted their ends and occasions. Now if faith be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the authority of any church, a freedom of choice by consequence will result to all by which salvation must be wrought out. And in this wilderness of contention we have no better guide to follow than reason, found the same for many thousands of years though belief hath been observed to vary every age. And since so considerable a falsehood is thought to be discovered by our governors in the clergy's tenet for the impunity of kings, why may not their poor subjects be unsatisfied about the place they shall receive their own reward or punishment in after this life or what else may befall these

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dusty bodies of ours? Yet I say not this to diminish your faith but to increase your charity towards tender consciences, who may pretend cause enough to doubt though my single judgment is still ready to determine for antiquity.

24. Reverence antiquity but conclude it not infallible; yet I should take her word sooner in divinity than any other learning because that is clearest at the beginning, all studies else more muddy receiving clarification from experience.

25. All truth familiar unto mortals is only legible by the eye of reason—revelation, prophecy, etc., being strangers now to flesh and ever too high elevated for the perpetual commerce of such weak creatures who may sometimes enjoy a glimmering of them as the northern inhabitants do of the sun in winter, not permanent longer than they are able to fan away the dark clouds of infidelity which dims their light upon the absence of the ecstasy. Whereas reason passeth in an universal commerce, being of an unquestioned alloy and therefore likeliest to be the oracle of the everliving God said by Solomon to have squared the bars of the earth by her rule and so not improbably supposed to have measured out the way to heaven by her line. St. Paul allows the notice of God's universal goodness for a sufficient evidence to convince the disobedient heathen, and may not the same as well save the faithful observers of the purer law of nature? Shall the righteous judge of all things be found with two weights: one to save, another to damn by? Reason only commands belief; all things else beg it, so far as the most stupendous miracles that ever were cannot confute though 'tis possible they may silence it for a time. But belief changeth, and impairing or mending implies a wearing out—imperfections reason is incapable of, remaining the same forever as the most faithful guide to our maker.

26. It is no less worth your observance than admiration that the wilder Indians and other people by us styled barbarous are yet more strangers to the unsociable sins of improbity, covet-

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ousness, etc., than such as pretend to advance their conversion. Of which this may be a reason, that whilst they remain constant to the pure dictates of nature, they imagine no meditation to secure their hopes or screen their fears conceived to depend on another life but their own endeavors—which might give Paul an occasion to pronounce them a law to themselves and therefore possibly within the compass of God's secret grace, it being our Saviour's own confession to him that had kept the Commandments that nothing wanted but the sale of his propriety, a term these understand not, having all in common; and if the last part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his master best—he that comes laden with what he is able and goes as far as he can with him, or else he that hath lost it all or is lazy and lies down by the way—acceptance being a far easier grant than pardon.

27. Religions do not naturally differ so much in themselves as fiery and uncharitable men pretend, who do not seldom persecute those of their own creed because they profess it in other terms. Then do not only ask thy conscience what is truth but give her full leisure to resolve thee; for he that goes out of the way with her consent is likelier to find rest than he that plods on without taking her directions.

28. Therefore, do nothing against the counsel of this guide, though she is observed in the world to render her owners obnoxious to the injury and deceit of all that converse without her, nothing being more hard and chargeable to keep than a good conscience.

29. Let no seeming opportunity prevail so far upon your curiosity as to entice you to an inspection into your future fortune, since such inquisitiveness was never answered with good success, the world, like a lottery, affording multitudes of crosses for one prize, which reduced all into a sum must by a necessary consequence render the remainder of life tedious

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in removing present felicities to make room for the contemplation of future miseries.

30. Do not pre-engage hope or fear by a tedious expectation which may lessen the pleasure of the first yet cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whose arrival is commonly with a less train of inconveniences than this her harbinger strives to take up room for, evil fortune being no less inconstant than good. Therefore, render not thyself giddy by poring on despair nor wanton with the contemplation of hope.

31. Stamp not the impress of a divine vengeance upon the death or misfortunes of others though never so prodigious, for fear of penning a satire against yourself in case you should fall under the same chance—many things being taken up for dropped out of an immediate celestial hand that fell from no higher pitch than where God in His providence hath placed such events as wait upon all times and occasions which prayers and prudence are not able always to shroud you from, since upon strict inquiry it may appear that in relation to this world the godly have as little cause to brag as the wicked to complain.

32. Be not easily drawn to lay the foul imputation of witchcraft upon any, much less to assist at their condemnation too common among us. For who is sufficient for these things, since we are as ignorant in the benevolences as malignities of nature, madmen presenting in their melancholy ecstasies as prodigious confessions and gestures as are objected to these no less infatuated people? And if this humor hath so far prevailed with some as to take themselves for urinals, wolves, and what not, can it seem impossible for those invaded by all the causes of discontent to imagine themselves authors of what they never did? Most of these strange miracles they suppose, being hatched by the heat of imagination or snatched out of the huge mass of contingencies, such a multitude of individuals as the world produceth cannot choose but stumble upon. Neither may it be

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admitted with due reverence to the divine nature that prophecy should cease and witches so abound as seems by their frequent executions, which makes me think the strongest fascination is encircled within the ignorance of the judges, malice of the witnesses, or stupidity of the poor parties accused.

33. Be not, therefore, hasty to register all you understand not in the black calendar of hell as some have done the weapon salve, passing by the cure of the king's evil altogether as improbable to sense. Neither rashly condemn all you meet with that contradicts the common received opinion, lest you should remain a fool upon record, as the Pope doth that anathematized the Bishop of Salzburg for maintaining antipodes and the Consistory that may possibly attain the same honor for decreeing against the probable opinion of the earth's motion, since the branding of one truth imports more disrepute than the broaching of ten errors, these being only lapses in the search of new reason without which there can be no addition to knowledge. That a murdering of it, when by others' greater wit and industry it is begotten, not to be accounted less than an unpardonable sin against the spirit of learning; therefore, mingle charity with judgment and temper your zeal with discretion, so may your own fame be preserved without entrenching upon that of others.

34. Fall not out with charity though you find for the most part ingratitude lying at her gate, which God hath contrived the better to reserve requital to Himself.

35. As he offers an high indignity to the divine nature that robs God of His honor by owning thoughts of Him unsuitable to the dictates of reason, the exactest engine we have to measure Him by out of the volume of His word; so doth he offend no less aging probity that detains another's due contrary to justice and the clamors of his own conscience, whereby he makes himself and his posterity heirs to the curse which the wheel of providence, moved by the breath of God's first fiat,

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doth usual stamp upon those that endeavor to deface the impress of goodness and equity which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore, be not forward to promote any destructive tenets or lickerish after such ill-gotten estates as the law of power may for a small sum be wooed to possess you of out of an hope to engage you or a fear they might revert in case they were not diffused amongst a multitude of owners.

36. Make not law or the power you may possibly exercise in the commonwealth instrumental to your private malice, no murders being so bloody as those committed by the sword of justice.

37. Let not the cheapness or convenience of church lands tempt you to their purchase. For though I have not observed vengeance so nimble in this world as divines pretend, yet what prudence is there to submit all your future success to be measured out by so severe expositions as churchmen usually make of sacrilegious persons, which all are registered to be that meddle with their revenues?—besides the danger and shame of refunding in case a contrary zeal should repossess the people, whose clamors and warrant cannot be thought less sufficient to obliterate your title than the former, written, as may be supposed, with more authentic ink.

38. Denounce no enmity against the clergy; for, supported by prayers or policy, they cannot long want an opportunity to revenge themselves. Neither oppose any religion you find established how ridiculous soever you apprehend it; for though like David you may bring unavoidable arguments to stagger a popular error, none but the monster's own sword can cut off the head of one universally received.

39. Run not hooting after every new light you may observe to wander about nor endeavor by a tumultuous dispute to puff it out; for he that will not quench the smoking flax may possibly accept of a lamp composed of no richer stuff than rushes.

40. Grudge not tithes to the teachers of the Gospel assigned

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for their wages by the divine legislator, of whose institutes this was none of the least profound, that the tribe of Levi were prohibited all other revenue than what was deducible out of the tenth part of the other eleven's increase, setting bounds thereby to all the improvement their wisdoms and the tie the priesthood had over the people's consciences might in the future possibly make in causing their maintenance to rise and fall proportionable to the general standard of the nation's felicity, which this limitation obliged them to promote and for their own sakes to oppose all encroachments likely to interrupt their brethren's utility. This prompts me to believe that if the like salary were assigned here we might promise to ourselves the same success, provided the sovereign power reserve in their own hands the collation of benefices without giving leave to any stipendiaries or lecturers that signify little less than an anticlergy. And to persuade this there may be more reason than the narrow project of this discourse is able to find room for.

41. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the superlative wisdom of Moses, who lest one sacrilegious injury should have proved a precedent for a greater—had the people made a benefit by the spoil—employed the censors of Korah and complices to make plates for the altar; but finding the god of idols too rank decently to be used in the service of God, he reduced them to dust and threw them into the river, lest the multitude having been fleshed on a calf, a false deity should after assume the boldness to rob the true one and those His institutes appointed to live by His service.

42. And here it may not improperly be said that Cardinal Wolsey was ignorant of or had forgot this aphorism of policy when he pulled down monasteries to build colleges, by which he instructed that docile tyrant Henry the Eighth to improve the same, there being nothing forwarder to demolish the results of zeal and ignorance than learning and knowledge. Neither did he discover himself a more accomplished courtier

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when he laid the foundation of [a] grave for a living king, who could not be delighted with the sight of a tomb though never so magnificent, having lived in so high a sensuality as I may doubt whether he would then have exchanged it for the joys of heaven itself. I instance in this as a fit example to dissuade you from thinking it discretion or manners to use funereal discourses before princes or men in power, who hate nothing so much as the thought of their own mortality and therefore unlike to be pleased with the messengers of it.

Conclusion

Carriage towards your 1. Mother, 2. Sister, 3. Dr. Cr. 4. Last will. 5, 6. Burial. 7. Death. 8. Judgment. 9. Close of all.

1. Bear always a filial reverence to your dear mother and let not her old age, if she attain it, seem tedious unto you, since that little she may keep from you will be abundantly recompensed not only by her prayers but by the tender care she hath and ever will have of you. Therefore, in case of my death, which weariness of the world will not suffer me to adjourn so much as by a wish, do not proportion your respect by the mode of other sons but to the greatness of her desert beyond requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in love and amity with your sister and in case of need help her what you are able, remembering you are of a piece and hers and yours differ but in name, which I presume (upon want of issue) will not be denied to be imposed on any child of hers you shall desire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his memory that gave you the first tincture of erudition, to which he was more invited by love than profit, no less than his incomparable wife. Therefore, if God make you able, requite them, and in the meanwhile register their names among those you stand most obliged unto.

4. What you leave at your death, let it be without controversy, else the lawyers will be your heirs.

5. Be not solicitous after pomp at my burial, nor use any expensive funeral ceremony by which mourners like crows devour the living under pretense of honoring a dead carcass. Neither can I apprehend a tombstone to add so great a weight of glory to the dead as it doth of charge and trouble to the living, none being so impertinent wasters in my opinion as those

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which build houses for the dead. He that lies under the hearse of heaven is convertible into sweet herbs and flowers that may rest in such bosoms as would shriek at the ugly bugs may possibly be found crawling in the magnificent tomb of Henry the Seventh, which also hinders the variety of such contingent resurrections as unarched bodies enjoy, without giving interruption to that which He that will not again die hath promised to such as love Him and expect His appearing. Besides, that man were better forgotten who hath nothing of greater moment to register his name by than a grave.

6. Contest not with such frantic people as deny men the burial formerly called Christian, since unquietness importunes a living body more than a ceremony can advantage one that is dead. This and an hundred other changes ought not to disturb our rest who are less interested in what can happen after our death than in what was extant before our birth, no books being legible in the grave.

7. Neither can I apprehend such horror in death as some do that render their lives miserable to avoid it, meeting it oftentimes by the same way they take to shun it. Death, if he may be guessed at by his elder brother Sleep (born before he was thought on and fell upon Adam ere he fell from his maker) cannot be so terrible a messenger, being not without much ease if not some voluptuousness. Besides, nothing in this world is worth coming from the housetop to fetch it, much less from the deep grave, furnished with all things because empty of desires.

8. And concerning a future account, I find the bill to swell rather than shrink by continuance; or if a stronger propensity to religion resides in age than youth, which I wish I had no cause to doubt of, it relates more the temperature of the body than any improvement of the mind and so unworthy of any other reward than what is due to the effects of human infirmities.

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9. To conclude, let us serve God with what reverence we are able and do all the good we can, making as little unnecessary work for repentance as is possible. And the mercy of our Heavenly Father supply all our defects in the Son of His love. Amen.

Thus I have left you finished, dear son, a picture of the world—in this at least like it that it is frail and confused, being an original, not a copy, no more foreign help having been employed in it than what my own miserable experience had imprinted in my memory. And as you have by trial already found the truth of some of these, so I most earnestly beg of you to trust the rest without thrusting your fingers like a child into those flames in which your father hath formerly been burnt, and so add by your own purchase to the multitude of inconveniences he is forced to leave you by inheritance.

Now you are taught to live, there's nothing I esteem worth learning but the way to die.

... cared not at all for the idealistic niceties. The distinction and position of Burghley and Raleigh may in part account for the popularity of their manuals in the seventeenth century, long after their deaths, but obviously both works possessed qualities congenial to the age, and readers approved of the way they mingled virtue and pragmatism.

Of the three works, Dr. Wright comments, Osborne's "must be regarded as a literary creation in addition to being a practical manual composed for the use of a particular person."

Advice to a Son is the second of a series, *Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization*, to be published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by Cornell University Press. Original documents — books and manuscripts — from the Tudor and Stuart period, these volumes are designed to throw light on various aspects of the civilization of that era. Each publication will be equipped with a scholarly introduction that will give the historical significance of the document, its importance to its own time, and its value to social historians today.

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