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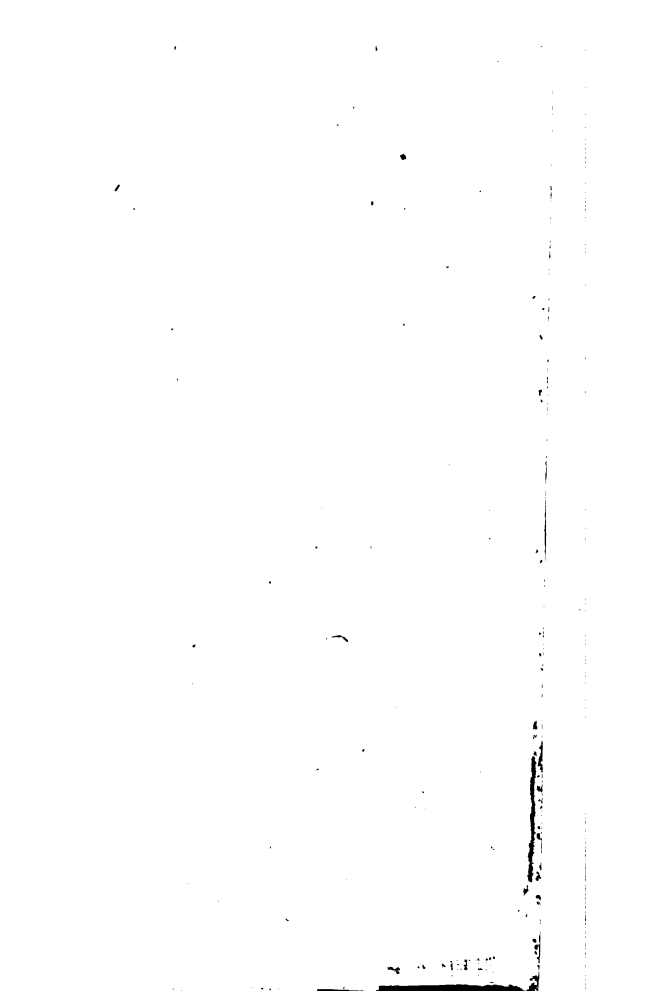
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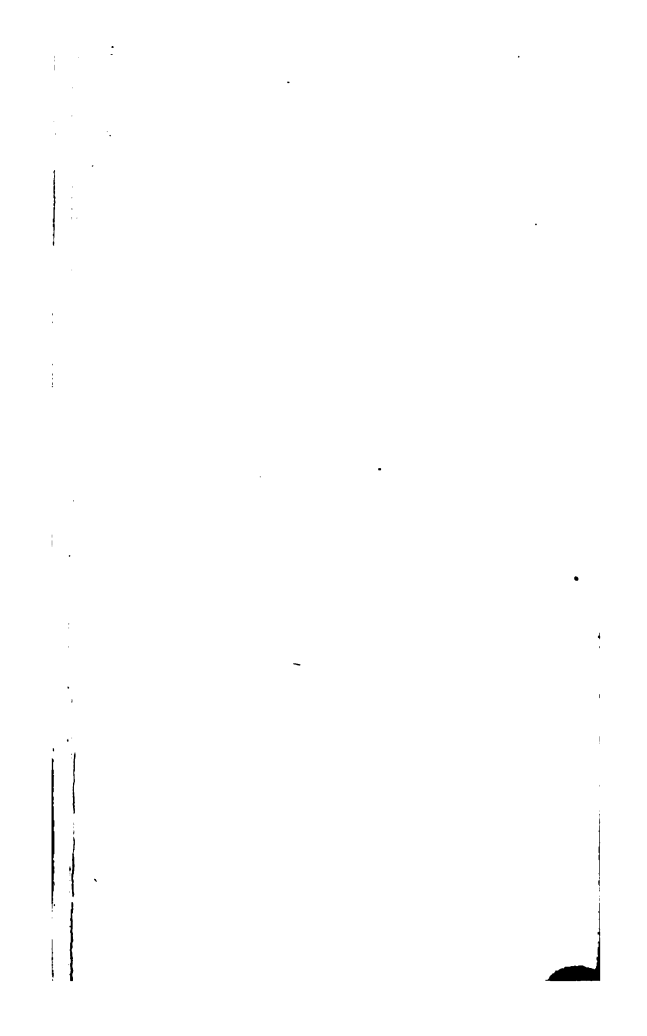
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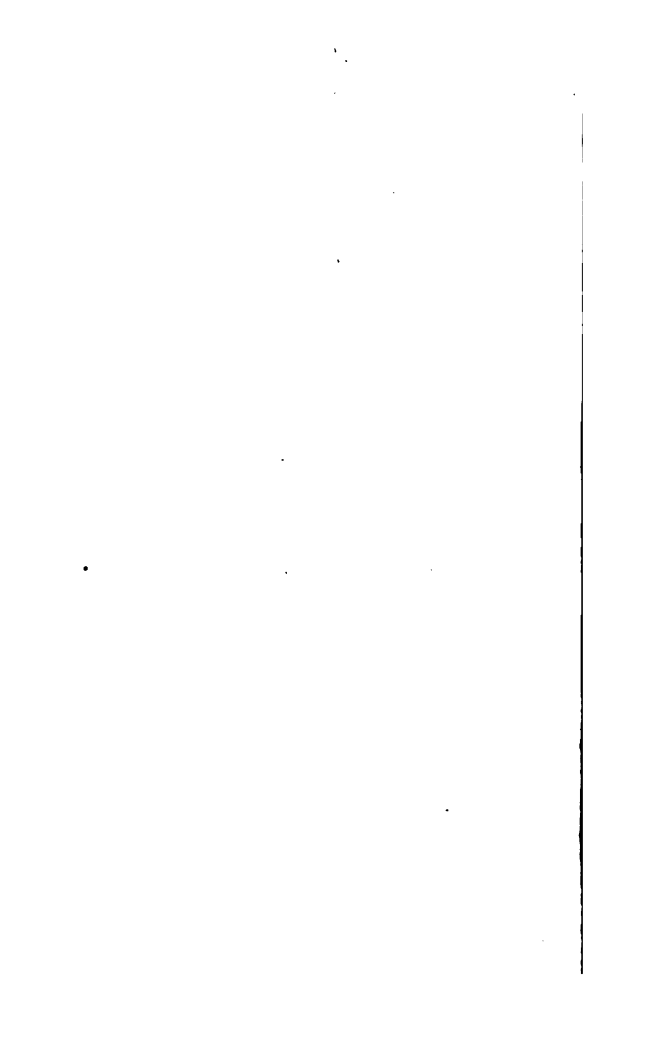
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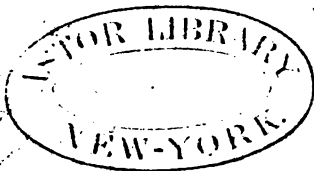






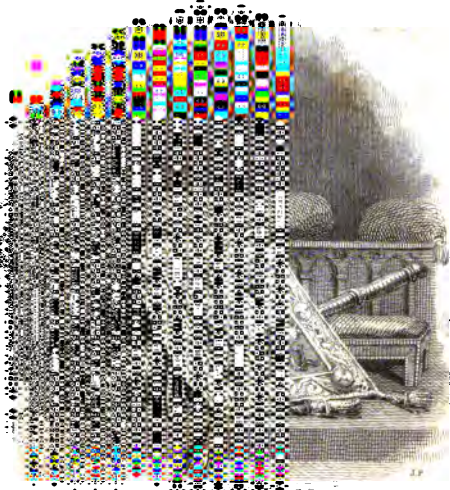
ESSAYS,
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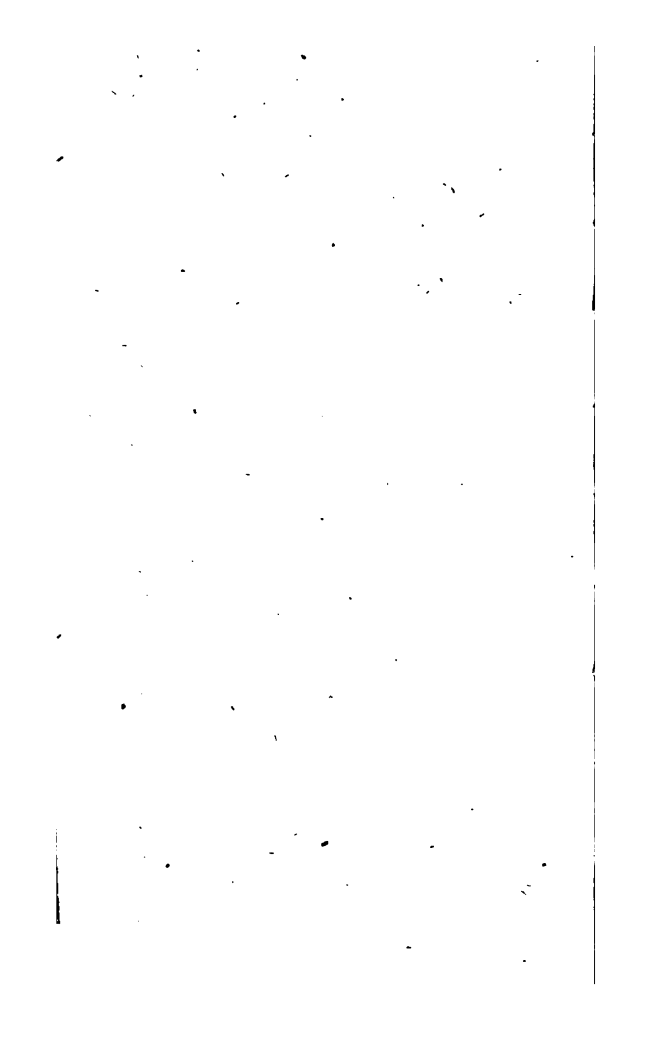
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As an historian, LORD CLARENDON's reputation is too firmly fixed now to be affected by either praise or censure:—If, as a moral writer, he appear with less advantage than his illustrious predecessor, his style, and its lengthened periods, will readily be endured for the soundness of his opinions and the integrity of his mind.

Until within these few years his *ESSAYS*, which now form a suitable companion to those of LORD BACON, were not disengaged from the bulky folio in which only they were to be found: in this edition, it has been thought proper to omit three, which, from their extreme length, rather claim to be considered as dissertations: their titles are, “*On an active and contemplative Life, and when and why the one ought to be preferred before the other;*” “*Of the Reverence due to Antiquity;*” “*Against the multiplying Controversies, by insisting upon Particulars that are not necessary to the Point in Debate.*” These are together equal in quantity to the remaining twenty-two, which form the contents of the present volume.

Sept. 1819.



ESSAYS.

I. OF HUMAN NATURE.

Montpellier, 1668.

THE perpetual fear and agony and apprehension, which wicked men always feel within themselves, is the argument that Epicurus made, that human nature is so far from being inclined to ill, that it abhors all kind of wickedness; “*quia infixi nobis ejus rei aversatio est, quam natura damnavit, ideo nunquam fides latendi fit etiam latentibus;*” and the frequent discoveries of very enormous crimes after long concealments, merely from the unquietness of the offenders’ own breasts, manifests how far our nature is from being delighted with works of darkness, that it cannot rest till they be exposed to light. If we did not take great pains, and were not at great expense to corrupt our nature, our nature would never corrupt us: We administer all the helps of industry and art to provoke our appetites, and to inflame our blood, and then we accuse nature for leading us into excesses; we kindle that fire that kindles our lust with a licentious diet, and then fan it into a flame with obscene discourses, and revile nature that it will not permit us to be chaste; we provoke and cherish our anger with

unchristian principles of revenge, and then inveigh against nature for making us choleric: when, God knows, the little good we have in us, we owe only to the integrity of our nature; which hath restrained us from many vices which our passions would hurry us into. Very many men have remained or become temperate, by the very nauseating and aversion that nature hath to surfeits and excesses; and others have been restrained from making wicked attempts, by the horror and trembling that nature hath suggested to them in the approach. Many excellent men have grown to rare perfections in knowledge and in practice, to great learning, great wisdom, great virtue, without ever having felt the least repugnance in their nature to interrupt them in their progress; on the contrary their inclinations have been strengthened, their vivacity increased, from the very impulsion of their nature: but we may reasonably believe, that never man made a great progress in wickedness, so as to arrive at a mastery in it, without great interruption and contradiction from his natural genius: inso-much as we see men usually take degrees in wickedness, and come not to a perfection in it *per saltum*: which can proceed from nothing but the resistance it finds from the nature of man. And if we do seriously consider, how few men there are who endeavour by art or industry to cultivate that portion which nature hath given them, to improve their understanding, and to correct any infirmity they may be liable to, by so much as abstaining from any vice which corrupts both body and mind; we must conclude that they owe that which is good in themselves to nature, since they have nothing by

their own acquisition. We cannot justly be reproached, that in this magnifying and extolling nature, we do too much neglect and undervalue the influence of God's grace; nature is as much the creation of God as grace is; and it is his bounty that he created nature in that integrity, and hath since restored it to that innocence, or annexed that innocence to it, if it be not maliciously ravished, or let loose, from it. All the particulars mentioned before may properly be called the operation of nature, because they have been often found in those who have had no light of grace, and may be still thought to be the supply of nature in those who seem not to walk by that light; nor is the price of grace at all advanced, or the way to attain it made more clear and easy, by such an affected contempt of nature, which makes us only capable of the other.

II. OF LIFE.

Jersey, 1647.

“So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom,” was the ejaculation of Moses, when he was in full contemplation of the providence and power of God, and of the frailty and brevity of the life of man: And though, from the consideration of our own time, the days allotted for our life, we cannot make any proportionable prospect toward the providence and power of God, no more than we can make an estimate of the largeness and extent of the heavens by the view of the smallest cottage or molehill upon the earth; yet there cannot be a better expedient, at the least

an easier, a thing we believe we can more easily practise, to bring ourselves to a due reverence of that providence, to a due apprehension of that power, and thereupon to a useful disposition of our time in this world, how frail and short soever it is, than by applying ourselves to this advice of Moses, to "learn to number our days." There is not a man that reads, or hears this read, but thinks the lesson may be learned with little pains; nay, that he hath it so perfect, that he needs not learn it: and yet if the best of us would but fix our minds upon it, sadly "number our days," the days which we have or shall have in this world, we could not but, out of that one single notion, make ourselves much the fitter for the next; and if the worst of us would but exercise ourselves in it, but "number our days," we should even in spite of the worst cozen ourselves into some amendment of life, into some improvement of knowledge, into some reformation of understanding: it would not be in our power, nor in His who is ready to assist us in any evil, to continue so weak, so wilful, so wicked as we are; but we should insensibly find such an alteration, as, how much soever we contemn now, we shall thank ourselves for obtaining.

They who understand the original, tell us, that the Hebrew verb, which our interpreters translate into *number*, hath a very large signification, (as that language which is contracted into fewest words extends many words to a marvellous latitude of sense), and that as well as to *number*, it signifies to *weigh*, and to *ponder*, and, thirdly, to *order*, and *appoint*; so that to *number*, or any other single word, I believe, in any other tongue, is far from

expressing to the full the sense of that Hebrew verb; except we could find a word that might signify to *reckon*, to *examine*, and *consider* the nature and the use of every unit in that reckoning, and then to order and appoint it accordingly. And no doubt it was such a numbering, with that circumstance of deliberation, and the other of direction and determination, which Moses here prescribed; and so the duty may seem larger, and at first more full of difficulty, than it did; and that we are not to rest merely in the arithmetical sense of it. But as the setting out is oftentimes more troublesome than the whole journey, and the first disposal of the mind to sobriety and virtue, is more difficult than any progress after in it; so if we but really and severely execute this injunction in the usual and vulgar acceptation of the word, no more but "number our days," by the rules of arithmetic, we should make a progress in the other acceptances too; and we should find evident comfort and benefit from the fruit we should gather from each of those branches.

Without diminishing or lessening the value of a long life, with the meditation that a thousand years are but as yesterday in His sight who made the years and the days; or that not only the longest life that ever any man hath lived, but even the life that the world hath lived since the creation, is but a moment in comparison of that eternity which must be either the reward or punishment of the actions of our life, how short soever it is: if we did but so "number our days" as to consider that we experimentally find the shortness of them; if we did but number the days we have lived, and by

that pregnant evidence of our memory, how soon they are gone, and how insensibly, conclude how very soon so much more time, which possibly would bring us to the utmost of Moses's account of eighty years, will likewise pass away; we could not think the most sure and infallible purchase of twenty or thirty years of life, and the unquestionable fruition of the most heightened pleasures the appetite or fancy can imagine during that term, without any abatement by the interposition of the infirmities and weakness of nature, or the interruption of accidents; so near worth the consenting to any thing that may impair the conscience, or disturb the peace or quiet of the mind, that it were a valuable consideration for the interruption of a night's rest, for the parting with six hours of our sleep; which, though any man could spare, is so much time of our least faultiness: I say, it were not possible seriously to make this estimate in our thoughts, to revolve the uncertainty and brevity of our life, but we should also take an account of ourselves, weigh and ponder the expense of every article of this short precious time, for which we must make so large and exact an account to Him that hath trusted us with it; we should not but (which is no more than the original verb for which we read *number* signifies) do, what one who we are not willing to believe as good a Christian as ourselves long since advised us, "*pretium temporis ponere, diem æstimare,*" consider that every hour is worth at least a good thought, a good wish, a good endeavour; that it is the talent we are trusted with to use, employ, and to improve: if we hide this talent in the dark, that the world cannot see any fruit of it, or

such fruit as we ourselves are afraid to see; if we bury it in the earth, spend it in worldly and sensual designs and attempts; we are those ungrateful and unthrifty stewards, who must expiate this breach of trust in endless torments. And if we were gotten thus far, we could not but, in spite of the most depraved faculty of our understanding, of the most perverse inclination of our appetite, or act of our will, order and dispose of this time right; which is the full extent of the word. So that in truth, if we do not weigh and consider to what end this life is given to us, and thereupon order and dispose it right, pretend what we will to the arithmetic, we do not, we cannot so much as number our days in the narrowest and most limited signification. It is a sharp meditation and animadversion of one, whose writings are an honour to our nation, that the incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune and interest (although therein we could refrain from doing injuries or using evil arts) leaves not the tribute of our time which we owe to God, who demandeth we see a tenth of our substance, and a seventh (which is more strict) of our time; and (says he) it is to small purpose to have an erected face toward Heaven, and a grovelling spirit upon earth. If they who please themselves with believing that they spend their time the least amiss; who have so far the negative practice of conscience, that they abstain from acts of inhumanity and injustice, and avoid doing harm to any body; nay, if they make such a progress into the active part of conscience, as to delight in the civil acts of humanity, and the diffusive acts of charity: I say, if this handful of the world that is thus innocent (and

what dismal account must the other part take of themselves then) would seriously examine and resolve the expense of their own time, they would even wonder at the little good they find in themselves, and not be able to tell to the well-spending of what part of their time those good inclinations are to be imputed. We think it a commendable thing (and value ourselves much upon it) to take great pains, to use much industry, to make ourselves fine gentlemen, to get languages, to learn arts; it may be some for which we are the worse: and we acknowledge, that that is not to be done, nay, any exercise of the body to be learned, or the most mechanic trade, without great pains and industry; but to make ourselves Christians, to know God, and what he expects from us, and what will be acceptable to him, we take not the least pains, use not the least industry. I am persuaded, if many of us, who have lived to good years, did faithfully compute in what particular meditations and actions we have spent our time, we should not be able, amongst the years we have spent in pursuing our pleasures, our profits, our ambition, the days and nights we have dedicated to our lusts, our excesses, the importunities and solicitations we have used to mend our fortunes; we should not be able to set down one hour for every year of our life, I fear not one hour for our whole life, which we have solemnly spent to mend our Christianity; in which we have devoutly considered the majesty and providence and goodness of God, the reason and the end of our own creation; that there is such a place as Heaven for the reward of those who do well, or hell for the punishment of the wicked: for if we

had spent but one hour in the contemplating those particulars, which are the first and most general notions of Christianity, it were not possible but we should be startled out of our lethargic laziness, and should make some progress in the practice of Christianity, as well as in those paths and roads that lead to our pleasure or profit. What is this inadvertency and incogitancy, but to believe that, as we received this badge of Christianity in our infancy when we knew not of it, so it will grow and increase upon us in our sleep and times of leisure, without taking notice of it? that the little water that was thrown upon our face in baptism, was enough to preserve the beauty of God's image in us, without any addition of moisture from ourselves, either by tears in our repentance, or so much as by sweat in our industry and labour? and to declare to all the world, that we hold the life of a Christian to be nothing else, but spending so many days as nature allows us, in a climate where the gospel of Christ is suffered to be preached, how little soever desired to be practised? If we would so "number our days," that is, so consider of them, as to order and dispose some part of our time, one hour in a day, one day in ten, but to think of God, and what he hath done for us; to remember that we are Christians, and the obligation that thereby lies upon us; that there will be a day of judgment, and that we must appear at that day: though it may be it would be a difficult thing at the first, in that set time, to apply our unexercised and uninformed thoughts to so devout and religious an exercise as we should; yet, I say, if we would but so set apart a time for that purpose, as to resolve at that time

constantly to do nothing else, how perfunctorily soever we did that, we should by degrees bring ourselves from sober and humble thoughts, to pious and godly thoughts, till we found ourselves growing to perfect Christians, as to confess we were not worthy of that title before.

Next the sadness of reviewing the expense of our time, in order to our service of God, and the health and prosperity of our souls; it is a melancholy consideration how we spend our time with reference to ourselves, to the obtaining that which we most desire, to consider how our time goes from us; for we are hardly active enough to be thought to spend it. We live rather the life of vegetatives or sensitives, suffer ourselves to grow, and please and satisfy our appetites, than the lives of reasonable men, endued with faculties to discern the natures and differences of things, and to use and govern both. There is not a man in the world, but desires to be, or to be thought to be, a wise man; and yet, if he considered how little he contributes himself thereunto, he might wonder to find himself in any tolerable degree of understanding. How many men are there, nay, in comparison of mankind, how few are there but such, who since they were able to think, and could choose whether they would or no, never seriously spent two hours by themselves in so much as thinking what would make them wiser; but sleep and eat and play, which makes the whole circle of their lives, and are not in seven years together (except asleep) one hour by themselves. It is a strange thing, to see the care and solicitude that is used to strengthen and cherish the body; the study and

industry and skill to form and shape every member and limb to beauty and comeliness; to teach the hands and feet and eyes the order and gracefulness of motion; to cure any defects of nature or accident, with any hazard and pain, insomuch as we oftentimes see even those of the weaker sex, and less inclined to suffering, willingly endure the breaking of a bone that cannot otherwise be made straight; and all this ado but to make a handsome and beautiful person, which at best is but the picture of a man or woman, without a wise soul: when to the information and improvement of that jewel, which is the essence of man; and which unconsidered, even that which we so labour for and are proud of, our beauty and handsomeness, is by many degrees inferior to that of a thousand beasts and other creatures; to the cultivating and shaping and directing of the mind, we give scarce a thought, not an hour of our life; never suppress a passion, never reform an affection; insomuch as (though never age had fewer wise men to shew to the world) we may justly wonder we are not all fools and idiots, when we consider how little we have contributed to make ourselves other: and doubtless if nature (whom we are ready to accuse of all our weaknesses and perversenesses) had not out of her store bountifully supplied us, our own art and industry would never have kept up our faculties to that little vile height they are at. Neither in truth do many believe or understand that there needs any other diligence or art to be applied to the health of the mind, than the sober ordering and disposing of the body; and it is well if we can bring ourselves to that reasonable conclusion. Whereas when we

prescribe ourselves a wholesome and orderly course of diet, for the strengthening of our natures, and confirming our healths; if we would consider what diet to give our minds, what books to read for the informing and strengthening our understandings, and conclude that it is as impossible for the mind to be improved without those supplies, as for the body to subsist without its natural food: if, when we allow ourselves recreations and exercises, to cherish and refresh our spirits, and to waste and dispel humours, without which a well-tempered constitution cannot be preserved, we would allow some exercises to our minds, by a sober and frank conversation with learned, honest, and prudent men, whose informations, animadversions, and experience might remove and expel the vanities and levities which infect our understandings: if when an indisposition or distemper of body, an ill habit of health, calls upon us to take a rougher course with ourselves, to vomit up or purge away those choleric and phlegmatic and melancholic humours, which burn and cloy and suffocate the vital parts and passages; to let out that blood which is too rank, too corrupted for our veins, and to expel those fumes and vapours which hurt our stomachs and ascend to our brains: if we would, I say, as diligently examine the distemper of our minds, revolve the rage and fury of our choler, the dulness and laziness of our phlegm, the sullenness and pride of our melancholy; if we would correct this affection, and draw out that passion; expel those fumes and vapours of ambition which disturb and corrupt our reason and judgment, by sober and serious meditation of the excellency and benefit of patience,

alacrity, and contentedness ; that this affection and this passion is not consistent with sobriety and justice, and that the satisfying them with the utmost licence brings neither ease nor quiet to the mind, which is not capable of any happiness but in, at least not without, its own innocence ; that ambition always carries an insatiableness with it, which is a torment to the mind, and no less a disease than that is to the stomach : in a word, if we would consider, there is scarce a disease, an indisposition, a distemper, by which the body is disturbed, to which, or some influence like it, the mind is not liable likewise ; and that the remedies for the latter are much more natural, more in our power, than for the former ; if we would use but half the diligence and industry to apply them which we do to the other, we should find ourselves another kind of people, our understandings more vigorous, and our lives more innocent, useful, and beneficial, to God, to ourselves, and to our country ; and we should think we had learned nothing, till we had learned “ so to number our days that we might apply our hearts unto wisdom ; ” that wisdom, of which the fear of the Lord is the beginning, and of which the eternal blessing of God is the end and the reward.

III. REFLECTIONS ON THE HAPPINESS WHICH WE MAY ENJOY, IN AND FROM OURSELVES.

Montpellier, 1669.

It was a very just reproach that Seneca charged the world with so many hundred years ago, and

yet was not more the disease of that than of this age, that we wonder and complain of the pride and superciliousness of those who are in place and authority above us; that we cannot get an admittance to them; that they are never at leisure that we may speak to them; when (says he) we are never vacant, never at leisure to speak to ourselves; "*Audet quispiam de alterius superbiâ queri, qui sibi ipse nunquam vacat?*" and after all complaints and murmurs, the greatest and the proudest of them will be sometimes at leisure, may be sometimes spoken with; "*aliquando respexit, tu non inspicerere te unquam, non audire dignatus es;*" we can never get an audience of ourselves, never vouchsafe to confer together. We are diligent and curious enough to know other men; and it may be charitable enough to assist them, to inform their weakness by our instruction, and to reform their errors by our experience: and all this without giving one moment to look into our own, never make an inspection into ourselves, nor ask one of those questions of ourselves which we are ready to administer to others, and thereby imagine that we have a perfect knowledge of them. We live with other men, and to other men; neither with nor to ourselves. We may sometimes be at home left to ourselves, when others are weary of us, and we are weary of being with them; but we do not dwell at home, have no commerce, no conversation with ourselves, nay, we keep spies about us that we may not have; and if we feel a suggestion, hear an importunate call from within, we divert it by company or quiet it with sleep; and when we wake, no man runs faster from an enemy than we do from our-

selves, get to our friends that we may not be with ourselves. This is not only an epidemical disease that spreads every where, but effected and purchased at as great a price as most other of our diseases, with the expense of all our precious time; one moment of which we are not willing to bestow upon ourselves, though it would make the remainder of it more useful to us, and to others upon whom we prodigally consume it, without doing good to them or ourselves: whereas, if we would be conversant with ourselves, and as ingenuous and impartial in that conversation as we pretend to be with other men, we should find that we have very much of that at home by us, which we take wonderful unnecessary pains to get abroad; and that we have much of that in our own disposal, which we endeavour to obtain from others; and possess ourselves of that happiness from ourselves, whether it concerns our ambition or any other of our most exorbitant passions or affections, which more provoke and less satisfy by resorting to other men, who are either not willing to gratify us, or not able to comply with our desires; and the trouble and agony, which for the most part accompanies those disappointments, proceeds merely from our not beginning with ourselves before we repair to others.

It is not the purpose and end of this discourse, to raise such seraphical notions of the vanity and pleasures of this world, as if they were not worthy to be considered, or could have no relish with virtuous and pious men. They take very unprofitable pains, who endeavour to persuade men that they are obliged wholly to despise this world and all

that is in it, even whilst they themselves live here: God hath not taken all that pains in forming and framing and furnishing and adorning this world, that they who were made by him to live in it should despise it; it will be enough if they do not love it so immoderately, to prefer it before Him who made it: nor shall we endeavour to extend the notions of the Stoic philosophers, and to stretch them farther by the help of Christian precepts, to the extinguishing all those affections and passions, which are and will always be inseparable from human nature; and which it were to be wished that many Christians could govern and suppress and regulate, as well as many of those heathen philosophers used to do. As long as the world lasts, and honour and virtue and industry have reputation in the world, there will be ambition and emulation and appetite in the best and most accomplished men who live in it; if there should not be, more barbarity and vice and wickedness would cover every nation of the world, than it yet suffers under. If wise and honest and virtuously-disposed men quit the field, and leave the world to the pillage, and the manners of it to the deformation of persons dedicated to rapine, luxury, and injustice, how savage must it grow in half an age! nor will the best princes be able to govern and preserve their subjects, if the best men be without ambition and desire to be employed and trusted by them. The end therefore of this speculation into ourselves, and conversation with ourselves, is, that we may make our journey towards that which we do propose with the more success; that we may be discreet in proposing reasonable designs, and then

pursue them by reasonable ways; foresee all the difficulties which are probable to fall out, that so we may prevent or avoid them; since we may be sure to master and avoid them to a great degree by foreseeing them, and as sure to be confounded by them, if they fall upon us without foresight. In a word, it is not so to consult with ourselves, as to consult with nobody else; or to dispose us to prefer our own judgment before any other man's: but first, by an impartial conference with ourselves, we may understand first our own mind, what it is we would have, and why we would have it, before we consult with others which way to compass it, that we may set both the matter we desire and the manner of obtaining it before our own eyes, and spend our passions upon ourselves in the disquisition.

It is no wonder that when we are prodigal of nothing else, when we are over-thrifty of many things which we may well spare, we are very prodigal of our time, which is the only precious jewel of which we cannot be too thrifty, because we look upon it as nothing worth, and that makes us not care how we spend it. The labouring man and the artificer knows what every hour of his time is worth, what it will yield him, and parts not with it but for the full value: they are only noblemen and gentlemen, who should know best how to use it, that think it only fit to be cast away; and their not knowing how to set a true value upon this, is the true cause of the wrong estimate they make of all other things; and their ignorance of that proceeds only from their holding no correspondence with themselves, or thinking at all before they be-

gin their journey, before they violently set their affections upon this or that object, until they find they are out of the way, and meet with false guides to carry them farther out. We should find much ease in our pursuits, and probably much better success in our attempts and enterprises in the world, if, before we are too solicitous and set our heart upon any design, we would well weigh and consider the true value of the thing we desire, whether it be indeed worth all that trouble we shall be put to, and all the time we are like to spend in the obtaining it, and upon it after we have obtained it: if this inquisition doth not divert us, as it need not to do, it will the better prepare and dispose us to be satisfied after we have it; whereas nothing is more usual than for men who succeed in their most impatient pretences, to be more unsatisfied with their success than they were before; it is not worth what they thought or were persuaded it would be, so that their appetite is not at all allayed, nor their gratitude provoked, by the obligation; a little previous consideration would have better fitted the mind to contentedness upon the issue, or diverted it from affecting what would not be acceptable when obtained. In the next place, we should do well prudently to consider, whether it be probable that we shall obtain what we desire, before we engage our affections and our passions too deeply in the prosecution of it; not that we may not lawfully affect and prosecute an interest in which it is very probable we may not succeed. Men who always succeed in what they go about, are often the worse for their success; however, we are not naturally delighted with repulses, and are commonly

angry and sottishly offended with those who obtain that for themselves which we would fain have, and as unreasonably with those who favour them, though their merit be above our own; and therefore, besides the consideration of the probability that we may be disappointed of our end, we shall do well to consider likewise the opposition we are like to meet in the way, the power of those persons who are like to disfavour our pretences, and whether our exposing ourselves to their displeasure may not be a greater damage than the obtaining all that we desire will recompense. These and the like reflections will cost us very little time, but infinitely advance and improve our understanding; and if we then conclude it fit to proceed, we shall do it with confidence, and be disturbed with no accident which encounters us, and be prepared to behave ourselves decently upon the repulse, which oftentimes prefers men better than they wished; a virtuous mind appearing with more lustre in the rejection than in the reception of good turns, and consequently reconciling him to those who knew him not enough before.

These considerations will be most impartially and sincerely debated with ourselves, yet they may be properly enough and usefully consulted with very true and faithful friends, if indeed we abound with such treasure. But there is another consideration so proper and peculiar for ourselves, and to be exactly weighed by ourselves, that the most faithful friend is rarely faithful enough to be trusted enough in the disquisition, and, which is worst of all, we do not wish or desire that he should be faithful; that is, whether we are in truth fit and

worthy of the thing we do affect ; if it be an honour, whether it be not too great for us ; if it be an office, whether we are equal to it ; that is, fit and capable to discharge and execute it, or can make ourselves so by the industry and diligence we are like to contribute towards it : this is the examination we come with least ingenuity to, and friends are ingenuous in assisting us in ; and yet is of that importance, that much of the happiness of our life consists in it, many having been made unhappy and even very miserable by preferment, who were in good reputation without it. Tully makes it a necessary ingredient in, or a necessary concomitant of friendship itself, "*Tantum cuique tribuendam est, primum, quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam quantum quem diligas atque adjuves, possit sustinere;*" it is a very imprudent and unjust thing to oblige a friend to do that out of his friendship to thee, which either he cannot do, or not without great prejudice to himself ; but it is an impudent violation of friendship, to importune him to procure a favour to be conferred upon thee which thou canst not sustain ; to put the command of a ship into thy hand, when thou knowest neither the compass nor the rudder. There are as great incongruities and incapacities towards the execution of many offices, which do not appear so gross to the first discovery. This scrutiny cannot be so rigidly and effectually made without well weighing, in the first place, the infinite prejudice that befalls ourselves, if we are incompetent for that place or office which we have by much solicitation obtained, and the unspeakable and irreparable prejudice we have brought upon our friends who obtained it for us.

How many men have we known, who, from a reservedness in their nature, have been thought to observe much, and by saying little have been believed to know much; but when they have got themselves into an office, and so been compelled to speak and direct, have appeared weak and ignorant, and incapable of performing their duty; and so must either be removed, to their own shame and reproach, or be continued, to the public detriment and dishonour? How much better had it been for such men to have remained unknown and secure under the shadow of their friends' good opinion, than to have been exposed to the light, and made known only by the discovery of their incredible ignorance! We have known many men who, in a place to which they have been unhappily promoted, have appeared scandalously insufficient; but being removed to another have discharged it with notable abilities: yet there was nothing new in himself; if he had asked advice of himself, he would have known all that hath fallen out since so much to his prejudice. He who hath credit with his prince, or with his friend, to prefer or recommend a man to his near and entire trust, hath a great trust himself reposed in him, which he is obliged to discharge with the utmost circumspection and fidelity; and if he be swayed by the confidence and importunity, or corrupted by his own affection, and recommends thee to an employment, which when thou art possessed of thou canst not discharge, with what confusion must he look upon him whom he hath deceived and betrayed, or can he ever look again to be depended upon or advised with upon the like affair? Doing good offices and good turns (as

men call it) looks like the natural effect of a noble and a generous nature. Indeed the inclination to it is an argument of generosity ; but a precipitate entering upon the work itself, and embracing all opportunities to gratify the pretences of unwary men, is an evidence of a light and easy nature, disposed, at other men's charges, to get himself well spoken of.

They who revolve these particulars, cannot but think them worthy a very serious examination ; and must discern, that by entering into this strict consultation with themselves in or before the beginning of any business, they shall prevent much trouble and labour which they shall not be able afterwards to avoid : nor can they prudently or so successfully consult with others, before they first deliberate with themselves the very method and manner of communicating with another, how much a friend soever ; what concerns one's self requiring as much consideration as the matter itself. But there is another benefit and advantage that results from this intercourse and acquaintance with ourselves, more considerable than any thing which hath been said, which is, that from this communication he takes more care to cultivate and improve himself, that he may be equal and worthy of that trust which he reposes in himself, and fit to consult with and govern himself by ; he gets as much information from books and wise men, as may enable him to answer and determine those doubtful questions which may arise ; he extinguishes that choler and prejudice which would interrupt him in hearing, and corrupt him in judging what he hears. It is a notable injunction that Seneca imposes, who knew as well as any man what man could bring himself

to, "Dum te efficit eum, coram quo peccare non audeas;" the truth is, he hath too little reverence for himself, who dares do that in his own presence, which he would be ashamed, or not dare to do before another man; and it is for want of acquaintance with ourselves, and revolving the dignity of our creation, that we are without that reverence. Who, that doth consider how near he is of kin to God himself, and how excellently he is qualified by him to judge aright of all the delusions and appearances of the world, if he will employ those faculties he hath adorned him with; that nobody is able to deceive him, if he doth not concur and contribute to the deceiving himself: I say, who can consider and weigh this, and at the same time bury all those faculties of the discerning soul in sensual pleasures, laziness, and senseless inactivity, and as much as in his power, and God knows there is too much in his power, to level himself with the beasts that perish? It is a foolish excuse we make upon all occasions for ourselves and other men, in our laboured and exalted acts of folly and madness, that we can be no wiser than God hath made us, as if the defects in our will were defects in his providence; when in truth God hath given us all that we will make ourselves capable of, that we will receive from him. He hath given us life, that is time, to make ourselves learned, to make ourselves wise, to make us discern and judge of all the mysteries of the world: if we will bestow this time, which would supply us with wisdom and knowledge, in wine and women, which corrupt the little understanding that nature hath given us; if we will barter it away for skill in horses, dogs, and hawks;

and if we will throw it away in play and gaming; it is from our own villany that we are fools, and have rejected the effects of his providence. It is no wiser an allegation, that our time is our own, and we may use it as we please: there is nothing so much our own that we may use it as we please; we cannot use our money, which is as much, if not more, our own than any thing we have, to raise rebellion against our prince, or to hire men to do mischief to our neighbours; we cannot use our bodies, which, if any thing, are our own, in duels or any unlawful enterprize: and why should we then believe that we have so absolute and sovereign a disposal of our time, that we may choose whether we will dispose it to any thing or no? It were to be wished that all men did believe, which they have all great reason to do, that the consumption and spending of our time will be the great inquisition of the last and terrible day; when there shall be a more strict enquiry how the most dissolute person, the most debauched bankrupt, spent his time, than how he spent his estate; no doubt it will then manifestly appear, that our precious time was not lent us to do nothing with, or to be spent upon that which is worse than nothing; and we shall not be more confounded with any thing, than to find that there is a perfect register kept of all that we did in that time; and that when we have scarce remembered the morrow what we did yesterday, there is a diary in which nothing we did is left out, and as much notice taken when we did nothing at all. This will be a sad animadversion when it is too late, and when probably it may appear that the very idle man, he who hath never employed himself, may be in a

very little better condition than he who hath been worst employed ; when idleness shall be declared to be a species of wickedness, and doing nothing to be the activity of a beast. There cannot therefore be too serious or too early a reflection upon the good husbandry of this precious talent, which we are entrusted with, not to be laid out in vain pleasures whereof we are ashamed as soon as we have enjoyed them, but in such profitable exchanges that there may be some record of our industry, if there be none of our getting.

The truth is, if incogitance and inadvertence, not thinking at all, not considering any thing (which is degrading ourselves as much as is in our power from being men, by renouncing the faculties of a reasonable soul) were not our mortal disease, it might be believed that the consumption of our time proceeds only from the contempt we have of wisdom and virtue ; for in order to any thing else we employ it well enough. How can we pretend that we desire to be wise, when we do no one thing that is in order to it ; or that we love virtue, when we do not cultivate any one affection that would advance it, nor subdue any one passion that destroys it ? We see the skill and perfection in the meanest and lowest trade is obtained by industry and instruction and observation, and that with all that application very much time is necessary to it ; and can we believe that wisdom, which is the greatest perfection and highest operation of the soul, can be got without industry and labour ? Can we hope to find gold upon the surface of the earth, when we dig almost to the centre of it to find lead and tin and the coarser metals ? It is very wonderful, if it be not very ridiculous, to

see a man take great pains to learn to dance, and not to be at leisure to learn to read; that man should set a very high esteem upon the decent motion and handsome figure of the body, and undervalue the mind so much as not to think it worth any pains or consideration to improve the faculties thereof, or to contribute to its endowments; and yet all men's experience supplies them with evidence enough, that the excellent symmetry of the body, a very handsome outside of a man, doth too frequently expose men to derision and notorious contempt, when so gross defects of the mind are discovered, as make the other beauty less agreeable by being more remarkable: whereas, on the contrary, the beauty of the mind doth very frequently reconcile the eyes and ears of all men to the most unpromising countenances, and to persons nothing beholden to nature for any comeliness; yet the wisdom and gravity of their words in persuading and convincing, and the sincerity and virtue of their actions, extort an esteem and reverence from all kind of men, that no comely and graceful outside of a man could ever attain to. It is not to be wished, that men took less care of their bodies than they do; they cannot be too solicitous to preserve their health, and to confirm it, by preventing those diseases which the excess and corruption of humours are naturally the causes of, with timely physic and seasonable application of remedies, and, above all, by strict and wholesome diet; health is so inestimable a blessing and benefit, that we cannot take too much pains, nor study too much, to obtain and preserve it: but the grief is, that the whole care is laid out for the body, and none at all for the mind; that we are so jealous of every altera-

tion in our constitution, of every light indisposition of our body, that we too commonly apply cures when there are no diseases, and cause the sickness we would prevent: when, at the same time, there are twenty visible diseases and distempers of our mind, which we never look after nor take care of, though they would be more easily cured than the other, and being cured, would yield that infinite pleasure and satisfaction to the body, that sickness itself could not deprive it of. Dost thou find laziness and excess of sleep affect thy body? And dost thou find exercise and moderate labour revive thy spirits, and increase thy appetite? Examine thy mind, whether it hath not too much emptiness, whether it can *cogitandi ferre laborem*, whether it can bear the fatigue of thinking, and produce any conclusion from thence; and then administer a fit diet of books to it, and let it take air and exercise in honest and cheerful conversation, with men that can descend and bow their natures and their understandings to the capacity and to the indisposition and weakness of other men. A sour and morose companion is as unnatural a prescription to such a patient, as the exercise of tennis is to a man who hath broken a vein, when any violent motion may be mortal. If thy mind be loose, and most delighted with vain and unclean discourses and unchaste desires, prescribe it a diet of contemplation upon the purity of the nature of God, and the injunction he hath given us to live by, and the frequent conquest men have made thereby upon their own most corrupt and depraved affections; and let it have its exercise and recreation with men of that severity, that restrain all ill discourse by the gravity of their

presence, and yet of that candour as may make them agreeable to those who must by degrees be brought to love them, and to find another kind of pleasure; yet pleasure that hath a greater relish in their company, than in those they have been most accustomed to. Men give over the diseases of the mind as incurable; call them infirmities of nature, which cannot be subdued, hardly corrected; or substantial parts of nature, that cannot be cut off, or divided from our humanity; that anger is the result of a generous nature, that will not, ought not to submit to injuries and affronts; that lust is so inseparable from our nature, that nothing but want of health can allay it; that there is no other way to cure the disease but to kill the patient; that it proceeds not from any virtuous habit of the mind, where these natural affections and appetites do not prevail, but from some depraved constitution of the body, which stifles and suppresses those desires, for want of that moisture and heat that should nourish them; and that conscience hath no more to do in the conquest, than courage hath an operation in him who takes an enemy prisoner who lies prostrate at his feet: whereas all those, and other diseases of the mind, for diseases they are, are much more curable than those of the body, and so much the more as they are most subject to our own administration; when we must resort to the skill and ability of other men to devise and compound proper remedies for the other cure. Many accidents of heat or cold or diet, or the very remedies prescribed, very often make the diseases of the body incurable, and the recovery impossible; whereas the application to the mind, though unskilfully and unseasonably made,

does no harm if it does no good, and the mind remains still as capable of the same or other medicines as it was before. Nor is there any enormous or unruly infirmity so annexed to or rooted in our nature, but that the like hath been frequently severed from or eradicated out of it, by virtuous and conscientious precepts and practice; and every man's observation and experience supplies him with examples enough, of men far from sobriety, who, to comply with some infirmity, have forborn all wine and intemperance for some months; and of others of no restrained appetites, who, upon the obligation of a promise or virtuous resolution, have abstained a longer time from any acts of uncleanness; and whosoever can impose such a law upon himself for so many months, can do the same for so many years; a firm and magnanimous resolution can exercise that discipline upon the mind, that it shall never make any excursions from reason and good behaviour. If they can be brought but *laborem ferre cogitandi*, the worst is over, and their recovery is not desperate.

Since then it is and may be made evident enough, that the greatest infirmities and deformities of the mind may be reformed and rectified by industry and reasonable applications, there can be but one reason why there is so little used in those cases, since all men desire to be wise, or to be reputed wise; and that is, that there is no need of it: nature's store and provision is sufficient; conversation with witty men, and an ordinary observation of the current and conduct of business, will make men as wise as they need to be; and the affectation of books doth but introduce pedantry into the man-

ners of men, and make them impertinent and troublesome; that men of great learning in books are frequently found to be the most incompetent judges or advisers in the most important transactions of the affairs of the world, and of the interest of states. And by this unreasonable jolly discourse, and contempt of the learned languages, there seems to be a combination entered into against learning, and against any such education as may dispose them to it; as if the excellent endowments of nature would be eclipsed by reading books, and would hinder them from learning more in the company they might keep than they can obtain from other, and that the other method makes them men much sooner: and upon this ground, which hath gotten too much countenance in the world, the universities and inns of court, which have been the seminaries out of which our ancestors have grown to be able to serve their country with great reputation and success, are now declined as places which keep hopeful youth too long boys, and infect them with formalities and impertinent knowledge, of which they shall have little use, and send them out late and less prepared for and inclined to those generous qualifications, which are most like to raise their fortunes and their reputations. Which sure is a very great error, and hath been the source from whence many mischiefs have flowed. And to speak first of this extolled breeding in good company, and travel into foreign parts before they know any thing of their own country; and getting the vice and the language of that, before they can secure themselves from the one, or understand their own native tongue; we have the knowledge and experience of

many, who have indeed the confidence and presumption of men, but retain the levity and folly of children: and if they are able to disguise those weaknesses, and appear in their behaviour and discourse earlier men than others of their age seem to be (as it many times falls out, especially in men endowed with any principles of modesty,) yet those very early men decay apace, for want of nourishment at the roots; and we too frequently see those who seem men at twenty years of age, when the gaiety of their youth decays, and themselves grow weary of those exercises and vanities which then became them, become boys at thirty; having no supply of parts for business, or grave and sober conversation, they then grow out of love with themselves, and too soon lament those defects and impotency in themselves, which nothing but some degree of learning and acquaintance with books could have prevented. And to say that they can fall to it afterwards, and recover the time they have lost when they will, is no more reasonable (though there have been some very rare examples of such industry) than to imagine that a man, after he is forty years of age, may learn to dance as well as if he had begun it sooner. He who loves not books before he comes to thirty years of age, will hardly love them enough afterwards to understand them. The conversation with wise and good men cannot be overvalued; it forms the mind and understanding for noble and heroical undertakings, and is much to be preferred before the mere learning of books, in order to be wise; but where a good foundation of the knowledge and understanding of books is first laid, to support the excellent super-

structure of such conversation, the advance must be made much more advantageously, than when nothing but the ordinary endowments of nature are brought to be cultivated by conversation ; which is commonly chosen with men of the same talents, who gratify one another with believing that they want not any extraordinary improvement, and so join together in censuring and condemning what they do not understand, and think that men have only better fortune than they who have got credit, without being in any degree wiser than themselves.

It is very true, there have been very extraordinary men in all nations, who, by their great experience, and a notable vivacity of spirit, have not only attained to eminent promotion, but have been exceedingly worthy of it ; albeit they have been upon the matter illiterate, as to the learning of books and the learned languages ; but then they have been eminently industrious ; who, having had the good fortune to be educated in constant labour, under wise and experienced men, have, by indefatigable pains and observation, gotten the learning of business without the learning of books, and cannot properly be accounted illiterate, though they know little Latin or Greek. We speak of books and learning, not of the language in which they are writ. The French and the Italian and the Spanish have many excellent books of all kinds ; and they who are well versed in those languages, may be very learned, though they know no others : and the truth is, the French, whether by the fertility of their language, or the happy industry of many excellent persons, have translated most good authors both of the Greek and Latin, with that admirable

facility, that little of the spirit and vigour even of the style of the best writers is diminished; an advantage the English industry and curiosity hath not yet brought home to that nation: they who have performed that office hitherto, for the most part, having done it for profit, and to live, without any delight in the pains they take; and though they may have had some competent knowledge of the language out of which they have translated, have been very far from understanding their own mother-tongue, and being versed in the fruitful productions of the English language. But though learning may be thus attained by many nations in their own proper dialect, and the language of their own country, yet few men who take the pains to search for it in their own, but have the curiosity to look into the original, and are conversant in those which are still, and still will be, called the learned languages; nor is yet any man eminent for knowledge and learning, that was not conversant in other tongues besides his own; and it may be those two necessary sciences, that is, the principles of them, grammar and logic, can very hardly be so well and conveniently taught and understood as by Latin. It shall serve my turn, and I shall willingly comply with and gratify our beloved modern education, if they take the pains to read good books in that language they understand best and like most; I had almost said, if they will read any books, be so much alone as reading employs; if they will take as much pains to be wise and polish their minds, as they do to order and dispose their clothes and their hair; if they will put that constraint upon themselves in order to be learned, as they do to attain to a per-

fection in any bodily exercise ; and, lastly, which is worth all the rest, if they will as heartily endeavour to please God, as they do those for whom they have no great affection, every great man whose favour they solicit, and affect being good Christians, as much as they do to be fine gentlemen, they shall find their labour as much less, as their reward and recompense will be greater. If they will not do this, they must not take it ill if it be believed, that they are without knowledge that their souls are to outlive their bodies ; and that they do not so much wish to go to Heaven, as to get the next bet at play, or to win the next horse-race they are to run.

To conclude : If books and industry will not contribute to their being wise, and to their salvation, they will receive from it (which they value more) pleasure and refreshment in this world ; they will have less melancholy in the distress of their fortune, less anxiety in the mortification of sickness ; they will not so much complain for want of company, when all their companions forsake them ; their age will be less grievous unto them ; and God may so bless it, without any intention of their own, that such thoughts may insensibly insinuate themselves into them, that they may go out of the world with less dismal apprehensions, and conclude their neglected lives with more tranquillity of spirit, at least not be so much terrified with the approach of death, as men who have never entertained any sober thoughts of life have used to be, and naturally must be.

IV. OF IMPUDENT DELIGHT IN WICKEDNESS.

If it be too great a mastery to pretend to, over our own passions and affections, to restrain them from carrying us into any unlawful desire, and from suffering that desire to hurry us into some unlawful action, which is less perfection than every good Christian is obliged to endeavour to arrive at; if some sin knock so loud and so impetuously at our breast, or our blood, that it even forces its entrance, in spite of any resistance we can make for the present, let it at least find such a reception as we would give to an enemy, who doth in truth enter into our habitation by force, though he doth subdue us; let it not have the entertainment of a friend, of a companion for whose presence we were solicitous: if we want power and strength to reject it, let us dismiss it with such a rudeness, that it may not promise it a better welcome and reception. It was some degree of modesty in Job's adulterer, (xxiv. 25.) when his "eye waited for the twilight, saying, No eye shall see me, and disguised his face," that he was so far ashamed of the sin he acted, that he desired to conceal the suspicion of it from other men; though he had the guilt within himself, he abhorred the being made an example to corrupt others. Whilst there is any shame remaining upon the spirit of a transgressor, any blush discovers itself after the guilt, there is hope of the subduing and conquering that temptation; and that at last it may grow ^{ay,} to such a detestation of the transgression itself, and of himself for transgressing, that it may even recover his lost innocence, that is,

repair the state and integrity of it. The most severe philosopher, who thought human nature strong enough to suppress and extinguish all temptation, had yet great compassion for him, "qui adhuc peccare erubescit;" he thought it worth the care of philosophy itself, "ut nutriendus esset hic pudor," that this disinclination and bashfulness towards vice should be so cherished and nourished, that it should not discover itself to be discerned under any other notion than of pure virtue, till it recovered strength enough to 'be so; and without doubt, whilst this bashfulness possesses any place in us, till the custom and malice of sin hath totally subdued the shame for sinning, there is a war kept up that may drive sin from every corner and angle of our hearts: and it may be, there have not been more men recovered and reformed by the counsels and animadversions of others, than by their own severe recollections, and reflections upon their own transgressions, and their own observations of the nature and insinuation of sin, and of the unquietness and uneasiness of it, even when it is complied with, and of the restlessness and importunity of it after it is satisfied; "Ipsæ voluptates eorum tepidæ et variis terroribus inquietæ sunt, subitque, cum maxime exsultant, sollicita expectatio; Hæc quam diu?" They who hearken to the voice of their own consciences, and take notice of the reluctance of their own spirit in the very moment they enjoy the pleasures they most delight in, need no other remembrancers, and easily disengage themselves from all its allurements. But alas! we live in an age wherein vice is not taught so perfunctorily, as to be in danger to be dislodged after it is once en-

tered and received ; the devil is too good a husband, to venture a beloved sin upon a constitution capable of being ashamed of his guests ; he secures himself in that point, by choosing such proselytes as will first brag of having committed some notorious sins, before he admits them to the pleasure and guilt of them, that so the shame of being discovered to be liars may harden their faces against all other shame ; the fame of being eminently wicked hath mastered and suppressed the infamy of it ; and many would rather be without the pleasure of the sins they most delight in, than without the pleasure of publishing and bragging of them after the commitment ; as if there would be too much innocence left, if there should not be an equal proportion of impudence planted in its place. This is it which makes us excel in all lewdness, and our youth doctors in those faculties of wickedness, which were understood in former times by some few discarded ruffians, who were banished the conversation of mankind, and of the sun itself. We travel into foreign countries, not to improve our own manners, but to learn the worst of theirs, and to transplant them carefully into our own climate ; where we cultivate and polish them, that we may excel all nations in their own peculiar vices : and we have so much modesty, as to suspect that our own fancy and invention is not fertile enough to contribute improvement enough to them ; and so bring them into conference and conversation with more experienced gamesters, that we may be sure to make the most of them, and imp them out with texts of Scripture with all profaneness and blasphemy, that there may appear no want of deliberation and industry in

the progress we have made towards hell and damnation.

It were very well for Christianity if there were half that reverence reserved for religion, that the philosopher was assured would be always paid to that science which indeed he looked upon as religion, and defined it to be wonderful like it; "*Nunquam in tantum convalescet, nunquam sic contra virtutes conjurabitur, ut non philosophiæ nomen venerabile et sacrum maneat:*" and indeed, this modesty and respect to, or for, our religion, was never so near rooted out of the hearts of men, since the name of religion was first heard of in the world, as it is in the present age and present practice in most nations which call themselves Christians; when poetry itself doth not administer so frequent occasions of mirth as religion doth; nor are the sayings of the poets so often applied to the most scurrilous and profane exercises of wit, as the Scripture itself is; nor indeed is any wit so grateful and acceptable as that which is so polluted: so that it is no breach of charity, to believe that too many read the Scripture, and very industriously, only that they may be readier to apply not only the phrase and expressions, but the highest mysteries contained in the whole body of the Scripture, to the most wicked, profane, and scurrilous and blasphemous subjects. Nor will they take it ill to have this believed of them, the number and quality of the offenders carrying before it an impunity for the offence; so that there may shortly be too much reason to fear that it may be dangerous to let the kingdom know "*quanto plures mali sint;*" since, as the same philosopher observed, " *pudorem rei tollit multi-*

udo peccantium, et desinit esse probri loco, commune maledictum." It is high time for the sovereign power to be very vigilant and severe, when such conspiracies and combinations grow so strong; nor can there be a greater manifestation of the contempt of the government, than when great and notorious vices obtain credit and reputation.

V. OF DRUNKENNESS.

THAT drunkenness is a sin of very great antiquity, needs no other evidence, than that, for aught appears, it was the first sin that was committed after the flood; and it may be, the first punishment that was inflicted upon it was the best proportioned to the crime; and if it had been ever prosecuted upon the continuance and propagation of it since, it is probable that vice had not flourished in so many ages to this time, when it remains more strong and vigorous, and in more credit and reputation, than it had in its beginning; because it hath not the same penalty inflicted upon it since, which was, a mockery and contempt. Not that mockery which is now so much applied to it, and by which it is cherished and propagated by mirth and laughter, and looking upon it as a commendable, at least a pardonable, effect of good-fellowship: it was another kind of mocking which God prescribed, by permitting, when he made the first drunken man (who had been so much in his favour) to become by it ridiculous to his own son, and permitted his own child unnaturally to contemn his father; as if it were but justice, that his own flesh and blood should withdraw the duty due to a parent, who

had divested himself of his manhood to become beast. It was the third part of the world that the manifested this contempt towards that excessiv debauchery, and the other two parts did but conceal it : and though the presumption in so near relation as a son was not excusable, his piety can not justify such a contempt ; yet the contempt it self, as it was the first, so it is the best and most sovereign remedy that the wisdom of a state can prescribe for the suppressing and eradicating that enormity, that a dissolute and a drunken man be looked upon with scorn, and as unworthy to be received into the company or employment of honest and virtuous persons ; that he who delights to degrade himself from being a reasonable creature, be degraded from the capacity of exercising any office, for the support whereof the use of reason is constantly necessary ; and that he be exposed to a universal contempt, who exposes himself to discredit his creation, and to drive that reasonable soul from him that only distinguishes him from a beast. And till this peculiar penalty be, by a general consent of all worthy men as well as magistrates, applied to this race of impudent transgressors, this affected wickedness will never be extirpated, but involve whole nations in the infamy, though particular men may be free from the guilt of the excess.

The succeeding stages of the world never found so proper a remedy for this malady, though something was always done to make it odious and terrible to those who affected it. By the Levitical law, if the father and the mother did bring their son before the elders of the city, and say, This our son is a glutton and a drunkard, all the men of the city

shall stone him with stones that he die; yet this severity did not root out that vice from that people, an excess of wine still wrought the same effects: and it is probable the severity of the law made men less solicitous for the execution of it; parents chose rather to keep a drunken son than to have no son at all, to have him put to death; and an excess of rigor in the punishment rather makes faults to be secretly concealed, than not to be committed. And this may be the reason that in the time of Solomon, who, amongst his multitude of vices, we do not find as given to drunkenness, a less severe judgment was denounced against it, yet more like to reform: "The drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty," says he, (Prov. xxiii. 21.) Let but that be made good, and the cure is wrought; no man ever affected a vice that he believed would inevitably make him a beggar; the gamester, who most naturally falls into it, is very solicitous to avoid it, and plays that he may be rich; and the lustful person, though he may fear diseases, sees no cause to apprehend poverty, by giving satisfaction to his appetite. No vicious man considers Heaven so much, as to foresee the punishment that may fall from thence upon his excesses; and therefore let Solomon pronounce what he will, the drunkard will never be terrified with the fear of beggary, whilst he sees rich and great men affected with the same pleasure with which he is delighted and reproached, and to whom it may be he stands more commended by his faculty in drinking than he would be by the practice of any particular virtue. Nor can the public laws and penalties of any state execute Solomon's

sentence, and reduce those riotous transgressors to poverty, whilst the magistrates and great ministers without whose influence those dead laws have no vigour, are accustomed to the same excesses, or indulgent to those who are: they are so far from believing that they shall be the poorer by it, that they look upon it as the only antidote that can expel the poison of poverty, and the only remedy that can redeem and buoy them up from the abyss into which the melancholy of want usually casts those who are in distress: they think they have a piece of Scripture more canonical than Solomon's practice, of the verity whereof they have such real experience in the panegyric they find in Esdras, which, instead of being cast into poverty, raised the poorest among them to the state and condition of kings: "Wit maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one, of the bondman and of the free man, of the poor man and of the rich. It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt; and maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh all speak all things by talents;" (1 Esdr. iii. 19, 20, 21.) And if in truth this prerogative be confirmed by the condescension of great men to this equality in prostituting themselves to the same base excess if this rebellious transportation of jollity, and this pleasant dream of wealth and security, be not awakened by some severe and sensible chastisement the Apocrypha will be preferred as the truer Scripture, and men will not, by the gravity (which they call the morality) of a few sober men, be irrecon-

ciled with the vice that brings them into so good company, and in which they enjoy so many pleasant hours.

We may reasonably believe, that in our Saviour's time this unmanly excess was grown to a very great height, by the most terrible judgment denounced against it by St. Paul (1 Cor. vi. 10.) "That no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God." A man must be in a perpetual drunkenness, that doth not discern the treachery of that wine which raises that mirth and jollity, which makes him forget the King of kings, and this inevitable sentence that he must undergo for that minute of contemptible mirth to which he sacrifices his miserable soul. What remedy can God himself prescribe against our destruction, if so plain and clear and unquestionable determination cannot fright us from this unworthy and devouring excess? And those men must be very ambitious to be damned, who make appointments, and meet to be drunk, that they may not be disappointed of the other. Nor can this desperate appetite consist but in a mind wholly possessed with contempt of Heaven, and all hope of salvation: and yet St. Paul seems to resort to the old primitive punishment as the most like to prevent this last unavoidable one, to try if contempt and disdain can draw men from that which hell-fire cannot terrify them from: "And now I have written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a drunkard; with such an one, no, not to eat." To be a Christian and a drunkard was such a contradiction, to put off the man and retain the Christian was such a mockery, that he who affected it was not thought fit for any part of human society.

It is not from original sin, or the corrupt nature of mankind, but from the corruption of their manners, from wicked and licentious education, that men are more afraid of any temporal disgrace, any present disadvantage, than of eternal punishment: they cannot be induced to believe that their lives are near an end, whilst they enjoy health and vigour of mind; and damnation is a thing so far off, and, as they believe, easy to be compounded for in the last moment of life, besides the putting it off by not thinking of it, that few men displease themselves by any apprehension of it; and therefore it must be some present uneasiness, some incapacity upon earth as well as in heaven, that must magisterially reform men from this noisome malady. If, as persons overgrown with the infection of leprosy, they be excluded from the courts of princes and the chambers of great men; if they were made incapable of any dignity or office, or of being admitted into the company of gentlemen, by a declared reproach upon all who shall presume to keep them company; if the observation and experience that men of excellent parts do, in few years, become fools by excessive drinking, could prevail with others to believe that they shall, from the same surfeits, be rendered inferior in their understanding to all who are more temperate than they, and thereby grow unfit as well as unworthy for those employments they pretend to; these castigations and these reflections might possibly make such impression upon the minds of those who are possessed with this frenzy, together with a combination of all noble and generous persons against them, that this unchristian brutality, which dishonours all nations where it is

permitted, would be rooted out, or confined to that sordid sort of men, which, being abandoned by their own lusts and excesses, are not looked upon as a noble part of any Christian nation, but ranked amongst the dregs of the people. And truly if such a collection were made and published; as very many men's own experience and observation can produce of the public mischief and ruin that hath befallen states in the discovery of counsels, and the lessening and alienating the affection and reverence that is due to the government, by this single vice of drunkenness; that hath befallen armies in having their quarters beaten up, their towns surprised, their forts betrayed, and the whole discipline which should preserve them dissolved by the pernicious excess of drink in the generals and principal officers; that hath befallen private families, in the quarrels, breach of friendship, and murders, which have had no other original or foundation but drunkenness; men could not but conclude, that it is a sin that God is wonderfully offended with, and a scourge that he chastises all those with who are delighted in it, and would abhor both it and them proportionably; and that they can have no peace with God or man, who do not labour with all their faculties to drive it out and keep it out of their families, their towns, and countries, with the same vigilance and severity as they use against the most devouring plague and pestilence that sweeps all before it.

It is too great an indulgence to this wickedness, it may be in some who are not guilty of it, and an evidence that they do not abhor it enough, to say that the natural temper and constitution of men is

so different that wine works different effects in them; and that it hath such an insinuation into many, that it can as hardly be shut out as flattery can, and infuses its poison so subtilly that it hath wrought its effects before it be discerned or suspected, and therefore could very hardly be prevented; that the same excess which is visible in some men to the loss of their reason and other faculties, is not discernible in others, nor makes the least impression upon them; that it never produces any mischievous effect in many, and so cannot be, at least in the same degree, sinful in all men; and, lastly, that it is a part of conversation from which men cannot retire rudely; and they who are once entered into it, especially if it be with persons superior to themselves, and upon whom they have some dependence, can very hardly refuse to submit to the laws they prescribe for the present, or withdraw from that excess which they do not like, nor must presume to censure or contradict. It is great pity that our Saviour nor his disciples had not the foresight to discern these distinctions and casual obligations, that they might not so positively have shut out all transgressors, who may have so reasonable excuses for the excesses they commit, from any hope of salvation; but it is much more pity that any men, who pretend to pay submission and obedience to his injunctions, and to believe and give credit to his dictates, should delude themselves and others with such vain and impious imaginations, and hope to avoid a judgment that is so unavoidably pronounced, by such weak excuses as cannot absolve men from the most trivial and lightest trespasses. Cannot he that wisely declines walking

upon the ice for fear of falling, though possibly it might carry him sooner to his journey's end, as wisely forbear drinking more wine than is necessary, for fear of being drunk and the ill consequences thereof? Is there any man so intemperate as to drink to an excess, when his physician assures him it will increase his fever, though he hath a better excuse then from his thirst, or improve some other disease the strength whereof already threatens him with death? Can we be temperate that we may live a month the longer, which at best we cannot be sure of; and will not the fear of eternal death make any impression upon us? There is not in the whole catalogue of vices to which mankind is liable, any one (swearing only excepted) that hath not more benefit as well as pleasure for its excuse and reward: the revengeful and malicious person finds some ease and advantage from having brought some signal misfortune upon his enemy; others will be more wary how they displeas and provoke him: the covetous man is a great gainer by his pursuit, and is able, if he were willing, to do much good with what he hath gotten ill: the lustful person finds ease, by having quenched or rather allayed a fire that burned him, and which a sudden reflection or sharp animadversion could not extinguish. The drunkard only hath none of these pretences for his excess, none of these deceitful pleasures in the exercise of it; no man was ever drunk to quench his thirst, or found other delight in it than in becoming less a man than God hath made him; which must be a horrible deformity, and disguise him from the knowledge of God. They who can perform the office of strong beasts, in carrying more drink than others can, should be put to carry it the same way they do,

which would be much more innocent ; and their strength doth but deceive them, and decays to all noble purposes, when it seems exalted in that base and servile work. Besides, it may be the guilt of his weak companion, who falls sooner under his hand, is inferior, how penal soever, to his who triumphs in his brutish unwounded conquest, and believes he is less drunk, because he is not so much dead. They who apply their power and quality to the propagation of this unmanly and unruly licence, and draw men from obeying or considering Heaven, to please them, are fit to be degraded from that qualification they so dishonourably prostitute, and to be condemned to that conversation they so much affect ; and they, who out of modesty and good manners, out of gratitude and obedience, are disposed to submit to those commands, ought well to consider, that they do at the same time renounce their Christian liberty, and enter into a servitude which hath no bounds or limits : for with what security or reason can he refuse to perform the lowest and the basest office that man shall require him, upon whose command he hath been content to be drunk ? That he is not a pander, that he is not an assassinator, that he is not a rebel, is not to be imputed to any restraint in or from his own conscience, but to the temper and constitution of his patron, which doth not invite him to those debaucheries ; for to say that honour and the law make those much more penal than the other, so that his commands can more easily be disputed and contradicted in those cases, is no excuse ; for where the conscience lies waste, and all regard to God's law is rejected, obedience to the law of man is no otherwise retained than in order to prevent discovery ; and where the

penalty may be declined or eluded, the impiety makes no impression : so that he who hath barefaced, and upon deliberation, violated any one of God's express commandments, hath given earnest to the devil that he will break any of the rest, when the like opportunity and convenience shall be offered.

It is yet much more wonderful that there should be any Christian government, in which there are no laws established to punish this damnable sin ; and that there should be such a compassion for it, that the same crime, even homicide itself, that is committed by a sober man is punishable with death, should not be penal to a man that is in drink : as if the guilt of one sin should be absolved by the being guilty of another ; and that, when under the law, drunkenness was punished with death, under the gospel, it should excuse a murderer from death, who by the law and the gospel ought not to be suffered to live ; that a circumstance of high aggravation should be applied to the mitigation of a censure, that ought to be the more severe ; nay, even to constitute such an innocence as is not worthy of a censure. The philosopher can assure us, "*Non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit,*" drunkenness doth but produce and manifest the malice that lay concealed, creates it not : "*Vis vini quicquid mali latebat emergit,*" wine infuses no ill desires, it only makes those appear which lay hid ; it publishes what the heart hath entertained, and makes vice more impudent that was as mischievous before : the licentious person doth then that in the streets which he doth at other times in his chamber ; and because he upbraids justice aloud and provokes it, he must

be unchastised, and only admonished that he be more wary in his excesses. What is this but to cherish and foment an abomination, against which no less judgment than that of hell-fire is denounced? There is not in the whole body of the civil law one text that declares drunkenness to be a crime, or that provides a punishment for it; on the contrary, "*Ebriis quandoque venia dari solet derelinquentibus, tanquam sepultis, et nescientibus,*" pardon is rather given to such offenders, as to persons buried, and not knowing what they do: and Calvin says expressly, "*Jure nostro pœna minuitur, quod in ebrio dolus abesse putetur;*" it is the privilege of a drunkard to be less punished than other men, because he is supposed to mean no harm. And that we may not impute this monstrous indulgence to the easiness and corruption of the judges, the Digests have an express text, (Li. 49. Titu. 16.) "*per vinum et lasciviam lapsis capitalis pœna remittenda est,*" a capital punishment must not be inflicted upon those who are criminal through wine or lust: which must be an excellent law to govern nations by. And yet the latter may seem to be more excusable than the former, since it may proceed from the impulsion of nature; whereas the other is affectedly and industriously entered upon with the nauseating and aversion of nature, and is purely the effect of a malicious appetite and wantonness. What shall we say then to that which is most horrible, that in any Christian country it should not be looked upon as a sin, as an offence that needs God's forgiveness? In Germany, they are not obliged to confess being drunk, as if sobriety were a Christian virtue inconsistent with the health

and temper of the nation, and the contrary necessary to be dispensed with for the public good and benefit. We may surely say, that Christianity hath not done its perfect work in that country, how catholic soever it is; that wherever that sin is permitted, Christ is not sufficiently preached; and where it is cherished and countenanced, neither his apostles or himself are credited or believed; that no integrity of opinion can absolve the guilt of that practice; and we may as reasonably presume of salvation upon the faith of the Alcoran, as with the exercise of this brutish sin, against which damnation is so positively denounced.

VI. OF ENVY.

Montpellier, 1670.

If envy, like anger, did not burn itself in its own fire, and consume and destroy those persons it possesses, before it can destroy those it wishes worst to, it would set the whole world on fire, and leave the most excellent persons the most miserable. Of all the affections and passions which lodge themselves within the breast of man, envy is the most troublesome, the most restless, hath the most of malignity, the most of poison in it. The object she hath an immortal hatred to is virtue; and the war she makes is always against the best and virtuous men, at least against those who have some signal perfection. No other passion vents itself with that circumspection and deliberation, and is in all its rage and extent in awe of some control. The most choleric and angry man may offend an honest and a worthy person, but he chooses it not;

he had rather provoke a worse man, and at worst he recollects himself upon the sight of the magistrate. Lust, that is blind and frantic, gets into the worst company it can, and never assaults chastity. But envy, a more pernicious affection than either of the other, is inquisitive, observes whose merit most draws the eyes of men upon it, is most crowned by the general suffrage; and against that person he shoots all his venom, and without any noise enters into all unlawful combinations against him to destroy him: though the high condition Solomon was in kept him from feeling the effects of it, (for kings can only be envied by kings), he well discovered the uncontrollable power of it; "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who can stand before envy?" (Prov. xxvii. 6.) Let wrath be as cruel as it will, a stronger wrath can disarm it, or application and address can pacify it; fair words have power over it, and let anger be never so outrageous, it can be resisted, and will extinguish itself: they both give fair warning, are discovered afar off, and we have time to fight or fly; but envy hath no fixed open residence, no man knows where it dwells, nor can discern when it marches; it is a *squadroni volante*, that declares no war, but breaks into our quarters when we do not suspect it to be near us, wounds our reputation, stifles the brightness of our merit, and works even upon our friends to suspend their good opinion, and to doubt whether they are not deceived, and whether we are as good as we appear to be. If our credit be so well built, so firm, that it is not easy to be shaken by calumny and insinuation, it then over commends us, and extols us beyond reason to those upon whom we depend, till

they grow jealous; and so blow us up when they cannot throw us down. There is no guard to be kept against envy, because no man knows where it dwells; and generous and innocent men are seldom jealous and suspicious till they feel the wound, or discern some notorious effect of it. It shelters itself for the most part in dark and melancholy constitutions, yet sometimes gets into less suspected lodgings, but never owns to be within when it is asked for. All other passions do not only betray and discover, but likewise confess themselves; the choleric man confesses he is angry, and the proud man confesses he is ambitious; the covetous man never denies that he loves money, and the drunkard confesses that he loves wine: but no envious man ever confessed that he did envy; he commands his words much better than his looks, and those would betray him, if he had not bodily infirmities apparent enough; that those of the mind cannot easily be discovered, but in the mischief they do. Envy pretends always to be a rival to virtue, and to court honour only by merit, and never to be afflicted but on the behalf of justice, when persons less meritorious come to be preferred; and it is so far true, that it seldom assaults unfortunate virtue, and is as seldom troubled for any success, how unworthy soever, that doth not carry a man farther than the envious man himself can attain to; he envies and hates, and would destroy every man who hath better parts or better fortune than himself; and that he is not a witch, proceeds only from the devil's want of power, that he cannot give him illustrious conditions, for he hath more pride and ambition than any other sort of sinner.

VII. OF PRIDE. -

Montpellier, 1669.

“THE beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker,” says the son of Sirach, x. 12. It is no wonder that a proud man despiseth his neighbour, when he is departed from his God; and since he is so, it is no less a wonder that he doth all he can to conceal himself: and he hath oftentimes very good luck in doing it; and as few men ever acknowledge themselves to be proud, so they who are so are not easily discovered. It is a pride as gross and as ridiculous as folly itself, which appears and exposes itself to the eyes of all men; it is a guest that nobody seems willing to harbour, and yet it finds entrance and admission and entertainment in the breasts of all men as well as women: it is a weed that grows in all soils and climates, and is no less luxuriant in the country than in the court; is not confined to any rank of men or extent of fortune, but rages in the breasts of all degrees. Alexander was not prouder than Diogenes; and it may be, if we would endeavour to surprise it in its most gaudy dress and attire, and in the exercise of its full empire and tyranny, we should find it in schoolmasters and scholars, or in some country lady, or the knight her husband; all which ranks of people more despise their neighbours, than all the degrees of honour in which courts abound: and it rages as much in a sordid affected dress, as in all the silks and embroideries which the excess of the age and the folly of youth delight to be adorned with. Since

then it keeps all sorts of company, and wriggles itself into the liking of the most contrary natures and dispositions, and yet carries so much poison and venom with it, that it alienates the affections from heaven, and raises rebellion against God himself, it is worth our utmost care to watch it in all its disguises and approaches, that we may discover it in its first entrance, and dislodge it before it procures a shelter or retiring place to lodge and conceal itself. Since God himself makes war against it; "Pride and arrogance, and the evil way and the froward mouth, do I hate," says the spirit of God; (Prov. viii. 13.) since when pride comes, then cometh shame, nay then cometh destruction, we cannot be too solicitous that this declared destroying foe doth not steal upon us unawares, for want of sentinels, for want of knowing him before he crowds in. Let us therefore take as exact a survey as we can what pride in truth is: in the disquisition whereof, because we find that they who entertain it most, and are most possessed by it, use all the endeavours and art they can to conceal it best, and that they who are least infected or corrupted by it, are oftentimes suspected to have it most, it will not be amiss, in the first place, to consider the negative, What is not pride, that so often deceives the standers-by, that we may the better illustrate the affirmative, in the stating what pride indeed is, that is so little suspected sometimes, that it escapes all but very vigilant observations upon the most strict and sharpest examination.

The outward preservation of men's dignity, according to the several qualities and stations they hold in the world, by their birth or office, or other

qualification, is not pride. The peace and quiet of nations cannot be preserved without order and government; and order and government cannot be maintained and supported without distinction and degrees of men, which must be subordinate one to the other: where all are equal, there can be no superiority; and where there is no superiority, there can be no obedience; and where there is no obedience, there must be great confusion, which is the highest contradiction and opposition of order and peace; and the keeping those bounds and fences strictly and severely, and thereby obliging all men to contain themselves within the limits prescribed to them, is very well consisting with the greatest humility, and therefore can be no discovery or symptom of pride. And it may be, the most diabolical pride may not more inhabit in the breasts of any sort of men, than of those who are forward to stoop from the dignity they ought to uphold to a mean and low condescension to inferior persons; for all pride being a violation of justice, it may be presumed, or reasonably suspected, that he that practises that injustice towards himself hath his ambition complied with, and satisfied by some unworthy effects from such condescension. I do not say, that these necessary distances and distinctions and precedencies are always exercised without pride, but that they may be so and ought to be so. No doubt, men who are in the highest stations, and have a pre-eminence over other men, and are bound to exercise that superiority over those men who, it may be, have been better men than they, and deserve still to be so, to constrain them to perform their duty, which they ought to do without com-

straint, have great temptations, especially if they have vulgar minds, to be proud; and ought to take great care, by their gentle and modest behaviour in their conversation, by doing all the offices which charity or courtesy invite them to, and by executing that most rigid part of their obligation, which obliges them to punish corrupt men and corrupt manners, without the least arrogance or insolence towards their persons, as if he were well pleased with the opportunity; which is in truth as if he could satisfy public justice and his particular malice together, which are inconsistent, and cannot but be the effect and product of great pride in his heart, and he is not glad that he can do justice so much, as that he takes revenge upon a guilty person that he doth not love. The seat of pride is in the heart, and only there; and if it be not there, it is neither in the looks, nor in the clothes. A cloud in the countenance, a melancholy and absence of mind, which detains a man from suddenly taking notice of what is said or done, very often makes a man thought to be proud, who is most free from that corruption; and the excess in clothes may be some manifestation of folly or levity, but can be no evidence of pride: for first, the particular quality and condition of men may oblige them to some cost and curiosity in their clothes; and then the very affecting a neatness and expense of decent habit, (if it does not exceed the limits of one's fortune), is not only very lawful, and an innocent delight, but very commendable; and men, who most affect a gallantry in their dress, have hearts too cheerful and liberal to be affected with so troublesome a passion as pride, which always possesses itself of the heart,

and branches itself out into two very notable and visible affections; which are, a very high and immoderate esteem of themselves, and admiration and overvaluing of their own parts and qualities, and a contempt of the persons of other men, and disesteem and undervaluing of all their faculties and endowments, how conspicuous soever to all others: and without both those excesses, pride will hardly be nourished to a monstrous magnitude; but thus fed and cherished, outgrows all other vices, and indeed comprehends them.

The disesteem and contempt of others is inseparable from pride. It is hardly possible to overvalue ourselves, but by undervaluing our neighbours; and we commonly most undervalue those who are by other men thought to be wiser than we are; and it is a kind of jealousy in ourselves that they are so, which provokes our pride; "Only by pride cometh contention," says Solomon (Prov. xiii. 10.) In truth, pride is contention itself, an insolent passion that always contends, and contends for that which doth not belong to him who contends; contends by calumny to rob another man of his reputation, of his good name; contends by force to extort that which another man hath no mind to part with; and oftentimes contends by fraud and flattery to deprive a man of what barefaced and by force he could not compass; and does as much contemn a man whom he hath cozened and deceived, as if he had by courage overcome him; nay, he takes no pleasure in the good that is in him, otherwise than as it is set off and illustrated by the infirmities of other men; he doth not enjoy the advantages nature or fortune have conferred upon

him with that relish, as when it brings a prejudice to some others; he never likes his wit so well, as when it makes his companions, it may be his friends, ridiculous; nor ever feels the pleasure of his fortune so much, as when it enables him to oppress his neighbour: in the pursuit of his ambition, he had much rather obtain an office that is promised to another, than one that is vacant to all pretenders; to be preferred before another, how unreasonably or unjust soever, is a full feast to his pride, and a warrant in his own opinion ever after to prefer himself before all men; and if he could have his wish, he would see all men miserable who have contended with him, and presumed to think themselves worthy of any thing which he hath been content to accept: whatever benefits and preferments other men attain to, he imputes to their fortune, and to the weakness of those men who contributed to it, out of want of abilities to discover their defects and unworthiness; what is thrown upon himself, from the blind affection and bounty of his superiors, he receives as a reward below his merit: he sees no man discharge the obligation of his office and trust, but he believes he could do it much better, and that it is partiality, not justice, that gives him a good testimony; whereas if he comes to have any province of his own to manage and govern, no man does it with more remissness or more insufficiency; for he thinks it below the estimation he would have all men to have of his parts to ask advice, or to receive it from any man, who out of kindness (which he calls presumption) offers to give him any: and if he be so wise (as few proud men are) as to profit

by others, it is by a haughty way of asking questions, which seem to question their sufficiency rather than a thought of improving his own; and he is still more inquisitive, and takes more pains to discover the faults which other men commit in their office, than to prevent or reform his own: with all his undervaluing other men, he is far from contemning what others say of him, how unjust and untrue soever it is, but is grieved and afflicted that they dare do it, and out of fear that other men would believe, and so neglect and condemn him too; for though he takes no other way to attain to it but by admiring himself, he doth heartily wish that all men would likewise admire him. Pride, as it is compounded of the vanity and ill nature that disposes men to admire themselves and to condemn other men (which is its genuine composition) retains its vigour longer than any other vice, and rarely expires but with life itself. Age wears out many other vices, loses the memory of injuries and provocations, and the thought of revenge is weary of the pursuit it hath already made, and so is without ambition; it hath outlived those appetites and affections which were most importunate for satisfaction and most obstinate against counsel, and so abhors both lusts and surfeits; it seldom engenders vice which it hath not been heretofore acquainted with: for that covetousness which men commonly think that age is most liable to, is rather a diminution of the generosity and bounty and expense that youth is naturally delighted with, and uses to exercise, than a sordid appetite and love of money; and though it be the season in which men gather and collect most, and

keep it by them when they have gathered it, it is (as was said before) because they know not how to spend it, and the bounty that was in their nature is shrunk and dried up, and they take no pleasure in giving; besides, that age is always apprehensive of want, and therefore loves to be provided against all possible accidents and emergencies. But pride finds a welcome and pleasant residence in that parched flesh and dried bones, and exercises itself more imperiously, because it meets not with that opposition and contradiction which it usually finds in younger company. Age, though it too often consists only in length of days, in having been longer than other men, not in the experiments of life above those who are much younger, is naturally censorious, and expects reverence and submission to their white hairs, which they cannot challenge to any rudiments or example which they have given to virtue; and superciliously censure all who are younger than themselves, and the vices of the present time as new and unheard of, when in truth they are the very same they practised, and practised as long as they were able; they talk much of their observation and experience, in order to be obeyed in things they understand not, and out of vanity and morosity contract a pride that never departs from them whilst they are alive, and they die in an opinion that they have left none wiser behind them, though they have left none behind them who ever had any esteem of their wisdom and judgment.

But when we have laid all the reproaches upon it that it deserves, to make it odious to ourselves and to all the world, and have raised all the fences

and fortifications we can against it, to keep it from entering upon and into us, we have need still to have recourse to God Almighty, and to implore his assistance in the guarding us from the assaults of this bold enemy; that he will preserve us from its approaches when we most approach him, and when we are doing that which most pleases him; in those seasons when we discharge our duty with most integrity, most ability, and most reputation, that men speak well of us, and speak but true, that he will then watch for us, that pride steal not into our hearts, and persuade us to think better of ourselves than we ought to do; that he will take care of us, when we take most care of ourselves to preserve our innocence, and even in our most secret devotions and addresses to his Divine Majesty, that with the serenity of conscience which is naturally the effect of such devout addresses, no information of pride may enter into us to make us believe that we are better than other men, which will quickly make us worse; that he will not suffer us to grow, from the vices of others, because by his grace we are yet without those vices which they are transported with, proud of that which in truth is virtue in us; that we be not exalted with our own integrity, and neglect and despise those applications and condescensions which are necessary in this world to the support of the greatest integrity and innocence. The pride of a good conscience hath often exposed many men to great calamities, when they have too much neglected the friendships and affections of others, it may be the better to preserve their innocence; and so have been abandoned in the time of powerful calumny and perse-

cution by those, who having reverence for their virtue, yet are without kindness for their persons, and so conclude that they are the less concerned for justice, because they are not at all concerned for their affection, or for any obligation they have received. It is very necessary therefore, that they who do their duty best, and have the greatest evidence and testimony of a good conscience within their own breasts, have likewise the greatest care that they be not only not exalted with that pride of conscience, but that they be not suspected to be so; and it is great pity that so ill an effect should proceed from so good a cause; that the same uprightness and integrity, which raises naturally jealousy, and envy, and malice, in the hearts of other men, should deprive those who are possessed of it of all wariness and dexterity and address, which is at least convenient for the manifestation and support of that sincerity and uprightness: "He is grievous unto us even to behold, for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion; let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience," (Wisdom Sol. ii. 15, 19,) hath been the doctrine and practice of the world from Solomon's time to the age in which we live; and whilst this conspiracy continues, the best men will have need of good friends and powerful vindicators, which must be procured by private correspondences as well as public justice, and by private obligations as an evident inclination and propensity to oblige; for whatever secret veneration virtue hath for itself even from the worst men, it seldom finds protection from the best.

We cannot be too jealous, we cannot suspect ourselves too much to labour under this disease, which cleaves the closer to us by our belief or confidence that we are quite without it. We may very properly say of pride as the philosopher said of flattery, "*Apertis et propitiis auribus recipitur, et in præcordia ima descendit; eo ipso gratiosa quod lædit;*" it tickles when it hurts us, and administers some kind of pleasure and delight when it is even ready to destroy us. Few men are displeased to hear themselves well spoken of, though it be to themselves; and many proud men feel a kind of satisfaction in being treated with respect upon their death-bed, of which there have been many instances. Nor can those deliberate directions for the form and method of the funeral, the provision for mourners, and the structure of a tomb, flow from any thing in those seasons, but from the remainder of that pride that will not expire before us. Whatever lawful custom and decency require, they who outlive us will provide for our memory. It is very hard, at the same time, to think of the pomp of a funeral, and humbly enough of the carcase that is to be interred, of the company it is to keep in the grave, and of the progeny of worms that is to increase out of it. To conclude; without the sovereign influence of God's extraordinary and immediate grace, men do very rarely put off all the trappings of their pride, till they who are about them put on their winding-sheet.

VIII. OF ANGER.

Montpellier, 1669.

“ He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty,” is an observation as ancient as Solomon’s time (Prov. xvi. 32.) and hath been confirmed in all ages since : he that can abstain from it, is master of most men, and seldom falls of any design he proposes to himself. A man that is undisturbed in what he goes about, will rarely be disappointed of his end : whereas, on the contrary, anger is the most impotent passion that accompanies the mind of man ; it effects nothing it goes about ; and hurts the man who is possessed by it more than any other against whom it is directed. It exposes him to laughter and contempt, without any return in satisfaction and content, as most of the other passions do ; it is a barren and unfruitful vice, and only torments him who nourishes it. The philosopher thought it so useless a passion, that he could not tell to what service to apply it ; he would by no means suffer it in battles or actions of war, where one might believe it might be of most advantage, and carry men to the utmost daring, which is often very successful, and hath brought great and unexpected things to pass ; but he found that it did naturally degenerate into rashness, “ *Et pericula dum inferre vult non cavet ;*” and that the prevalent temper in those enterprises was, that “ *qui se diu multumque circumspevit, et rexit, et ex lento, et destinato provexit,*” which anger will never permit him. And surely, if it be not seasonable in those angry contentions, it is much more inconvenient in

the more calm seasons of business and conversation: in business he rejects all that is proposed by other men, and superciliously determines that his own advice is to be followed; in conversation he is full of unpeaceable contradictions, and impatient at being contradicted; so that, though upon some considerations, he be endured in company, he is never desired or wished for. "An angry man (if you believe Solomon) stirreth up strife;" he cannot only not be a friend, but not suffer others to be so: it is not possible for him to be at peace with others, when he hath a perpetual war with himself; people who are not like him, cannot or will not live with him; and if he be with those who are like him, neither of them can live long. Seneca thinks it a notable argument to men to avoid and suppress it, "*non moderationis causâ sed sanitatis,*" because "*ingentis iræ exitus furor est;*" but the truth is, he doth anger too much honour who calls it madness, which, being a distemper of the brain, and a total absence of all reason, is innocent in all the ill effects it may produce; whereas anger is an affected madness compounded of pride and folly, and an intention to do commonly more mischief than it can bring to pass: and without doubt of all passions which naturally disturb the mind of man, it is most in our power to extinguish, at least to suppress and correct, our anger.

That we may not flatter ourselves with an imagination that anger may be commendable in us, and seem to have something of injunction to support it in Scripture itself, we shall find it with a restriction that quickly convinces us, that it is not of kin to our anger: "Be angry, but sin not."

if we are sure that our anger is only on God's behalf, for some indignity done to him in the neglect of his service, or for the practice of some vice or wickedness that he hath prohibited: if we are offended, and feel some commotions within us, in seeing loose and indecent things done, and in hearing lascivious and profane things spoken; and break out into sharp and angry reprehensions and advice, where we may well do it; we shall never be ashamed of that anger: if we can be angry and charitable together, and be willing to do good to him with whom we are most angry, we shall have no cause to repent our anger, nor others to condemn it. But we have too much cause to doubt, that this warrantable anger will not give us content and delight enough to be affected with it; it will do us no good because it will do others no hurt, and so will give us no credit with other men. We shall do very well, if we do restrain and suppress and extinguish all other anger, and are only transported with this. If we do not, and are angry only to grieve and terrify others, and therefore angry that they may be grieved and terrified, and not for any thing that they have done amiss, but because we would not have had them done it; or if we suffer no bounds or limits to be prescribed to our anger, be the cause of it never so just and reasonable, by decency, reason, and justice; our passion is thereby the more unjustifiable, by the countenance we would draw to it from divinity, and ought to be the more carefully extinguished and extirpated by our shame and by our repentance.

IX. OF PATIENCE IN ADVERSITY.

Montpellier, 1669.

IF we considered seriously (and our observation and experience supplies every man abundantly with matter for those considerations) the folly and madness and inconvenience and mischief of passion and impatience, the pain and agony that is begotten by it within ourselves, and the damage and disreputation abroad with other men, we should not need many arguments to persuade us of the benefit and ease of patience; and if we considered patience only as a moral virtue, as a natural sobriety and temper in subduing and regulating our affections and passions, as an absence of that anger and rage and fury which usually transports us upon ordinary and trivial provocations, we could not but acknowledge the great advantage men have by it. Solomon seems to require nothing else to make a wise man; "He that is slow to anger is of great understanding," Prov. xiv. 29. And indeed, there is nothing so much corrupts and destroys and infatuates the understanding as anger and passion; insomuch as men of very indifferent parts, by the advantage of temper and composure, are much wiser, and fitter for great actions, and are usually more prosperous, than men of more subtle and sublime parts, of more quickness and fancy, with the warmth and choler that many times attends those compositions: "He that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly," says Solomon, Prov. xiv. 29; that is, so improves his folly, that he seems more foolish than in truth he is; he says things he does

not intend to say, and does things he does not intend to do, and refreshes his enemies with the folly of his anger: whereas the temperate, un rash, and dispassionate man is always at home, and, by being unmoved himself, discerns all advantages whilst he gives none. "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city," Prov. xvi. 32. One translation renders it, "qui dominatur animo suo, expug-nator est urbium;" he that can suppress his passions is even the master of all cities, no strength can resist him. So that if we intended nothing but our own ease, and benefit, and advantage, we have reason to apply ourselves to and study this temper, in which the precepts of the philosophers give us ample instructions, and the practice of mere heathen men have left us notable and envious examples: but the obligations of Christianity carry us much farther; we must add to temperance patience, which is a Christian virtue of so high a qualification, that Tertullian translates that direction of our Saviour in the 21st chapter of St. Luke's gospel, ver. 19, "In your patience possess your souls," "*per tolerantiam salvos facietis vosmet-ipsos,*" you shall save your souls by your patience; which, if we could be persuaded in any degree to give credit to, we would not so much indulge to that licence of our impatient humour, as we do upon the least accidental crosses.

The exercise of this necessary Christian duty depends principally upon the attending and waiting God's own time and leisure for the receiving those blessings, which, upon the conscience of having according to our weak abilities endeavoured

to please him, we may confidently pray for and expect, and our humble and dutiful submissions to such afflictions and calamities as he hath or shall lay upon us; for we must provide a stock of patience for the crosses that may befall us: and from these two branches of patience, we may gather fruit enough to refresh us throughout our whole journey in this world. Toward the attaining the first, if we would ingenuously and faithfully consult our own practice in matters of this world, our own rules of good husbandry, we could not think this waiting and expecting God's leisure, in the conferring his blessings and benefits, so grievous as it appears to us. How willing are we to lay out our estates in the purchase of reversions, many times for somewhat that younger men than ourselves must die before we enjoy it; and if they outlive us, our money is lost? And yet with the unreasonable confidence that we shall hereafter enjoy it, and with the comfort of that expectation, we cheerfully endure the present wants and delay. If we make any suit to the king, or our superiors, how well are we satisfied and contented, if we have the promise of the thing we ask a year hence, when it is more than an even lay that we live not till that time, and there are in our view a thousand contingencies which may disappoint us, if we do live so long? Nay, we choose rather, and we think there is a merit in that modesty, to ask somewhat that is to come, rather than any thing for the present. But we are not willing to lay out one prayer, or disburse one innocent act of our life to God upon a reversion. If we receive his promise, we reckon every day's delay an injury, though it be

only a promise for the future. So that, pretend what we will, and magnify what we can our religion towards God, and our confidence in him, we do in truth less believe and credit him, than any friend or companion we have. If we did otherwise, we should better observe his precepts of patience, and reliance upon him; and believe, that as they, who can bear the present want, in the end gain most who deal in reversions; so if we would forbear our present murmurings and importunities, and stay the full time, till the interruptions (our own sins or his providence) cast in the way, are worn out, we should in the end receive a large interest for all our expectation, and have cause to magnify our purchase; we should rather conclude, when we are disappointed, that the conditions are broken on our part, which we are so unapt to perform, than that God hath broken his promise, which he was never known to do; we should call to our memory, that most of the calamities which befell his own chosen people; proceeded from their own murmurings and impatience, and that the least impatience towards him, grows by degrees to an infidelity in him, which we cannot endure to be thought guilty of: we should remember with what disdain we look upon those who will not take our word, which many times is not in our power to keep, seldom in our will; and yet we make no scruple to doubt the accomplishment of God's word, though we know all things to be in his power, and whatsoever is good for us in his purpose: whereas patience is so much and so essentially of the character of a Christian, that no performance of our duty, and of his commands on our part, can

be a security and an assurance of his blessing upon us without it; which was very evident to St Paul, when, in the 10th chapter of his epistle to the Hebrews, at the 36th verse, he says, "For ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise;" as if God had made no promise to those who are not patient to expect his performance. The truth is, God cannot so well know, that is, we do not so well and clearly manifest, that we have done his will out of piety and devotion to him, as by our patience to wait his pleasure when we have done it. There may be design in the practice of all external duties of Christianity for our advantage in this world: the formal outward profession of religion may be, and we see too often is, to get so much reputation, and interest, and dependance with men, as may enable us to destroy religion; our exercise of charity may have pride and vanity to be recommended and magnified, and even covetousness in it, that we may get credit enough to oppress other men, and upon the stock of that one public virtue, be able to practise twenty secret wickednesses. But our patience (I speak of that Christian patience of waiting God's own time for the receiving those blessings we pray for, and is an internal submission of the mind to him) can have no stratagem upon this world, nor do us credit and advantage with ill men, being all that time subjected to their insolence, reproach, and tyranny; and therefore St. James makes it the end and complement and crown of all that we do: "Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing," James i. 4.

Which though Tremellius renders, "et in nullâ re sitis destituti," as if patience so supplied all wants and defects, that we are not over sensible or grieved with those wants, yet the Vulgar (and with that Beza concurs) hath it, "ut sitis integri, in nullo deficientes," that you may be entire, wanting in nothing; which seems most agreeable with the original: as if it were impossible we could be defective in any thing, if we were endowed with patience, which can proceed only from the conscience of having done our duty, or the reasonable confidence that God hath accepted us as if we had; for the bold habitual wicked man, pretend what he will to temper and sobriety, never had, never can have patience. Though this incomparable sovereign virtue is of great use and comfort to us in the whole course of our life, be it never so pleasant and prosperous, without any interruptions of nature, by infirmities, sickness, or diseases, or accidents of fortune in the casual interruptions in our very conversation and commerce with men; yet the most signal and glorious use of it is in our adversity and calamity, when the hand of God is heavy upon us, by the perfidiousness of friends, the treachery of servants, the power, injustice, and oppression of those men with whom we are to live; and in those afflictions, which deprive us of the comfort of our families, the supply of our estates, the joy of our liberty, and all those particulars which render life pleasant to us; and in lieu thereof expose us to want and poverty, and to the insolence and contempt which usually attends that miserable condition. And truly, in this case, if we could give ourselves no other argument for patience, methinks it should be enough

that never any man found ease, benefit, or relief, by impatience, but improves, and extends, and multiplies the agony, and pain, and misery of whatsoever calamity he undergoes by it; whereas patience lessens and softens the burden, and by degrees raises the constitution and strength to that pitch, that it is hardly sensible of it. And if we would but deal faithfully with ourselves and the world, and report and acknowledge how much we have found ourselves the better for our adversity; how by it we have corrected the follies and infirmities of our nature, improved the faculties of our mind and understanding, mended ourselves towards God and man; we should be so far from needing patience to bear it, that we should even thirst, and long and desire to undergo it: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted (says the man after God's own heart) that I might learn thy statutes," Psal. cxix. 71. He that had been brought up from his cradle in the knowledge of God, and lived suitable to that education, learned more from his affliction than he had done all his life before: that presented all his infirmities to him in a true mirror; he discerned his pride and his passion in their own colours, which appeared before to him only in the dress of majesty and power. The greater and the higher we are in place, the more we want this sovereign remembrancer. Mean and inferior people have their faults as often objected to them as they commit them, it may be oftener; the counsels of friends, the emulation, envy, and opposition, of equals, the malice of their enemies, and the authority and prejudice in their superiors, will often present their defects to them, and interrupt any career of their

passion and vanity; but princes and great men, who can have few friends (because friendship presupposeth some kind of equality), whose counselors are commonly compliers with their humours, and flatterers of their infirmities, who are seldom checked by want of success in what they propose to themselves, have little help but their own observation and experience to cure their follies and defects; and that observation and experience is never so pregnant and convincing, as under adversity, which refreshes the memory, makes it revolve that which was purposely laid aside that it might never be remembered; reforms and sharpens the understanding, and faithfully collects all that hath been left undone, or hath been done amiss, and presents it to the judgment; which, now the clouds and fumes and mists of pride, ambition, and flattery, that used to transport and intoxicate and mislead it, are dispersed, discerns what misfortunes attended those faults, what ruin that wickedness, the gradation and progress each error hath made, and how close the punishment had attended the transgression: every faculty of the mind does its office exactly, so that how disturbed and disquieted soever the body is, without doubt the mind was never in better health than under this examination. Besides, if there were no other good to be expected from it, than what keeps it company; if we were not sure by well bearing it to be freed from it, and rewarded for it; the very present benefit and advantages it gives us, and gives us title to, renders it most ambitiously to be desired; it entitles us to the compassion and pity of all good men: "To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his

friend," says Job. vi. 14. Nay, it gives us a title to salvation itself: "For thou wilt save the afflicted people," says holy David, Psal. xviii. 27. Yet notwithstanding all these invitations and promises, all the examples of good men, and the blessings which have crowned those examples, all our own experience of ourselves, that we have really gained more understanding and more piety in one year's affliction than in the whole course of our prosperous fortunes, we are so far from a habit of patience, and so weary of our sufferings, that we are even ready to exchange our innocence to change our condition.

There was never an age, in which men underwent greater trials by adversity, and I fear scarce an age in which there was a less stock of patience to bear it; never more tribulation, never less glorying in tribulation. We are all ready enough to magnify our sufferings, and our merit in those sufferings, to make the world believe we have undergone them out of our piety to God, and devotion to his worship; out of our allegiance to our sovereign lord the king, and because we would not consent to the violation of that, and the wresting his rights from him by violence; out of our tender affection to our native country, and because we would not consent that should be subject to the exorbitant lawless power of ambitious wicked men; the suffering for either of which causes (and we would have it believed we suffer jointly for them all) entitles us justly to the merit of martyrdom; yet we are so far from comforting and delighting ourselves with the conscience of having performed our duty, and from the enjoying that ease and quiet which na-

turally results from innocence, that we rather murmur and censure and reproach God Almighty, for giving the trophies we have deserved to those who have oppressed us; and study nothing more, than stratagems to impose upon that conscience we are weary of, and to barter away our innocence, that we may be capable of overtaking those in their prosperous wickedness, from whom we would be thought to have fled for conscience sake; and instead of a confident attending and waiting God's time to vindicate himself and us (for if our sufferings proceeded from those grounds and principles we pretend, it were so much his own cause that we should be sure of his vindication) we make excuses for the little good we have done, and even renounce it by professing to be sorry for it; and that we may be sure to find no check from our reason, when we have prevailed with our conscience, we corrupt and bribe our understandings with fallacious argumentations, and argue ourselves into a liking of our stupidity, as if we did nothing but what God required at our hands; we say, God expects we should help ourselves, and by natural means endeavoured to remove from us those afflictions and calamities which the power of ill men has brought upon us; that God doth assist and bless those endeavours: on the other hand, if we sit still, and without any industry of our own look for supernatural deliverance, we presume to put God to a miracle, which he will work for us, and that he will countenance our lethargic laziness. Having by this argumentation brought ourselves to an activity, we must then guide ourselves by what is possible, and what is practicable, that is, by such rules

and mediums as they have set down, with whom our transactions must be admitted. When we are then in any straits, which before our setting out we would not foresee, we have a maxim at hand to carry us on. Of two evils the least is to be chosen. If we can prevent this mischief, which seems to us greater, though we are guilty of another which seems less, all is well: especially if our formal and temporary and dissembled consent to this or that ill act, enables us or gives us a probable hope (which is a flattery we much delight ourselves, and are always furnished with) of undoing or reversing those mischiefs, which for the present we are not, or think ourselves not able to prevent. And having thus speciously reduced the practice of Christianity to the notions of civil prudence and worldly policy, we insensibly run into all the guilt we have hitherto with damage and loss avoided, and renounce all the obligations of piety and religion by our odious apostacy. It is true, God expects we should perform all on our parts that is lawful to be done for our own behoof; but when we have done that, he will have us rely on him for our deliverance, how distant soever it seems from us, rather than attempt to deliver ourselves by any means not agreeable to his precise pleasure. Neither can there be so stupid a reliance upon a miracle, as that God should suffer us to preserve or redeem ourselves by ill and crooked arts, and contribute his blessings upon such a preservation; which would be more miraculous, than what seems to them most wonderful. There cannot be a more mischievous position than that we should be always doing, always endeavouring to help ourselves. He that hath

lost his way in a dark night, and all the marks by which he should guide himself, and know whether he be in the way or not, cannot do so wisely as to sit still till the morning; especially if he travel upon such uneven ground and precipices, that the least mistake in footing may prove fatal to him: and it will be the same in our other journey; if we are benighted in our understandings, and so no path to tread in but where thorns and briars and snakes are in our way, and where the least deviation from the right track will lead us into labyrinths, from whence we cannot be safely disentangled, it will become us, how bleak and stormy soever the night is, how grievous and pressing soever our adversity is, to have patience till the light appears, that we may have a full prospect of our way, and of all that lies in our way. If the malice and power of enemies oppress us, and drive us to those exigents, that there appears to us no expedient to avoid utter ruin, but submitting and concurring with their wickedness, we ought to believe that either God will convert their hearts, or find some other as extraordinary way to deliver us; and if he does not, that then our ruin is necessary, and that he will make it more happy to us than our deliverance would be. We have no such liberty left us to choose one evil, under pretence that we avoid a greater by so doing. It may be a good rule in matter of damage and inconvenience; but that which in itself is simply evil, must not be consented to under any extenuation or excuse; and the project of doing good, or redeeming the ill we have done, by such concessions, is more vain, more unjustifiable. We are so far from any warrant for

those undertakings, that we have an infallible text, "That we are not to do evil that good may come of it;" we ought not to presume that God will give us time and opportunity to do it, and then the intention of doing well will be no good excuse for the ill we have actually committed; neither have we reason to be confident that we shall have the will to do it, if we have the opportunity; since every transgression, so deliberated and resolved on, leaves the mind vitiated and less inclined to good; and there is such a bashfulness naturally attends on guilt, that we have not afterwards the same alacrity to do well, and grow ashamed and afraid of that conversation, without which it will not be possible for us to do that good. It will be said, our not concurring in this particular act, may ruin us, but not hinder the act from being done; and therefore that it is too vain an affectation of our ruin to oppose that so fruitlessly: and this consideration and objection, I fear, hath prevailed over too many to submit to that which they have long opposed, as not agreeable to their understandings and conscience; that they have done their parts, opposed it as long as they were able; that it shall be done whether they will or no; and that it is only in their power to perish with what they would preserve, but not to preserve it by perishing; and therefore, that they may for their own preservation join in the doing that, or consenting to it, which will be done in spite of any resistance they can make. This is said in the business of the church: it is actually oppressed; the government of it actually and remedilessly altered; nothing that I can say or do can preserve it; and that the question is not, whe-

ther I would desire to preserve both church and kingdom, but whether, when there can be one, and but one preserved, I will lose that because I cannot keep both. But these arguments cannot prevail with a conscience informed and guided aright. If my religion oblige me to do my duty no longer than conveniently I might, and that when wants and necessities and dangers pressed upon me, I might recede and yield to what I believe wicked or unlawful, I had no more to do, but to make that necessity and danger evident to the world for my excuse. But no union and consent in wickedness can make my guilt the less; and if nothing I can do can preserve the church, it is in my power to preserve my own innocence; and to have no hand in its destruction; and I ought to value that innocence above all the conveniences and benefits my submission can bring to me. And I must confess, I want logic to prove to myself, that it may be lawful for me to do that to recover or redeem my fortune, which was not lawful for me to do to preserve it; or that after I have borne great afflictions and calamities, I may conscientiously consent to that, which, if I could have done, I might have prevented all those calamities. No man is so insignificant as that he can be sure his example can do no hurt. There is naturally such a submission of the understanding, as many do in truth think that lawful to be done which they see another do, of whose judgment and integrity they have a great opinion; so that my example may work upon others to do what no other temptation or suffering could induce them to; nay, it may not only increase the number of the guilty, but confirm those, who, out of their re-

verence to my carriage and constancy, began to repent the ill they had done; and whosoever is truly repenting, thinks at the same time of repairing. I doubt many men in these ill times have found themselves unhappily engaged in a partnership of mischief, before they apprehended they were out of the right way, by seriously believing what this man said (whose learning and knowledge was confessedly eminent) to be law, and implicitly concluding what another did (whose reputation for honesty and wisdom was as general) to be just and prudent; and I pray God, the faults of those misled men may not be imputed to the other, who have weight enough of their own, and their very knowledge and honesty increase their damnation. "If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small," says Solomon, Prov. xxiv. 10. "Si desperaveris lassus," says the vulgar Latin; if being weary or faint, thou despair, thy strength is small; it shows thou hast done well out of design, and in expectation of prospering by it; and being disappointed, thou even repentest the having done thy duty: for thy strength and courage being grounded only on policy, it must needs be small; whereas, if it had been grounded on conscience and piety towards God, thou couldst never despair of his assistance and protection. Tremellius renders that text more severely, "Si remisse te geras tempore angustiae, angusta erit virtus tua;" If thou art less vigorous in the time of trouble, thy virtue is not virtue, but a narrow slight disposition to good, never grown into a habit. "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider," says the preacher. Tremellius renders it, "Tempore

autem mali utere;” Use the time of trouble, employ it so that thou mayest be the better for it, and that others may be the better by thy deportment. It was observed in the primitive time, that there were more men converted to Christianity by the death of every martyr, than by all their sermons and actions of their life; and thence it was said, “*Sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ;*” Not only that the confirmation of their doctrine with their blood persuaded many that it was the truth for which many were so ready to pour out their blood, but that their demeanour at their death, their great courage and patience, and contempt of tortures and pain, made many believe that there was a satisfaction and pleasure and joy in those opinions, which was so much superior and above the agony and pain of death, that a mind refreshed with the one, preserved the body from the sense and feeling of the other; insomuch, as the prosecutors themselves, who could not be moved with the orations and sermons and disputations of the prisoners, were converted by beholding them at the stake. And we oftentimes see passionate and violent men, whose animosities and revenge no charity or Christian precepts could suppress and extinguish, so astonished with the brave and constant carriage of their adversaries in their afflictions, which have been unjustly brought upon them by the other, that their very reverence to their sufferings have begot a remorse in them, and a reparation of their wrongs: nay, we often see ill men, who have justly fallen under heavy calamities, behave themselves so well under them, that all prejudice hath been thereby reconciled toward them. To conclude, wouldst

thou convert thy adversary to an admiration and value and affection to thee, to a true sense of the wrong he hath done thee, there is no such way, as by letting him see by thy firm and cheerful submitting to adversity, that thou hast a peace about thee of which thou canst not be robbed by him, and of which in all his power he is not possessed. If his heart be so hardened, and his conscience seared; that thou canst this way make no impression on him toward his conversion, thou shalt however more perplex and grieve and torment his mind with envy of thy virtue, than he can thine with all his insolence and oppression.

X. OF CONTEMPT OF DEATH, AND THE BEST PROVIDING FOR IT.

Montpellier, 1669.

“O DEATH, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions, and to the man that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things; yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat: O Death, acceptable is thy sentence to the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience;” was the reflection of the son of Sirach, upon the several affections and humours and contingencies in the life of man. (xli. 1, 2.) But without doubt, the very prosperous man, who seems to be most at ease, and without any visible outward vexation, is as weary very frequently of life (for satiety of all things naturally

produces a satiety of life itself,) as the most miserable man, whose appetite of life seems even by this observation to continue as long as his appetite of meat; for as long as he is able to receive meat, the remembrance of death is bitter to him. The philosophers who most undervalued life and most contemned death, and thought it worthy a serious meditation and recollection, "*Utrum commodius sit, vel mortem transire ad nos, vel nos ad eam,*" whether we should stay till death calls upon us, or we call upon it; and believed that it was the greatest obligation that Providence had laid upon mankind, "*Quod unum introitum nobis ad vitam dedit, exitus multos;*" and that it was therefore a very foolish thing to complain of life, when they may determine it when they will: "*Hoc est unum, cur quod de vita non possimus queri; neminem tenet;*" they may choose whether they will live or no: and though men were obliged to make their lives conformable to the good examples of other men, in the manner of their death they were only to please themselves, "*Optima est quæ placet;*" yet there was a great difference in this point between the philosophers themselves; and many of them held it very unlawful, and a great wickedness, for any man to offer violence to himself, and to deprive himself of his own life, and "*Exspectandum esse exitum quem natura decrevit:*" and surely, excluding all other considerations, there seems to be more fortitude and courage in daring to live miserably, and to undergo those assaults which that life is liable to, than in preventing and redeeming himself from it by a sudden voluntary death; and the other party, which most disliked and professed against this restraint,

as the contradiction of that liberty in which man was born, as very few of them in their practice parted voluntarily with their lives, so in their discourses they kept the balance equal; and as they would not have their disciples too much in love with life, to set too high and too great a value upon it, so they would by no means suffer them to contemn, much less hate, it; "*Ne nimis amemus vitam, et ne nimis oderimus:*" they had so many cautions and hesitations and distinctions about the abandoning of life, that a man may see that death was no pleasant prospect to them. He who would kill himself ought to do it with deliberation and decency, "*Non fugere debet e vitâ, sed exire;*" and above all, that "*libido moriendi*" was abominable. It must not be a dislike of life, but a satiety in it, that disposed them to part with it. The truth is, though they could have no farther reflections in this disquisition, than were suggested to them by a full consideration of the law of nature, and the obligations thereof, and could not consider it as a thing impious in itself as it related to heaven and hell, yet the difference that was in their view was very great between being and not being, and their little or no comprehension what was done after death, or whether any thing succeeded or no, that many of them from thence valued life the more, and some of them the less.

The best Christians need not be ashamed to sharpen, to raise their own contemplations and devotions, by their reflection upon the discourse of the heathen philosophers; but they may be ashamed if from those reflections their piety be not indeed both instructed and exalted: and if their

mere reason could raise and incite them to so great a reverence for virtue, and so solicitous a pursuit of it, we may well blush if our very reason, so much informed by them, be not at least equal to theirs; and being endowed and strengthened with clear notions of religion, it doth not carry us higher than they were able to mount, and to a perfection they were not able to ascend to. We may learn from them to undervalue life so much, as not affect it above the innocence of living or living innocently; we may so far learn from them to condemn death, as not to avoid it with the guilt or infamy of living. But then the consideration of heaven and hell, the reward and punishment which will inevitably attend our living and dying well or ill, will both raise and fix our thoughts of life and death in another light than they were accustomed to; neither of those Lands of Promise having been contained in their map, or in any degree been exposed to their prospect; and nothing but the view of those landmarks can infuse into us a just esteem of life, and a just apprehension of death. Christianity then doth neither oblige us not to love life, or not to fear death, but to love life so little, that we may fear death the less. Nothing can so well prepare us for it, as a continual thinking upon it; and our very reason methinks should keep us thinking of that which we know must come, and cannot know when; and therefore the being much surprised with the approach of it is as well a discredit to our reason as to our religion; and beyond an humble and contented expectation of it religion requires not from us: it being impossible for any man who is bound to pay money upon demand, not

to think of having the money ready against it is demanded; nor doth any man resolve to make a journey, without providing a *viaticum* for that journey; and this preparation will serve our turn; that "libido moriendi" is no injunction of Christianity; and we know in the primitive times, that as great pains were taken to remove those fears and apprehensions out of the hearts of Christians, which terrified them out of their religion, by presenting to them the great reward and joy and pleasure which they were sure to be possessed of who died for their religion; so there was no less to restrain them from being transported with such a zeal, as made them, out of the affectation of martyrdom, to call for it, by finding out and reproaching the judges, and declaring their faith unasked, that they might be put to death; to be contented to die when they could not honestly avoid it, was the true martyrdom. We need not seek death out, it will come in its due time: and if we then conform decently to its summons, we have done what is expected from us. There are so many commendable and worthy ends for which we may desire to live, that we may very lawfully desire that our death may be deferred. St. Paul himself, who had been so near heaven that he was not sure that he had not been there, was put to a stand, and corrected his impatience to be there again, with the consideration of the good he might do by living and continuing in this world; "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better: nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you," Phil. i. 23, 24. He knew well his own place there which was

reserved for him, but he knew as well that the longer his journey thither was deferred, he should have the more company there; and this made his choice of life, even upon the comparison, very warrantable. Men may very piously desire to live, to comply with the very obligation of nature in cherishing their wives and bringing up their children, and to enjoy the blessings of both: and that he may contribute to the peace and happiness and prosperity of his country, he may heartily pray not to die. Length of days is a particular blessing God vouchsafes to those he favours most, as giving them thereby both a task and opportunity to do the more good. They who are most weary of life, and yet are most unwilling to die, are such who have lived to no purpose; who have rather breathed than lived. They who pretend to the apostle's ecstasy, and to desire a dissolution from a religious nauseating the folly and wickedness of this world, and out of a devout contemplation of the joys of heaven, administer too much cause of doubting, that they seem to triumph over nature more than they have cause, and that they had rather live till the next year than die in this. He who believes the world not worthy of him, may in truth be thought not worthy of the world. If men are not willing to be deprived of their fortunes and preferments and liberty, which are but the ordinary perquisites of life, they may very justifiably be unwilling to be deprived of life itself, upon which those conveniences depend; and death is accompanied with many things, which we are not obliged solicitously to covet. We are well prepared for it,

when by continual thinking upon it we are so prepared, as not to be in any degree terrified with the approach of it, and at the resigning our life into his hands who gave it; and a temper beyond this is rather to be imagined than attained, by any of those rules of understanding which accompany a man that is in good health of body and mind; and the sickness and infirmity of either is more like to amaze and corrupt the judgment, than to elevate and inspire it with any rational, transcendent, and practical speculations. The best counsel is to prepare the mind by still thinking of it, "*Illis gravis est, quibus est repentina, facile eam sustinet qui semper exspectat.*" No doubt it must exceedingly disorder all their faculties, who cannot endure the mention of it, and do sottishly believe (for many such sots there are) that they shall die the sooner, if they do any of those things which dying people used to do, and which nobody ought to defer till that season: and there cannot be a better expedient to enable men to pass that time with courage and moderate cheerfulness, than so to have dispatched and settled all the business of the world when a man is in health, that he may be vacant, when sickness comes, from all other thoughts but such as are fit to be the companions of death, and from all other business but dying; which, as it puts an end in a moment to all that is mortal, so it requires the operation of more than is mortal to make that last moment agreeable and happy.

XI. OF FRIENDSHIP.

Montpellier, 1670.

FRIENDSHIP must have some extraordinary excellence in it, when the great philosopher as well as best orator commends it to us to prefer before all things in the world; "Ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis:" and it must be very precious, when it was the circumstance that made David's highest affliction most intolerable, that his lover and his friend was put from him; and there could be no aggravation of the misery he endured, when his own familiar friend, in whom he trusted, was turned against him. This heroic virtue is pretended to by all, but understood or practised by very few, which needs no other manifestation, than that the choleric person thinks it an obligation upon his friend to assist him in a murder; the unthrifty and licentious person expects that friendship should oblige him who pretends to love him, to waste all his estate in riots and excesses, by becoming bound for him, and so liable to pay those debts which his pride and vanity contract. In a word, there is nothing that the most unreasonable faction, or the most unlawful combination and conspiracy, can be applied to compass, which is not thought by those who should govern the world to be the proper and necessary office of friendship; and that the laws of friendship are extremely violated and broken, if it doth not engage in the performance of all those offices, how unjust and unworthy soever. And thus the sacred name of friendship, and all the generous duties which result from it,

are dishonoured and discredited, as if they could be applied to the propagation of vice, or to the support of actions inconsistent with discretion and honesty. The son of Sirach had no such imagination, when he pronounces, that "a faithful friend is the medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him:" if he be a gift that God bestows upon them who fear him, they will not lose both the gift and the giver upon vile and unworthy employments. Let us therefore, lest this precious blessed composition be driven out of the world, by the falsehood and violence of those who pretend to adore it, or withdraw itself from mankind, because there are so few breasts prepared to receive and entertain it, in the first place, examine what in truth friendship is; what are the obligations of it; and what persons, by the excellence or corruption of their natures, are capable or incapable of being possessed of it, and receiving the effects of it. It may be, it is easier to describe, as most men have done who have writ of it, than to define friendship; yet I know not why it may not rightly be defined to be, an union between just and good men, in their joint interest and concernment, and for the advancement thereof: for it hath always been consented to, that there can be no friendship but between good men, because friendship can never be severed from justice; and consequently can never be applied to corrupt ends. It is the first law of friendship, if we believe Tully, who saw as far into it as any man since, "ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati:" which puts an end to all their endeavours, who would draw any corrupted liquor from so pure a fountain. Friendship neither

requires nor consents to any thing that is not pure and sincere; they who introduce the least spot or crooked line into the draught and portraiture of friendship, destroy all its beauty, and render it so deformed, that it cannot be known. Let us then examine, from the integrity of this definition and institution, what the obligations of it are, and what friends are bound under that seal to do or suffer for one another.

1. The first and principal obligation is, to assist each other with their counsel and advice; and because the greatest cement that holds and keeps them together, is the opinion they have of each other's virtue, they are to watch as carefully as is possible that neither of them swerve from the strict rules thereof; and if the least propensity towards it be discovered, to apply admonition and counsel and reprehension to prevent a lapse. He who sees his friend do amiss, commit a trespass upon his honour or upon his conscience, do that which he were better not do, or do that which he ought not to do, and doth not tell him of it, do all he can to reform him, hath broken the laws of friendship; since there is no one obligation to be named with it; so that it may be said to be so much the sole use of friendship, that where that fails, the performance of all other offices is to no purpose; and it may be observed, that few men have ever fallen into any signal misfortune, at least not been lost in it, who have ever been possessed of a true friend, except it be in a time when virtue is a crime. Counsel and reprehension was a duty of the text in the Levitical law; "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him," (Lev. xix. 17.)

and Mr. Selden tell us of a Rabbi, that thought it one of the principal causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, because they had left off reproving one another, "*Non excisa fuisset Ierosolima, nisi quoniam alter alterum non coarguebat ;*" and there is no doubt, the not exercising this essential part of friendship with that sincerity and plainness it ought to be, hath been, and is, the occasion of infinite mischief, and hath upon the matter annihilated friendship, and brought it under the reproach of being a pander, and prostituted to all the vile offices of compliance with the infirmities and vices of the person it regards. It is thought to be a necessary office of friendship, to conceal the faults of a friend, and make them be thought much less than they are ; and it is so : every man ought to be very tender of the reputation of one he loves, and to labour that he may be well thought of ; that is his duty with reference to others : but he is neither to lessen or conceal it to himself, who can best provide for his reputation, by giving no cause for aspersion ; and he, who in such cases gives not good counsel to his friend, betrays him.

2. The second office of friendship is, to assist the interest and pretence of his friend with the utmost power he hath, and with more solicitude than if it were his own, as in truth it is ; but then Tully's rule is excellent, "*Tantum cuique tribuendum est, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde quantum quem diligas atque adjuves possit sustinere ;*" men are not willing to have any limits put to their desires, but think their friends bound to help them to any thing they think themselves fit for. But friendship justly considers what in truth they are,

not what they think themselves fit for; *quantum possunt sustinere*: friendship may be deceived, and overvalue the strength and capacity of his friend, think that he can sustain more than indeed his parts are equal to; but friendship is not so blind, as not to discern a total unfitness, an absolute incapacity, and can never be engaged to promote such a subject. It can never prefer a man to be a judge, who knows nothing of the law; nor to be a general, who was never a soldier. Promotions, in which the public are concerned, must not be assigned by the excess of private affections; which, though possibly they may choose the less fit, must never be so seduced as not to be sure there is a competent fitness in the person they make choice of: otherwise friendship, that is compounded of justice, would be unjust to the public, out of private kindness towards particular persons; which is the highest injustice imaginable, of which friendship is not capable.

3. The third duty of friendship is entire confidence and communication, without which faithful counsel the just tribute of friendship can never be given; and therefore reservation in friendship is like concealment in confession, which makes the absolution void, as the other doth the counsel of no effect. Seneca's advice is excellent, "Diu cogita an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit:" It is want of this deliberation, this long thinking whether such a man be capable of friendship, and whether thou thyself art fit for it, that brings so much scandal upon it, makes friendships of a day, or rather miscalls every short acquaintance, any light conversation, by the title of friendship; of which

very many of those are incapable, who are fit enough for acquaintance, and commendable enough in conversation. When thou hast considered this well, which thou canst do without considering it long; *cum placuerit fieri*, if thou resolvest that he is fit for thy friendship, *toto illum pectore admittit*, receive him into thy bosom; let him be possessed of all thy purposes, all thy thoughts; to conceal any thing from him now is an affront, and a disavowing him for thy friend. It is the reason the Roman church gives, why they define the reservation and concealment of any sin, or circumstance of it, in confession of it, to be sacrilege, because it defrauds God of somewhat that was due to him from the penitent; and by the same reason, the not entirely communicating all thou knowest and all thou thinkest is a lay sacrilege, a retaining somewhat that is his due by the dedication of friendship: and without this sincere communication, the principal use of friendship is abated and withheld, and the true virtue thereof undiscovered, and the comfort that attends it.

The fourth obligation in friendship is constancy, and continuing firm to the laws and obligations of it. Friendship is so much more a sacrament than marriage is, that in many cases a friend is more to be trusted and relied upon than the wife of his bosom; and so is not to be cast off or dismissed, but upon the most discovered and notorious transgressions; and even then there will remain some marks, yea and obligations, which can never be razed out or cancelled. Scipio had never patience so much as to hear that proposition of Bias the philosopher pronounced, "*Ita amare oportere ut aliquando*

esset osurus," that a man was to love his friend in such a manner, that he might hate him likewise if there were an occasion; which indeed was a barbarous advice of a rude Stoic, whose profession was not to appear like other men. It is possible that a friend may fall so far from the laws of virtue and justice, and commit such crimes and offences, that, like violating the integrity of the marriage-bed, may cause a separation even to the dissolution of friendship; but it is not possible for a friend to think he will do so till he hath done it notoriously: and even after that time, though the communication which constituted the friendship be interrupted, there remains still some inclination; and he thinks it just to pay such a penalty for the error and unskilfulness of his election, that he hath still kindness and pity, and is never heard to load his divorced friend with reproaches and severe censures; it is grief enough not to speak of it at all, but he can never be provoked to speak bitterly of him; the grateful memory of the past intercourse, and of some virtue that was in the object, will preserve him from that indecency. There cannot be a greater manifestation how falsely or weakly the common friendships of the age are founded and entered into, than by every day's observation of men, who profess friendship this day to those against whom they declare to-morrow the most mortal and implacable hatred and malice; and blush not the next day to depress the same man with all the imaginable marks of infamy, whom the day before they extolled with all the commendations and praises which humanity is capable of: whereas, in truth, natural modesty should restrain men, who have been given to speak

too well of some men, from speaking at all ill of the same persons, that their former excess may be thought to proceed from their abundant charity, not from the defect of their judgment. Solomon thought friendship so sacred a tie, that nothing but the discovery of secrets, which is adultery in marriage, could separate from it; and surely a greater violation of friendship cannot be than such a discovery, and scarce any other guilt towards the person of a friend can be equal to it. But friendship may be broken and dissolved by faults committed against other persons, though of no immediate relation to the friend himself. When men cease to be of the same virtue they were, or professed and seemed to be of, when that conjunction was entered into: if they cease to be just and pious, and fall into the practice of some notorious and scandalous vice; friendship is of so delicate a temper, that she thinks her own beauty impaired by those spots, and herself abandoned by that foul practice. If the avowing a friendship for a corrupt and wicked person be so scandalous, that the best men cannot bear the reproach of it, such a departure from probity and a good name will excuse and justify the others withdrawing from that virtuous relation, so much already abandoned by the impiety of the transgressor; yet there will remain such a compassion towards the person, which is very consistent with the detestation of the vice, that he shall receive all the offices of charity, kindness, and generosity, which cannot but still spring from some root or branch of the withered and decayed former friendship, that can never be totally extinguished, though the lustre be faded and the vigour lost.

Since, then, the temper and composition of friendship itself is so delicate and spiritual, that it admits no mere carnal ingredients, and the obligations of it are so inseparable and indispensable, we cannot but discern how many classes of men are utterly incapable of being admitted into that relation; or rather, how very few are worthy to be received into the retinue of friendship, which all the world lays a claim to. The proud man can very hardly act any part in friendship, since he reckons none to be his friends but those who admire him; and thinks very few wise enough to administer advice and counsel to him, nor will admit any man to have the authority of reprehension, without which friendship cannot subsist. The choleric, angry, impatient man can be very little delighted with it, since he abhors nothing so much as contradiction; and friendship exercises no liberty more than that of contradicting, finding fault with any thing that is amiss, and is as obstinate in controuling as the most stubborn nature can be in transgressing. The licentious and lustful person is so transported with those passions which he calls love, that he abhors nothing so much as the name of friendship; which he knows would be always throwing water upon that fire which he wishes should still inflame him, and endeavouring to extinguish all those appetites, the satisfying whereof gives him all the pleasure he enjoys in life. And, lastly, to the covetous, unjust, and ambitious person, nothing can be so uneasy, so grievous, and so odious, as friendship; which affronts all their desires and pursuits with rude discourses of the wealth of contentedness, of the fame of integrity, and of the state and glory of humility,

and would persuade them to make themselves happy, by renouncing all those things which they care for. There being then such an incongruity and unaptness in these several classes of men, which comprehend so large a part of mankind, to receive and give entertainment to this transcendent virtue, which is the ornament of life, that friendship seems to be reserved only for those, who, by being already persons of that rare perfection and rectitude, can receive least benefit by it, and so is an impertinent cordial prepared only for their use who enjoy excellent health, and is not to be applied to the weak, sick, or indisposed, for their recovery or preservation; there is no doubt there must be at least a disposition to virtue in all who would entertain, or be entertained in friendship: the several vices mentioned before, exalted into habits, have more poison in them, than the antidote of friendship can expel or delights to contend with; there must be some declension of their vigour, before they will permit the patient the leisure to walk in the gentle and temperate air of any sober and serious conversation. But as there is no such perfection in nature, nor any such accomplishment of manners, no such quality and degree of life to which friendship is not exceedingly useful, and which doth not receive infinite benefit and advantage by it and from it; (and therefore if kings and princes are incapable of it, by the sublime inequality of their persons with men of a lower rank, for friendship does suppose some kind of equality, it is such an allay to their transcendent happiness, that they shall do well, by art and condescension, to make themselves fit for that which nature hath not

made them;) so it may by degrees and faint approaches be entertained by, and have operation upon, even those depraved affections and tempers, which seem most averse from, and incapable of the effects and offices of it.

Friendship is compounded of all those soft ingredients which can insinuate themselves and slide insensibly into the nature and temper of men of the most different constitutions, as well as of those strong and active spirits which can make their way into perverse and obstinate dispositions; and because discretion is always predominant in it, it works and prevails least upon fools. Wicked men are often reformed by it, weak men seldom. It doth not fly in the face of the proud man, nor endeavour to jostle him out of his way with unseasonable reprehensions; but watches fit occasions to present his own vices and infirmities in the persons of other men, and makes them appear ridiculous, that he may fall out with them in himself. It provokes not the angry man by peremptory contradictions; he understands the nature of the passion, as well as of the person, too well, to endeavour to suppress or divert it with discourses when it is in fury, but even complies and provokes it that he may extinguish it: "*Simulabit iram, ut tanquam adjutor et doloris comes, plus auctoritatis in consiliis habeat;*" a friend will pretend to have a greater sense of the indignity, that he may be of counsel in the revenge, and so will defer it till it be too late to execute it, and till the passion is burned out with its own fire. Friendship will not assault the lustful person with the commendation of chastity; and will rather discourse of the dis-

cases and contempt that will accompany him, than of the damnation that will attend him; it applies caution and lenitives to vice that is in rage and flagrant, the fever of which must be in remission before the sovereign remedies of conscience are to be administered. There is a weakness that contributes to health; and counsel must be as warily increased as diet, whilst there are dregs enough left of the disease to spoil the operation and digestion. Friendship hath the skill and observation of the best physician, the diligence and vigilance of the best nurse, and the tenderness and patience of the best mother. Lastly, it will not endeavour to reform those who are covetous, unjust, or ambitious, by persuading them that poverty is to be preferred before plenty; that it is better to be oppressed than to oppress; and that contempt is more to be affected than honour. Friendship is neither obliged, nor obliges itself, to such problems; but leaves it to those who satisfy themselves in speaking what they think true, without caring whether it does good, or whether any body believes them or no. Friendship may lose its labour, but it is very solicitous that it may not; and therefore applies such counsels as it may reasonably presume will not be cast up, though it may not carry away all the humour it is applied to. It will tell the covetous man, that he may grow very rich, and yet spend part of his wealth as he gathers it, generously upon himself, and charitably upon others; it will put him in mind of Solomon's observation, that "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty," Prov. xi, 24. And how far the appre-

kenſion of that which he moſt endeavours to avoid may work upon him, depends much upon the force and power of friendſhip; and it hath wrought a great cure, if it hath prevailed with him to make his money his ſervant, and to do the buſineſs of a ſervant, inſtead of being a ſlave to his money. It is not to be expected, that all the precepts and all the example of the ſtrongeſt friendſhip ſhall have force enough to drive away all the malignity which poſſeſſes theſe ſeveral diſtemper'd perſons; it will be very much, and a ſufficient evidence of the divine influence of friendſhip, if it prevails with the proud man to be leſs proud, and to endure to be in that company that doth not flatter him; if it makes the angry man ſo much aſhamed, as to bluſh for his impertinent rage, and though he cannot ſuppreſs it, yet to excuſe it; if he brings the luſtful perſon to abhor unclean diſcourſes, to live *cauſe* if not *caſte*, and to endeavour to conceal his ſin, though it cannot ſuppreſs it; and if it can perſuade the covetous man to be leſs ſordid towards himſelf, though not leſs avaricious towards others, it hath done great offices, and ſown ſeed that may grow up to the deſtruction of many of the weeds which are left. And it hath been often ſeen, that many of theſe vices have been wonderfully blaſted, and even wither'd away, by the diſcreet caſtigation of a friend; and rarely known that they have continued long in their full rage and vigour, when they have been ſet upon or undermined by ſkilful friendſhip.

But I cannot here avoid being told, that here is an excellent cordial provided for people in the plague, to whom nobody hath the charity to adm-

minister it; that since friendship can only be between good men, the several ill qualities which possess those persons have made them incapable of it, and so cannot receive those offices from it; if the proud and the angry, the lustful, revengeful, and ambitious person, be not capable of friendship, they can never receive benefit by it. It is very true, there cannot be a perfect entire friendship with men of those depraved affections, who cannot perform the functions of it; there cannot be that confidence, communication, and mutual concernment between such persons, and those that are endowed with that virtue and justice which is the foundation of friendship: but men may receive the benefit and offices of friendship who are neither worthy nor capable of entering into the society and obligation of it, or to return those offices they receive. It hath so much justice in it, that it is solicitous to relieve any body that is oppressed, though it hath proceeded from his own default; and it hath so much charity in it, that it is ready to give to whoever wants, though it could choose a better object. It is possible that a fast friendship with a worthy father may in such a degree descend to an unworthy son, that it may extend itself in all the offices towards him which friendship uses to produce; though he can make no proportionable return, nor, it may be, cares not for that exercise of it. It is not impossible but that we may have contracted friendship with men who then concealed their secret vices, which would, if discovered, have obstructed the contract; or they may afterwards fall into those vices, which cannot but dissolve it, interrupt that communication and confidence which is

the soul of it: yet in neither of those cases, we must not retire to such a distance, as not to have the former obligation in our view; we must so far separate as to appear at the farthest distance from their corruptions, but we must retain still a tender compassion for their persons, and still administer to them all the comfort and all the counsel that may restore them again to an entire capacity of our friendship; and if that cannot be, to prosecute them still with some effects of it, inflict upon ourselves, for our own oversight and want of prudence, more patience and more application than we are bound to use towards strangers; in a word, friendship is so diffusive, that it will insinuate its effects to the benefit of any who are in any degree capable of receiving benefit from it.

XII. OF COUNSEL AND CONVERSATION.

Montpellier, 1670.

COUNSEL and conversation is a second education, that improves all the virtue and corrects all the vice of the former, and of nature itself; and who-soever hath the blessing to attain this benefit, and understands the advantage of it, will be superior to all the difficulties of this life, and cannot miss his way to the next. Which is the more easy to be believed, by the contrary prospect, by the evidence of the infinite mischief which the corrupt and evil conversation the company of wicked men produces in the world, to the making impressions upon those who are not naturally ill inclined, but by degrees wrought upon, first to laugh at chastity, religion, and virtue, and all virtuous men, and then

to hate and contemn them ; so that it is a miracle of some magnitude for any one to have much conversation with such people, to be often in that company, and afterwards heartily to forsake them ; and he ought to look upon himself as a brand pulled and snatched out of the fire by the omnipotent arm of God himself. I know not how it comes to pass, but notorious it is, that men of depraved principles and practice are much more active and solicitous to make proselytes, and to corrupt others, than pious and wise men are to reduce and convert ; as if the devil's talent were more operative and productive, than that which God entrusts in the hands of his children, which seems to be wrapped up in a napkin without being employed : " Frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually, he soweth discord," says Solomon of his wicked man, (Prov. x. 14.) " Pravo corde architectatur malum," as one translation renders it ; he doth not do mischief by chance, or negligently, but deliberates how he may do it with more success ; he builds it commodiously and speciously to the eye, that it may invite men to inhabit it ; there is no industry nor art wanting to make it prosper, and to yield a good harvest : whereas good men are content to enjoy the peace and tranquillity of their own consciences ; are very strict in all they say or do ; and are severe examiners of their own actions, that they may be correspondent to their professions, and take themselves to be without any obligation to be inquisitive into the actions of other men. Which, though it be a good temper to restrain that unlawful curiosity and censoriousness, which would dispose us to be remiss towards ourselves, and severe censurers of

the actions of other men, is far from the communicative duty which we owe to our brethren in an open and friendly conversation. "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," was an injunction of our Saviour himself to St. Peter (Luke xxii. 28.) God bestows conversion and any other perfections upon us, that we may convert and mend other men: charity is diffusive, and cares not what it spends, so it enriches others. There are two very erroneous opinions, which hinder and obstruct those offices which should flow from the perfections of all men towards others: the first, that it is the office of the ministers and preachers to teach all men their duty to God, and to instruct them in the ways of a virtuous and innocent conversation; the second, that men are generally little the better for advice, and care not to receive it, except from persons who have some authority over them. For the first, the preachers need all the help other men can give them towards the reforming of men's manners, without which they will be able to contribute but very little to their faith; and the chief reason that their faith is not better, is, because their manners are so bad, which the preachers can very hardly be informed of, nor easily take notice of when they are informed: the second proceeds from too ill an opinion of mankind, which is much more tractable than it is thought to be, and hath an inward reverence for that virtue it doth not practise; and there is too much reason to believe, that vice flourishes more by the negligence of those who are enemies to it, than the cherishing it receives by those who practise it; and if the others laboured so much as they ought to do to prevent the growth

of it, to nip it in the bud before it be grown impudent, and plucking it up by the roots when it is grown so, by severe and sharp reprehension, the vigour of it would quickly decay; and nothing is so frequent as cures of this kind by honest conversation, which insinuates itself into the minds of men insensibly, and by degrees gets authority, and even a jurisdiction, over the hearts of the worst men: the hearing the ordinary discourses of sober and discreet men, the very being where they are, and looking upon them, works great effects; "*Est aliquid, quod ex magno viro, vel tacente, proficias;*" the very aspect of a venerable person, though he says nothing, leaves an impression upon the mind of any man who is not utterly abandoned to vice; and men of loose principles find another kind of spirit of mirth, and it may be another kind of sharpness of wit, in innocent and virtuous conversation, that may have some condescension to make itself delighted in, and thereupon care less for the company they have kept, and more for that they are fallen into. And it is a wonderful degree of recovery; when men have these recollections, they will quickly attain to the rest; he that hath redeemed himself out of ill company, or from taking delight in it, is far advanced towards a perfect reformation: It was a very important circumspection that Epicurus prescribed to his disciple, to be more careful "*cum quibus edas aut bibis, quam quid edas aut bibis;*" no diet can be so mischievous as the company in which it is taken. And if the first corruption be not sucked in from the domestic manners, a little providence might secure men in their first entrance into the world; at least, if parents took

as much care to provide for their children's conversation, as they do for their clothes, and to procure a good friend for them as a good tailor.

It is not looked upon as the business of conversation to mend each other, the fairness of it rather consists in not offending; the propagating part is not enough understood; if it were, men would take more joy, and feel a greater inward content, in making men good and pious and wise, than in any other kind of generation: which are but the vulgar acts of nature; but the mending and exalting the soul is so near a new act of creation, that it illustrates it; and this illustration God expects from those whom he hath qualified for it, by giving them parts above other men, virtuous and good dispositions, and if he adds eminency of place too, which draws the eyes of men more upon them, and inclines them to submit to their advice and directions. And it is no discharge of their duty to be innocent and entire themselves, if they do not make others so by their conversation as well as their example: they are very good magistrates (and a commonwealth prospers much the better for having such) who are very strict and severe against offenders, and retain men within their duties, by punishing those who transgress; but they are much better magistrates, who, by their communication and instruction, and any other condescension, can lessen the number of delinquents; which, without doubt, is in every good man's power to do, according to their several degrees, if they made it their business (and better business they cannot have,) to inform their friends and their neighbours before they commit faults, and reclaim them after they have

committed them by animadversions and reprehensions. The malignity of man's nature is not so violent and impetuous, as to hurry them at first, and at once, into any supreme and incorrigible love of wickedness: poor people begin first to be idle, which brings want upon them, before they arrive at the impudence of stealing; and if they were at first brought to be in love with industry, which is as easily learned, and it may be in itself as easy as idleness, the other mischief would be never thought of. The first ingredients into the most enormous crimes, are ignorance, incogitance, or some sudden violent passion; which a little care in a charitable neighbour might easily inform and reform, before it grows up into rebellion, or contempt of religion. Every man ought to be a physician to him for whose malady he hath a certain cure; and there is scarce a more infallible cure than counsel and conversation, which hath often recovered the most profligate persons; and hath so seldom failed, that an enormous man of dissolute and debauched manners hath been rarely known, who hath lived in frequent conversation with men of wisdom and unblameable lives. But it will be said, that such people will never like or endure that conversation. It may be, like ill physicians, we may too soon despair of the recovery of some patients; and therefore leave them to desperate experiments: we are too apt to look so superciliously upon the natural levities and excesses of youth, as if they were not worth the pains of conversion; or that it would be best wrought by necessities, contempt, or prisons: either of which are very ill schools to reduce them to virtue. Such men will never decline the con-

versation of their superiors, if they may be admitted to it, though it may be they intend to laugh at it; but by this, in an instant, they depart from the pleasure of obscene and profane discourses, and insensibly find an alteration in their nature, their humour, and their manners; there being a sovereign and a subtle spirit in the conversation of good and wise men, that insinuates itself into corrupt men, that though they know not how it comes about, they sensibly feel an amendment: "Non reprehendent quemadmodum aut quando, profuisse reprehendent;" they cannot tell how or when, but they are sure they are restored. It is great pity that so infallible a medicine should be locked up by prejudice or morosity.

XIII. OF PROMISES.

Montpellier, 1670.

PROMISES was the ready money that was first coined, and made current by the law of nature, to support that society and commerce that was necessary for the comfort and security of mankind; and they who have adulterated this pure and legitimate metal with an alloy of distinctions and subtle evasions, have introduced a counterfeit and pernicious coin, that destroys all the simplicity and integrity of human conversation. For what obligations can ever be the earnest of faith and truth, if promises may be violated? The superinduction of others for the corroboration and maintenance of government had been much less necessary, if promises had still preserved their primitive vigour and reputation; nor can any thing be said for the non-

performance of a promise, which may not as reasonably be applied to the non-observation of an oath; and in truth, men have not been observed to be much restrained by their oaths, who have not been punctual in their promises, the same sincerity of nature being requisite to both. The philosopher went farther than his profession obliged him, or in truth than it admitted, when he would not have the performance exacted, unless "*omnia essent eadem, quæ fuerint cum promitteres;*" and the distinction was necessary, when he thought it fit to avoid a promise he had made to a man that appears to be an ill man, who seemed a very good and worthy person when he made this promise: and a greater change could not be: yet he seemed not over pleased with his own distinction, and would rather comply with his promise, if it could be done without much inconvenience. But too many Christian casuists have gone much farther in finding out many inventions and devices to evade and elude the faith of promise, if there hath been force or fraud, or any other circumvention, in the contriving the promise and engagement; which must dissolve all the contracts and bargains which are commonly made among men, who still contend to be too hard for one another, that they may advance or lessen their commodity. And no doubt the forming and countenancing those dispensations hath introduced much improbity and tergiversation into the nature and minds of men, which they were not acquainted with whilst they had a due consideration of the sacredness of their word and promise. It is from the impiety of this doctrine, that we run with that precipitation into promises and

oaths, and think it lawful to promise that which we know to be unlawful to perform. What is this but to proclaim perjury to be lawful, at the committing whereof every Christian heart ought to tremble; or rather to declare that there is no such sin, no such thing as perjury? There is no question, no man ought to perform an unlawful, much less a wicked oath or promise; but the wickedness of executing it doth not absolve any man from the guilt and wickedness of swearing that he would do it; he is perjured in not performing that which he would be more perjured in performing; and men who unwarily involve themselves in those labyrinths, cannot find the way out of them with innocence, and seldom choose to do it with that which is next to it, hearty repentance; but devise new expedients, which usually increase their crime and their perplexity. Where nothing of the law of God or some manifest deduction from thence doth controul our promises, it is great pity that the mere human law and policy of government should absolve men from the performance; and a good conscience will compel him to do that whom the law will not compel, but suffer to evade for his own benefit. We have not that probity which nature stated us in, if we do not "*castigare promittendi temeritatem,*" redeem the rashness and incogitance of our promise, by submitting to the inconvenience and damage of performance.

It is one of the greatest arguments which makes Machiavel seem to prefer the government of a commonwealth before that of monarchy (for he doth but seem to do it, how great a republican soever he is thought to be,) because he says kings

and princes are less direct in the observation of their promises and contracts than republics are ; and that a little benefit and advantage disposes them to violate them, when no profit that can accrue prevails upon the other to recede from the obligation : which would be indeed an argument of weight and importance, if it were true. Nor does the instance he gives us in any degree prove his assertion ; for it was not the justice of the senate of Athens that refused the proposition made by Themistocles, for the destruction of the whole fleet of the rest of Greece, to whom it was never made, but the particular exactness of Aristides, to whom it was discovered by order of the senate, that he might consider it ; and he reported, that the proposition was indeed very profitable, but most dishonest, upon which the senate rejected it, without knowing more of it ; which, if they had done, it is probable, by their other practices, that they might not so readily have declined it. Nor is the instance he gives of Phillip of Macedon other than a general averment, without stating the case : as his adored republic of Rome never outlived that infamous judgment, that, when a difference between two of their neighbours was by a joint consent referred to their arbitrement, to whom a piece of land in difference and dispute between them should belong, determined that it should belong to neither of them, but that they the republic of Rome should enjoy it themselves, because it lay very convenient for them ; so that form of government hath never since raised any monuments of their truth and justice, in the observation of the promises and contracts which they have made. But though his

comparison and preference had no good foundation, he had too much reason to observe, in the time in which he lived, how little account princes made of their word and promises, by the several and contradictory investitures which in a short time had been given of the kingdom of Naples, which overflowed all Italy with a deluge of blood, by the inconstancy and tergiversation of Ferdinand of Aragon, who swallowed up all the other investitures; and afterwards, by the insatiable ambition and animosity between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, when treaties and leagues were entered into, that they might take breath when they were weary, and with no other purpose than to watch an opportunity to break it to their advantage. This indeed was too great a prostitution of the dignity and faith of kings to the censure and reproach of their subjects, who found themselves every day under sentences and judgments for the breach of their words and contracts, which they had not entered into with half that solemnity, and that they must be bound to waste their estates, and lose or venture their lives in the maintenance and defence of their prince's wilful and affected violation of their word, promise, and oath, to satisfy their pride or their humour: and it may be, that easy inclination to faithlessness, in which God Almighty was made a party and a property in all their contracts, hath been a principal motive and cause of his heavy judgments upon those royal families; of which one, after a numerous issue, which might naturally have lasted to the end of the world, hath been long since so fully extinguished, that the name of Valois is lost in any lawful line; and the other is so near

expired, that it hath not strength left to draw much fear from their neighbours or reverence from their subjects, as if they looked upon it as worn out and forsaking the world. How observable soever the fate of those very great princes hath been, yet their successors have taken little notice of it; and though their virtues (for they had both transcendent princely qualities) have languished in imitation, their vices have been propagated with great vigour: and Christianity hath not a fitter scene for lamentation, than the consideration how little account kings and princes still make of the faith they give to each other, and upon how little or no provocation they break it, upon the least temptation of their inconveniency, or only because they are able to do it without controul or opposition: so that it is looked upon as no crime in a king, which is infamy in a gentleman; as if because there is no tribunal before which they can be accused, they cannot therefore be guilty of perjury. But they should wisely remember and foresee, that there is a high court of justice before which they must inevitably appear, where the perjury of princes will be so much more severely punished than that of private men, by how much it is always attended with a train of blood, and rapine, and other ill consequences, which the other is not guilty of.

XIV. OF LIBERTY.

Montpellier, 1670.

LIBERTY is the charm, which mutinous and seditious persons use, to pervert and corrupt the affections of weak and wilful people, and to lead them

into rebellion against their princes and lawful superiors : " *En illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas,*" said Cætiline, when he would draw the poor people into a conspiracy against the commonwealth. And in that transportation, men are commonly so weak and wilful, that they insensibly submit to conditions of more restraint and compulsion, and in truth to more and heavier penalties for the vindication of their liberty, than they were ever liable to in the highest violation of their liberty of which they complain, by how much the articles of war are more severe and hard to be observed, than the strictest injunctions under any peaceable government. However, no age hath been without dismal and bloody examples of this fury, when the very sound of liberty (which may well be called a charm) hath hurried those who would sacrifice to it, to do and to suffer all the acts of tyranny imaginable, and to make themselves slaves that they may be free. There is no one thing that the mind of man may lawfully desire and take delight in, that is less understood and more fatally mistaken than the word liberty; which though no man is so mad as to say it consists in being absolved from all obligations of law, which would give every man liberty to destroy him; yet they do in truth think it to be nothing else than not to be subject to those laws which restrain them from doing somewhat they have a mind to do; so that whoever is carried away upon that seditious invitation, hath set his heart upon some liberty that he affects, a liberty for revenge, a liberty for rapine, or the like: which, if owned and avowed, would seduce very few; but being concealed, every man gratifies himself with

such an image of liberty as he worships, and so concur together to overthrow that government that is inconvenient to them all, though disliked by very few in one and the same respect; and therefore the strength of rebellion consists in the private gloss which every man makes to himself upon the declared argument of it, not upon the reasons published and avowed, how specious and popular soever; and thence it comes to pass, that most rebellions expire in a general detestation of the first promoters of them, by those who kept them company in the prosecution, and discover their ends to be very different from their profession.

True and precious liberty, that is only to be valued, is nothing else but that we may not be compelled to do any thing that the law hath left in our choice whether we will do or no; nor hindered from doing any thing we have a mind to do, and which the law hath given us liberty to do, if we have a mind to it: and compulsion and force in either of these cases, is an act of violence and injustice against our right, and ought to be repelled by the sovereign power, and may be resisted so far by ourselves as the law permits. The law is the standard and the guardian of our liberty; it circumscribes and defends it; but to imagine liberty without a law, is to imagine every man with his sword in his hand, to destroy him who is weaker than himself; and that would be no pleasant prospect to those who cry out most for liberty. Those men, of how great name and authority soever, who first introduced that opinion, that nature produced us in a state of war, and that order and government was the effect of experience and contract, by which

man surrendered the right he had by nature, to avoid that violence which every man might exercise upon another, have been the authors of much mischief in the world, by infusing into the hearts of mankind a wrong opinion of the institution of government, and that they may lawfully vindicate themselves from the ill bargains that their ancestors made for that liberty which nature gave them, and they ought only to have released their own interest and what concerned themselves, but that it is most unreasonable and unjust that their posterity should be bound by their ill-made and unskilful contracts: and from this, resentment and murmur, war and rebellion have arisen, which commonly leave men under much worse condition than their forefathers had subjected them to. Nor is it strange that philosophers, who could imagine no other way for the world to be made, but by a lucky convention and conjunction of atoms, nor could satisfy their own curiosity in any rational conjecture of the structure of man, or from what omnipotency he could be formed or created; I say, it is no wonder, that men so much in the dark as to matter of fact, should conceive by the light of their reason, that government did arise in that method, and by those argumentations, which they could best comprehend capable to produce such a conformity. But that men, who are acquainted with the scriptures, and profess to believe them; who thereby know the whole history of the creation, and have therein the most lively representations of all the excesses and defects of nature; who see the order and discipline and subjection prescribed to mankind from his creation, by Him who created

him ; and that that discipline and subjection was complied with till the world was grown very numerous ; that we, after so clear information of what was really and in truth done and commanded, should resort to the fancy and supposition of heathen philosophers for the invention of government, is very unreasonable, and hath exposed the peace and quiet of kingdoms, the preservation whereof is the obligation of conscience and religion, to the wild imaginations of men, upon the ungrounded conceptions of the primitive foundation of subjection and obedience, and to their licence to enervate both, by their bold definitions and distinctions.

Because very much of the benefit of Christianity consisted in the liberty it gave mankind from that thralldom which it suffered under the law, and in the manumission and deliverance from those observations and ceremonies, the apostles took not more care in the institution of any part of it, than that men might not be intoxicated with the pleasant taste of that liberty, or imagine that it extended to a lawlessness in their actions, well foreseeing, and being jealous lest their opinion of liberty might degenerate into licentiousness ; and therefore they circumscribed it with all possible caution, that they might have the whole benefit to themselves in abstaining from what was grievous and burthensome to them, not the presumption to disturb other men : " But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak," saith St. Paul, (1 Cor. viii. 9.) Do not dissemble and give men cause to believe, by accompanying them in what they do, that thou dost intend as they do, and hast

the same thoughts with them. "Use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh," is an injunction of the same apostle (Gal. v. 13.) How good a title soever you have to liberty, be not exalted by it to anger, and provoke a man, who (though by want of understanding) doth not think himself as free as thou art: no proportion of liberty will permit thee to be uncharitable, much less to apply it to satisfy thy ambition, or any other unlawful affection. Of all kind of affectation of liberty, to which the soul of man lets itself loose, there is none ought to be more carefully watched, and more strictly examined, than that which is so passionately pretended to, and so furiously embraced, liberty of conscience: other liberties which nature inclines and disposes us unto, how unwarrantable soever, may with more excuse, if not with more innocence, be indulged to, than that liberty which seems to take its rise from conscience: which, in truth, if it be legitimate, is the dictate of God himself; and therefore men ought to tremble in imputing any thing to result from Him, that leads them to the direct breach of any of his commandments, indeed that doth not restrain them from it. It is a very severe limitation by St. James, "So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty," (James ii. 12.) That liberty that will not be judged by the law, is an unlawful liberty; and men will find, if they are diligent in seeking, that the law of Christ, which is the judge of Christian liberty, doth oblige all his followers to submit to the laws of their lawful sovereigns which are not directly, and to their knowledge, contradictory to his own. Conscience is so pure a fountain, that no

polluted water can be drawn from thence ; and therefore St. Peter pronounces a judgment upon those, who, upon their being free, use their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, cover their wicked designs under the liberty of conscience, and so make God accessory to the iniquity he abhors.

XV. OF INDUSTRY.

Montpellier, 1670.

INDUSTRY is the cordial that nature hath provided to cure all its own infirmities and diseases, and to supply all its defects ; the weapon to preserve and defend us against all the strokes and assaults of fortune ; it is that only that conducts us through any noble enterprise to a noble end : what we obtain without it is by chance ; what we obtain with it is by virtue. It is very great pity that so powerful an instrument should be put into the hands of wicked men, who thereby gain such infinite advantages ; yet it cannot be denied but that it is a virtue which ill men make use of to very ill purposes. It was the first foundation of Jeroboam's greatness : " And Solomon seeing the young man that he was industrious, he made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph," (1 Kings xi. 28.) by which he got credit and authority to deprive his son of the greatest part of his dominions. There is no art or science that is too difficult for industry to attain to ; it is the gift of tongues, and makes a man understood and valued in all countries, and by all nations ; it is the philosopher's stone, that turns all metals, and even stones, into gold, and suffers

NO want to break into its dwellings; it is the north-west passage, that brings the merchant's ships as soon to him as he can desire: in a word, it conquers all enemies, and makes fortune itself pay contribution. If this omnipotent engine were applied to all virtuous and worthy purposes, it would root out all vice from the world; for the industry of honest men is much more powerful than the industry of the wicked, which prevails not so much by its own activity, as by the remissness and supine laziness of their unwary enemies. The beauty and the brightness of it appear most powerfully to our observation, by the view of the contempt and deformity of that which is most opposite to it, idleness; which enfeebles and enervates the strength of the soundest constitutions, shrinks and stupifies the faculties of the most vigorous mind, and gives all the destroying diseases to body and mind, without the contribution from any other vice. Idleness is the sin and the punishment of beggars, and should be detested by all noble persons, as a disease pestilential to their fortune and their honour.

I know not how it comes to pass, but the world pays dear for the folly of it, that this transcendent qualification of industry is looked upon only as an assistant fit for vulgar spirits, to which nature hath not been bountiful in the distribution of her store; as the refuge for dull and heavy men, who have neither their conceptions nor apprehensions within any distance, nor can arrive at any ordinary design without much labour and toil, and many unnecessary revolvings, which men of sharp and pregnant parts stand in no need of, whose rich fancy presents to them in a moment the view of all contingencies,

and all that occurs to formal and elaborate men after all their sweat; that they view and survey and judge and execute, whilst the others are tormenting themselves with imaginations of difficulty, till all opportunities are lost; that it is an affront to the liberality of nature, and to the excellent qualities she hath bestowed upon them, to take pains to find what they have about them, and to doubt that which is most evident to them, because men who have more dim sights cannot discern so far as they: and by this haughty childishness they quickly deprive themselves of the plentiful supplies which nature hath given them, for want of nourishment and recruits. If diligent and industrious men raise themselves, with very ordinary assistance from nature, to a great and deserved height of reputation and honour, by their solid acquired wisdom and confessed judgment, what noble flights would such men make with equal industry who are likewise liberally endowed with the advantages of nature! And without that assistance, experience makes it manifest unto us, that those early buddings, how vigorous soever they appear, if they are neglected and uncultivated by serious labour, they wither and fade away without producing any thing that is notable. Tully's rule to his orator is as true in all conditions of life, "*Quantum detraxit ex studio, tantum amisit ex gloria.*"

XVI. OF SICKNESS.

Montpellier, 1670.

"HEALTH and a good estate of body are above all gold, and a strong body above infinite wealth," says

the son of Sirach, (Ecc. xxx. 15.) and the greatest benefit of health is, that whilst it lasts, the mind enjoys its full vigour; whereas sickness, by the distemper of the body, discomposes the mind as much, and deprives its faculties of all their lustre. Sickness and pain, which is always attended with want of sleep, disturb, if not confound, the thoughts, and rob them of all their serenity; and infuse broken and melancholy and irresolute imaginations, which are as grievous and as painful as the sickness itself. It is one of God's kindest messengers, to put us in mind of our folly and incogitance, and excess in health; and how discomposed and disconsolate soever it renders our thoughts; it awakens those which have long slept, and presents many things to our clearest view, which we had laid aside never to be thought of more. Our memory is much more at our own disposal in our health, when negligence, mirth, and jollity have introduced such an incogitancy, that we seldom remember any thing that may trouble us; and if any thing of that kind intrude into our thoughts we have many sorts of remedies to drive it from thence: but sickness rouses up that faculty; and, above all, suffers us not to forget any thing of that which gives us most trouble in remembering. Every ambitious and every malicious thought of our own, of which nobody can accuse us, every proud and injurious word, of which nobody dares accuse us, and every insolent and unlawful action, which nobody will take upon them to control, present themselves clearly to our view in their most naked dress, and will not suffer us to sleep when our bodily pain and sickness intermit enough to give us that ease: they are now as im-

portunate and insolent towards us as they have been heretofore towards others; and take revenge, on the behalf of those towards whom we have been injurious, upon ourselves. And in this excellent perspective, through which we see all our faults and all our follies without varnish or disguise, it is probable we may discern more than our physicians can inform us, the very natural cause of that sickness and distemper under which we labour, from some excess long since committed and now punished. And God forbid that these unwilling and unwelcome recollections should not make that impression and reformation in us which they ought to do! which were to disappoint God's messenger, Sickness, of the effect for which he was sent; and which indeed is the only way to recover our health, or a much better and more lasting health than that which we have lost. But yet we may lawfully and piously say, that all these recollections and reflections, which we cannot avoid in sickness, and which in that season may as naturally produce despair as repentance, are much more seasonable, much more advantageous in health, when our memory can much more deliberately reproach us, and all our faculties can perform their offices towards such a repentance, as may in some degree repair the ill we have done, as well as acknowledge it, and confirm us in such a firm habit of virtues, as no temptation may have strength enough to corrupt us. A man may as reasonably expect, by one week's good husbandry, to repair the breaches and wastes which he hath made in his fortune by seven years licence and excess, as to repair and satisfy for the enormities and transgressions of his life in sickness,

that is the forerunner of death, and always most intolerable to them who have put off all thoughts till then, and which at that time crowd in upon him rather to oppress than inform him. The truth is, men ought to have no other business to do in sickness than to die; which, when the thoughts are least disturbed, sickness only makes them willing to do.

XVII. OF PATIENCE.

Montpellier, 1670.

PATIENCE is a Christian virtue, a habit of the mind that doth not only bear and suffer contumelies, reproach, and oppression, but extracts all the venom out of them, and compounds a cordial out of the ingredients, that preserves the health, and even restores the cheerfulness of the countenance, and works miracles in many respects; and under this notion we have in another place taken a view of it: we will consider it now, only as it is a moral virtue, a temper of mind that controls or resists all the brutish effects of choler, anger, and rage; and in this regard it works miracles too; it prevents the inconveniences and indecencies which anger would produce, and diverts the outrages which choler and rage would commit: if it be not sharp-sighted enough to prevent danger, it is composed and resolute enough to resist and repel the assault; and, by keeping all the faculties awake, is very rarely surprised, and quickly discerns any advantages which are offered, because its reason is never disturbed, much less confounded. There is no ques-

tion but where this excellent blessed temper is the effect of deliberation, and the observation of the folly and madness of sudden passion, it must constitute the greatest perfection of wisdom ; but it hath in itself so much of virtue and advantage, that when it proceeds from the heaviness of the constitution, and from some defect in the faculties, it is not wholly without use and benefit ; it may possibly not do so much good as more sprightly and active men use to perform, but then it never does the harm that quick and hasty men are commonly guilty of ; and as fire is much easier and sooner kindled than it is extinguished, we frequently find dull and phlegmatic persons sooner attain to a warmth and maturity of judgment, and to a wonderful discerning of what ought or ought not to be done, than men of quicker and more subtle parts of nature, who seldom bear *cogitandi laborem* : whereas the other, by continual thinking, repair the defects of nature, and with industry supply themselves with that which nature refused to give them. All men observe, in the litigation of the schools, that the calm and undisturbed disputants maintain their point and pursue their end much more efficaciously than their angry and vehement adversaries, whose passions lead them into absurd concessions and undiscerned contradictions ; all the ambitious designs for honour and preferment, all the violent pursuits of pleasure and profit, are but disputations and contentions to maintain their theses, to compass that which men have a mind to obtain ; and though the boldest men do sometimes possess themselves of the prize, it is but sometimes, and when it is not warily guarded : the dispa-

sionate candidates are not so often disappointed, nor so easily discouraged; they are intent and advancing, when the others have given over; and then they enjoy what they get with much more satisfaction, because they pursued with less greediness. Angry and choleric men are as ungrateful and unsociable as thunder and lightning, being in themselves all storm and tempests; but quiet and easy natures are like fair weather, welcome to all, and acceptable to all men; they gather together what the other disperses, and reconcile all whom the other incenses; as they have the good will and the good wishes of all other men, so they have the full possession of themselves, have all their own thoughts at peace, and enjoy quiet and ease in their own fortunes how strait soever; whereas the other neither love, nor are beloved, and make war the more faintly upon others, because they have no peace within themselves; and though they are very ill company to every body else, they are worst of all to themselves, which is a punishment that nature hath provided for them who delight in being vexatious and uneasy to others.

XVIII. OF REPENTANCE.

Sept. 8, 1669.

REPENTANCE is the greatest business we have to do in this world, and the only harbinger we can send before us to provide for our accommodation in the next; it is the only token we can carry with us thither of our being Christians, which is the only title and claim we can make to be admitted into

heaven. It was the only doctrine the prophets preached to prepare the world for the reception of our Saviour; and we may justly believe that his coming was the longer deferred, by the little growth that doctrine had in the hearts of men; and it was the principal doctrine he chose to preach himself after he was come, to make his coming effectual, and to make way for Christianity, of which they were otherwise incapable. There is not, it may be, a consideration in the whole history of the life and death of our Saviour, upon the ground and end of his being born, and all the circumstances of his living and dying, which ought to affect us more with sorrow and amazement, than that this precious antidote, which can only expel that poison which must otherwise destroy us, that this sovereign repentance is so little thought of, so little considered, so little understood, what it is, and what it is not, that it is no wonder that it is so little practised. It is wonderful with some horror, that there is not one Christian in the world, how different soever in other opinions, who doth profess to have any hope of salvation without repentance, and yet that there are so few who take any pains to be informed of it, or know how to practise it. It is almost the only point of faith upon which there is no controversy; as if there were a general conspiracy to make no words of it, lest it should suppress all other discords and contentions. It were to be wished therefore that all particular persons, who have any sense of conscience, or so much as a desire to live innocently for the future, that they may die comfortably, would seriously apply themselves to weigh well what that repentance in truth is, which

they themselves think to be necessary to their salvation, and without which they even know that they cannot be saved; that they may neither be imposed upon by others, nor impose upon themselves, by imagining it to be a perfunctory duty, to be taken up and performed when they have a mind to it, and to be repeated as often as they have need of it. And it may be kingdoms and states cannot find a better expedient for their own peace and security, and for the composing the minds and affections of their subjects, than for some time to silence all disputes in religion, and to enjoin all preachers in their pulpits and their conversation, only to inculcate the doctrine of repentance; that as all people confess the necessity and profess the practice of it, so they may be so well instructed and informed of the true nature and obligations of it, that they may know themselves whether they do practise it, and whether they are so well prepared for their last journey as they believe or imagine themselves to be.

Repentance then is a godly sorrow for having done or committed somewhat that God hath forbidden them to do, or for having omitted to do somewhat that he hath commanded us to do, and which was in our power to have done. Where there is no sorrow, there can be no repentance; and where the sorrow is not godly, there can be no true repentance. The conscience must be troubled and afflicted for having offended God, and principally for that, before it can produce repentance. Too many are sorry, very sorry, for having lost their time in pursuing a sin without effect, without compassing their desire; but this is far from repentance,

and they are as ready for the like new engagement upon any new opportunity. Whereas a godly sorrow exempts a man from such temptation, and so fortifies him against it, that all the advantages of the world could not again prevail with him to commit the same sin of which he repents, because he so grievously offended God in the commitment. The son of Sirach could not think of any thing so contradictory and ridiculous, as of a man that fasteth for his sins, and goeth again and doth the same; who will hear his prayer, or what doth his humbling profit him? God only knows how far the most serious and unfeigned repentance will enable and strengthen us to resist future temptation; but we may all know that it is no repentance at all, that is not attended with a first resolution never to fall into the same sin again, whereof he makes a true repentance; and we may piously believe, that God will support that hearty repentance to that degree, that we shall never fall into the same again; and if we do find ourselves prone to it hereafter, we have much more reason to conclude that our repentance was not sincere, than that repentance hath not strength enough to secure us against such assaults. Without doubt we ought not to flatter ourselves with an opinion or imagination that we do repent, if we do not sensibly feel such a resolution: that declaration in the epistle to the Hebrews, (vi. 4, 5, 6.) hath very much of horror in it; "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew

them again to repentance ; since they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." How far soever it may please God to exercise his mercy even to those who are so miserably fallen, of which no man can presume, sure it ought to terrify all men from that impudent impiety, as to gratify their lust, or their intemperance, or their rapine, with a resolution to repent when they have done, and so make that presumption a stalking-horse to the worst wickedness and villany. Such deliberation and contemplation upon God's mercy is more profaneness and blasphemy, than rejecting him out of our thoughts, or concluding that he cares not what we do. And yet there is too much reason to fear, that in so frequent confessions and as frequent absolutions, there would not still remain the commission-of the same sins in the same person, if they did not play with repentance, and believe they might have it whenever they call for it. St. Paul tells us, (Rom. ii. 4.) "That the goodness of God leadeth us to repentance ;" and men may as reasonably believe that they may be saved without repentance, as that he will lead those to repentance, who, upon the confidence of it, have given their hands to the devil, to be led by him out of all the roads which lead to repentance. There are a sort of cordials, which are purposely made to be administered only in extremity, when nature is ready to expire, and not able to perform its functions ;—but as those cordials do not often work the wished effect, so they are very often forgotten to be applied, or applied too late, when nature is spent and not able to receive them. If this sovereign cordial of repentance be

laid aside to the last extremity, till nature is so far decayed, that no vice hath strength enough to contend, or be importunate for any further compliance, it is no wonder if it be then forgotten, and faith be not strong enough to call for it, or to look for any benefit from it; and though it can never come unseasonably or unprofitably, or too late, yet it may be deferred so long, that it may not come at all; which they have great reason to apprehend, who find by experience that the longer they defer it, the less mind and inclination they have to finish it; as bankrupts have least mind to look over and examine their own accounts.

It is a common error, and the greater and more mischievous for being so common, to believe that repentance best becomes and most concerns dying men. Indeed, what is necessary every hour of our life is necessary in the hour of death too, and as long as he lives he will have need of repentance, and therefore it is necessary in the hour of death too; but he who hath constantly exercised himself in it in his health and vigour, will do it with less pain in his sickness and weakness; and he who hath practised it all his life, will do it with more ease and less perplexity in the hour of his death: as he who hath diligently cast up every page of a large account, will better be able to state the whole sum upon a little warning in the last leaf, than he can do which must look over every one of them. Repentance is as necessary to living as to dying well; and being carefully and constantly practised, makes our lives as profitable as our deaths comfortable; and the world receives more benefit by our living well than by our dying well. The frequent revol-

ving our own errors, follies, and defects, the correcting and subduing our passions and our appetites, all which is repentance, makes us wiser and honest, and so more prosperous in the eyes of men; and a serious recollection of what we have done amiss towards other men and towards ourselves, is not out of the way to a repentance for having offended the Divine Providence: they who do believe (as the best men surely do) that there is no day of their life (from the time that they knew the difference between good and bad) in which they have not thought, or said, or done somewhat, for which they need forgiveness from God and man, cannot doubt but that they have argument for repentance every day; and the oftener they make those recollections, the more cheerfully they live and the more cheerfully they die: and the laying those troublesome matters aside and forgetting them, will not serve their turn, and gives very short ease; no man can presume so much upon an ill memory, but that many things will occur to him which he had rather forget, and in seasons in which he is most troubled to remember them; and therefore it was no ill answer that he gave to one who offered to teach him the art of memory, that he rather desired the art of forgetfulness; "*meminerat enim quæ nollet.*" The only way to keep the conscience in a posture of confidence, and that it may not be oppressed (and no tyranny is so insupportable as the oppression of conscience, I mean the oppression it suffers from its own guilt) is frequently to represent to its naked view all its deformities; which insensibly produces sadness and remorse, and caution against future assaults; and we have it only in our choice, whether

we will then call them before us and take a prospect of them, muster them in all their colours, when we can upon the matter disarm them, by extracting all their venom and poison with an unfeigned repentance, or let them call and break in upon us when we are weak and in pain, and not able to bear the surprise. The philosopher thought it an unanswerable reason, why he should take an exact scrutiny of his own faults and follies, and not endeavour to hide them from himself by forgetting them, because upon the view of them he could say unto himself (for he knew not whether to rejoice) "vide ne istud amplius facias; nunc tibi ignosco;" though his own pardon will not serve his turn, if he be sincere in the discovery he is like to find a pardon more easily from God, than it may be he can obtain from himself. Since then there is so frequent occasion and so constant a benefit in the reiterating and repeating our repentance, and so manifest danger in the delaying it, methinks all men should think it mere madness to put it off an hour; and when they are not willing that any benefit they affect in this world should be deferred or kept back from them an hour, they should yet defer that, which must make their passage to, and their station in, the other world miserable above or beyond the most fertile imagination: and as men who are to travel through an enemy's country cannot be too solicitous and scrupulous in examining every clause and expression in their pass, and that no word be left out which may endanger their security in their journey, nor too punctual in observing the limits and restraints and conditions included therein; so they cannot intently and industriously enough consider this more important

pass of their repentance, which must conduct them through more dangerous and intricate ways, that it be sincere, and not liable to any tergiversations, nor without any of those marks and tokens which may manifest the veracity of it to others, as well as raise a confidence in themselves of its security: nor can they use too much diligence to raise this confidence, which concerns them so much, and which, above all the indulgence and encouragement they can receive from others, can only make their journey comfortable to themselves.

Acknowledgment is not a circumstance, but a necessary foundation of repentance: he that doth not believe he hath done amiss, cannot entertain a true sorrow, and hath less reason to repent; and if he doth believe it, he must acknowledge it before he can truly repent. This Christian duty, this essential and inseparable part of repentance, must be seriously thought upon and studied: it is the scarecrow that frights men from repentance, sets up honour to contest with conscience, and makes shame so impudent as to contradict confession. He who stoops to the lowest and the basest arts and actions to commit a wickedness, would be exempted by honour from acknowledging it; and he that cannot be restrained by modesty from the most impudent transgressions, would be absolved by shame from making any confession of it; and yet will not have it doubted but that he is truly penitent. What is this but mocking God Almighty, and hoping to get into heaven by a counterfeit and forged pass, which will not get admittance into honourable company, which never remits an injury without a full acknowledgment and entreaty of forgiveness? It is a bare-faced assertion, owned and

urged commonly by those, who, being by ill success brought to the brink of despair, carry themselves only to the brink of repentance; that repentance is an act of the heart towards God alone, for some sin committed against his divine Majesty, and a begging of his pardon; and therefore the acknowledging that sin to him alone, and renouncing it with all the resolution imaginable never to fall into the like again, is sufficient, and need not be attended with any public acknowledgment; which would only expose them to the scorn and reproach of other men. It may be so; there may be such sins, as thoughts and purposes of the heart, which can be known only to God; and it may be, some sinful actions too, the acknowledgment whereof, particularly to God himself, may be sufficient; and the acknowledgment of them in public, how innocently soever intended, may be little less sinful, than the entertaining and committing them. There are thoughts and inclinations and argumentations of the heart, which, though subdued and repented, may, being communicated to others, propagate vice in them, with the exclusion of all thoughts of repentance; and the very commission of some sins which the world can take no notice of, would be much aggravated (though piously repented of) by a public acknowledgment, which, in many respects, and justly, would be accompanied with shame and reproach; and in such cases, secret and hearty repentance and acknowledgment to God alone, may be sufficient to procure his pardon and absolution. But when the case is not of this nature, nor made up of these circumstances; when the sins and transgressions are public and notorious; when many men have received the injury, and undergone the

damage and reproach; when my neighbour hath been defrauded by my rapine and injustice, or traduced by my slanders and calumny; the acknowledgment ought to be as public as the offence: nor can a secret confession to God alone constitute his repentance, when others are injured, though he be most dishonoured; and we may, without breach of charity, doubt that it is a very faint repentance, that hath not strength enough to come into the air, and to beg pardon and reconciliation of those whom the penitent hath offended. True repentance is a very severe magistrate, and will strip off all that shelter and covering which would make the stripes to be less sensibly felt, and reckons shame an essential part of the punishment. It is a rough physician, that draws out the blood that inflames, and purges out the humours which corrupt or annoy the vitals; leaves no phlegm to cherish envy, nor no choler and melancholy to engender pride; and will rather reduce the body to a skeleton, than suffer those pernicious humours to have a source, from whence they may abound again to infest the body or the mind. True repentance is inspired with so much humility, that it fears nothing so much as to receive too much respect or countenance; and is glad to meet with men as proud and cruel as those sins were which are repented, and receives reproach and shame as bracelets and garlands which become it. They, who will not willingly acknowledge to those persons who have been injured by them, that they have done them wrong, have made but a half acknowledgment, and half repentance to God himself; have not put in that security which can only give them credit, that they will not do the same

again; nor laid that obligation upon themselves, which would startle them when they shall be about to do it again. Men are not so easily tempted to commit the same offence again, and to the same man, which they have before committed and acknowledged to the same person; and men may reasonably doubt, that they will not only be inclined to do the same when they have the same opportunity, but that they resolve to do it, when they pretend to repent, and refuse to acknowledge it: nor is it possible for any man who is penitent in truth, to give any reasons against this acknowledgment, which will not bring a great blemish upon his repentance, and make the sincerity thereof to be justly doubted.

Besides the discredit which this want of particular acknowledgment exposes their repentance to, and the just ground it administers to suspect the truth and reality thereof, it deprives the penitent (if we may so call him) of very great benefit and advantage he might receive thereby: how far he can reconcile himself to heaven without it, is worth at least a very serious doubt; but it is plain enough, that without it, a reconciliation with men, which is very desirable by all good Christians, is absolutely impossible. Acknowledgment makes all accounts even, often satisfies them, and stops all farther demands; infallibly it prevents the asperity in demanding; without it the debt remains still, with the anger and indignation of the creditor: the debt, how desperate soever, is due; and if it can never be recovered, it will always be objected; nor is there any other way to raze out the memory of it, but a free remitting it, which is often due to the acknow-

ledgment. Acts of state and indemnity may extinguish all penalties and punishments to be inflicted by law, for faults committed and injuries received; and acts of oblivion may so far oblige men to forget the injuries they have received, as neither to reproach or upbraid those who did them, or to require satisfaction for the damage; but no such acts, nor any authority under heaven, can take away the obligation of repentance, or inhibit acknowledgment, which is a branch of repentance, though it cannot be exacted by any earthly tribunal. He that performs this acknowledgment, and hath therewith made his repentance perfect, hath made his peace with God, and hath done his part towards doing it with men; and if it be refused by them, he hath made himself superior or at least so equal to them, that his former injustice hath not so evil an aspect as to fright him, and they who were injured have only gotten an argument of repentance. If acknowledgment bore no other fruit but this, that it disburthens the breast of a weight that would sink it, and makes men stand upon the same level with those who were before superior to them; that it makes the reproaches which were before due to them, turn afterwards to be guilt in the reproacher; it would be a full recompense for any pains in the performance, and would pay a great debt with a little money: but when the thoughts of the heart can only be known to the searcher of the heart, and there is an evidence due to men of the integrity of the heart, especially when the malice and corruption of it hath been too notorious; men owe it to themselves, to their reputation, to their peace of mind, to make their sor-

row for what they have done amiss as manifest as the worst of their actions have been : and the more they are delighted with their repentance (as a greater joy and delight there cannot be in this world than in repentance), the more delight they take in full and frequent acknowledgment to those whom they have offended. Repentance is not a barren tree, that bears only leaves for shadow and repose ; but a tree that "brings forth fruit meet for repentance : " without such fruit it must "be hewn down and cast into the fire," (Matt. iii. 7, 8.) and acknowledgment is the least precious fruit it can bear. Nothing so common amongst persons of the highest quality and degree, when death approaches, whose very aspect files off all those rough and unsmooth appearances, and mortifies all haughty imagination of a faculty and qualification to do wrong, as for great men to acknowledge and ask pardon of their meanest servants, whom they have treated unkindly ; and for princes themselves to confess injuries they have done, and to desire forgiveness of their poorest subjects. And without doubt, what becomes a man upon his death-bed, would become him better in his full and perfect health ; it may possibly do himself good then, but undoubtedly it would not have done him less before, and his example would have been much more beneficial to others.

As acknowledgment is necessary with reference to persons, so it is no less with reference to places ; they who have taught and published any doctrine which they then thought to be true, and have since been convinced of the error and falsehood of it, are bound to declare in the same places, or as publicly, such their conviction ; and to take as much pains

to convince their auditory of the error, as they did before to lead them into it. And this is an ingenuity becoming an honest man, and inseparable from repentance; and the greatest charity that can be showed towards those who renounce such publication, is, to believe that they are not sorry, nor repent what they have done; and there can be no obligation in conscience upon any man to say he is sorry when he is not sorry; but to believe that he doth repent, and yet not think fit to acknowledge that he doth so, is impossible. They who have preached sedition, and thereby led men into unwarrantable actions by their authority; and they who have printed books, and by arguments from scripture or other authority, have imposed upon men's understandings, and persuaded men to believe what is contrary to scripture, and to that authority which they have alleged, and are in their consciences now satisfied that they were then in the wrong; cannot reasonably believe that the asking God forgiveness in private, and acknowledging their error to him, is enough to constitute a Christian repentance that works unto salvation. If it be reasonable to believe that the ill which we learn from corrupt masters, or in evil conversation, shall, though not excuse us, in a great part be put upon their account who have so corrupted us, it must needs concern those instructors and seducers, to do the best they can to undo the mischief they have done, by giving timely notice to their proselytes, that it is not safe for them to follow that advice they have given them. The examples of great men, and the discourses of men eminent for learning and

piety, have in all ages drawn many into the same actions and the same opinions, upon no other account than their submission to their authority and discourse; nor in truth can the major part of mankind propose a more perfect rule to walk by, than by following the examples of men reputed for persons of honour and integrity in their actions, and submitting their understandings, in matters of opinion, to the direction of those who are eminent for learning, judgment, and sanctity; and Reason (which is the goddess all men now sacrifice to) hath done its full office, when it hath convinced them that it is most reasonable so to do. They therefore, who find themselves possessed of this sovereign authority, though they do not affect it, and have it only by the voluntary resignation of those who will be so governed, had need to take the more care what they say and what they do; and as soon as they know they have said or done amiss, they are obliged in conscience to make it known to those, who they have reason to believe were led by them. A man who hath heard a doctrine preached by a man whose learning he believed to be very great, and his integrity equal to his learning, or hath seen a sermon printed, and retains his reverence for him, which he hath reason to do after he is dead, and is as much swayed by his authority as if he were still alive; such a man is plainly betrayed, if this preacher changed his opinion, repented that he ever preached that doctrine, and kept his repentance to himself, and concealed it from any of those who were misled and seduced by him. Methinks, after St. Austin's example, men should not be ashamed

of retractions ; nor could his example operate so little, if they were endued with his precious spirit of recollection and repentance.

There is another branch of repentance, which it may be is more grievous than that of acknowledgment, which is reparation ; an inseparable ingredient and effect of repentance : which needs startle men the less, because conscience never obliges men to impossibilities. He that hath stolen more than he is worth, is in the same condition with him who hath borrowed more than he can pay ; a true and hearty desire to restore is and ought to be received as satisfaction : " If the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life without committing iniquity, he shall surely live, he shall not die," (Ezek. xxxiii. 15.) Robbery and violence would be too gainful a trade, if a man might quit all scores by repentance, and detain all he hath gotten ; or if the father's repentance might serve the turn, and the benefit of the transgression be transmitted as an inheritance to the son. If the pledge remain, it must be restored ; the retaining it is committing a new iniquity, and forfeits any benefit of the promise ; if he hath it not, nor is able to procure it, his hearty repentance is enough without reparation : but to enjoy and to look every day upon the spoil, and yet to profess repentance, is an affront to God Almighty, and a greater sin than the first act of violence, when he did not pretend to think of him, and so did not think of displeasing him : whereas now he pretends to reconcile himself to God, and mocks him with repentance, whilst he retains the fruit of his wickedness with the same pleasure he committed it. He

who is truly penitent, restores what he hath left to the person that was deprived of it, and pays the rest in devout sorrow for his trespass. It is a weak and a vain imagination, to think that a man who hath been in rebellion, and thereby robbed any man of his goods of what kind soever, and is sorry for it, can pacify God for his rebellion, and keep those goods still to himself, without the true owner's consent: he ought to restore them, though the other doth not ask them, or know where they are. Nor is his case better, who enjoys them by purchase or gift, or exchange from another man, without having himself any part or share in the rapine, if he knows that they were unjustly taken, and do of right belong to another; he is bound to restore them. Nor is a third excuse better than the other two; I was myself robbed by others, and am no gainer by what I have taken, but have only repaired what was one way or another taken from me: which would not be just, if I had robbed the same person who robbed me, except I could rescue my own goods again out of his hands; and justice will not allow that, by any act of violence, because I cannot be judge in my own interest: but to take what belongs to another man, because I know not who hath done the like to me, is so contrary to all the elements of equity, that no man can pretend to repent and to believe it together. Instead of restoring the pledge, to hug it every day in my arms and take delight in it, whilst it may be the true owner wants it, or dares not demand it, is a manifest evidence that I think I do not stand in need of the pardon the prophet pronounces; or that I believe I can obtain it another way, and upon easier conditions.

And, indeed, if it could fall into a man's natural conception or imagination, how a man can think it possible to be absolved from the payment of a debt which he doth not acknowledge to be due, nor pretend to be willing to pay if he were able; or how a man can hope to procure a release for a trespass, when he is able pay the damage, or some part thereof, yet obstinately refuses to do it at the time he desires the release; the condition and obstinacy would be the less admirable. It is natural enough for powerful and proud oppressors not to ask pardon for an injury, which they to whom it is done cannot call to justice for; and for a desperate bankrupt not to ask a release from a man, who hath no evidence of the debt which he claims, or means to recover it, if it were confessed: but to confess so much weakness as to beg and sue for a pardon, and to have so much impudence and folly as not to perform the condition, without which the pardon is void and of no effect; to ride upon the same horse to the man from whom he stole it, and desire his release without so much as offering to restore it, is such a circle of brutish madness, that it cannot fall into the mind of man endowed with reason, though void of religion. Therefore it cannot be a breach of charity to believe that men of that temper, who pretend to be sorry and to repent the having done that which they find not safe to justify, and yet retain to themselves the full benefit of their unrighteousness, do not in truth believe that they did amiss; and so are no otherwise sorry than men are who have lost their labour, and repent only that they ventured so much for so little profit: whereas if they felt any compunction of

conscience, which is but a preparation to repentance, they would remember any success they had in their wickedness, as a bitter judgment of God upon them, and would run from what they have got by it, as from a strong enemy that encloses and shuts them up, that repentance may not enter into their hearts.

There is another kind of reparation and restitution, that is a child of repentance; a fruit that repentance cannot choose but bear; which is, repairing a man's reputation, restoring his good name, which he hath taken or endeavoured to take from him by calumnies and slanders: which is a greater robbery than plundering a man's house, or robbing him of his goods. If the tongue be sharp enough to give wounds, it must be at the charge of balsam to put into them; not only such as will heal the wound, but such as will wipe out the scar, and leave no mark behind it. Nor will private acknowledgment to the person injured, be any manifestation or evidence of repentance; fear may produce that, out of apprehension of chastisement; or good husbandry may dispose a man to it, to avoid the payment of great damages by the direction of justice and the law: but true repentance issues out of a higher court, and is not satisfied with submitting to the censures of public authority; but inflicts greater penalties than a common judge can do, because it hath a clearer view and prospect into the nature of the offence, discerns the malice of the heart, and every circumstance in the committing, and applies a plaister proportionable to the wound and to the scar. If the calumny hath been raised in a whisper, and been afterwards divulged without the ad-

vice or privy of the calumniator, it sends him in pursuit of that whisper, and awards him to vindicate the injured person in all places, and to all persons who have been infected by it; if it hath been vented originally in defamatory writings, which have wrought upon and perverted more men, than can be better informed by any particular applications ~~how~~ **ingeniously soever** made, it obliges men to write volumes, till the recognition be as public and notorious as the defamation; and it uses the same rigour, awards the same satisfaction, upon any other violation of truth, by which men have been seduced or misled: whilst the poor penitent is so far from murmuring or repining at the severity of his penance, that he still fears it is not enough, that it is too light a punishment to expiate his transgression, and would gladly undergo even more than he can bear, out of the aversion he hath to the deformity of his guilt, and the glimmering prospect he hath of that happiness, which only the sincerity of his repentance can bring him to: he abhors and detests that heraldry, which for honour sake would divert or obstruct his most humble acknowledgment to the poorest person he hath offended; and would gladly exchange all his titles and his trappings, for the rags and innocence of the poorest beggar. Repentance is a magistrate that exacts the strictest duty and humility, because the reward it gives is inestimable and everlasting; and the pain and punishment it redeems men from, is of the same continuance, and yet intolerable.

There are two imaginations or fancies (for opinions they cannot be) which insinuate themselves into the minds of men, who do not love to think

of their own desperate condition. One is, that a general asking God forgiveness for all the sins he hath committed, without charging his memory with mentioning the particulars, is a sufficient repentance to procure God's pardon for them all: the other, that a man may heartily repent the having committed one particular sin, and thereupon obtain God's favour and forgiveness, though he practises other sins, which he believes are not so grievous, and so defers the present repentance of; that if he hath committed a murder, he can repent that, and resolve never to do the like again, and thereupon obtain his pardon, and yet retain his inclination to other excesses. Which two kinds of suggestion are so gross and ridiculous (if any thing can be called ridiculous that hath relation to repentance), that no man is so impudent as to own them, though in truth some modern casuists are not far from teaching the former; yet if we descend into ourselves, make that strict scrutiny and inquisition into every corner of our hearts, as true repentance doth exact from us, and will see performed by us, we shall find and must confess, that they are these and such like trivial and lamentable imaginations, which make us so unwary in all our actions, so uncircumspect throughout the course of our lives, and are the cause that in a whole nation of transcendent offenders, there are so very few who become true penitents, or manifest their repentance by those signs and marks with which it is always and cannot but be attended.

• God forbid, that death-bed repentance should not do us good, or that death should approach towards any man who is without repentance; he who

recollects himself best before, will have work enough for repentance in the last minute; and it is possible, and but possible, that he who hath never recollected himself before, may have the grace to repent so cordially then, and make such a saving reflection upon all the sins of his life, though he hath neither time nor memory to number them, that he may obtain a full remission of them. Repentance indeed is so strong a balsam, that one drop of it put into the most noisome wound perfectly cures it. But that men, who cannot but observe how a little pain or sickness indisposes and makes them unfit for any transaction; who know how often the torment of the gout in the least joint, or a sudden pang of the stone, hath distracted them even in the most solemn and premeditated exercise of devotion, that they have retained no gesture or word fit for that sacrifice; I say, it is very strange that any such man, who hath himself undergone, or seen others undergo, such visitations, should believe it possible that upon his death-bed, in that agony of pain, in those inward convulsions, strugglings, and torments of dissolution, which are the usual forerunners and messengers of death, or can presume upon, or hope for such a composure of mind and memory in that melancholy season, as to recollect and reflect upon all those particulars of his mispent life, as his departing soul must within a few minutes give an account, a very exact account of; and therefore it cannot be otherwise, and how much soever we disclaim the assertion, we are in truth so foolish as to be imposed upon by that pleasant imagination, that there goes much less to repentance than severe men would persuade us,

and that a very short time, and as short an ejaculation, which shall be very hearty, and which we still think so much of in our intentions that we are sure we cannot forget them, will serve our turn, and will carry us fairly out of this world, and leave a very good report of our Christianity with the standers-by, who will give a fair testimony. If we did not think this, or did not think at all, which yet it may be is better than thinking this, we should not spend our time as we do, commit so many follies and wickednesses, and give no cause to the most charitable man to believe that we are in any degree sorry for either, when he sees us so constantly practise both, and live as we did really think that we are only to account for the last moment of our life, and therefore that it is enough if we provide that that shall be commendable and full of devotion.

The other as extravagant imagination, that a man may repent so heartily one particular sin, that he may be well satisfied that God hath accepted his humiliation and sealed his pardon, and yet retain and practise some other sins, of whose iniquity he is not yet thoroughly convinced, or of which he takes farther time to repent, hath gotten so much credit with many of us, who are willing to persuade other men, and it may be ourselves, that we do heartily detest and abominate some sin we have formerly practised, and have cordially repented it, though we do too much indulge some other natural infirmity, which leads us into great transgressions of another kind. If nothing of this argumentation did prevail upon us, we could not at the same time pretend to have, with a grievous sense of our guilt,

repented our rebellion, or any such act of outrage, and have washed our souls clean from that sin with our tears, when yet we retain our ambition, and have the same impatient appetite for preferment that we had before, and which it may be led us into that rebellion; that we have thoroughly repented every act of oppression that we have committed, though we have still avarice and desire to be rich, that hath not left us. It may be, the practice of repentance hath not been more obstructed by any thing, than by the customary discourse, and the senseless distinction, of true and false, perfect and imperfect repentance; whereas, if it be not true and perfect, it is not repentance; if it be not as it should be, it is not at all. There are indeed many preparations, many approaches towards it, which, well entered upon and pursued, will come to repentance at last; there must be recollection, and there must be sorrow, and sorrow stretched to the utmost extent, before it can arrive at repentance; and it must be repentance itself, none of those preparatives, that must carry us to heaven; and that repentance is no more capable of enlargement and diminution, than the joys of heaven are, which are still the same, neither more nor less. If we do repent any one sin we have committed, we can have no more inclination to commit any other, of how different a kind soever from the other, than we could desire, if we were in heaven, to return to the earth again; it is sin itself, in all the several species of it, in all the masks and disguises that it hath ever presented itself to us in, which we detest, if we are arrived at repentance.

And because, as hath been said before, we can-

not make too strict a scrutiny into our own actions, nor take too much care in the compounding this precious cordial that must revive us and make us live after we are dead, we shall do well frequently to confer with pious men upon the most proper expedients to advance this duty in us; and because examples are more powerful motives towards any perfection than precepts, we cannot do better than recollect as many of those as our own experience, or histories of uncontroverted veracity, or the observation of other men, can suggest to us; that by observing the steps they made towards it, and the manifestation they gave of it, we may the better comport ourselves towards the attaining our end, and the assurance that we have attained it: and having for some years lived in a country, where there is as great evidence of sins committed, and as little of repentance as in any other country; and having met with there a rare example of this kind, and so much the more rare as it is in a person of the most illustrious family in France, the house of the king himself, and a thing so known that there is no room to doubt the truth thereof; I think it very pertinent to the design of this short discourse, to insert so much of it as to my understanding may exceedingly work upon the minds of other men: the person is the prince of Conti, younger brother to the prince of Condé, next prince of the blood to the children of the crown, and to the king's own brother, who died in the year 1664, in Paris. This prince having great endowments of mind, but educated in all the licence of that nation, and corrupted with the greatest licence of it, some years before his death had the blessing to make severe reflections

upon the past actions of his life; and thereupon imposed upon himself great strictness and rigour, in a notorious retirement from the court, in the conversation of the most pious and devout men, and in the exercise of all those actions of devotion which become a Christian resolution, in the faith in which he had been educated; and being in perfect health, but well knowing by the ill structure of his body that he could not live, the crookedness and stooping of his head and shoulder making his respiration very difficult, and increasing, suffocated him, he made his last will, beginning in these words: "This day, the 24th of May, 1664, I, Armand de Bourbon, prince of Conti, being in my house in Paris, sound in body and mind, and not willing to be surprised by death without making my will, do make this my present testament." And then making that profession of his religion, and disposing his soul in that manner as becomes a pious man in that church, whereof he was a very zealous member, he enters upon the disposal of his estate, and used these words: "I am extremely sorry to have been so unhappy as to find myself in my younger age engaged in a war contrary to my duty; during which I permitted, ordered, and authorized violences and disorders without number; and although the king hath had the goodness to forget this failing, I remain nevertheless justly accountable before God to those corporations and particular persons, who then suffered, be it in Guienne, Xantoinge, Berry, la Marche, be it in Champagne, and about Damvilliers; upon which account I have caused certain sums to be restored, of which the Sieur Jasse, my treasurer, hath a particular know-

ledge ; and I have passionately desired that it were in my power to sell all my estate, that I might give a more full satisfaction. But having upon this occasion submitted myself to the judgment of many prelates and learned and pious persons, they have judged that I was not obliged to reduce myself altogether to the condition of a private man, but that I ought to serve God in my rank and quality ; in which nevertheless I have withdrawn as much as was possible from my household expenses, to the end that, during my life, I may restore every year as much as I can save of my revenues. And I charge my heirs, who shall hereafter be named in this my will, to do the same thing, until the damages that I have caused be fully repaired, according to the instructions which shall be found in the hands of the Sieur Jasse, or in my papers. To this end, I desire the executors of my will, and her who shall be entrusted with the education of my children, to reduce and moderate, as much as may be, their expenses, that the foresaid restitutions may be continued every year, according to my orders. And if it happen that my heirs and their issue have, either from the bounty of the king, or by any other way, riches enough to maintain them handsomely, I will and order that they sell all the estate which they enjoy as being my successors ; and that they distribute the price of it amongst those provinces, and in those places, which have suffered on the account of the said wars, following the orders contained in the said instructions, if the said places or persons have not been already sufficiently repaid by me, or by some other. And if it fall out that my children die without issue, so that my line be

extinct, I intend likewise that my estate be sold, for to be wholly employed in the said restitutions, my collateral friends having enough elsewhere.

“ I desire that those papers which shall be found, writ or signed with my hand, concerning affairs where I have doubted, if in point of conscience I were obliged to a restitution or not, be very carefully and rigorously examined; the which I pray my executors moreover, if it be found by notes written or signed with my hand, that I have verified or acknowledged myself to be obliged to any restitution or satisfaction whatever, I desire that they may be executed, as if every particular thing contained in them was expressly ordered by this present will.” Then he commits the education of his children (whom he makes his heirs) to his wife, and desires the parliament of Paris to confirm her in the tuition of his children; and then names his executors, who upon his decease are to become possessed of all his estate to the purposes aforesaid, and so signs the will with his hand the 4th of May, 1664,

ARMANDE DE BOURBON.

His paper of instructions was likewise published with his will, that so the persons concerned might know to whom to repair. The words are these: “ The order which I desire may be observed in the restitution which I am obliged to make in Guienne, Xantoinge, la Marche, Berry, Champagne, and Damvilliers, &c. In the first place, those losses and damages which have been caused by my orders or my troops ought to be repaired before all others, as being of my own doing. In the second place, I am responsible, very justly, for all the mischiefs which the general disorders of the war have pro-

duced, although they have been done without my having any part in them, provided that I have satisfied for the first. I owe no reparation to those who have been of our party, except they can make it appear that I have sought and invited them to it; and in this case, it will be just to restore first of all to those innocent persons who have had no part in my failings, before that any thing can be given to those who have been our confederates: the better to observe this distributive justice, I desire that my restitutions may be made in such a manner, that they may be spread every where; to the end that it fall not out, that amongst many that have suffered, some be satisfied and others have nothing. But since I have not riches enough for to repay at one time all those corporations and particular persons who have suffered, I desire, &c." and so decreed the method and order the payments should be made in; the whole of which, by his computation, would be discharged in twenty years; but if it so fell out, that the estate should be entirely sold, the whole payment was to be made at once; and it was a marvellous recollection of particular oppressions, which he conceived might have been put upon his tenants by his officers, some whereof were not remediable by law, by reason of prescription, which he declared that he would not be defended by, but appointed that the original right should be strictly examined; and if his possession was founded in wrong, he disclaimed the prescription, and commanded that satisfaction should be made to those who had been injured, even by his ancestors, and before his own time; and required, that any doubts which might arise upon any of his instructions, or

In the cases in which he intended satisfaction should be given, might and should be examined and judged by men of the strictest and most rigid justice, and not by men of loose principles.

I do not naturally, in discourses of this nature, delight in so large excursions in the mention of particular actions performed by men, how godly and exemplary soever, because the persons who do them are always without any desire that what they do should be made public, and because repentance hath various operations in minds equally virtuous: yet meeting very accidentally with this record, without having scarce ever heard it mentioned by any man in the country, where there is room enough for proselytes of the same nature, and cause enough to celebrate the example, as I took great delight in examining and re-examining every particular, and not being an absolute stranger to the subject reflected upon, having been present in the same country at that time, I could not conclude this discourse more pertinently, than with such an instance at large; presuming that it may make the same impression upon others that it hath upon me, and make us the more solicitous to call ourselves to an account for all commissions, and to pray to God to give us the grace to repent in such a way, and to such a degree, as may be most for his glory, our own salvation, and the edification of others towards the attaining the same.

XIX: OF CONSCIENCE.

Montpellier, March 9, 1670.

THERE is not throughout the whole bible of the

Old Testament, that term or word Conscience ~~to~~ be found; nor is it used in Scripture till the eighth chapter of the gospel written by St. John, when the Jews brought the woman that had been taken in adultery before our Saviour, whom they importuned to do justice upon her; and he, who knew their malice was more against him than the woman, said, "He that is without sin amongst you, let him first cast a stone at her: and they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest even to the last," (ver. 7, 9.) Nor is the Greek word *συνειδησις*, which throughout the New Testament signifies conscience, ever used by the Septuagint, (as some learned men affirm) except only in the 10th chapter of Ecclesiastes, ver. 20, which is thus translated, "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought." So that conscience seems to be the proper and natural issue of the Gospel, which introduced a stricter survey of the heart of man, and a more severe inquisition into the thoughts thereof, than the law had done. He who could not be accused by sufficient witnesses to have violated the law, was thought to be innocent enough; but the Gospel erected another judicatory, and another kind of examination, and brought men who could not be charged by the law, to be convicted by their own conscience; and therefore St. Paul, in his justification before Felix, after he had denied all that the Jews had charged him with, and affirmed that he had broken no law, added, "And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men," (Acts xxiv. 16.) his behaviour was so exact, that he did

not only abstain from doing any man wrong, but from giving any man a just occasion to be offended with him. It is a calamity never enough to be lamented, that this legitimate daughter of the Gospel of peace should grow so prodigiously unnatural and impetuous, as to attempt to tear out the bowels of her mother, to tread all charity under foot, and to destroy all peace upon the earth; that conscience should stir men up to rebellion, introduce murder and devastation, licence the breach of all God's commandments, and pervert the nature of man from all Christian charity, humility, and compassion, to a brutish inhumanity, and delight in those acts of injustice and oppression that nature itself abhors and detests; that conscience, that is infused to keep the breast of every man clean from encroaching vices, which lurk so close that the eye of the body cannot discern them, to correct and suppress those unruly affections and appetites, which might otherwise undiscerned corrupt the soul to an irrecoverable guilt, and hath no jurisdiction to exercise upon other men, but it is confined within its own natural sphere; that this enclosed conscience should break its bounds and limits, neglect the looking to any thing at home, and straggle abroad and exercise a tyrannical power over the actions and the thoughts of other men, condemn princes and magistrates, infringe all laws and order of government, assume to itself to appoint what all other shall do, and out of tenderness to itself exercise all manner of cruelty towards other men: I say that this extravagant presumption should take or claim any warrant from conscience, is worthy of the anger and indignation of all Christians, and

of a general combination to reclaim and bind up this unruly, destroying, ravenous underminer and devourer of souls. The apostle, when he prescribed this light to walk by, in the dark times of infidelity, ignorance, and persecution, knew well enough how unlimited the fancy and pride and covertures of the heart of man were; and therefore he takes all possible care to establish the power and jurisdiction of kings and magistrates, and obedience to laws under the obligation of conscience, and required subjection to all those, not only for wrath (for fear of punishment) but for conscience sake: and the same apostle thought it a very necessary prescription to Timothy, that he should keep his diocese to the "holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith had made shipwreck;" that is, some men, by departing from the rules of conscience, by the suggestions of faith and religion, they made shipwreck of that faith and religion which they meant to advance. Conscience is the best bit and bridle to restrain the liceance and excess which faith itself may introduce and give countenance to: conscience can never lead us into any unwarrantable and unjust action; but that it is not enough, he whose conscience does not check and restrain him from entering into actions contrary to God's commandments, may reasonably conclude that he hath no conscience, but that he lies under temptation which cannot prevail without laying the conscience waste, and rooting out all that God hath planted there; and a man may as reasonably pretend to commit adultery out of conscience, as to rebel or resist lawful authority by the obligation of conscience; and they who think them-

selves qualified for the latter by that impulsion, can never find reason to subdue a strong temptation to the other. Conscience may very reasonably restrain and hinder a man from doing that which would be consistent enough with conscience to be done; nay, it may oblige him to suffer and undergo punishment, rather than to do that which might be lawful for him. It is not necessary, though it were to be wished, that every man's conscience should be so sharp-sighted, as to discern the inside of every doubt that shall arise; it may be too hard for me, when another man may be as much too hard for it, and then I ought not to do what he lawfully and justly may do; but this is only the restrictive negative power of conscience, the affirmative power hath not that force. Conscience can never oblige a man to do, or excuse him for doing, what is evil in itself, as treason, murder, or rebellion, under what specious pretences soever, which want of understanding and want of honesty suggest where there is want of conscience; and it is a very hard thing to assert, that any thing can proceed from the conscience of that man who is void of knowledge, since there is some science necessary to be supposed, where there is a pretence to conscience.

He who obstinately refuses, upon the obligation of conscience, to do what the law under which he lives, and to which he owes subjection and obedience, requires him positively to do, had need to be sure that his doing of that which he is enjoined, and denies to do, is in itself sinful, and expressly forbid by the word of God. Doubting in this point is not excuse or warrant enough; the reverence

he ought to have to the government and governors of his country, that the modest believing that a Christian kingdom or commonwealth cannot combine together to damn themselves, and all who live under them, should have power and authority enough to suppress and over-rule all doubts to the contrary. But if in truth the matter be so clear to him, that by obeying this law he becomes a rebel to God, I know not how his conscience can excuse him for staying and living under that government, and from making haste away to be under the protection of another government, where no such sinful action is required or enjoined; for no man can satisfy his own conscience, that though his courage, for the present, will support him to undergo the judgment and penalty that his disobedience is liable to, he may not in the end be weary of that submission; and since the duty is still incumbent upon him, and may still be required of him, he may not at last purchase his peace and quiet with complying in doing that which he knows is sinful and must offend God Almighty; and therefore methinks he should, at the same time he resolves to disobey a law that is fixed, and not very probable to be altered, quit the country where so much tyranny is exercised, and repair to another climate, where it is lawful to give unto Cæsar what belongs unto Cæsar, and to give unto God what belongs unto God. And if his affection to his country will not suffer him to take that resolution, it is probable that his conscience is not so fully convinced of the impiety of the laws thereof; and the same affection should labour to receive that satisfaction, that he may be reconciled to give the obedience the

laws require. The submitting to any present inconvenience or loss or damage, rather than do somewhat that is enjoined by public authority to be done; the preferring reproach and disgrace, before honour that must be attended with compliance and submission to what is required of us, is no argument that such refusal is an effect of conscience; pride, ambition, or revenge, will do the same, to raise a party that will enable him to compass and bring that to pass which he most desires. We see nothing more common, than for men of much wit and no conscience, to impose upon those who have no wit and pretend to much conscience, and lead them into ways which are too rough for their consciences to tread in, and to ends that they do not desire; and yet every step they make is an impulsion of their conscience: their conscience will not suffer them to take an oath, by which the wrong they have done may be discovered and repaired, yet that conscience will not compel them to do justice, nor restrain them from doing injury to their neighbours; it will neither oblige them to speak truth, that may prejudice a man they favour, nor to discover a fraud, by which they may be bound to reparation. Conscience is made the refuge of all perverse and refractory men, when they will not observe the law, and the warrant and incitement to any wickedness when they are inclined to break it: whereas conscience is a natural restraint within us, to keep us from doing what our foul affections and passions may tempt us to; it may be too scrupulous, but it can never be presumptuous; it may hinder us from using the liberty we have, but it is too modest to lead us into any excess; it is

liable to fear, but never to rashness and impudent undertakings: "For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully," says St. Peter, (1 Peter ii. 19.) But conscience never carried a man into actions for which he is justly to suffer: that is true tenderness of conscience, which is tender of other men's reputation, shy and wary what they think of others, and not that which, out of tenderness to itself, cares not how it wrongs and violates its neighbours. Conscience is the meekest, humblest thing that can be conceived of; and when we find any proud thoughts to arise within us, such as exalt and magnify ourselves, and depress the reputation of our neighbour; when we have any unpeaceable inclination to disturb the quiet of the state, or the repose of those who live about us; we may be as sure that those suggestions do not proceed from conscience, as that the lusts of the flesh do not proceed from the warmth of the spirit.

"The tree is known by the fruit, a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;" and conscience is best known by the effects; if the product be wrath, malice, pride, and contention, we may swear that conscience is not the mother of those children, which can produce nothing but love, humility, and peace; and men have taken too much pains to entitle her to the other unnatural issue. I know not how it comes to pass, except it be from a wanton affectation of the impropriety of speech, that men find out epithets for conscience, which may entitle it to as many reproaches as men think fit to charge it with: they will have an erroneous conscience, which no doubt will contribute to as many evil ac-

tions as the heart or hand of man can be guilty of; and they might as well have called it an impious conscience; when in truth, if it be either impious or erroneous, it ceaseth to be conscience; it is not consistent with any of those destructive epithets, nor receives any ornament from the best which can be annexed to it. Conscience implies goodness and piety, as much as if you call it good and pious. The luxuriant wit of the school-men and the confident fancy of ignorant preachers has so disguised it, that all the extravagancies of a light or a sick brain, and the results of the most corrupt heart, are called the effects of conscience; and to make it the better understood, the conscience shall be called erroneous, or corrupt, or tender, as they have a mind to support or condemn those effects. So that, in truth, they have made conscience a disease fit to be entrusted to the care of the physician every spring and fall, and he is most like to reform and regulate the operation of it. And if the madness and folly of men be not in a short time reformed, it will be fitter to be confined as a term in physic and in law, than to be used or applied to religion or salvation. Let apothecaries be guided by it in their bills, and merchants in their bargains, and lawyers in managing their causes; in all which cases it may be waited upon by the epithets they think fit to annex to it; it is in great danger to be robbed of the integrity in which it was created, and will not have purity enough to carry men to heaven, or to choose the way thither. It were to be wished, that some pains were taken to purge away that dross, which want of understanding, or want of honesty, have annexed to it, that so it may prove a

good guide; or that that varnish may be taken from it, which the artifices of ill men have disfigured it with, that it be no longer the most desperate and dangerous seducer: lest conscience of gratitude, for civilities and obligations received, dispose women to be unchaste; and conscience of discourtesies and injuries done, or intended to be done, provoke men to revenge; and no villany that ever entered into the heart of man, but will pretend to be ushered thither by conscience. If it cannot be vindicated from these impure and impious claims, it is pity but it should be expunged out of all discourses of religion and honesty, and never mentioned as relating to Christianity: let it be assigned and appropriated to the politicians, to cover their reason of state with, and to disguise all treaties between princes with such expressions, that they be no longer bound by these obligations than they find the observation of them to be for their benefit or convenience; let it be applied only to the cheats and cozenings of this world; to the deceiving of women in marriages; to the overreaching heirs in mortgages and purchases; but let it never be mentioned in order to our salvation in the next world, or as if it could advance our claim to the kingdom of heaven.

Solomon was the more inexcusable for departing from it, by his knowing what the calm and ease and tranquillity of it was; and he could not express it better than when he says, that "a good conscience is a continual feast." Now there can be no feast where there is not amity and peace and quiet; a froward, wayward, proud, and quarrelling conscience, can never be a feast, nor a good

guest at a feast; therefore it cannot be a good conscience: anger and ill words break up any feast; for mirth, that is of the essence of a feast, and a great part of the good cheer, is banished by any ill humour that appears. It is not the quantity of the meat, but the cheerfulness of the guests, which makes the feast; it was only at the feast of the Centaurs, where they ate with one hand, and had their drawn swords in the other; where there is no peace, there can be no feast. Charity and tenderness is a principal ingredient in this feast: the conscience cannot be too tender, too apprehensive of angriyng any man, of grievng any man; the feast is the more decently carried on never interrupted by this tenderness. But if it be tender at some times, scrupulous to some purposes, is startled to do somewhat against which it hath no objection, but that it is not absolutely necessary to be done, and at other times is so rough and boisterous, that it leaps over all bounds, and rushes into actions dishonest and unwarrantable, neither the tenderness nor the presumption hath the least derivation from conscience: and a man in a deep consumption of the lungs can as well run a race, as a tender conscience can lead any man into an action contrary to virtue and piety. It is possible that the frequent appeals that are made upon several occasions to the consciences of ill men, do in truth increase their love of wickedness; that when they are told that their own consciences cannot but accuse them of the ill they do, and they feel no such check or control in themselves, they believe from thence that they do nothing amiss, and so take new courage to prosecute the career they are in: it is a very hard

thing to believe, that the worst men can do the worst things without some sense and inward compunction, which is the voice of their conscience; but it is easy to think that they may still and drown that voice, and that by a custom of sinning they may grow so deaf as not to hear that weak voice; that wine may drive away that heaviness that indisposed them to mirth, and ill company may shut out those thoughts which would interrupt it: and yet, alas! conscience is not by this subdued; they have only made an unlucky truce, that it shall not beat up their quarters for some time, till they have surfeited upon the pleasure and the plenty of men; it will disturb and terrify them the more for the repose it hath suffered them to take. If the strength of nature, and the custom of excesses, hath given the debauched person the privilege of not finding any sickness or indisposition from his daily surfeits, after a few years he wonders to find the faculties of his mind and understanding so decayed that he is become a fool, and so much more a fool if he does not find it before he comes to that age that usually resists all decay; and then every body sees, if he does not, the unhappiness of his constitution, that it was no sooner disturbed by those excesses. If the lustful and voluptuous person, who sacrifices the strength and vigour of his body to the rage and temptation of his blood, and spends his nights in unchaste embraces, does not in the instant discover how much his health is impaired by those caresses, he will in a short time, by weakness and diseases, have good cause to remember those distempers: and so that conscience that is laid asleep by a long licentious life, and reprehends not the

fewest transgressions, doth at last start up in sickness or in age, and plays the tyrant in those seasons when men most need comfort, and makes them pay dear interest for their hours of riot, and for the charms they used, to keep it in that lethargy that it might not awaken them. And since it cannot be a feast, because it is not a good conscience; being an evil one, it must be famine, and torment, and hell itself. In a word, no man hath a good conscience, but he who leads a good life.

XX. OF WAR.

Montpellier, 1670.

As the plague in the body drives all persons away but such who live by it, searchers, and those who are to bury the corpse, who are as ready to strangle those who do not die soon enough, as to bury them; and they who recover are very long tried with the malignity, and remain longer deserted by their neighbours and friends out of fear of infection; so war in a state makes all men abandon it but those who are to live by the blood of it, and who have the pillaging of the living as well as of the dead; and if it recover, and the war be extinguished, there remains such a weakness and paleness, so many ghastly marks of the distemper, that men remain long frightened from their old familiarity, from the confidence they formerly had of their own security, and of the justice of that state, the war leaving still an ill odour behind it, and much infection in the nature and manners of those who are delighted with it. Of all the punishments and judgments that the provoked anger of the Divine Providence can pour

out upon a nation full of transgressions, there is none so terrible and destroying as that of war. David knew he did wisely when he preferred and chose the plague before either of the other judgments that he was to undergo for numbering the people, though it cost him no less than seventy thousand subjects; so vast a number that three months progress of the most victorious and triumphant enemy could hardly have consumed; and the one had been as much the hand of the Lord as the other, and could as easily have been restrained, or bound by his power: the arrow of pestilence was shot out of his own bow, and did all its execution without making the pride or malice of man instrumental in it; the insolence whereof is a great aggravation of any judgment that is laid upon us, and health is restored in the same moment the contagion ceaseth; whereas in war, the confidence and the courage which a victorious army contracts by notable successes, and the dejection of spirit and the consternation which a subdued party undergoes by frequent defeats, is not at an end when the war is determined, but hath its effects very long after; and the tenderness of nature, and the integrity of manners, which are driven away, or powerfully discountenanced by the corruption of war, are not quickly recovered; but instead thereof a roughness, jealousy, and distrust introduced, that makes conversation unpleasant and uneasy; and the weeds which grow up in the shortest war can hardly be pulled up and extirpated without a long and unsuspected peace. When God pleases to send this heavy calamity upon us, we cannot avoid it; but why we should be solicitous to embark ourselves in this

leaky vessel, why our own anger, and ambition, and emulation, should engage us in unreasonable and unjust wars, nay, why, without any of these provocations, we should be disposed to run to war, and *periclitari periculi causâ*, will require better reason to justify us, than most that are concerned in it are furnished with. "Jugulantur homines ne nihil agatur," was the complaint and amazement of a philosopher, who knew of none of those restraints which Christianity hath laid upon mankind. That men should kill one another for want of somewhat else to do (which is the case of all volunteers in war) seems to be so horrible to humanity, that there needs no divinity to control it. It was a divine contemplation of the same philosopher, that when Providence had so well provided for, and secured the peace between nations, by putting the sea between, that it might not be in their power to be ill neighbours, mankind should be so mad as to devise shipping, to affect death to much *sine spe sepulturæ*; and when they are safe on land, to commit themselves to the waves and the fierce winds, *quorum felicitas est ad bella perferri*; and that those winds which God had created, *ad custodiendam cæli terrarumque temperiem*, and to cherish the fruits and the trees of the earth, should be made use of so contrary to his intentions, *ut legiones, equitemque gestarent*, and bring people (whom he had placed at that distance) together, to imbrue their hands in each other's blood; indeed it must be a very savage appetite, that engages men to take so much pains, and to run so many and great hazards, only to be cruel to those whom they are able to oppress.

They who allow no war at all to be lawful, have consulted both nature and religion much better than they who think it may be entered into to comply with the ambition, covetousness, or revenge of the greatest princes and monarchs upon earth: as if God had only inhibited single murders, and left mankind to be massacred according to the humour and appetite of unjust and unreasonable men, of what degree or quality soever. They who think it most unlawful, know well that force may be repelled with force; and that no man makes war who doth only defend what is his own from an attempt of violence; he who kills another that he may not be killed himself by him who attempts it, is not guilty of murder by the law of God or man. And truly, they who are the cause and authors of any war that can justly and safely be avoided, have great reason to fear that they shall be accountable before the supreme Judge for all the rapine and devastation, all the ruin and damage, as well as the blood, that is the consequence of that war. War is a licence to kill and slay all those who inhabit that land, which is therefore called the enemy's, because he who makes the war hath a mind to possess it; and must there not many of the laws of God, as well as of man, be cancelled and abolished, before a man can honestly execute or take such a licence? What have the poor inhabitants of that land done that they must be destroyed for cultivating their own land, in the country where they were born? and can any king believe that the names of those are left out of the records of God's creation, and that the injuries done to them shall not be considered?

War is a depopulation, defaces all that art and industry hath produced, destroys all plantations, burns churches and palaces, and mingles them in the same ashes with the cottages of the peasant and the labourer; it distinguishes not of age, or sex, or dignity, but exposes all things and persons, sacred and profane, to the same contempt and confusion; and reduces all that blessed order and harmony, which hath been the product of peace and religion, into the chaos it was first in; as if it would contend with the Almighty in uncreating what he so wonderfully created, and since polished. And is it not a most detestable thing to open a gap to let this wild boar enter into the garden of Christians, and to make all this havoc and devastation in countries planted and watered by the equal Redeemer of mankind, and whose ears are open to the complaints of the meanest person who is oppressed? It is no answer to say that this universal suffering, and even the desolation that attends it, are the inevitable consequences and events of war, how warrantably soever entered into, but rather an argument, that no war can be warrantably entered into, that may produce such intolerable mischiefs; at least if the ground be not notoriously just and necessary, and like to introduce as much benefit to the world as damage and inconvenience to a part of it; and as much care taken as is possible, to suppress that rage and licence, which is the wanton cause of half the destruction.

It may be, upon a strict survey and disquisition into the elements and injunctions of Christian religion, no war will be found justifiable, but as it is the process that the law of nature allows and pre-

cribes for justice sake, to compel those to abstain from doing wrong, or to repair the wrong they have done, who can by no other way be induced to do either; as when one sovereign prince doth an injury to another, or suffers his subjects to do it without control or punishment; in either of which cases, the injured prince, in his own right, or the rights of his subjects, is to demand justice from the other, and to endeavour to obtain it by all the peaceable means that can be used; and then if there be an absolute refusal to give satisfaction, or such a delay, as in the inconvenience amounts to a refusal, there is no remedy left, but the last process, which is force; since nothing can be in itself more odious, or more against the nature and institution of sovereign power, than to do wrong, and to refuse to administer justice; and, therefore, the mischiefs which attend, and which cannot but fall upon the persons and fortunes of those who are least guilty of the injury and injustice, because the damage can very hardly reach the prince; but in his subjects, will be by the supreme Judge cast upon his account who is the original cause and author of the first transgression. And if it be very difficult to find any other just cause to warrant so savage a proceeding as all war produces, what can we think of most of that war which for some hundred of years has infested the Christian world, so much to the dishonour of Christianity, and in which the lives of more men have been lost than might have served to have driven infidelity out of the world, and to have peopled all those parts which yet remain without inhabitants? Can we believe that all those lives are forgotten, and that no account shall be rendered of them? If

the saving the life of any single person who is in danger to perish, hath much of merit in it, though it be a duty incumbent to humanity, with what detestation and horror must we look upon those, who upon deliberation are solicitous to bring millions of men together to no other purpose than to kill and destroy; and they who survive are conducted as soon as may be to another butchery, to another opportunity to kill more men, whom they know not, and with whom they are not so much as angry. The grammarians have too much reason to derive *bellum, a belluis*; all war hath much of the beast in it; *immane quiddam et belluarum simile*; very much of the man must be put off that there may be enough of the beast: princes must be obeyed, and because they may have just cause of war, their subjects must obey and serve them in it, without taking upon them to examine whether it be just or no, *Servi tua est conditio; ratio ad te nihil*; they have no liberty to doubt when their duty is clear to obey; but where there is none of that obligation, it is wonderful, and an unnatural appetite that disposes men to be soldiers, that they may know how to live, as if the understanding the advantage how to kill most men together were a commendable science to raise their fortune; and what reputation soever it may have in politics, it can have none in religion, to say, that the art and conduct of a soldier is not infused by nature, but by study, experience, and observation; and therefore that men are to learn it, in order to serve their own prince and country, which may be assaulted and invaded by a skilful enemy, and hardly defended by ignorant and unskilful officers; when, in truth, the man who conscientiously weighs this

common argument, will find that it is made by appetite to excuse, and not by reason to support, an ill custom ; since the guilt contracted by shedding the blood of one single innocent man, is too dear a price to pay for all the skill that is to be learned in that devouring profession ; and that all the science that is necessary for a just defence may be attained without contracting a guilt, which is like to make the defence the more difficult. And we have instances enough of the most brave and effectual defences made upon the advantage of innocence, against the boldest, skilful, and injurious aggressor, whose guilt often makes his understanding too weak to go through an unjust attempt, against a resolute though less experienced defender.

It must seem strange to any one, who considers that Christian religion, that is founded upon love, and charity, and humility, should not only not extinguish this unruly appetite to war, but make the prosecution of it the more fierce and cruel ; there having scarce been so much rage and inhumanity practised in any war, as in that between Christians. The ancient Romans, who for some ages arrived to the greatest perfection in the observation of the obligations of honour, justice, and humanity, of all men who had no light from religion, instituted a particular triumph for those their generals who returned with victory without the slaughter of men. It were to be wished, that the modern Christian Romans were endued with the same blessed spirit, and that they believed that the voice of blood is loud and importunate ; they would not then think it their office and duty, so far to kindle this fire-brand war, and to nourish all occasions to inflame

it, as to obstruct and divert all overtures of extinguishing it; and to curse and excommunicate all those who shall consent or submit to such overtures, when they are wearied, tired, and even consumed with weltering in each other's blood, and have scarce blood enough left to give them strength to enjoy the blessings of peace. What can be more unmerciful, more unworthy of the title of Christians, than such an aversion from stopping those issues of blood, and from binding up those wounds which have been bleeding so long? and yet we have seen those inhuman bulls let loose by two popes, who would be thought to have the sole power committed to them by Christ, to inform the world of his will and pleasure; the one against the peace of Germany, and the other against that with the Low Countries; by both which these his vicars general absolve all men from observing it, though they are bound by their oaths never to swerve from it. We may piously believe, that all the princes of the world, who have wantonly, or without just and manifest provocation, obliged their subjects to serve them in a war, by which millions of men have been exposed to slaughter, fire, and famine, will sooner find remission of all the other sins they have committed, than for that obstinate outrage against the life of man, and the murders which have been committed by their authority.

XXI. OF PEACE.

Montpellier, 1670.

It was a very proper answer to him who asked; why any man should be delighted with beauty? that it was a question that none but a blind man could ask; since any beautiful object doth so much attract the sight of all men, that it is in no man's power not to be pleased with it. Nor can any aversion or malignity towards the object, irreconcile the eyes from looking upon it: as a man who hath an envenomed and mortal hatred against another, who hath a most graceful and beautiful person, cannot hinder his eye from being delighted to behold that person; though that delight is far from going to the heart; as no man's malice towards an excellent musician can keep his ear from being pleased with his music. No man can ask how or why men come to be delighted with peace, but he who is without natural bowels, who is deprived of all those affections, which can only make life pleasant to him. Peace is that harmony in the state, that health is in the body. No honour, no profit, no plenty can make him happy, who is sick with a fever in his blood, and with defluations and aches in his joints and bones; but health restored gives a relish to the other blessings, and is very merry without them: no kingdom can flourish or be at ease, in which there is no peace; which only makes men dwell at home, and enjoy the labour of their own hands, and improve all the advantages which the air, and the climate, and the soil administers to them; and all which yield no comfort, where there is no peace.

God himself reckons health the greatest blessing he can bestow upon mankind, and peace the greatest comfort and ornament he can confer upon states; which are a multitude of men gathered together. They who delight most in war, are so much ashamed of it, that they pretend, *Pacis gerere negotium*; to have no other end, to desire nothing but peace, that their heart is set upon nothing else. When Cæsar was engaging all the world in war, he wrote to Tully, “*Neque tutius, neque honestius reperies quidquam, quam ab omni contentione abesse;*” there was nothing worthier of an honest man than to have contention with nobody. It was the highest aggravation that the prophet could find out in the description of the greatest wickedness, that “the way of peace they knew not;” and the greatest punishment of all their crookedness and perverseness was, that “they should not know peace.” A greater curse cannot befall the most-wicked nation, than to be deprived of peace. There is nothing of real and substantial comfort in this world, but what is the product of peace; and whatsoever we may lawfully and innocently take delight in, is the fruit and effect of peace. The solemn service of God, and performing our duty to him in the exercise of regular devotion, which is the greatest business of our life, and in which we ought to take most delight, is the issue of peace. War breaks all that order, interrupts all that devotion, and even extinguisheth all that zeal, which peace had kindled in us, lays waste the dwelling-place of God as well as of man; and introduces and propagates opinions and practice, as much against heaven as against earth, and erects a deity that delights in nothing but cruelty and blood.

Are we pleased with the enlarged commerce and society of large and opulent cities, or with the retired pleasures of the country? do we love stately palaces, and noble houses, or take delight in pleasant groves and woods, or fruitful gardens, which teach and instruct nature to produce and bring forth more fruits, and flowers, and plants, than her own store can supply her with? all this we owe to peace; and the dissolution of this peace disfigures all this beauty, and in a short time covers and buries all this order and delight in ruin and rubbish. Finally, have we any content, satisfaction, and joy, in the conversation of each other, in the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences, which more adorn mankind, than all those buildings and plantations do the fields and grounds on which they stand? even this is the blessed effect and legacy of peace; and war lays our natures and manners as waste as our gardens and our habitations; and we can as easily preserve the beauty of the one, as the integrity of the other, under the cursed jurisdiction of drums and trumpets.

“If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men,” was one of the primitive injunctions of Christianity, Rom. xii. 18, and comprehends not only particular and private men (though no doubt all gentle and peaceable natures are most capable of Christian precepts, and most affected with them) but kings and princes themselves. St. Paul knew well, that the peaceable inclinations and dispositions of subjects could do little good, if the sovereign princes were disposed to war; but if they desire to live peaceably with their neighbours, their subjects cannot but be happy.

And the pleasure that God himself takes in that temper, needs no other manifestation, than the promise our Saviour makes to those who contribute towards it, in his sermon upon the mount, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God," Matt. v. 9. Peace must needs be very acceptable to him, when the instruments towards it are crowned with such a full measure of blessing; and it is no hard matter to guess whose children they are, who take all the pains they can to deprive the world of peace, and to subject it to the rage and fury and desolation of war. If we had not the woful experience of so many hundred years, we should hardly think it possible, that men who pretend to embrace the gospel of peace, should be so unconcerned in the obligation and effects of it; and when God looks upon it as the greatest blessing he can pour down upon the heads of those who please him best, and observe his commands, "I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid," Lev. xxvi. 6, that men study nothing more than how to throw off and deprive themselves and others of this his precious bounty; as if we were void of natural reason, as well as without the elements of religion: for nature itself disposes us to a love of society, which cannot be preserved without peace. A whole city on fire is a spectacle full of horror, but a whole kingdom on fire must be a prospect much more terrible; and such is every kingdom in war, where nothing flourishes but rapine, blood, and murder, and the faces of all men are pale and ghastly, out of the sense of what they have done, or of what they have suffered, or are to endure.

The reverse of all this is peace, which in a moment extinguishes all that fire, binds up all the wounds, and restores to all faces their natural vivacity and beauty. We cannot make a more lively representation and emblem to ourselves of hell, than by the view of a kingdom in war; where there is nothing to be seen but destruction and fire, and the discord itself is a great part of the torment: nor a more sensible reflection upon the joys of heaven, than as it is all quiet and peace, and where nothing is to be discerned but consent and harmony, and what is amiable in all the circumstances of it. And as far as we may warrantably judge of the inhabitants of either climate, they who love and cherish discord among men, and take delight in war, have large mansions provided for them, in that region of faction and disagreement; as we may presume, that they who set their hearts upon peace in this world, and labour to promote it in their several stations amongst all men, and who are instruments to prevent the breach of it amongst princes and states, or to renew it when it is broken, have infallible title to a place and mansion in heaven; where there is only peace in that perfection, that all other blessings are comprehended in it, and a part of it.

XII. OF SACRILEGE.

On a Fast-day at Jersey, 1641.

THE original and ground of the first institution of fasts and solemn days of humiliation, was to deprecate God's judgment, and to remove some heavy afflictions either actually brought upon or immediately threatened by him upon that people; and

in order thereunto to make a faithful inquisition into all sins, and to enter into a covenant against those which seem to be most cordially embraced by us, and consequently the most likely causes of the present calamities we groan under: so that though every act of devotion should raise in us a detestation of all sins whatsoever, yet as a particular fast is commonly for the removal of a particular judgment, so the devotion of that day will not be too much circumscribed and limited, if it be intent upon the inquisition into the nature and mischief of one particular sin, and in the endeavour to raise up some fence and fortification that that sin may not break in upon us; especially if it be such a one, as either our own inclinations, or the iniquity and temper of the time in which we live, is like to invite us to. If the business of our fasts be only to inveigh and pray against the sins we are least inclined to, we make them indeed days of triumph over other men's wickedness, not of humiliation for our own; and arraign them, not prostrate ourselves before God. If the parliament's fast-days had been celebrated with a due and ingenuous disquisition of the nature and odiousness of hypocrisy, rebellion, and profaneness, instead of discourses against popery, tyranny, and superstition; which, though they are grievous sins, were not yet the sins of those congregations; and if the fast-days observed by the king's party had been spent in prayer for, and sincere study of temperance, justice, and patience in adversity, of the practical duties of a Christian, of the obligations of conscience to constancy and perseverance in our duty, and of the shame and dishonesty and impiety of redeeming our fortunes or

lives with the breach of our conscience, instead of arguments against taking up arms against lawful authority, sedition, and schism; which, though they are enormous crimes, were not yet the crimes of those congregations; both parties without doubt would not have been as constant to their own sins as to their fasts; as if all their devotions had been to confirm them in what they had done amiss, and in the end to shake hands in the same sins, and determine all further dispute of oaths, by an union in perjury, a general taking the covenant, and to extinguish rebellion by an universal submission, and guilt in sacrilege.

I have not yet met with any man so hardy as to deny that sacrilege is a sin; or to aver that, being a sin, a man may be guilty of it for any worldly consideration or advantage whatsoever; and yet, as if there were no such thing in nature, or as if it were only a term of art to perplex men in debates, men of all tempers, and scarce reconcilable in any other conclusion or design, are very frankly and lovingly united in this mystery of iniquity: which I cannot be so uncharitable as to believe proceeds from a vicious habit of the mind, but an inadvertency and incogitancy of the nature and consequence of the sin itself. It would not otherwise be, that a thing that hath been so odious from the beginning of the world amongst all brave nations, who have been endued but with the light of nature, and have made any pretence to virtue, that they could not fix a brand of more infamy upon the most exorbitant person in the practice of all vice, than to call him a sacrilegious person, should be now held of so little moment amongst Christians;

and that when all things dedicated and separated for holy uses have been always accounted and reputed so sacred by men of all religions, or pretenders to religion, that where any violation hath been offered to the temples of any gods, when a country hath been pronounced to be destroyed with fire and sword; and all cruelty practised by order against all ages and sexes, the general of those armies has, by his sacrilege, lost the reward of his other conquests, and been punished with infamy and dishonour by those who have enjoyed the benefit of his victory, though they served not those Gods, or accounted them such whom he had spoiled: as we find frequent examples in the Roman story; who, besides that justice upon those accidents, celebrated some devotions to absolve their state from the guilt, and ordered reparation and restitution to be made to those deities which had been robbed and profaned; yet after sixteen hundred years study and profession of Christianity, those horrible crimes should pass by us, and we pass through them, not only without the least compunction of conscience, but without the least blush or apprehension of a fault. "Will a man rob God?" says the prophet Malachi, ch. iii. 8, none will be so impudently wicked to say he will; "Yet ye have robbed me: but ye say, wherein have we robbed thee?" "In tithes and offerings," says the same spirit. Pretend what you will to reverence, and fear of God, if you take away what is consecrated, what is dedicated to him, you do no better than rob God himself; and rob him with all those circumstances which most offend and grieve him. Tremellius renders it "spoliatis me," but

the vulgar hath it "configitis me," which is worse: spoiling a man, supposes some great act of violence in the circumstance, but a man that is spoiled may be yet left at liberty to shift for himself; and may find relief again by others; but "configitis me," you have not been content to rob and to spoil me; but you have nailed me, you have bound me fast, that I cannot stir to keep myself, nor to go to others to help me. He that commits sacrilege, hath done the best he can to bind God so fast, to put him in that condition, that nobody should serve him; and therefore amongst the Jews, he that was guilty of it was thought to offend God *primario*, and to sin against the first table; whereas, as other thefts or robberies were but offences against the second table, they spoiled not God himself: and we cannot think reasonably that this was a sin only under the law, and is none under the gospel. If there had been no such thing in nature, St. Paul sure would never have reproached the Romans with their hypocrisy, in pretending to abhor idolatry, and yet committing sacrilege. And that argumentation by interrogating is very observable, as if idolatry and sacrilege were one and the same sin; "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?" "Non multum distat," says the learned Grotius, "falsos Deos colere, et verum spoliare;" there is very little difference between adoring false gods, and robbing the true God. And that the robbing and defrauding the church is this very sacrilege condemned, appears evidently by that saying

of the town-clerk in the Acts, "Ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess," Acts xix. 37. Where the same word is used in the original (*Ιεροσυλου*) which St. Paul uses to the Romans, which is no where applied to any other robbers throughout the Scripture. If it were possible that men who have no piety should have any justice, even that alone, without the other, would give a rule in this point: with what justice can that, which the goodness and bounty of our ancestors have directed to our use, be taken away, and applied to another, nay, to such a one as we are morally sure is a use the founders or donors would never have given the same? I doubt not, but there may be a supposition of such uses as may not be agreeable to the policy and peace of the state, but then the act itself is void, and no such grant can be made; or, if the policy of succeeding times find that use (being a civil use) inconvenient to the present temper, and so abrogate it, it will be still as if there were no donation, and the thing given must revert to his use, whose it would naturally have been if there had been none such. Neither can laws in those cases alter the matter of right and justice; it may render me more potent to do hurt and injury, by making that damage and injury unpenal to me; it cannot make the thing I do just, or lessen my guilt before God; I speak of things evil in themselves, as all things are which God himself hath expressly inhibited to be done; and therefore, if there were an act of parliament, which authorized the stronger to rob, or kill the weaker, I do not think any man will say, that is

less murder or theft before God, than if there were no such act; and, I confess, I cannot apprehend how spoiling or defrauding the church can be less sacrilege, by what authority soever men are qualified to commit it.

But if we examine this a little farther, we shall find, that though no man (as I said before) denied sacrilege to be a sin, yet very many deny that to be sacrilege which hath been commonly accounted sacrilege: they do not, or seem not to believe, that it is the same sin in the gospel that it was in the law; at least, that things do not become dedicated in the same manner to God under the gospel, as they did under the law; because, as to a gift there is always to be a receiver as well as a giver, so there is not evidence under the gospel, that God doth accept and receive what is given, as there was under the law, and therefore that it cannot be sacrilege: they are contented that shall be sacrilege as it is ecclesiastical robbery; and that as it is felony to steal a pot out of a common house, so it shall be sacrilege to steal the chalice out of the church, and are willing that they shall be equally punished for it; but they are not all satisfied to allow that distinction, or that there is any difference of places now: and they are in truth the more ingenuous of the two, and they will best define the committing of sacrilege, who do reject all difference and distinction of persons and places; and so neither leave God himself a capacity of being robbed, nor suffer those who claim under him, by serving at his altar, or his church, to have a propriety in any thing, of which they may not be deprived for the conveniency of a great man, or of the state in which they live. But these men may

remember, that they give no better, or indeed other reasons for this their bold assertion, than their progenitors the heathens did, when they were possessed with their spirit, to contradict a definition of sacrilege, current in all times, as agreeable to the law of nature : “ *Quisquis id quod Deorum est sustulit et consumpsit, atque in usum suum vertit, sacrilegus est.*” they thought they refuted this proposition very substantially when they denied this to be sacrilege, because of the universal power and dominion the gods had over all things and places, “ *Quia quicquid sublatum est ex eo loco, qui Deorum erat, in eum transfertur locum qui Deorum est.*” Nor need there be another answer given to them than the philosopher, who I doubt was a better divine than many of their teachers, then gave, “ *Omnia quidem Deorum esse, sed non omnia Diis dicata;*” and he convinced them by an argument very like their own, that all the world was the temple of the immortal gods, (“ *Solum quidem amplitudine illorum ac magnificentia dignum;*) et tamen a sacris profana decerni, et non omnia licere in angulo, cui nomen fani impositus est, quæ sub cælo et conspectu siderum licent;” many things may be done in other places which are neither fit or lawful to be done in churches, or places dedicated to God’s service. The most sacrilegious person cannot do any injury to God, “ *Quem extra ictum sua divinitas posuit, sed tamen punitur quia tanquam Deo fecit.*” If this were not known to be Seneca’s, it might be well owned by those casuists who are to dispute with these men; who yet, it may be, will rather choose to be converted by the philosopher, as it is the dictate of natural reason, without the

authority of the church. And it can never be enough lamented, that after places have been set aside in all nations, from the time of which we have any records, and assigned for the peculiar service and worship of that divinity that was there acknowledged ; and after so much pious care for the building of churches to that end, from the time that Christianity hath had any authority in the world ; that the Christian clergy owned and acknowledged under that appellation, and who, according to the judgment of a learned man, I think, as any age hath brought (Mr. Mede) can derive their descent from the apostles themselves ; that is, from those for whom their Lord and Master prayed unto his Father, (John xvii. 17.) " Sanctify them (Father) unto or for thy truth : thy word is truth ;" that is, saith he, separate them unto the ministry of thy truth : I say, it is matter of great lamentation, that these places and these persons should now be esteemed so common, and of so little regard, and to be looked upon as the only places and persons to which an injury cannot be done, or to whom an affront or indignity cannot be committed. And it is a very weighty observation by the said Mr. Mede (who never received tithes or offerings, and was too little known in the church whilst he lived,) that they are in a great error, who rank sacrilege as a sin against the eighth commandment ; for though he that commits sacrilege, indirectly and by consequence robs men too, namely, those who should live upon God's provision, yet, as sacrilege, it is a sin of the first table, and not of the second, a breach of the loyalty we immediately owe to God, and not of the duty we owe to our

neighbour; and then he cites the text mentioned before in Malachi, "Will a man rob God," &c. And truly, methinks, there is too much said in the New Testament against this sin, to leave it in the power of any man to imagine, that what is said in the Old is abrogated.

No man must imagine that this monstrous sin is contracted to, or in any one climate or region, and affected only by those of any one religion; it is equally spread amongst all nations, and more practised and countenanced amongst those of the catholic, than of the reformed religion; at least was first introduced and practised by them, before it was by these. Emperors and kings contrive and permit it; and popes themselves no otherwise contradict it, than that they would not have it committed without their special license and dispensation; by which it was first planted in England, and as warrantably propagated afterwards by him, who had as much authority to do it himself, as with the consent of the pope. They who know how many abbeys, and other ecclesiastical promotions, are at present possessed by laymen, and what pensions are daily granted upon bishoprics, and other revenues of the church, to laymen and other secular uses, throughout the catholic dominions of Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, will rather wonder that there is so fair revenues yet left to the church in protestant countries, than that so much hath been taken away; which for the most part was done in catholic times, and by catholic authority: and it is a wonderful thing how little hath been said in the one church or the other, in justification or excuse of what hath been so much practised in both; and

they who have attempted it have done it so obscurely, upon such suppositions, and with such reservations and distinctions, as if they endeavoured to find out or contrive a more warrantable and decent way to do that which ought not to be done at all; and what they allow proves to be as unlawful by their own rules, as what they condemn; which falls out very often to be the case in the writings of the school-men, and amongst the modern casuists. And it may be, they who are most conscientiously troubled and afflicted with the sense of the sin, and the punishment that must reasonably attend it, and to see so many noble and great families involved insensibly under a guilt, that is already in some degree punished, in their posterities degenerating from the virtue of their ancestors, and their noble blood corrupted with the most abject and vulgar affections and condescensions; I say, these good men are not enough affected, to search and find out expedients and cures, to redeem these transgressions, and to wipe out the guilt from those who do heartily desire to expiate for the errors and faults of their forefathers. Many men are involved in sacrilege without their privity or consent, by inheritances and descents; and it may be, have made purchases very innocently of lands which they never knew had been dedicated to the church: and it cannot reasonably be imagined that either of these, especially if they have no other estates, or very little, but what are marked with the same brand, will, out of the conscience of their great-grandfather's impiety, ransom themselves from a leprosy which is not discernible, by giving away all they have; and which by established laws are as un-

questionably their own, as any thing can be made to belong to any man: but they will rather leave their ancestors to pay their own forfeitures, and be very indulgent to those arguments which would persuade them, that what was sacrilége a hundred years since, is so purged away in so many descents that it ceases to be so in the present possessor: however, he will never file away the stain that may yet remain in his skin, with an instrument that will open all his veins, till his very heart's blood issue and be drawn out. Nor can it be expected that he who hath innocently and lawfully purchased what was innocently and lawfully to be sold, because he finds afterwards that those lands had so many years since belonged to some religious house; which if he had known he would not have bought, will therefore lose his money, and leave the land to him whose conscience will give him leave to take it; for though he might innocently, because ignorantly, buy it, he cannot after his discovery sell it with the same innocence; but he will choose a lawyer rather than a bishop for his confessor, and satisfy himself with that title which he is sure can be defended. In a word, he must depart too much from his natural understanding, who believes it probable, that all that hath been taken from the church in former ages, will be restored to it in this or those which shall succeed, to the ruin of those many thousand families which enjoy the alienations, though they do not think that it was at first with justice and piety aliened; but will satisfy themselves with the possession, and by degrees believe, that since it must not be restored to those uses and ends, to which it was at first dedicated and devoted,

it may be as justly enjoyed by them with their other title, as by any other persons to whom it may be assigned. Whereas; if learned, prudent, and conscientious men, upon a serious deliberation and reflection of the great mercy of God, and that under the law he both permitted and prescribed expedients to expiate for trespasses and offences, which, by inadvertency and without malice, men frequently run into, and therefore that it may be piously hoped, that in a transgression of this nature, he will not be rigorously disposed to exact the utmost farthing from the heirs of the transgressors, who, with the authority of the government under which they lived, and in many cases with the consent and resignation of those in whom the interest was fully invested, became unwarily owners of what in truth, in a manner, was taken from God himself; I say, if such men, upon such and other recollections which might occur to them, would advise a reasonable method, in which they who are possessed of estates and fortunes of that kind, may well assign a proportion of what they enjoy to such pious and charitable uses, as may probably do as much good as those estates did when they were in their possession from whom they were taken, and yet not deprive the owners of more than they may without great damage part with. It is very possible, that very many, out of the observation of the misfortunes which have often befallen the posterity of those who have been eminently enriched by those sacred spoils, and it may be out of some casual reflections and reluctancy which now and then may interrupt the most cheerful divertisements, would dedicate somewhat of what they enjoy, towards the

reparation of what charity hath for a long time suffered ; and by this means the poor bishoprics, which cannot support the dignity of the function, may be better endowed, poor vicarages comfortably supplied, and other charitable works performed in the education of poor children, and the like. And they who thus contribute, out of the freedom and bounty of their own natures, will find a serenity of mind that will please them, and make them believe that the rest will prosper the better, and that they have more left than they enjoyed before ; and when the matter hath been well and discreetly weighed, and good mediums instilled into the minds of men, by conference and conversation, the method and prescription will be most powerfully given by the liberality and example of those who are wrought upon by the other, or by their own contemplation.

It is observable, that in these violent and furious attempts against the church, albeit his majesty hath always publicly declared, that his not complying with them in that particular, (the doing whereof many have supposed would have procured him his desires in all other particulars) proceeds purely from matter of conscience, and principally from the conclusion, that what they desire is sacrilege ; there hath been no application to his person, nor any sober animadversion in writing, to inform his judgment that it is not sacrilege, but only some allegations of former times, it may be too faulty in that particular, and the authority of that council which think they have power to compel him to consent to it, whether it be sacrilege or not ; nor hath that assembly of divines, who have so frankly given

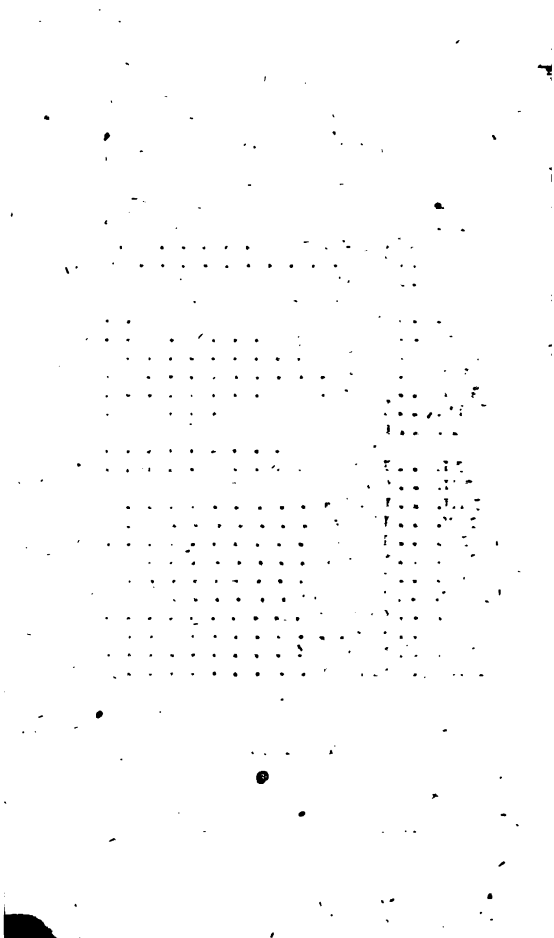
their consent to the destruction of that church to which they had formerly subscribed, and who are so ready to apply satisfaction to the consciences of men in many things which are enjoined against the light of their own, yet presumed to publish any thing to inform the minds of men in this argument. So that there being so little said for it, how much soever is done, a man cannot so easily enlarge his thoughts in a disquisition against it; but had best enlarge his heart by prayer, that the torrent of worldly power, or temptation of profit, may neither overwhelm nor corrupt him, to what his conscience, reason, or understanding, can never otherwise be invited.

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THE END.

T. Davison, Printer, Whitefriars.



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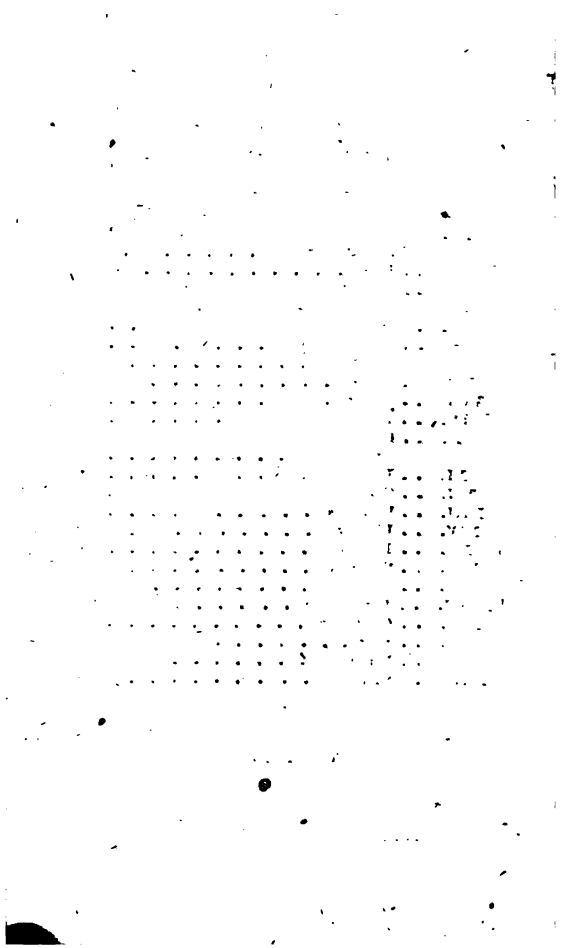
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———— The matter of your prayse
Floues in upon me; and I cannot rayse
A banke against it: nothing, but the round
Large claspe of nature, such a wit can bound:
Monarch in letters!

Ben Jonson to Selden.

Printed by T. DAVISON,
Whitefriars.

LE TALK.



G. Murray sc.

SHARPE, PICCADILLY.



BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

NOTHING can be more interesting than this little book, containing a lively picture of the opinions and conversation of one of the most eminent scholars and most distinguished patriots England has produced, living at a period the most eventful of our history: there are few volumes of its size so pregnant with sense, combined with the most profound learning: it is impossible to open it, without finding some important fact or discussion, something practically useful and applicable to the business of life: it may be said of it, as of that exquisite little manual, lord Bacon's Essays, "after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before."

Dr. Wilkins, the editor of Selden's works, has attempted to discredit the authenticity of the 'Table Talk,' upon the ground of its containing many things unworthy of a man of Selden's erudition, and at variance with his principles and practice: but this objection is far from conclusive, and the compilation has such a complete and unaffected air of genuineness, that we have no hesitation in giving credit to the assertion of Richard Milward, Selden's amanuensis, who says that it was faithfully committed to writing, from time to time, during the long period of twenty years, in which he enjoyed the opportunity of daily hearing his discourse, and of recording the excellent things that usually fell from him: he appeals to the executors and friends of Selden, that such was the usual manner of his patron's conversation; and this dedicatory appeal to them is no slight testimonial of the veracity of his assertion.

It is true, that the familiar, and sometimes coarse manner in which many of the subjects discussed are illustrated,

is not such as might have been expected from a profound scholar; but Selden, with all his learning, was a man of the world, familiar with the ordinary scenes of common life, and knew how to bring abstruse subjects home to the business and bosoms of men of ordinary capacity, in a manner at once perspicuous and agreeable.

It is remarkable, that the style of Selden, in those English compositions published during his life, appears harsh and obscure; but lord Clarendon, who knew him well, tells us, "that he was a clear discourser, and possessed the faculty of making difficult things easy, and presenting them clearly to the understanding." This faculty is every where apparent in the following pages, which are replete with the fruits of his varied and extensive erudition, illustrated in the most plain, and sometimes in the happiest manner, by familiar parallels, without pedantry, and without pretension. In preparing the present edition for the press, the text of the first edition, printed in 4to. London, 1699, under the care of Richard Milward, has been scrupulously followed, the orthography alone having been reformed.

Selden was born at Salvington, an obscure village on the coast of Sussex, near Terring, and not far from Worthing, on the 16th of December, 1584: his father was a substantial yeoman, and had very much bettered his condition by marriage with the only daughter of Thomas Baker, of Rushington, descended from an ancient and knightly family of that name: it was his skill in music which obtained him his wife, who was mother to this "great dictator of learning, and glory of the English nation." Selden received the rudiments of education at the free school of Chichester, and was from thence, at the age of sixteen, sent to the university of Oxford, and entered of Hart Hall, under the tuition of Anthony Barker, a relation of his master at Chichester school. His progress at college was more than usually rapid; and he left it with a high reputation in about four years, to pursue the study of the law in the Inner Temple, where he was admitted in May, 1604. He became so sedulous a student, and his proficiency so well known, that he was soon in very extensive practice as a chamber counsel; but he does not seem to have appeared frequently at the bar. His devotion to his profession did not prevent him

from pursuing his literary occupations with assiduity; and, at the early age of twenty-two, he had completed his 'Dissertation on the Civil Government of Britain before the Norman Conquest.'

This work is an astonishing performance, considering the age at which it was composed. In 1610, we find him pursuing the same course of study, the fruits of which were given to the world, under the titles of 'Jani Anglorum Facies Altera,' 'England's Epinomis,' and 'The Duello, or Single Combat.' These publications were in a measure connected with the studies incident to his profession; but in 1612, was put forth his elaborate and interesting commentary on the first twelve books of the Polyolbion; he must, therefore, have been indefatigable in his pursuit of knowledge through every channel, and in all its various ramifications. His intense application appears to have very materially injured his health; for in the dedication of his 'Titles of Honour,' published in 1614, to his friend, Mr. Edward Heyward, he says, "Some year since it was finished, wanting only, in some parts, my last hand—which was then prevented by my dangerous and tedious sickness." From this attack he recovered, by the skill and care of Dr. Robert Floyd, returning to his studies with fresh zest, and renewed vigour; "and thus," says he, "I employed the breathing times which, from the so different studies of my profession, were allowed me: nor hath the proverbial assertion, 'that the lady Common Law must lie alone,' ever wrought with me." His fame now rang through Europe, and his books were received and read with avidity. In the year 1617, was produced that extraordinary and profoundly erudite treatise on the Deities of the Ancient Syrians,* which he "intended as a commentary on all the passages of the Old Testament relating to the idols of the heathens, and discussing, there-

* This was not published until 1615, when it was printed at Frankfort, under the title of 'Analecton Anglo-Britannicwn.'

† 'De Diis Syris, Syntagmata Duo. London, 1617.'

fore, not only the Syrian, but the Arabian, Egyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry."

His 'History of Tithes' was published in 1618, in which he seemed to combat the divine right of the church to them, and, consequently, gave great offence to the clergy, and incurred the displeasure of king James. He was admitted, at the intercession of his friend Ben Jonson, to explain himself to the king in person, and seemed to have conciliated him; but in a very short time he was cited before the high commission court, his book was prohibited, he was enjoined to declare his contrition for having written it, and forbid to reply to any of those who might write against it, upon pain of imprisonment. The king pointed out to him many objectionable passages, particularly one which seemed to throw a doubt upon the day of the birth of Christ; he therefore composed a short treatise upon that subject, and presented it to the king on Christmas day.*

In the preface to his 'History of Tithes,' he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and laziness, and upbraids them with having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard, title, and habit; and that their studies reached no farther than the breviary, the postills, and polyanthea: this was enough to draw down their indignation upon him, and he was consequently vehemently attacked. Wood says, that "the usage he met with sunk so deep into his stomach, that he did never after affect the bishops and clergy, or cordially approve their calling, though many ways were tried to gain him to the church's interest." He had certainly a great contempt for the ignorant and fanatic among the clergy of his day—and did not scruple to express it openly: indeed it appears he was of opinion that the state should invariably keep a rein on

* This treatise does not appear to have been printed during Selden's life, but was published in 1661, under the following title, 'ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ, or, God made Man; proving the Nativity of our Saviour to be on the 25th of December. London: printed by J. G. for Nathaniel Brooks, at the Angel, in Cornhill, 1661,' 8vo. with a wretched portrait of Selden prefixed, engraved by I. Chantry.

the church; yet he was partial to the episcopal form of worship. Though not orthodox in his opinions, he was "a resolved serious Christian," as sir Matthew Hale told Baxter, "a great enemy to Hobbes's errors, and that he had seen him openly oppose Hobbes so earnestly as either to depart from him or drive him from the room."

In the year 1621, James asserted, in one of his speeches, that the privileges of parliament were original grants from the crown. Upon this occasion, Selden was consulted both by the lords and the commons; and in the opinion which he delivered, though he wholly denied the point in question, yet with the strictest integrity he did ample justice to the prerogative of the crown.

The protest made by the commons, on this occasion, was attributed to him, and the vengeance of the court followed. He was imprisoned by an order in council of the 16th of June, which directed, "that no person should be suffered to speak with him; nor should word, message, or writing be received by him; and that a gentleman of trust should be appointed to remain with him." The letter which he addressed to sir George Calvert, one of the secretaries of state, upon this occasion, is remarkable for the cool firmness which it exhibits. After being kept in confinement for five weeks, he was liberated, at the intercession of lord keeper Williams. It was during this imprisonment that he prepared for the press the curious historical work of Eadmer, a Saxon monkish writer, and illustrated it with very learned notes: upon its publication, he dedicated it in grateful terms to the lord keeper, thanking him for having been the cause of his liberation.

From this time he seems to have taken a more active part in the great political events of the period. In 1623 he was returned member for Lancaster, and in the first two years of the reign of Charles I. for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He was one of the committee for forming articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham, and was appointed one of the managers at his proposed trial. He was one of the firmest and most distinguished opposers of the unconstitutional measure of levying money on the authority of the prerogative; and pleaded for Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the ship-money. It

was now that his opposition to the corruptions of the government took a decided form; and, on all important discussions in parliament, he was looked up to, and listened to, with the greatest reverence. In consequence of the weight of his opinion with the house, and the influence of his speeches on their decisions, the government found it expedient to take measures to prevent his attendance; and, in consequence, a charge of having uttered seditious expressions was preferred against him, and he was committed to the Tower in March, 1633. When he had been imprisoned some months, it was proposed that he should be discharged, on giving security for his future good conduct; but this he would not accede to, and was therefore removed to the King's Bench prison. A prosecution in the star chamber was soon after commenced against him for the publication of an alleged libel: this was a work written by sir Robert Dudley, in the reign of James, under the title of 'A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments.' By the favour of some powerful friends, his imprisonment was commuted for a nominal confinement in the Gatehouse, Westminster, which enabled him to retire into the country for about three months; he was then again committed to the King's Bench, and remained there until May, 1631, when he was admitted to bail, and continued to be bailed, from term to term, till July, 1634, when he was finally discharged without trial, having repeatedly pressed for a writ of Habeas Corpus without effect. During this period, the fruits of his literary occupations were four very learned treatises on Ancient Jewish Law.

The writers of the opposite party, though they do not dare openly attack a character like that of Selden, which is invulnerable to the stings of malice, yet they insinuate that he was a rebel, and that he for some time suppressed his invaluable and celebrated treatise, 'Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris,' out of pique for the affronts and persecutions he had suffered at the hands of government. There does not appear to be any foundation for this assertion; as, before he was discharged, he took an active part in the management of the masque presented by the inns of court before the king and queen on Candlemas night, 1633; thus paying an agreeable compliment to them, and countenancing

the king against the calumnies of the fanatical Prynne, who had fulminated, in his *Histriomastix*, against all dramatic representations, and had particularly inveighed against court masques and revelry: this was the more marked, as Prynne was a great favourite with his party. In the year 1635, he published, at the king's express desire, his '*Mare Clausum*,' written many years before in answer to Grotius, who, in his '*Mare Liberum*,' had contended for the right of the Dutch to trade to the Indies, and to fish in the British seas. So important was the work esteemed to the interests of the kingdom, that "Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the council, was sent with a copy of it to the barons of the exchequer, in the open court, that it might be by them laid up as a most inestimable jewel among the choice records which concerned the crown." The court now looked upon him, "as a person worth the gaining;" he was, from this time, a frequent and welcome guest at Lambeth-house; and it was then generally believed that he might have chosen his own preferment in the state, had not his political opinions and practice remained inflexibly unchanged.

In the parliaments of 1640-1, he represented the University of Oxford, and was among the most distinguished of those in opposition to the court: he joined in the measures for the prosecution of the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud. For this last part of his conduct he has been censured by some of his biographers, as disdaining the ties of private gratitude: it is true, he had been in habits of intimacy with the prelate; but what were the obligations he had received from him, that should make him forget what he considered his duty to his country, we are not told.

In 1642, Charles wished to have made Selden lord chancellor, but he declined it upon the plea of ill health. This overture created a suspicion that he might be tampering with the royal party, and he was even accused of being privy to the design of Waller the poet, to deliver London into the hands of the king. But Waller being questioned, "whether Selden, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, and others, were acquainted with that plot, he answered that they were not; but that he came one evening to Selden's study, where Pierpoint and Whitelocke then were with Selden, on purpose to impart it to them all; and, speaking of such a thing

in general terms, these gentlemen did so inveigh against any such thing as treachery and baseness, and that which might be the occasion of shedding much blood—that he said he durst not, for the awe and respect which he had for Selden and the rest, communicate any particulars to them, but was almost disheartened himself to proceed in it."

Selden, when accused, denied the charge upon oath: it appears that he was, at this time, not inclined to enter into all the violent measures of his party; for though he voted against the king's commission of array, yet he strenuously supported the royal prerogative as to the militia: by this, it appears, that he was well disposed toward the just claims of the king, though determined not to shrink from his duty; and, above all, not to serve him separately from the parliament.

In 1643, he was chosen one of the lay members of the presbyterian clergy, and it is reported that he could not conceal his disgust at the ignorance and fanaticism of some of its members: two stories are current respecting his conduct in this assembly, but neither of them are worth recording. He soon after subscribed to the famous "solemn league and covenant," and was appointed keeper of the records in the Tower. In 1645, he became one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and the next year five thousand pounds were publicly voted him in consideration of his services and sufferings in the public cause, but with true magnanimity he declined accepting it. "While the great mass of his political compeers had been swayed by ambition, vanity, resentment, or avarice, patriotism had been the motive, and the law of the land the index of his conduct."—"In his political opinions, he seems to have entertained a high respect for the sacredness of the social contract; and he justified the resistance to the Stuarts, on the ground that they had infringed and violated this compact between the prince and the people." Thus far he had been active in promoting what he deemed a necessary reform in the state; but from the scenes of anarchy and confusion which followed, he retired with a clear conscience, and returned to the prosecution of his beloved studies with eagerness. At this period, he commenced a work of stupendous erudition, which he published in parts, entitled, 'De Syne-

et Prefecturis veterum Hebræorum:’ he lived but to finish three books. Shortly before his death, he wrote also a preface to the ‘Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ,’ a Collection of Monkish Historians, published by sir R. Twysden; and a vindication of his ‘Mare Clausum,’ which contains some particulars of his own history. Of his works, which are very numerous, a list may be found in the Biographia Britannica: they were collected and published in six volumes, folio, by the learned Dr. Wilkins, in 1706.

“At length,” says Wood, “after this great light of our nation had lived to about the age of man, it was extinguished on the last of November, 1654.” He died of a gradual decline at the Carmelite, or Friary House, in White Friars, which he possessed, with other property, to a very considerable amount, by the bequest of Elizabeth, countess dowager of Kent, with whom he had lived in the strictest amity, as he had also done with the earl in his life-time. He died very rich, having lived a bachelor, in the exercise of a lucrative profession, with no disposition to expense, beyond the formation of a most extensive and valuable library, which he had once bequeathed to the University of Oxford, but revoked the legacy on account of some disgust taken at being required to give a bond as security for the loan of a manuscript: it was therefore left at the disposal of his executors, but he directed it not to be sold. They had intended bestowing it on the society of the Inner Temple, and it actually remained for five years in chambers hired for the purpose; but no preparations being made for building a room to contain it, the executors placed it at length in the Bodleian Library, where it remains, with his other collections.

He was buried, by his own direction, in the Temple church, on the south side of the round walk: his funeral was splendid, and attended by all the judges, benchers, and great officers, with a concourse of the most distinguished persons of the time.

To lord Clarendon’s delineation of his character may be added what Whitelocke says of him; “that his mind was as great as his learning, being very generous and hospitable, and a good companion, especially where he liked.” Dr. Wilkins says, “he was naturally of a serious temper, which

was somewhat soured by his sufferings; so that he was free only with a few."

His parliamentary character has been recently most ably sketched by an anonymous writer in a periodical paper. "Selden was a member of the long parliament, and took an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a museum, or great public library, resorted to, as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council, not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages; concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs."

"After all," says one of his biographers, "the most endearing part of Mr. Selden's character is elegantly touched by himself in the choice of his motto:"

Παρι παντος την ελευθεριαν.

LIBERTY ABOVE ALL THINGS.

TO THE HONOURABLE
MR. JUSTICE HALES,
ONE OF THE JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS;
AND TO THE MUCH HONOURED
EDWARD HEYWOOD, JOHN VAUGHAN,
AND
ROWLAND JEWKS, ESQUIRES.

MOST WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

WERE you not executors to that person, who, while he lived, was the glory of the nation; yet am I confident, any thing of his would find acceptance with you; and truly the sense and notion here is wholly his, and most of the words. I had the opportunity to hear his discourse twenty years together; and lest all those excellent things that usually fell from him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faithfully committed to writing, which, here digested into this method, I humbly present to your hands:—you will quickly perceive them to be his, by the familiar illustrations wherewith they are set off, and in which you know he was so happy, that, with a marvellous delight to those that heard him, he would presently convey

the highest points of religion, and the most important affairs of state, to an ordinary apprehension.

In reading, be pleased to distinguish times, and in your fancy carry along with you the *when* and the *why*, many of these things were spoken; this will give them the more life, and the smarter relish. It is possible, the entertainment you find in them, may render you the more inclinable to pardon the presumption of

Your most obliged, and

Most humble servant,

RI. MILWARD.

SELDEN'S

TABLE TALK.

ABBEYS, PRIORIES, &c.

1. THE unwillingness of the monks to part with their land, will fall out to be just nothing, because they were yielded up to the king by a supreme hand, viz. a parliament. If a king conquer another country, the people are loath to lose their lands; yet no divine will deny, but the king may give them to whom he please. If a parliament make a law concerning leather, or any other commodity, you and I for example, are parliament men; perhaps, in respect to our own private interests, we are against it, yet the major part conclude it: we are then involved, and the law is good.

2. When the founders of abbeys laid a curse upon those that should take away those lands, I would fain know what power they had to curse me; it is not the curses that come from the poor, or from any body, that hurt me, because they come from them, but because I do something ill against them that deserves God should curse me for it. On the

other side, it is not a man's blessing me that makes me blessed, he only declares me to be so ; and if I do well, I shall be blessed, whether any bless me or not.

3. At the time of dissolution, they were tender in taking from the abbots and priors their lands and their houses, till they surrendered them, as most of them did. Indeed, the prior of St. John's, sir Richard Weston, being a stout man, got into France, and stood out a whole year, at last submitted, and the king took in that priory also, to which the Temple belonged, and many other houses in England. They did not then cry—No abbots, no priors ; as we do now, No bishops, no bishops.

4. Henry the Fifth put away the friars, aliens, and seized to himself one hundred thousand pounds a year ; and therefore they were not the Protestants only that took away church lands.

5. In queen Elizabeth's time, when all the abbeyes were pulled down, all good works defaced, then the preachers must cry up justification by faith, not by good works.

ARTICLES.

The nine-and-thirty Articles are much another thing in Latin, (in which tongue they were made) than they are translated into English : they were made at three several convocations, and confirmed by act of parliament six or seven times after. There is a secret concerning them : of late ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by act of parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those articles which contain matter of

faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as appears by the first subscriptions. But bishop Bancroft, (in the convocation held in king James's days) he began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things; to the king's supremacy, to the Common Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles: many of them do not contain matter of faith. Is it matter of faith how the church should be governed? whether infants should be baptized? whether we have any property in our goods? &c.

BAPTISM.

1. It was a good way to persuade men to be christened, to tell them that they had a foulness about them, viz. original sin, that could not be washed away but by baptism.

2. The baptizing of children, with us, does only prepare a child against he comes to be a man, to understand what Christianity means. In the church of Rome, it hath this effect, it frees children from hell. They say they go into *limbus infantum*. It succeeds circumcision, and we are sure the child understood nothing of that at eight days old; why then may not we as reasonably baptize a child at that age? In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers rather than the child.

3. In the primitive times, they had godfathers to see the children brought up in the Christian religion, because many times, when the father was a Christian, the mother was not; and sometimes, when the mother was a Christian, the father was not; and therefore they made choice of two or

more that were Christians, to see their children brought up in that faith.

BASTARD.

It is said, Deut. xxiii. 2. "A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation.—*Non ingredietur in ecclesiam Domini*, he shall not enter into the church. The meaning of the phrase is, he shall not marry a Jewish woman. But upon this grossly mistaken: a bastard, at this day, in the church of Rome, without a dispensation, cannot take orders; the thing haply well enough, where it is so settled; but it is upon a mistake, (the place having no reference to the church) appears plainly by what follows at the third verse, "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation." Now you know with the Jews, an Ammonite or a Moabite could never be a priest, because their priests were born so, not made.

BIBLE, SCRIPTURE.

1. It is a great question, how we know Scripture to be Scripture; whether by the church, or by man's private spirit. Let me ask you how I know any thing? how I know this carpet to be green? First, because somebody told me it was green; that you call the church in your way. Then after I have been told it is green, when I see that colour again, I know it to be green, my own eyes tell me it is green; that you call the private spirit.

2. The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and renders the sense of the original best, taking in for the English translation, the bishops' Bible, as well as king James's. The translation in king James's time took an excellent way: that part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue, (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs) and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c.; if they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on.

3. There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French-English, *il fait froid*, I say it is cold; not, it makes cold: but the Bible is rather translated into English words, than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept; as for example, "he uncovered her shame," which is well enough, so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it!

4. *Scrutamini Scripturas.* These two words have undone the world: because Christ spake it to his disciples, therefore we must all, men, women, and children, read and interpret the Scripture.

5. Henry the Eighth made a law, that all men might read the Scripture, except servants; but no woman, except ladies and gentlewomen, who had leisure, and might ask somebody the meaning. The law was repealed in Edward the Sixth's days.

6. Lay-men have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible, such as Johannes Picus, Scaliger, Grotius, Salmasius, Heinsius, &c.

7. If you ask which of Erasmus, Beza, or Grotius, did best upon the New Testament,—it is an idle question, for they all did well in their way. Erasmus broke down the first brick, Beza added many things, and Grotius added much to him, in whom we have either something new, or something heightened, that was said before; and so it was necessary to have them all three.

8. The text serves only to guess by: we must satisfy ourselves fully out of the authors that lived about those times.

9. In interpreting the Scripture, many do as if a man should see one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten; meaning four, was but four units, and five, five units, &c. and that he had in all but ten pounds; the other that sees him, takes not the figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports, that he hath five pounds in one bag, and six pounds in another bag, and nine pounds in another bag, &c. when as in truth, he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a text here and there, to make it serve our turn; whereas, if we take it all together, and considered what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing.

10. Make no more allegories in Scripture than needs must. The fathers were too frequent in them; they indeed, before they fully understood the literal sense, looked out for an allegory: the folly whereof you may conceive thus—here, at the

First sight, appears to me, in my window, a glass and a book ; I take it for granted it is a glass and a book ; thereupon I go about to tell you what they signify : afterwards, upon nearer view, they prove no such thing ; one is a box made like a book, the other is a picture made like a glass : where is now my allegory ?

11. When men meddle with the literal text, the question is, where they should stop ? In this case a man must venture his discretion, and do his best to satisfy himself and others in those places where he doubts ; for although we call the Scripture the word of God, (as it is) yet it was writ by a man, a mercenary man, whose copy either might be false, or he might make it false : for example, here were a thousand Bibles printed in England with the text thus—"Thou shalt commit adultery," the word *not* left out : might not this text be mended ?

12. The Scripture may have more senses besides the literal, because God understaunds all things at once ; but a man's writing has but one true sense, which is that which the author meant when he writ it.

13. When you meet with several readings of the text, take heed you admit nothing against the tenets of your church, but do as if you were going over a bridge ; be sure you hold fast by the rail, and then you may dance here and there as you please ; be sure you keep to what is settled, and then you may flourish upon your various lections.

14. The Apocrypha is bound with the Bibles of all churches that have been hitherto. Why should we leave it out ? the church of Rome has her Apocrypha, viz. Susanna, and Bell and the Dragon ;

which she does not esteem equally with the rest of those books that we call Apocrypha.

BISHOPS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. A bishop, as a bishop, had never any ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for, as soon as he was *electus confirmatus*, that is, after the three proclamations in Bow-church, he might exercise jurisdiction before he was consecrated; not till then, he was no bishop, neither could he give orders. Besides, suffragans were bishops, and they never claimed any jurisdiction.

2. Aunciently, the noblemen lay within the city for safety and security. The bishops' houses were by the water side, because they were held sacred persons which nobody would hurt.

3. There was some sense for *commendams*: at first, when there was a living void, and never a clerk to serve it, the bishop was to keep it till they found a fit man; but now it is a trick for the bishop to keep it for himself.

4. For a bishop to preach, it is to do other folks' office, as if the steward of the house should execute the porter's or the cook's place: it is his business to see that they and all other about the house perform their duties.

5. That which is thought to have done the bishops hurt, is their going about to bring men to a blind obedience, imposing things upon them, though perhaps small and well enough, without preparing them, and insinuating into their reasons and fancies. Every man loves to know his commander. I wear those gloves, but, perhaps, if an

alderman should command me, I should think much to do it : what has he to do with me ? Or, if he has, peradventure I do not know it. This jumping upon things at first dash will destroy all : to keep up friendship, there must be little addresses and applications, whereas bluntness spoils it quickly : to keep up the hierarchy, there must be little applications made to men ; they must be brought on by little and little : so in the primitive times, the power was gained, and so it must be continued. Scaliger said of Erasmus, *Si minor esse voluit, major fuisset.* So we may say of the bishops, *Si minores esse voluerint, majores fuissent.*

6. The bishops were too hasty, else, with a discreet slowness, they might have had what they aimed at : the old story of the fellow, that told the gentleman he might get to such a place, if he did not ride too fast, would have fitted their turn.

7. For a bishop to cite an old canon to strengthen his new articles, is as if a lawyer should plead an old statute that has been repealed God knows how long.

BISHOPS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. Bishops have the same right to sit in parliament as the best earls and barons, that is, those that were made by writ : if you ask one of them, (Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland) why they sit in the house ? they can only say, their fathers sat there before them, and their grandfather before him, &c. and so say the bishops ; he that was a bishop of this place before me, sat in the house, and he that was a bishop before him, &c. Indeed, your later earls and barons have it expressed in their patents, that they shall be called

to the parliament. *Objection.* But the lords sit there by blood, the bishops not. *Ans.* It is true, they sit not there both the same way, yet that takes not away the bishop's right : if I am a parson of a parish, I have as much right to my glebe and tithe, as you have to your land, which your ancestors have had in that parish eight hundred years.

2. The bishops were not barons because they had baronies annexed to their bishoprics ; (for few of them had so, unless the old ones, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, &c. the new erected we are sure had none, as Gloucester, Peterborough, &c. besides, few of the temporal lords had any baronies) but they are barons, because they are called by writ to the parliament, and bishops were in the parliament ever since there was any mention or sign of a parliament in England.

3. Bishops may be judged by the peers, though in time of popery it never happened, because they pretended they were not obnoxious to a secular court, but their way was to cry, *Ego sum frater Domini Papæ*—I am brother to my lord the pope, and, therefore, take not myself to be judged by you : in this case, they empaneled a Middlesex jury, and dispatched the business.

4. Whether may bishops be present in cases of blood ? *Ans.* That they had a right to give votes, appears by this : always, when they did go out, they left a proxy ; and in the time of the abbots, one man had ten, twenty, or thirty voices. In Richard the Second's time, there was a protestation against the canons, by which they were forbidden to be present in case of blood. The statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth may go a great way in this business. The clergy were forbidden to use or cite any

canon, &c. but in the latter end of the statute, there was a clause, that such canons that were in usage in this kingdom should be in force till the thirty-two commissioners appointed should make others, provided they were not contrary to the king's supremacy. Now the question will be, whether these canons for blood were in use in this kingdom or no? the contrary whereof may appear by many precedents, in Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, and the beginning of Henry the Eighth, in which time there were more attainted than since, or scarce before. The canons of irregularity of blood were never received in England, but upon pleasure. If a lay lord was attainted, the bishops assented to his condemning, and were always present at the passing of the bill of attainder; but, if a spiritual lord, they went out as if they cared not whose head was cut off, so none of their own. In those days, the bishops being of great houses, were often entangled with the lords in matters of treason. But when do you hear of a bishop a traitor now?

5. You would not have bishops meddle with temporal affairs; think who you are that say it. If a Papist, they do in your church; if an English Protestant, they do among you; if a Presbyterian, where you have no bishops, you mean your Presbyterian lay elders should meddle with temporal affairs as well as spiritual: besides, all jurisdiction is temporal, and in no church but they have some jurisdiction or other. The question then will be reduced to *magis* and *minus*; they meddle more in one church than in another.

6. *Objection.* Bishops give not their votes by blood in parliament, but by an office annexed to

them, which being taken away, they cease to vote ; therefore, there is not the same reason for them as for temporal lords. *Answ.* We do not pretend they have that power the same way, but they have a right : he that has an office in Westminster-hall for his life, the office is as much his, as his land is his that hath land by inheritance.

7. Whether had the inferior clergy ever any thing to do in the parliament ? *Answ.* No, no otherwise than thus : there were certain of the clergy that used to assemble near the parliament, with whom the bishops upon occasion might consult, (but there were none of the convocation, as it was afterwards settled, viz. the dean, the archdeacon, one for the chapter, and two for the diocese) but it happened, by continuance of time, to save charges and trouble, their voices, and the consent of the whole clergy were involved in the bishops ; and at this day, the bishops' writs run, to bring all these to the parliament, but the bishops themselves stand for all.

8. Bishops were formerly one of these two conditions ; either men bred canonists and civilians, sent up and down ambassadors to Rome and other parts, and so by their merit came to that greatness ; or else great noblemen's sons, brothers, and nephews, and so born to govern the state : now they are of a low condition, their education nothing of that way ; he gets a living, and then a greater living, and then a greater than that, and so comes to govern.

9. Bishops are now unfit to govern because of their learning ; they are bred up in another law, they run to the text for something done amongst the Jews that nothing concerns England : it is just

as if a man would have a kettle, and he would not go to our brazier to have it made as they make kettles, but he would have it made as Hiram made his brass-work, who wrought in Solomon's temple.

10. To take away bishops' votes, is but the beginning to take them away; for then they can be no longer useful to the king or state. It is but like the little wimble, to let in the greater auger. *Objection.* But, they are but for their life, and that makes them always go for the king as he will have them. *Answ.* This is against a double charity, for you must always suppose a bad king and bad bishops. Then again, whether will a man be sooner content, himself should be made a slave, or his son after him? (when we talk of our children, we mean ourselves) besides, they that have posterity are more obliged to the king, than they that are only for themselves, in all the reason in the world.

11. How shall the clergy be in the parliament if the bishops are taken away? *Answ.* By the laity, because the bishops, in whom the rest of the clergy are included, are sent to the taking away their own votes, by being involved in the major part of the house: this follows naturally.

12. The bishops being put out of the house, whom will they lay the fault upon now? when the dog is beat out of the room, where will they lay the stink?

BISHOPS OUT OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1, In the beginning, bishops and presbyters were alike, like the gentlemen in the country, whereof

one is made deputy lieutenant, another justice of peace; so one is made a bishop, another a dean; and that kind of government by archbishops and bishops, no doubt came in, in imitation of the temporal government, not *jure divino*. In time of the Roman empire, where they had a legatus, there they placed an archbishop; where they had a rector, there a bishop; that every one might be instructed in Christianity, which now they had received into the empire.

2. They that speak ingeniously of bishops and presbyters, say, that a bishop is a great presbyter, and during the time of his being bishop, above a presbyter; as your president of the college of physicians is above the rest, yet he himself is no more than a doctor of physic.

3. The words bishop and presbyter are promiscuously used, that is confessed by all: and though the word bishop be in Timothy and Titus, yet that will not prove the bishops ought to have a jurisdiction over the presbyter, though Timothy or Titus had by the order that was given them; somebody must take care of the rest, and that jurisdiction was but to excommunicate, and that was but to tell them they should come no more into their company; or grant they did make canons one for another, before they came to be in the state, does it follow they must do so when the state has received them into it? What if Timothy had power in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, over the presbyters? does it follow therefore the bishop must have the same in England? must we be governed like Ephesus and Crete?

4. However some of the bishops pretend to be *jure divino*, yet the practice of the kingdom had ever been otherwise; for whatever bishops do otherwise than the law permits, Westminster-hall can control, or send them to absolve, &c.

5. He that goes about to prove bishops *jure divino*, does as a man that having a sword shall strike it against an anvil: if he strike it awhile there, he may peradventure loosen it, though it be never so well rivetted: 'twill serve to strike another sword, or cut flesh, but not against an anvil.

6. If you should say you hold your land by Moses or God's law, and would try it by that, you may perhaps lose, but by the law of the kingdom you are sure of it: so may the bishops by this plea of *jure divino* lose all. The pope had as good a title by the law of England as could be had, had he not left that, and claimed by power from God.

7. There is no government enjoined by example, but by precept; it does not follow we must have bishops still, because we have had them so long. They are equally mad who say bishops are so *jure divino*, that they must be continued, and they who say they are so antichristian, that they must be put away: all is as the state pleases.

8. To have no ministers but presbyters, it is as in the temporal state they should have no officers but constables. Bishops do best stand with monarchy; that as amongst the laity, you have dukes, lords, lieutenants, judges, &c. to send down the king's pleasure to his subjects—so you have bishops to govern the inferior clergy: these upon occasion may address themselves to the king; otherwise, every

parson of the parish must come, and run up to the court.

9. The Protestants have no bishops in France, because they live in a Catholic country, and they will not have Catholic bishops ; therefore, they must govern themselves as well as they may.

10. What is that to the purpose, to what end bishops' lands were given to them at first ? you must look to the law and custom of the place. What is that to any temporal lord's estate, how lands were first divided, or how in William the Conqueror's days ? And if men at first were juggled out of their estates, yet they are rightly their successors. If my father cheat a man, and he consent to it, the inheritance is rightly mine.

11. If there be no bishops, there must be something else, which has the power of bishops, though it be in many ; and then had you not as good keep them ? If you will have no half-crowns, but only single pence, yet thirty single pence are a half-crown ; and then had you not as good keep both ? But the bishops have done ill : it was the men, not the function ; as if you should say, you would have no more half-crowns, because they were stolen ; when the truth is, they were not stolen because they were half-crowns, but because they were money, and light in a thief's hand.

12. They that would pull down the bishops, and erect a new way of government, do as he that pulls down an old house, and builds another, in another fashion ; there is a great deal of do, and a great deal of trouble ; the old rubbish must be carried away, and new materials must be brought ; workmen must

be provided—and perhaps the old one would have served as well.

13. If the parliament and presbyterian party should dispute who should be judge? Indeed, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, there was such a difference between the Protestants and Papists, and sir Nicholas Bacon, lord chancellor, was appointed to be judge; but the conclusion was, the stronger party carried it: for so religion was brought into kingdoms, so it has been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the state pleases.

14. It will be a great discouragement to scholars that bishops should be put down; for now the father can say to his son, and the tutor to his pupil, “Study hard, and you shall have *vocem et sedem in parlamento* ;” then it must be, “Study hard, and you shall have a hundred a year, if you please your parish.” *Objection.* But they that enter into the ministry for preferment, are like Judas that looked after the bag. *Answer.* It may be so, if they turn scholars at Judas’s age; but what arguments will they use to persuade them to follow their books while they are young?

BOOKS, AUTHORS.

1. The giving a bookseller his price for his books has this advantage: he that will do so, shall have the refusal of whatsoever comes to his hand, and so by that means get many things, which, otherwise, he never should have seen: so it is in giving a bawd her price.

2. In buying books or other commodities, it is not always the best way to bid half so much as the

seller asks : witness the country fellow that went to buy two *shovel* groat shillings ; they asked him three shillings, and he bid them eighteen pence.

3. They counted the price of the books (Acts, xix. 19) and found fifty thousand pieces of silver, that is so many sextertii, or so many three-halfpence of our money, about three hundred pounds sterling.

4. Popish books teach and inform : what we know, we know much out of them. The fathers, church story, schoolmen, all may pass for Popish books ; and if you take away them, what learning will you leave ? Besides, who must be judge ? the customer or the waiter ? If he disallows a book, it must not be brought into the kingdom ; then Lord have mercy upon all scholars. These puritan preachers, if they have any things good, they have it out of Popish books, though they will not acknowledge it, for fear of displeasing the people : he is a poor divine that cannot sever the good from the bad.

5. It is good to have translations, because they serve as a comment, so far as the judgment of the man goes.

6. In answering a book, it is best to be short, otherwise he that I write against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him : besides, in being long, I shall give my adversary a huge advantage ; somewhere or other he will pick a hole.

7. In quoting of books, quote such authors as are usually read ; others you may read for your own satisfaction, but not name them.

8. Quoting of authors is most for matter of fact ; and then I write them as I would produce a witness, sometimes for a free expression ; and then I give

the author his due, and gain myself praise by reading him.

9. To quote a modern Dutchman, where I may use a classic author, is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

CANON LAW.

If I would study the canon law, as it is used in England, I must study the heads here in use, then go to the practisers in those courts where that law is practised, and know their customs: so for all the study in the world.

CEREMONY.

1. Ceremony keeps up all things; it is like a penny-glass to a rich spirit, or some excellent water; without it the water were spilt, the spirit lost.

2. Of all people, ladies have no reason to cry down ceremonies, for they take themselves slighted without it. And were they not used with ceremony, with compliments and addresses, with legs, and kissing of hands, they were the pitifullest creatures in the world; but yet, methinks, to kiss their hands after their lips, as some do, is like little boys, that after they eat the apple, fall to the paring, out of a love they have to the apple.

CHANCELLOR.

1. The bishop is not to sit with the chancellor in his court, as being a thing either beneath him, or beside him, no more than the king is to sit in the king's bench when he has made a lord chief-justice.

2. The chancellor governed in the church, who was a layman ; and, therefore, it is false which they charge the bishops with, that they challenge sole jurisdiction ; for the bishop can no more put out the chancellor, than the chancellor the bishop. They were many of them made chancellors for their lives ; and he is the fittest man to govern, because divinity so overwhelms the rest.

CHANGING SIDES.

1. It is the trial of a man to see if he will change his side ; and if he be so weak as to change once, he will change again. Your country fellows have a way to try if a man be weak in the hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares ; if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The lords that fall from the king, after they have got estates by base flattery at court, and now pretend conscience, do as a vintner, that when he first sets up, you may bring your wench to his house, and do your things there ; but when he grows rich, he turns conscientious, and will sell no wine upon the Sabbath-day.

3. Colonel Goring, serving first the one side and then the other, did like a good miller that knows how to grind, which way soever the wind sits.

4. After Luther had made a combustion in Germany about religion, he was sent to by the pope, to be taken off, and offered any preferment in the church, that he would make choice of. Luther answered—if he had offered half as much at first, he would have accepted it ; but now he had gone so far, he could not come back. In truth, he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him ; the German princes courted him ; he was become the author of a sect ever after to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done that are against the bishops ; they have made themselves greater with the people than they can be made the other way, and, therefore, there is the less charity probably in bringing them off. Charity to strangers is enjoined in the text : by strangers, is there understood, those that are not of our own kin, strangers to your blood, not those you cannot tell whence they come ; that is, be charitable to your neighbours, whom you know to be honest poor people.

CHRISTMAS.

1. Christmas succeeds the Saturnalia, the same time, the same number of holydays, then the master waited upon the servant, like the lord of misrule.

2. Our meats and our sports (much of them) have relation to church-works. The coffin of our Christmas pies, in shape long, is in imitation of the cratch ; our choosing kings and queens, on Twelfth-night, hath reference to the three kings : so, likewise, our eating of fritters, whipping of tops, roasting of herrings, Jack of Lents, &c. they were all in

imitation of church-works, emblems of martyrdom. Our tansies, at Easter, have reference to the bitter herbs; though, at the same time, it was always the fashion for a man to have a gammon of bacon, to show himself to be no Jew.

CHRISTIANS.

1. In the high church of Jerusalem, the Christians were but another sect of Jews, that did believe the Messias was come. To be called, was nothing else but to become a Christian, to have the name of a Christian, it being their own language; for, amongst the Jews, when they made a doctor of law, it was said, he was called.

2. The Turks tell their people of a heaven where there is sensible pleasure—but of a hell where they shall suffer they do not know what: the Christians quite invert this order; they tell us of a hell where we shall feel sensible pain—but of a heaven where we shall enjoy we cannot tell what.

3. Why did the heathens object to the Christians, that they worship an ass's head? You must know, that to a heathen, a Jew and a Christian were all one, that they regarded him not, so he was not one of them. Now, that of the ass's head might proceed from such a mistake as this: by the Jews' law all the firstlings of cattle were to be offered to God, except a young ass, which was to be redeemed: a heathen being present, and seeing young calves and young lambs killed at their sacrifices, only young asses redeemed, might very well think they had that silly beast in some high estimation, and thence might imagine they worshipped it as a god.

CHURCH.

1. Heretofore the kingdom let the church alone, let them do what they would, because they had something else to think of, *viz.* wars; but now, in time of peace, we begin to examine all things, will have nothing but what we like, grow dainty and wanton; just as in a family, the heir uses to go a hunting, he never considers how his meal is dressed, takes a bit, and away; but when he stays within, then he grows curious, he does not like this nor he does not like that, he will have his meat dressed his own way, or, peradventure, he will dress it himself.

2. It hath ever been the gain of the church, when the king will let the church have no power, to cry down the king and cry up the church; but when the church can make use of the king's power, then to bring all under the king's prerogative: the Catholics of England go one way, and the court-clergy another.

3. A glorious church is like a magnificent feast; there is all the variety that may be, but every one chooses out a dish or two that he likes, and lets the rest alone: how glorious soever the church is, every one chooses out of it his own religion, by which he governs himself, and lets the rest alone.

4. The laws of the church are most favourable to the church, because they were the church's own making; as the heralds are the best gentlemen, because they make their own pedigree.

5. There is a question about that article, concerning the power of the church, whether these words (of having power in controversies of faith)

were not stolen in ; but it is most certain they were in the book of articles that was confirmed, though, in some editions, they have been left out : but the article before tells you who the church is ; not the clergy, but *cætus fidelium*.

CHURCH OF ROME.

1. Before a juggler's tricks are discovered, we admire him, and give him money, but afterwards we care not for them ; so it was before the discovery of the juggling of the church of Rome.

2. Catholics say, we, out of our charity, believe they of the church of Rome may be saved ; but they do not believe so of us ; therefore, their church is better, according to ourselves : first, some of them no doubt believe as well of us, as we do of them, but they must not say so ; besides, is that an argument their church is better than ours, because it has less charity ?

3. One of the church of Rome will not come to our prayers : does that agree he doth not like them ? I would fain see a Catholic leave his dinner, because a nobleman's chaplain says grace ; nor haply would he leave the prayers of the church, if going to church were not made a mark of distinction between a Protestant and a Papist.

CHURCHES.

The way coming into our great churches was anciently at the west door, that men might see the altar, and all the church before them : the other doors were but posterns.

CITY.

1. What makes a city? whether a bishopric or any of that nature? *Answer.* It is according to the first charter which made them a corporation: if they are incorporated by name of *civitas*, they are a city; if by the name of *burgum*, then they are a borough.

2. The lord mayor of London, by their first charter, was to be presented to the king, in his absence to the lord chief justiciary of England, afterwards to the lord chancellor, now to the barons of the exchequer; but still there was a reservation, that, for their honour, they should come once a year to the king, as they do still.

CLERGY.

1. Though a clergyman have no faults of his own, yet the faults of the whole tribe shall be laid upon him, so that he shall be sure not to lack.

2. The clergy would have us believe them against our own reason, as the woman would have had her husband against his own eyes: "What! will you believe your own eyes before your own sweet wife?"

3. The condition of the clergy towards their prince, and the condition of the physician, is all one: the physicians tell the prince they have agric and rhubarb, good for him, and good for his subjects' bodies; upon this, he gives them leave to use it; but if it prove naught, then away with it, they

shall use it no more : so the clergy tell the prince they have physic good for his soul, and good for the souls of his people : upon that he admits them ; but when he finds, by experience, they both trouble him and his people, he will have no more to do with them. What is that to them, or any body else, if a king will not go to heaven ?

4. A clergyman goes not a dram farther than this, you ought to obey your prince in general ; if he does he is lost : how to obey him you must be informed by those whose profession it is to tell you. The parson of the Tower, a good discreet man, told Dr. Mosely, who was sent to me, and the rest of the gentlemen committed in the third of Charles, to persuade us to submit to the king ; that they found no such words as parliament, habeas corpus, return, tower, &c. neither in the fathers, nor the schoolmen, nor in the text ; and, therefore, for his part, he believed he understood nothing of the business. A satire upon all those clergymen that meddle with matters they do not understand.

5. All confess there never was a more learned clergy ; no man taxes them with ignorance ; but to talk of that, is like the fellow that was a great wencher ; he wished God would forgive him his lechery, and lay usury to his charge. The clergy have worse faults.

6. The clergy and laity together are never like to do well ; it is as if a man were to make an excellent feast, and should have his apothecary and physician come into the kitchen : the cooks, if they were let alone, would make excellent meat ; but then comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into

one sauce, and agric into another sauce : chain up the clergy on both sides.

HIGH COMMISSION.

Men cry out upon the high commission, as if the clergymen only had to do in it, when I believe there are more laymen in commission there than clergymen : if the laymen will not come, whose fault is that ? So of the star-chamber, the people think the bishops only censured Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, when there were but two there, and one spake not in his own cause.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1. There be but two erroneous opinions in the house of commons, that the lords sit only for themselves, when the truth is, they sit as well for the commonwealth. The knights and burgesses sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer ; and what is the reason ? because the room will not hold all : the lords being few, they all come, and imagine the room able to hold all the commons of England, then the lords and burgesses would sit no otherwise than the lords do. The second error is, that the house of commons are to begin to give subsidies ; yet, if the lords dissent, they can give no money.

2. The house of commons is called the lower house in twenty acts of parliament ; but what are twenty acts of parliament amongst friends ?

3. The form of a charge runs thus, *I accuse in the name of all the commons of England* ; how then can any man be as a witness, when every man is made the accuser ?

CONFESSION.

1. In time of parliament it used to be one of the first things the house did to petition the king that his confessor might be removed, as fearing either his power with the king, or else, lest he should reveal to the pope what the house was in doing, as no doubt he did, when the Catholic cause was concerned.

2. The difference between us and the Papists is, we both allow contrition; but the Papists make confession a part of contrition: they say a man is not sufficiently contrite till he confess his sins to a priest.

3. Why should I think a priest will not reveal confession? I am sure he will do any thing that is forbidden him, haply not so often as I. The utmost punishment is deprivation; and how can it be proved that ever any man revealed confession when there is no witness? and no man can be witness in his own cause. A mere gullery! There was a time when it was public in the church, and that is much against their auricular confession.

COMPETENCY.

That which is a competency for one man, is not enough for another, no more than that which will keep one man warm, will keep another man warm; one man can go in doublet and hose, when another man cannot be without a cloak, and yet have no more clothes than is necessary for him.

GREAT CONJUNCTION.

The greatest conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter happens but once in eight hundred years, and therefore, astrologers can make no experiments of it, nor foretell what it means : not but that the stars may mean something ; but we cannot tell what, because we cannot come at them : suppose a planet were a simple, or an herb ; how could a physician tell the virtue of that simple, unless he could come at it, to apply it ?

CONSCIENCE.

1. He that hath a scrupulous conscience, is like a horse that is not well weighed ; he starts at every bird that flies out of the hedge.

2. A knowing man will do that which a tender conscience man dares not do, by reason of his ignorance ; the other knows there is no hurt : as a child is afraid to go into the dark, when a man is not, because he knows there is no danger.

3. If we once come to leave that outloose, as to pretend conscience against law, who knows what inconvenience may follow ? for thus, suppose an Anabaptist comes and takes my horse ; I sue him : he tells me he did according to his conscience ; his conscience tells him all things are common amongst the saints ; what is mine is his ; therefore you do ill to make such a law. If any man takes another's horse, he shall be hanged : what can I say to this man ? He does according to his conscience. Why is not he as honest a man as he that pre-

tends a ceremony established by law is against his conscience? Generally to pretend conscience against law is dangerous; in some cases haply we may.

4. Some men make it a case of conscience, whether a man may have a pigeon-house, because his pigeons eat other folks corn. But there is no such thing as conscience in the business: the matter is, whether he be a man of such quality, that the state allows him to have a dove-house: if so, there is an end of the business; his pigeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.

CONSECRATED PLACES.

1. The Jews had a peculiar way of consecrating things to God, which we have not.

2. Under the law, God, who was master of all, made choice of a temple to worship in, where he was more especially present: just as the master of the house, who owns all the house, makes choice of one chamber to lie in, which is called the master's chamber; but under the Gospel there was no such thing. Temples and churches are set apart for the conveniency of men to worship in: they cannot meet upon the point of a needle, but God himself makes no choice.

3. All things are God's already; we can give him no right by consecrating any that he had not before, only we set it apart to his service: just as a gardener brings his lord and master a basket of apricots, and presents them; his lord thanks him, perhaps gives him something for his pains; and yet the apricots were as much his lord's before as now.

4. What is consecrated, is given to some particular man, to do God service; not given to God, but given to man to serve God: and there is not any thing, lands or goods, but some men or other have it in their power to dispose of as they please: the saying things consecrated cannot be taken away, makes men afraid of consecration.

5. Yet consecration has this power: when a man has consecrated any thing to God, he cannot of himself take it away.

CONTRACTS.

1. If our fathers have lost their liberty, why may not we labour to regain it? *Answ.* We must look to the contract; if that be rightly made, we must stand to it: if we once grant we may recede from contracts upon any inconveniency that may afterwards happen, we shall have no bargain kept. If I sell you a horse, and do not like my bargain, I will have my horse again.

2. Keep your contracts: so far a divine goes; but how to make our contracts is left to ourselves; and as we agree upon the conveying of this house, or that land, so it must be: if you offer me a hundred pounds for my glove, I tell you what my glove is, a plain glove; pretend no virtue in it; the glove is my own: I profess not to sell gloves, and we agree for a hundred pounds: I do not know why I may not with a safe conscience take it. The want of that common obvious distinction of *jus præceptivum* and *jus permissivum*, does much trouble men.

3. Lady Kent articted with sir Edward Herbert, that he should come to her when she sent for him,

and stay with her as long as she would have him ; to which he set his hand : then he articulated with her, that he should go away when he pleased, and stay away as long as he pleased ; to which she set her hand. This is the epitome of all the contracts in the world, betwixt man and man, betwixt prince and subject ; they keep them as long as they like them, and no longer.

COUNCIL.

They talk, (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is president of their general councils ; when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy Ghost.

CONVOCATION.

1. When the king sends his writ for a parliament, he sends for two knights for a shire, and two burgesses for a corporation : but when he sends for two archbishops for a convocation, he commands them to assemble the whole clergy ; but they out of custom amongst themselves send to the bishops of their provinces, to will them to bring two clerks for a diocese, the dean, one for the chapter, and the archdeacons ; but to the king, every clergyman is there present.

2. We have nothing so nearly expresses the power of a convocation, in respect of a parliament, as a court-leet, where they have a power to make by-laws, as they call them—as that a man shall put so many cows or sheep in the common : but they can make nothing that is contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

CREED.

Athanasius's creed is the shortest—take away the preface, and the force, and the conclusion—which are not part of the creed. In the Nicene creed it is *εις εκκλησιαν*, “I believe in the church;” but now, as our Common Prayer has it, “I believe one catholic and apostolic church.” They like not creeds, because they would have no forms of faith, as they have none of prayer, though there be more reason for the one than for the other.

DAMNATION.

1. If the physician sees you eat any thing that is not good for your body, to keep you from it, he cries, “It is poison:” if the divine sees you do any thing that is hurtful for your soul, to keep you from it, he cries, “You are damned.”

2. To preach long, loud, and damnation, is the way to be cried up: we love a man that damns us, and we run after him again to save us. If a man had a sore leg, and he should go to an honest judicious chirurgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an oil, an oil well known, that would do the cure; haply, he would not much regard him, because he knows the medicine beforehand an ordinary medicine: but if he should go to a surgeon that should tell him, “Your leg will gangrene within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I could tell you;” what listening there would be to this man! “O, for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is; I will give you any content for your pains.”

DEVILS.

1. Why have we none possessed with devils in England? The old answer is, the Protestants the devil hath already, and the Papists are so holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why then, beyond seas, where a nun is possessed, when a Hugonot comes into the church, does not the devil hunt them out? The priest teaches him, you never saw the devil throw up a nun's coats; mark that, the priest will not suffer it, for then the people will spit at him.

2. Casting out devils is mere juggling; they never cast out any but what they first cast in: they do it where, for reverence, no man shall dare to examine it; they do it in a corner, in a mortice-hole, not in the market-place: they do nothing but what may be done by art; they make the devil fly out of the window, in the likeness of a bat or a rat. Why do they not hold him? Why, in the likeness of a bat, or a rat, or some creature? that is, why not in some shape we paint him in, with claws and horns? By this trick they gain much, gain upon men's fancies, and so are revered; and certainly, if the priest deliver me from him that is my most deadly enemy, I have all the reason in the world to reverence him. *Objection.* But if this be juggling, why do they punish impostures? *Answer.* For great reason; because they do not play their part well, and for fear others should discover them; and so all of them ought to be of the same trade.

3. A person of quality came to my chamber in the Temple, and told me he had two devils in his head,

(I wondered what he meant) and, just at that time, one of them bid him kill me. With that I began to be afraid, and thought he was mad. He said he knew I could cure him, and therefore entreated me to give him something, for he was resolved he would go to nobody else. I perceiving what an opinion he had of me, and that it was only melancholy that troubled him, took him in hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to cure him in a short time: I desired him to let me be alone about an hour, and then to come again—which he was very willing to. In the mean time, I got a card, and wrapped it up handsome in a piece of taffata, and put strings to the taffata; and, when he came, gave it to him, to hang about his neck; withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself, neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of supper, and say his prayers duly when he went to bed; and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within that time I went to dinner to his house, and asked him how he did? He said he was much better, but not perfectly well, for, in truth, he had not dealt clearly with me; he had four devils in his head, and he perceived two of them were gone, with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. “Well,” said I, “I am glad two of them are gone; I make no doubt to get away the other two likewise.” So I gave him another thing to hang about his neck. Three days after he came to me to my chamber, and professed he was now as well as ever he was in his life, and did extremely thank me for the great care I had taken of him. I, fearing lest he might relapse into the like distemper,

told him that there was none but myself, and one physician more in the whole town that could cure the devils in the head, and that was Dr. Harvey, (whom I had prepared) and wished him, if ever he found himself ill in my absence, to go to him, for he could cure his disease as well as myself. The gentleman lived many years, and was never troubled after.

SELF DENIAL.

It is much the doctrine of the times that men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in; not look upon beauty, wear no good clothes, eat no good meat, &c. which seems the greatest accusation that can be upon the Maker of all good things. If they be not to be used, why did God make them? The truth is, they that preach against them, cannot make use of them themselves; and then again they get esteem by seeming to condemn them. But, mark it, while you live, if they do not please themselves as much as they can; and we live more by example than precept.

DUEL.

1. A duel may still be granted in some cases by the law of England, and only there: that the church allowed it anciently, appears by this; in their public liturgies, there were prayers appointed for the duelists to say; the judge used to bid them go to such a church and pray, &c. But whether is this lawful? If you grant any war lawful, I make no doubt but to convince it. War is lawful, because

God is the only judge between two, that is supreme. Now, if a difference happen between two subjects, and it cannot be decided by human testimony, why may not they put it to God to judge between them by the permission of the prince? Nay, what if we should bring it down, for argument's sake, to the swordmen. One gives me the lie; it is a great disgrace to take it; the law has made no provision to give remedy for the injury; (if you can suppose any thing an injury for which the law gives no remedy) why am not I, in this case, supreme, and may, therefore, right myself?

2. A duke ought to fight with a gentleman. The reason is this: the gentleman will say to the duke, "It is true, you hold a higher place in the state than I; there is a great distance between you and me—but your dignity does not privilege you to do me an injury: as soon as ever you do me an injury, you make yourself my equal; and as you are my equal, I challenge you:" and in sense the duke is bound to answer him. This will give you some light to understand the quarrel betwixt a prince and his subjects: though there be a vast distance between him and them, and they are to obey him, according to their contract, yet he hath no power to do them an injury; then they think themselves as much bound to vindicate their right, as they are to obey his lawful commands, nor is there any other measure of justice left upon earth but arms.

EPITAPH.

An epitaph must be made fit for the person for whom it is made: for a man to say all the excellen-

things that can be said upon one, and call that his epitaph, is as if a painter should make the handsomest piece he can possibly make, and say it was my picture. It holds in a funeral sermon.

EQUITY.

1. Equity in law is the same that the spirit is in religion, what every one pleases to make it ; sometimes they go according to conscience, sometimes according to law, sometimes according to the rule of court.

2. Equity is a roguish thing ; for law we have a measure—know what to trust to ; equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. It is all one as if they should make the standard for the measure we call a foot, a chancellor's foot ; what an uncertain measure would this be ! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot : it is the same thing in the chancellor's conscience.

3. That saying, " Do as you would be done to," is often misunderstood ; for it is not thus meant—that I, a private man, should do to you, a private man, as I would have you do to me, but do as we have agreed to do one to another by public agreement. If the prisoner should ask the judge, whether he would be contented to be hanged, were he in his case, he would answer—No : Then, says the prisoner, do as you would be done to. Neither of them must do as private men, but the judge must do by him as they have publicly agreed—that is,

both judge and prisoner have consented to a law, that if either of them steal, they shall be hanged.

EVIL SPEAKING.

1. He that speaks ill of another, commonly before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against; for, if he had civility or breeding, he would forbear such kind of language.

2. A gallant man is above ill words: an example we have in the old lord of Salisbury, who was a great wise man. Stone had called some lord about court, fool; the lord complains, and has Stone whipped: Stone cries, "I might have called my lord of Salisbury fool often enough, before he would have had me whipped."

3. Speak not ill of a great enemy; but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his hands. The Spaniard did this when he was dying; his confessor told him, to work him to repentance, how the devil tormented the wicked that went to hell: the Spaniard replying, called the devil my lord. "I hope my lord the devil is not so cruel:" his confessor reproved him. "Excuse me," said the Don, "for calling him so: I know not into what hands I may fall; and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better for giving him good words."

EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. That place they bring for excommunication, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person," 1 Cor. v. 13, is corrupted in the Greek; for it

should be, το ποιηρον, “put away that evil from among you;” not τον ποιηρον, “that evil person;” besides, δ ποιηρος is the *devil* in Scripture, and it may be so taken there; and there is a new edition of Theodoret come out, that has it right, το ποιηρον. It is true, the Christians, before the civil state became Christian, did, by covenant and agreement set down how they should live; and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them; that is, be excommunicated. Such men are spoken of by the apostle, Rom. i. 31, whom he calls ασυθητους και ασπονδους, the Vulgate has it, *incompositos, et sine fœdere*; the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all. Origen, in his book against Celsus, speaks of the Christians’ συθηκη: the translation renders it *conventus*, as it signifies a *meeting*; when it is plain it signifies a *covenant*; and the English Bible turned the other word well—*covenant-breakers*. Pliny tells us, the Christians took an oath amongst themselves to live thus and thus.

2. The other place, *dic ecclesiæ*, “tell the church,” is but a weak ground to raise excommunication upon, especially from the sacrament—the lesser excommunication; since, when that was spoken, the sacrament was instituted. The Jews’ *ecclesia* was their *sanhedrim*, their court; so that the meaning is, if after once or twice admonition this brother will not be reclaimed, bring him thither.

3. The first excommunication was one hundred and eighty years after Christ, and that by Victor, bishop of Rome: but that was no more than this—that they should communicate and receive the sacrament amongst themselves, not with those of the

other opinion; the controversy, as I take it, being about the feast of Easter. Men do not care for excommunication, because they are shut out of the church, or delivered up to Satan, but because the law of the kingdom takes hold of them: after so many days a man cannot sue, no, not for his wife, if you take her from him; and there may be as much reason to grant it for a small fault, if there be contumacy, as for a great one: in Westminster-hall you may outlaw a man for forty shillings, which is their excommunication, and you can do no more for forty thousand pounds.

4. When Constantine became Christian, he so fell in love with the clergy, that he let them be judges of all things; but that continued not above three or four years, by reason they were to be judges of matters they understood not, and then they were allowed to meddle with nothing but religion; all jurisdiction belonged to him, and he scanted them out as much as he pleased; and so things have since continued. They excommunicate for three or four things—matters concerning adultery, tithes, wills, &c. which is the civil punishment the state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommunicate a man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, and punish the bishop. If they had that jurisdiction from God, why does not the church excommunicate for murder, for theft? If the civil power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too? If this excommunication were taken away, the presbyters would be quiet; it is that they have a mind to, it is that they would fain be at, like the wench that was to be married; she asked her mother, when it was

done, if she should go to bed presently? No, says her mother, you must dine first. And then to bed, mother? No, you must dance after diinner. And then to bed, mother? No, you must go to supper. And then to bed, mother? &c.

FAITH AND WORKS.

It was an unhappy division that has been made between faith and works, though, in my intellect, I may divide them; just as in the candle, I know there is both light and heat: but yet put out the candle, and they are both gone—one remains not without the other: so it is betwixt faith and works; nay, in a right conception, *fides est opus*; if I believe a thing because I am commanded, that is *opus*.

FASTING DAYS.

1. What the church debars us one day, she gives us leave to take out in another: first we fast, and then we feast; first there is a Carnival, and then a Lent.

2. Whether do human laws bind the conscience? If they do, it is a way to ensnare: if we say they do not, we open the door to disobedience. *Answer.* In this case we must look to the justice of the law, and intention of the lawgiver. If there be no justice in the law, it is not to be obeyed; if the intention of the lawgiver be absolute, our obedience must be so too. If the intention of the lawgiver enjoin a penalty, as a compensation for the breach of the law, I sin not if I submit to the penalty; if it enjoin a penalty, as a future enforcement of obedience to

the law, then ought I to observe it, which may be known by the often repetition of the law. The way of fasting is enjoined unto them, who yet do not observe it. The law enjoins a penalty as an enforcement to obedience; which intention appears by the often calling upon us to keep that law by the king, and the dispensation of the church to such as are not able to keep it—as young children, old folks, diseased men, &c.

FATHERS AND SONS.

It hath ever been the way for fathers to bind their sons. to strengthen this by the law of the land, every one at twelve years of age, is to take the oath of allegiance in court-lects, whereby he swears obedience to the king.

FINES.

The old law was, that when a man was fined, he was to be fined *saluo contenmento*, so as his countenance might be safe; taking countenance in the same sense as your countryman does, when he says, "If you will come unto my house, I will show you the best countenance I can;" that is, not the best face, but the best entertainment. The meaning of the law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a gobbet sliced off, that yet, notwithstanding he might live in the same rank and condition he lived in before; but now they fine men ten times more than they are worth.

FREE WILL.

The Puritans, who will allow no free will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do, or not to do, notwithstanding the king, the god upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free will, yet say, when we come to the king, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood for.

FRIARS.

1. The friars say they possess nothing; whose then are the lands they hold? Not their superior's; he hath vowed poverty as well as they: whose then? To answer this, it was decreed they should say they were the pope's. And why must the friars be more perfect than the pope himself?

2. If there had been no friars, Christendom might have continued quiet, and things remained at a stay.

3. If there had been no lecturers (which succeed the friars in their way) the church of England might have stood, and flourished at this day.

FRIENDS.

Old friends are best. King James used to call for his old shoes; they were easiest for his feet.

GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.

1. They that say the reason why Joseph's pedigree is set down, and not Mary's, is, because the

descent from the mother is lost, and swallowed up, say something ; but yet if a Jewish woman married with a Gentile, they only took notice of the mother, not of the father ; but they that say they were both of a tribe, say nothing ; for the tribes might marry one with another, and the law against it was only temporary, in the time while Joshua was dividing the land, lest the being so long about it, there might be a confusion.

2. That Christ was the son of Joseph is most exactly true ; for though he was the Son of God, yet, with the Jews, if any man kept a child, and brought him up, and called him son—he was taken for his son ; and his land, if he had any, was to descend upon him ; and, therefore, the genealogy of Joseph is justly set down.

GENTLEMEN.

1. What a gentleman is, it is hard with us to define. In other countries, he is known by his privileges ; in Westminster-hall, he is one that is reputed one ; in the Court of Honour, he that hath arms. The king cannot make a gentleman of blood, (what have you said) nor God Almighty, but he can make a gentleman by creation. If you ask, which is the better of these two? civilly, the gentleman of blood ; morally, the gentleman by creation may be the better ; for the other may be a debauched man, this a person of worth.

2. Gentlemen have ever been more temperate in their religion than the common people, as having more reason, the others running in a hurry. In the

beginning of Christianity, the fathers writ *contra gentes*, and *contra Gentiles*—they were all one : but after all were Christians, the better sort of people still retained the name of Gentiles, throughout the four provinces of the Roman empire ; as *gentil-homme* in French, *gentilhuomo* in Italian, *gentil-hombre* in Spanish, and *gentleman* in English : and they, no question, being persons of quality, kept up those feasts which we borrow from the Gentiles—as Christmas, Candlemas, May-day, &c. continuing what was not directly against Christianity, which the common people would never have endured.

GOLD.

There are two reasons why these words, *Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat*, were about our old gold : the one is, because Riply, the alchemist, when he made gold in the Tower, the first time he found it, he spoke these words, *per medium eorum*, that is, *per medium ignis et sulphuris* ; the other, because these words were thought to be a charm ; and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a man could not take it away. To this reason I rather incline.

HALL.

The hall was the place where the great lord used to eat ; (wherefore else were the halls made so big ?) where he saw all his servants and tenants about him : he eat not in private, except in time of sickness : when once he became a thing cooped up, all

his greatness was spoiled. Nay, the king himself used to eat in the hall, and his lords sat with him, and then he understood men.

HELL.

1. There are two texts for Christ's descending into hell: the one, Psalm xvi. the other, Acts ii. where the Bible that was in use when the Thirty-nine Articles were made, has it *hell*. But the Bible that was in queen Elizabeth's time, when the articles were confirmed, reads it *grave*; and so it continued till the New Translation in king James's time, and then it is *hell* again. But by this we may gather the church of England declined, as much as they could, the descent; otherwise they never would have altered the Bible.

2. "He descended into hell;" this may be the interpretation of it. He may be dead and buried, then his soul ascended into heaven. Afterwards, he descended again into hell, that is, into the grave, to fetch his body, and to rise again. The ground of this interpretation is taken from the Platonic learning, who held a metempsychosis; and when a soul did descend from heaven to take another body, they called it *καταβασιν εις αδην*, taking *αδης* for the lower world, the state of mortality. Now the first Christians many of them were Platonic philosophers, and no question spake such language as then was understood amongst them. To understand by *hell* the *grave*, is no tautology, because the creed first tells what Christ suffered, "he was crucified, dead, and buried;" then it tells us what he did,

“ he descended into hell, the third day he rose again, he ascended, &c.”

HOLYDAYS.

They say the church imposes holydays ; there is no such thing, though the number of holydays is set down in some of our Common Prayer Books. Yet that has relation to an act of parliament, which forbids the keeping of any holydays in time of popery ; but those that are kept, are kept by the custom of the country, and I hope you will not say the church imposes that.

HUMILITY.

1. Humility is a virtue all preach, none practise, and yet every body is content to hear. The master thinks it good doctrine for his servant, the laity for the clergy, and the clergy for the laity.

2. There is *humilitas quædam in vitio*. If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the author of all excellency and perfection ? Nay, if a man hath too mean an opinion of himself, it will render him unserviceable both to God and man.

3. Pride may be allowed to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up to his dignity. In gluttony there must be eating ; in drunkenness there must be drinking ; it is not the eating, nor it is not the drinking that is to be blamed, but the excess. So in pride.

IDOLATRY.

Idolatry is in a man's own thought, not in the opinion of another. Put case, I bow to the altar, why am I guilty of idolatry, because a stander by thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the altar to be God, and the God I worship may be bowed to in all places, and at all times.

JEWS.

1. God at the first gave laws to all mankind, but afterwards he gave peculiar laws to the Jews, which they were only to observe: just as we have the common law for all England; and yet you have some corporations, that, besides that, have peculiar laws and privileges to themselves.

2. Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are cursed, they thrive wherever they come; they are able to oblige the prince of their country by lending him money; none of them beg; they keep together; and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE.

It is all one to me if I am told of Christ, or some mystery of Christianity, if I am not capable of understanding, as if I am not told at all; my ignorance is as invincible: and therefore it is vain to call their ignorance only invincible, who never were told of Christ. The trick of it is to advance the priest,

whilst the church of Rome says a man must be told of Christ, by one thus and thus ordained.

IMAGES.

1. The Papists taking away the second commandment, is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians as we make it: for the Jews could make no figure of God, but they must commit idolatry, because he had taken no shape; but since the assumption of our flesh, we know what shape to picture God in. Nor do I know why we may not make his image, provided we be sure what it is: as we say St. Luke took the picture of the Virgin Mary, and St. Veronica of our Saviour. Otherwise, it would be no honour to the king to make a picture, and call it the king's picture, when it is nothing like him.

2. Though the learned Papists pray not to images, yet it is to be feared the ignorant do; as appears by that story of St. Nicholas in Spain. A countryman used to offer daily to St. Nicholas's image: at length by mischance the image was broken, and a new one made of his own plum-tree; after that the man forbore. Being complained of to his ordinary, he answered—it is true, he used to offer to the old image, but to the new he could not find in his heart, because he knew it was a piece of his own plum-tree. You see what opinion this man had of the image; and to this tended the bowing of their images, the twinkling of their eyes, the Virgin's milk, &c. Had they only meant representations, a picture would have done as well as these tricks. It

may be with us in England they do not worship images ; because living amongst Protestants, they are either laughed out of it, or beaten out of it by shock of argument.

3. It is a discreet way concerning pictures in churches, to set up no new, nor to pull down no old.

IMPERIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

They say imperial constitutions did only confirm the canons of the church ; but that is not so, for they inflicted punishment, when the canons never did ; viz. if a man converted a Christian to be a Jew, he was to forfeit his estate, and lose his life. In Valentine's Novels it is said—*Constat episcopos forum legibus non habere, et judicant tantum de religione.*

IMPRISONMENT.

Sir Kenelm Digby was several times taken and let go again, at last imprisoned in Winchester-house. I can compare him to nothing but a great fish that we catch and let go again, but still he will come to the bait ; at last, therefore, we put him into some great pond for store.

INCENDIARIES.

Fancy to yourself a man sets the city on fire at Cripplegate, and that fire continues by means of others, till it comes to Whitefriars, and then he that began it would fain quench it ; does not he deserve

to be punished most that first set the city on fire? So it is with the incendiaries of the state. They that first set it on fire, (by monopolising, forest business, imprisoning parliament men, *tertio Caroli*, &c.) are now become regenerate, and would fain quench the fire: certainly they deserved most to be punished, for being the first cause of our distractions.

INDEPENDENCY.

1. Independency is in use at Amsterdam, where forty churches or congregations have nothing to do one with another: and it is no question agreeable to the primitive times, before the emperor became Christian: for either we must say every church governed itself, or else we must fall upon that old foolish rock, that St. Peter and his successors governed all; but when the civil state became Christian, they appointed who should govern them, before they governed by agreement and consent. If you will not do this, you shall come no more amongst us; but both the Independent man, and the Presbyterian man, do equally exclude the civil power, though after a different manner.

2. The Independent may as well plead, they should not be subject to temporal things, not come before a constable, or a justice of peace, as they plead they should not be subject in spiritual things; because St. Paul says—"Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you?"

3. The pope challenges all churches to be under him; the king and the two archbishops challenge all the church of England to be under them. The

Presbyterian man divides the kingdom into as many churches as there be presbyteries, and your Independent would have every congregation a church by itself.

THINGS INDIFFERENT..

In time of a parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent ; but in a church or state settled, there is nothing left indifferent.

PUBLIC INTEREST.

All might go well in the commonwealth, if every one in the parliament would lay down his own interest, and aim at the general good. If a man were sick, and the whole college of physicians should come to him, and administer severally, haply so long as they observed the rules of art he might recover ; but if one of them had a great deal of scammony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes scammony ; another had a great deal of rhubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes rhubarb, &c.—they would certainly kill the man. We destroy the commonwealth, while we preserve our own private interests, and neglect the public.

HUMAN INVENTION.

1. You say there must be no human invention in the church, nothing but the pure word. *Answ.* If I give any exposition, but what is expressed in the text, that is my invention ; if you give another ex-

position, that is your invention, and both are human. For example, suppose the word egg were in the text, I say, it is meant an hen-egg; you say, a goose-egg. Neither of these are expressed, therefore they are human inventions; and I am sure the newer the invention the worse; old inventions are best.

2. If we must admit nothing but what we read in the Bible, what will become of the parliament? For we do not read of that there.

JUDGMENTS.

We cannot tell what is a judgment of God; it is presumption to take upon us to know. In time of plague we know we want health, and therefore we pray to God to give us health; in time of war we know we want peace, and therefore we pray to God to give us peace. Commonly we say a judgment falls upon a man for something in him we cannot abide. An example we have in king James, concerning the death of Henry the Fourth of France; one said he was killed for his wenching, another said he was killed for turning his religion. "No," says king James, (who could not abide fighting) "he was killed for permitting duels in his kingdom."

JUDGE.

1. We see the pageants in Cheapside, the lions, and the elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them; we see the judges look big, look like lions, but we do not see who moves them.

2. Little things do great works, when great things will not. If I should take a pin from the ground, a little pair of tongs will do it, when a great pair will not. Go to a judge to do a business for you, by no means he will not hear of it; but go to some small servant about him, and he will despatch it according to your heart's desire.

3. There could be no mischief done in the commonwealth without a judge. Though there be false dice brought in at the groom-porters, and cheating offered, yet, unless he allow the cheating, and judge the dice to be good, there may be hopes of fair play.

JUGGLING.

It is not juggling that is to be blamed, but much juggling, for the world cannot be governed without it. All your rhetoric, and all your elenches in logic, come within the compass of juggling.

JURISDICTION.

1. There is no such thing as spiritual jurisdiction; all is civil; the church's is the same with the lord mayor's. Suppose a Christian came into a Pagan country, how can you fancy he shall have any power there? He finds faults with the gods of the country; well, they put him to death for it; when he is a martyr, what follows? Does that argue he has any spiritual jurisdiction? If the clergy say the church ought to be governed thus and thus, by the word of God, that is doctrinal, that is not discipline.

2. The pope he challenges jurisdiction over all; the bishops they pretend to it as well as he; the Presbyterians they would have it to themselves: but over whom is all this? The poor laymen.

JUS DIVINUM.

1. All things are held by *jus divinum*, either immediately or mediately.

2. Nothing has lost the pope so much in his supremacy, as not acknowledging what princes gave him. It is a scorn upon the civil power, and an unthankfulness in the priest. But the church runs to *jus divinum*, lest if they should acknowledge what they have by positive law, it might be as well taken from them as given to them.

KING.

1. A king is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness sake: just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat; if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree; one would buy what the other liked not; or what the other had bought before; so there would be a confusion. But that charge being committed to one, he, according to his discretion, pleases all; if they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.

2. The word king directs our eyes. Suppose it had been consul, or dictator: to think all kings alike is the same folly, as if a consul of Aleppo or Smyrna should claim to himself the same power

as a consul at Rome, What, am not I a consul? Or a duke of England should think himself like the duke of Florence; nor can it be imagined, that the word βασιλευς did signify the same in Greek, as the Hebrew word מלך did with the Jews. Besides, let the divines in their pulpits say what they will, they in their practice deny that all is the king's. They sue him, and so does all the nation, whereof they are a part. What matter is it then, what they preach or teach in the schools?

3. Kings are all individual, this or that king: there is no species of kings.

4. A king that claims privileges in his own country, because they have them in another, is just as a cook, that claims fees in one lord's house, because they are allowed in another. If the master of the house will yield them, well and good.

5. The text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," makes as much against kings as for them, for it says plainly that some things are not Cæsar's. But divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoined to it, "Render unto God the things that are God's," where they bring in the church.

6. A king outed of his country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home, in his own court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, used to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me; at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

KING OF ENGLAND.

1. The king can do no wrong; that is, no process can be granted against him: what must be done then? Petition him, and the king writes upon the petition *soit droit fait*, and sends it to the Chancery; and then the business is heard. His confessor will not tell him he can do no wrong.

2. There is a great deal of difference between head of the church, and supreme governor, as our canons call the king. Conceive it thus: there is in the kingdom of England a college of physicians; the king is supreme governor of those, but not head of them, nor president of the college, nor the best physician.

3. After the dissolution of abbeys, they did not much advance the king's supremacy, for they only cared to exclude the pope; hence have we had several translations of the Bible put upon us. But now we must look to it, otherwise the king may put upon us what religion he pleases.

4. It was the old way when the king of England had his house, there were canons to sing service in his chapel; so at Westminster, in St. Stephen's chapel, where the house of commons sits, from which canons the street called Canon-row has its name, because they lived there; and he had also the abbot and his monks, and all these the king's house.

5. The three estates are the lords temporal, the bishops or the clergy, and the commons, as some would have it; (take heed of that) for then, if two agree, the third is involved, but he is king of the three estates.

6. The king hath a seal in every court; and though the great seal be called *sigillum Angliæ*, the great seal of England; yet it is not because it is the kingdom's seal, and not the king's; but to distinguish it from *sigillum Hiberniæ*, *sigillum Scotiæ*.

7. The court of England is much altered. At a solemn dancing, first you had the grave measures, then the courantoes and the galliards; and this is kept up with ceremony: at length, to Frenchmore, and the cushion-dance; and then all the company dance, lord and groom, lady and kitchen-maid, no distinction. So in our court, in queen Elizabeth's time, gravity and state were kept up: in king James's time, things were pretty well: but in king Charles's time, there has been nothing but Frenchmore and the cushion-dance, *omnium gatherum*, tolly, polly, hoite-come-toite.

THE KING.

1. It is hard to make an accommodation between the king and the parliament. If you and I fell out about money—you said I owed you twenty pounds, I said I owed you but ten pounds—it may be, a third party, allowing me twenty marks, might make us friends. But if I said I owed you twenty pounds in silver, and you said I owed you twenty pounds in diamonds, which is a sum innumerable, it is impossible we should ever agree. This is the case.

2. The king using the house of commons, as he did in Mr. Pym and his company, that is, charging them with treason, because they charged my lord of Canterbury and sir George Ratcliff; it was just

with as much logic, as the boy, that would have lain with his grandmother, used to his father : " You lie with my mother, why should not I lie with yours ? "

3. There is not the same reason for the king's accusing men of treason, and carrying them away, as there is for the houses themselves, because they accuse one of themselves : for every one that is accused, is either a peer or a commoner, and he that is accused hath his consent going along with him ; but if the king accuses, there is nothing of this in it.

4. The king is equally abused now as before : then they flattered him and made him do all things ; now they would force him against his conscience. If a physician should tell me, every thing I had a mind to was good for me, though in truth it was poison, he abused me ; and he abuses me as much, that would force me to take something whether I will or no.

5. The king, so long as he is our king, may do with his officers what he pleases ; as the master of the house may turn away all his servants, and take whom he please.

6. The king's oath is not security enough for our property, for he swears to govern according to law. Now the judges they interpret the law, and what judges can be made to do we know.

7. The king and the parliament now falling out, are just as when there is foul play offered amongst gamesters : one snatches the other's stake ; they seize what they can of one another's. It is not to be asked whether it belongs not to the king to do this or that : before, when there was fair play, it

did ; but now they will do what is most convenient for their own safety. If two fall to scuffling, one tears the other's band, the other tears his ; when they were friends they were quiet, and did no such thing ; they let one another's bands alone.

8. The king calling his friends from the parliament, because he had use of them at Oxford, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the cellar, and takes the spigot ; in the mean time, all the beer runs about the house. When his friends are absent, the king will be lost.

KNIGHTS' SERVICE.

Knights' service, in earnest, means nothing ; for the lords are bound to wait upon the king when he goes to war with a foreign enemy, with, it may be, one man and one horse ; and he that doth not, is to be rated so much as shall seem good to the next parliament ; and what will that be ? So it is for a private man, that holds of a gentleman.

LAND.

1. When men did let their land underfoot, the tenants would fight for their landlords, so that way they had their retribution ; but now they will do nothing for them : may be the first, if but a constable bid them, that shall lay the landlord by the heels ; and therefore it is vanity and folly not to take the full value.

2. *Allodium* is a law word contrary to *feudum*, and it signifies land that holds of nobody. We have no such land in England. It is a true proposition, all the land in England is held, either immediately or mediately, of the king.

LANGUAGE.

1. To a living tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead tongue, as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

2. *Latimer* is the corruption of *Latiner*; it signifies he that interprets Latin: and though he interpreted French, Spanish, or Italian, he was called the king's *Latiner*, that is, the king's interpreter.

3. If you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just as if a man had a cloak that he wore plain in queen Elizabeth's days, and since, here has put in a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, and here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange tawny. We borrow words from the French, Italian, Latin, as every pedantic man pleases.

4. We have more words than notions; half a dozen words for the same thing: sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a *piece* a *gun*. The word *gun* was in use in England for an engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any gunpowder found out.

5. Words must be fitted to a man's mouth. It was well said of the fellow that was to make a speech for my lord mayor, he desired to take measure of his lordship's mouth.

LAW.

1. A man may plead not guilty, and yet tell no lie; for by the law no man is bound to accuse himself: so that when I say, *not guilty*, the meaning is, as if I should say by way of paraphrase, I am not so guilty as to tell you; if you will bring me to a trial,

and have me punished for this you lay to my charge, prove it against me.

2. Ignorance of the law excuses no man ; not that all men know the law, but because it is an excuse every man will plead, and no man can tell how to confute him.

3. The king of Spain was outlawed in Westminster-hall, I being of counsel against him : a merchant had recovered costs against him in a suit, which because he could not get, we advised to have him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was : as soon as Gondimer heard that, he presently sent the money, by reason, if his master had been outlawed, he could not have the benefit of the law ; which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many suits depending betwixt the king of Spain and our English merchants.

4. Every law is a contract between the king and the people, and therefore to be kept. A hundred men may owe me a hundred pounds, as well as any one man, and shall they not pay me because they are stronger than I? *Object.* O, but they lose all if they keep that law. *Answ.* Let them look to the making of their bargain. If I sell my lands, and when I have done, one comes and tells me, I have nothing else to keep me ; I, and my wife, and children, must starve, if I part with my land—must I not, therefore, let them have my land that have bought it and paid for it ?

5. The parliament may declare law, as well as any other inferior court may, *viz.* the king's bench. In that or this particular case, the king's bench will declare unto you what the law is ; but that binds nobody whom the case concerns : so the highest

court, the parliament, may do, but not declare law ; that is, make law that was never heard of before.

LAW OF NATURE.

I cannot fancy to myself what the law of nature means, but the law of God : how should I know I ought not to steal, I ought not to commit adultery, unless somebody had told me so? surely it is because I have been told so : it is not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not ; if so, our minds might change. Whence then comes the restraint? from a higher power; nothing else can bind. I cannot bind myself, for I may untie myself again : nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one another. It must be a superior power, even God Almighty! If two of us make a bargain, why should either of us stand to it? what need you care what you say, or what need I care what I say? certainly, because there is something about me that tells me *fides est servanda*; and if we after alter our minds, and make a new bargain, there is *fides servanda* there too.

LEARNING.

1. No man is the wiser for his learning : it may administer matter to work in, or objects to work upon ; but wit and wisdom are born with a man.
2. Most men's learning is nothing but history duly taken up. If I quote Thomas Aquinas for some tenet, and believe it, because the schoolmen say so, that is but history. Few men make themselves masters of the things they write or speak.
3. The Jesuits and the lawyers of France, and

the Low Countrymen, have engrossed all learning : the rest of the world make nothing but homilies.

4. It is observable, that in Athens, where the arts flourished, they were governed by a democracy : learning made them think themselves as wise as any body, and they would govern as well as others ; and they spake, as it were by way of contempt, that in the east and in the north they had kings ; and why ? because the most part of them followed their business ; and if some one man had made himself wiser than the rest, he governed them, and they willingly submitted themselves to him. Aristotle makes the observation. And as in Athens the philosophers made the people knowing, and therefore they thought themselves wise enough to govern ; so does preaching with us, and that makes us affect a democracy : for upon these two grounds we all would be governors ; either because we think ourselves as wise as the best, or because we think ourselves the elect, and have the spirit, and the rest a company of reprobates that belong to the devil.

LECTURERS.

1. Lecturers do in a parish church what the friars did heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty, that should be bestowed upon the minister.

2. Lecturers get a great deal of money, because they preach the people tame, as a man watches a hawk ; and then they do what they list with them.

3. The lectures in Blackfriars, performed by officers of the army, tradesmen, and ministers, is as if a great lord should make a feast, and he would have

his cook dress one dish, and his coachman another, his porter a third, &c.

LIBELS.

Though some may make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits : as take a straw, and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a stone : more solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.

LITURGY.

1. There is no church without a liturgy, nor indeed can there be conveniently, as there is no school without a grammar. One scholar may be taught otherwise upon the stock of his acumen, but not a whole school : one or two that are piously disposed, may serve themselves their own way, but hardly a whole nation.

2. To know what was generally believed in all in all ages, the way is to consult the liturgies, not any private man's writings : as if you would know how the church of England serves God, go to the Common Prayer Book, consult not this nor that man : besides, liturgies never compliment, nor use high expressions. The fathers oftentimes speak oratoriously.

LORDS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. The lords giving protection is a scorn upon them : a protection means nothing actively, but passively ; he that is a servant to a parliament man is

thereby protected. What a scorn is it to a person of honour to put his hand to two lies at once, that such a man is my servant, and employed by me, when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before never heard of him !

2. The lords' protesting is foolish : to protest is properly to save to a man's self some right ; but to protest as the lords protest, when they themselves are involved, it is no more than if I should go into Smithfield, and sell my horse, and take the money ; and yet when I have your money, and you my horse, I should protest this horse is mine, because I love the horse, or I do not know why I do protest, because my opinion is contrary to the rest. Ridiculous, when they say the bishops did anciently protest ! it was only dissenting, and that in the case of the pope.

LORDS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. Great lords, by reason of their flatterers, are the first that know their own virtues, and the last that know their own vices : some of them are ashamed upwards, because their ancestors were too great ; others are ashamed downwards, because they were too little.

2. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem is said to be *primus baro Angliæ*, the first baron of England, because being last of the spiritual barons, he chose to be first of the temporal : he was a kind of an oter, a knight half spiritual, and half temporal.

3. *Quest.* Whether is every baron a baron of some place ? *Anno.* It is according to his patent : of late years they have been made barons of some places,

but anciently not ; called only by their surname, or the surname of some family into which they have been married.

4. The making of new lords lessens all the rest. It is in the business of lords, as it was with St. Nicholas's image : the countryman, you know, could not find in his heart to adore the new image, made of his own plum-tree, though he had formerly worshipped the old one. The lords that are ancient we honour, because we know not whence they come ; but the new ones we slight, because we know their beginning.

5. For the Irish lords to take upon them here in England, is as if the cook in the fair should come to my lady Kent's kitchen, and take upon him to roast the meat there, because he is a cook in another place.

MARRIAGE.

1. Of all actions of a man's life, his marriage does least concern other people ; yet of all actions of our life it is most meddled with by other people.

2. Marriage is nothing but a civil contract : it is true, it is an ordinance of God : so is every other contract : God commands me to keep it when I have made it.

3. Marriage is a desperate thing. The frogs in Æsop were extreme wise ; they had a great mind to some water, but they would not leap into the well, because they could not get out again.

4. We single out particulars, and apply God's providence to them : thus when two are married and have undone one another, they cry, " It was

God's providence we should come together,"—when God's providence does equally concur to every thing.

MARRIAGE OF COUSIN-GERMANS.

Some men forbear to marry cousin-germans out of this kind of scruple of conscience: because it was unlawful before the reformation, and is still in the church of Rome; and so by reason their grandfather, or their great grandfather did not do it, upon that old score they think they ought not to do it; as some men forbear flesh upon Friday, not reflecting upon the statute, which with us makes it unlawful; but out of an old score, because the church of Rome forbids it, and their forefathers always forbore flesh upon that day. Others forbear it out of a natural consideration; because it is observed, for example, in beasts, if two couple of a near kind, the breed proves not so good; the same observation they make in plants and trees, which degenerate being grafted upon the same stock; and it is also farther observed, those matches between cousin-germans seldom prove fortunate; but for the lawfulness there is no colour but cousin-germans in England may marry, both by the law of God and man: for with us we have reduced all the degrees of marriage to those in the Levitical law, and it is plain there is nothing against it. As for that that is said, cousin-germans once removed may not marry; and, therefore, being a farther degree may not, it is presumed a nearer should not—no man can tell what it means.

MEASURE OF THINGS.

1. We measure from ourselves, and as things are

for our use and purpose, so we approve them. Bring a pear to the table that is rotten, we cry it down, it is naught : but bring a medlar that is rotten, and it is a fine thing ; and yet I'll warrant you the pear thinks as well of itself as the medlar does.

2. We measure the excellency of other men by some excellency we conceive to be in ourselves.—Nash, a poet, poor enough, as poets used to be, seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, by way of scorn said to one of his companions, “ Do you see you fellow, how goodly, how big he looks ? Why that fellow cannot make a blank verse.”

3. Nay, we measure the goodness of God from ourselves ; we measure his goodness, his justice, his wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in ourselves ; and in so doing, we judge proportionably to the country fellow in the play, who said, if he were a king, he would live like a lord, and have peas and bacon every day, and a whip that cried slash.

DIFFERENCE OF MEN.

The difference of men is very great ; you would scarce think them to be of the same species, and yet it consists more in the affection than in the intellect. For as in the strength of body, two men shall be of an equal strength, yet one shall appear stronger than the other, because he exercises, and puts out his strength ; the other will not stir nor strain himself ;—so it is in the strength of the brain ; the one endeavours, and strains, and labours, and studies ; the other sits still, and is idle, and takes no

pains, and therefore he appears so much the inferior.

MINISTER DIVINE.

1. The imposition of hands upon the minister, when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a person to this or that office, or employment in the church. It is a ridiculous phrase, that of the canonists, *conferre ordines*; it is, *coaptare aliquem in ordinem*, to make a man one of us, one of our number, one of our order. So Cicero would understand what I said, it being a phrase borrowed from the Latin, and to be understood proportionably to what was amongst them.

2. Those words you now use in making a minister, "receive the Holy Ghost," were used amongst the Jews in making of a lawyer: from thence we have them, which is a villanous key to something; as if you would have some other kind of prefature than a mayoralty, and yet keep the same ceremony that was used in making the mayor.

3. A priest has no such thing as an indelible character: what difference do you find betwixt him and another man after ordination? Only he is made a priest, as I said, by designation; as a lawyer is called to the bar, then made a serjeant. All men that would get power over others, make themselves as unlike them as they can; upon the same ground, the priests made themselves unlike the laity.

4. A minister when he is made is *materia prima*, apt for any form the state will put upon him, but of himself he can do nothing. Like a doctor of law

in the university, he hath a great deal of law in him, but cannot use it till he be made somebody's chancellor; or like a physician, before he be received into a house, he can give nobody physic; indeed, after the master of the house hath given him charge of his servants, then he may: or like a suffragan, that could do nothing but give orders, and yet he was no bishop.

5. A minister should preach according to the articles of religion established in the church where he is. To be a civil lawyer, let a man read Justinian, and the body of the law, to confirm his brain to that way; but when he comes to practise, he must make use of it so far as it concerns the law received in his own country. To be a physician, let a man read Galen and Hippocrates; but when he practises, he must apply his medicines according to the temper of those men's bodies with whom he lives, and have respect to the heat and cold of climes; otherwise, that which in Pergamus, where Galen lived, was physic, in our cold climate may be poison. So to be a divine, let him read the whole body of divinity, the fathers and the schoolmen; but when he comes to practise, he must use it, and apply it according to those grounds and articles of religion that are established in the church, and this with sense.

6. There be four things a minister should be at; the conscionary part, ecclesiastical story, school divinity, and the casuists.

1. In the conscionary part he must read all the chief fathers, both Latin and Greek, wholly: St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, both the Gregories, &c. Tertullian, Clemens Alexandri-

nus, and Epiphanius ; which last have more learning in them than all the rest, and writ freely.

II. For ecclesiastical story, let him read Baronius, with the Magdeburgenses, and be his own judge ; the one being extremely for the Papists, the other extremely against them.

III. For school divinity, let him get Javellus's edition of Scotus or Mayco, where there be quotations that direct you to every schoolman, where such and such questions are handled. Without school divinity, a divine knows nothing logically, nor will be able to satisfy a rational man out of the pulpit.

IV. The study of the casuists must follow the study of the schoolmen, because the division of their cases is according to their divinity ; otherwise he that begins with them will know little ; as he that begins with the study of the reports and cases in the common law, will thereby know little of the law. Casuists may be of admirable use, if discreetly dealt with, though among them you shall have many leaves together very impertinent. A case well decided would stick by a man ; they would remember it whether they will or no ; whereas, a quaint position dieth in the birth. The main thing is to know where to search ; for talk what they will of vast memories, no man will presume upon his own memory for anything he means to write or speak in public.

7. "Go and teach all nations." This was said to all Christians that then were, before the distinction of clergy and laity : there have been since men designed to preach only by the state, as some men are designed to study the law, others to study phy-

sic. When the Lord's Supper was instituted, there were none present but the disciples; shall none then but ministers receive?

8. There is all the reason you should believe your minister, unless you have studied divinity as well as he, or more than he.

9. It is a foolish thing to say ministers must not meddle with secular matters, because his own profession will take up the whole man: may he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing? The meaning of that is, he must seriously attend his calling.

10. Ministers with the Papists, that is, their priests, have much respect; with the Puritans, they have much; and that upon the same ground—they pretend both of them to come immediately from Christ; but with the Protestants, they have very little; the reason whereof is, in the beginning of the reformation, they were glad to get such to take livings as they could procure by any invitations, things of pitiful condition. The nobility and gentry would not suffer their sons or kindred to meddle with the church, and therefore at this day, when they see a parson, they think him to be such a thing still, and there they will keep him, and use him accordingly: if he be a gentleman, that is singled out, and he is used the more respectfully.

11. The protestant minister is least regarded, appears by the old story of the keeper of the clink. He had priests of several sorts sent unto him: as they came in, he asked them who they were. "Who are you?" to the first. "I am a priest of the church of Rome." "You are welcome," quoth the keeper; "there are those will take care of you." "And who are

you?" "A silenced minister." "You are welcome too; I shall fare the better for you." "And who are you?" "A minister of the church of England." "O God help me," quoth the keeper, "I shall get nothing by you, I am sure; you may lie and starve, and rot, before any body will look after you."

12. Methinks it is an ignorant thing for a churchman to call himself the minister of Christ, because St. Paul, or the apostles, called themselves so. If one of them had a voice from heaven, as St. Paul had, I will grant he is a minister of Christ, I will call him so too. Must they take upon them as the apostles did? Can they do as the apostles could? The apostles had a mark to be known by, spake tongues, cured diseases, trod upon serpents, &c. Can they do this? If a gentleman tells me he will send his man to me, and I did not know his man, but he gave me this mark to know him by, he should bring in his hand a rich jewel; if a fellow came to me with a pebble-stone, had I any reason to believe he was the gentleman's man?

MONEY.

1. Money makes a man laugh. A blind fiddler playing to a company, and playing but scurvily, the company laughed at him. His boy that led him, perceiving it, cried, "Father, let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you." "Hold thy peace, boy," said the fiddler, "we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them."

2. Euclid was beaten in Boccacine,* for teaching

* See the *Ragguaglia di Parnasso*.

his scholars a mathematical figure in his school, whereby he showed, that all the lives both of princes and private men tended to one centre, *con gentilezza*, handsomely to get money out of other men's pockets, and it into their own.

3. The pope used heretofore to send the princes of Christendom to fight against the Turk; but prince and pope finely juggled together; the monies were raised, and some men went out to the holy war; but commonly after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the prince and the pope shared it between them.

4. In all times, the princes in England have done something illegal to get money; but then came a parliament, and all was well; the people and the prince kissed and were friends, and so things were quiet for a while: afterwards, there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another parliament was called to set all right, &c. But now they have so outrun the constable * * * * *

MORAL HONESTY.

They that cry down moral honesty, cry down that which is a great part of religion—my duty towards God, and my duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a sermon, if he cozen and cheat as soon as he comes home? On the other side, morality must not be without religion; for if so, it may change, as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has not religion to govern his morality, is not a dram better than my mastiff dog; so long as you stroke him and please him, and

do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be ; he is a very good moral mastiff: but if you hurt him, he will fly in your face, and tear out your throat.

MORTGAGE.

In case I receive a thousand pounds, and mortgage as much land as is worth two thousand to you, if I do not pay the money at such a day, I fail—whether you may take my land and keep it in point of conscience? *Ans.* If you had my lands as security only for your money, then you are not to keep it; but if we bargained so, that if I did not repay your one thousand pounds, my land should go for it, be it what it will, no doubt you may with a safe conscience keep it; for in these things all the obligation is *servare fidem*.

NUMBER.

All those mysterious things they observe in numbers, come to nothing, upon this very ground; because number in itself is nothing, has not to do with nature, but is merely of human imposition; a mere sound: for example, when I cry one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock, that is but man's division of time; the time itself goes on, and it had been all one in nature if those hours had been called nine, ten, and eleven. So when they say the seventh son is fortunate, it means nothing; for if you count from the seventh backwards, then the first is the seventh: why is not he likewise fortunate?

OATHS.

1. Swearing was another thing with the Jews than with us, because they might not pronounce the name of the Lord Jehovah.

2. There is no oath scarcely, but we swear to things we are ignorant of. For example, the oath of supremacy; how many know how the king is king? What are his right and prerogative? So how many know what are the privileges of the parliament, and the liberty of the subject, when they take the protestation? But the meaning is, they will defend them when they know them: as if I should swear I would take part with all that wear red ribbons in their hats—it may be I do not know which colour is red—but when I do know, and see a red ribbon in a man's hat, then will I take his part.

3. I cannot conceive how an oath is imposed where there is a parity, *viz.* in the house of commons, they are all *pares inter se*; only one brings paper, and shows it the rest, they look upon it, and in their own sense take it. Now they are but *pares* to me, who am none of the house, for I do not acknowledge myself their subject; if I did, then no question, I was bound by an oath of their imposing. It is to me but reading a paper in their own sense.

4. There is a great difference between an assertory oath, and a promissory oath. An assertory oath is made to a man before God, and I must swear so, as man may know what I mean: but a promissory oath is made to God only, and I am sure he knows my

meaning. So in the new oath it runs, "Whereas, I believe in my conscience, &c. I will assist thus and thus." That "whereas," gives me an outloose; for if I do not believe so, for aught I know, I swear not at all.

5. In a promissory oath, the mind I am in is a good interpretation; for if there be enough happened to change my mind, I do not know why I should not. If I promise to go to Oxford tomorrow, and mean it when I say it, and afterwards it appears to me that it will be my undoing, will you say I have broke my promise if I stay at home? Certainly, I must not go.

6. The Jews had this way with them concerning a promissory oath or vow: if one of them had vowed a vow, which afterwards appeared to him to be very prejudicial, by reason of something he either did not foresee, or did not think of, when he made his vow; if he made it known to three of his countrymen, they had power to absolve him, though he could not absolve himself, and that they picked out of some words in the text. Perjury hath only to do with an assertory oath, and no man was punished for perjury by man's law till queen Elizabeth's time; it was left to God, as a sin against him: the reason was, because it was so hard a thing to prove a man perjured. I might misunderstand him, and he swears as he thought.

7. When men ask me whether they may take an oath in their own sense, it is to me, as if they should ask whether they may go to such a place upon their own legs; I would fain know how they can go otherwise.

8. If the ministers that are in sequestered livings will not take the engagement, threaten to turn

them out, and put in the old ones, and then I will warrant you they will quietly take it. A gentleman having been rambling two or three days, at length came home, and being in bed with his wife, would fain have been at something, that she was unwilling to, and instead of complying, fell to chiding him for his being abroad so long. "Well," says he, "if you will not, call up Sue," (his wife's chambermaid). Upon that she yielded presently.

9. Now oaths are so frequent, they should be taken like pills, swallowed whole; if you chew them, you will find them bitter; if you think what you swear, it will hardly go down.

ORACLES.

Oracles ceased presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believed them; just as we have no fortune-tellers, nor wise men, when nobody cares for them. Sometimes you have a season for them, when people believe them; and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the devil.

OPINION.

1. Opinion and affection extremely differ: I may affect a woman best, but it does not follow, I must think her the handsomest woman in the world. I love apples best of any fruit; but it does not follow, I must think apples to be the best fruit. Opinion is something wherein I go about to give reason why all the world should think as I think. Affection is a thing wherein I look after the pleasing of myself.

2. It was a good fancy of an old Platonic—The gods which are above men, had something whereof

man did partake, (an intellect knowledge) and the gods kept on their course quietly: the beasts, which are below man, had something whereof man did partake, (sense and growth) and the beasts lived quietly in their way: but man had something in him, whereof neither gods nor beasts did partake, which gave him all the trouble, and made all the confusion in the world, and that is opinion.

3. It is a foolish thing for me to be brought off from an opinion in a thing neither of us know, but are led only by some cobweb-stuff, as in such a case as this, *utrum angeli invicem colloquantur?* If I forsake my side in such a case, I show myself wonderful light, or infinitely complying, or flattering the other party: but, if I be in a business of nature, and hold an opinion one way, and some man's experience has found out the contrary, I may with a safe reputation give up my side.

4. It is a vain thing to talk of an heretic; for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the primitive times, there were many opinions, nothing scarce but some or other held: one of these opinions being embraced by some prince, and received into his kingdom, the rest were condemned as heresies; and his religion, which was but one of the several opinions, first is said to be orthodox, and so have continued ever since the apostles.

PARITY.

This is the juggling trick of the parity; they would have nobody above them, but they do not tell you they would have nobody under them.

PARLIAMENT.

1. All are involved in a parliament. There was a time when all men had their voice in choosing knights. About Henry the Sixth's time they found the inconvenience; so one parliament made a law, that only he that had forty shillings per annum should give his voice, they under should be excluded. They made the law who had the voice of all, as well under forty shillings as above; and thus it continues at this day. All consent civilly in a parliament: women are involved in the men, children in those of perfect age; those that are under forty shillings a year, in those that have forty shillings a year; those of forty shillings, in the knights.

2. All things are brought to the parliament, little to the courts of justice; just as in a room where there is a banquet presented, if there be persons of quality there, the people must expect, and stay till the great ones have done.

3. The parliament flying upon several men, and then letting them alone, does as a hawk that flies a covey of partridges, and when she has flown them a great way, grows weary, and takes a tree; then the falconer lures her down, and takes her to his fist; on they go again, *heirett*, up springs another covey, away goes the hawk, and, as she did before, takes another tree, &c.

4. Dissenters in parliament may at length come to a good end, though first there be a great deal of do, and a great deal of noise, which mad wild folks make; just as in a brewing of wrest-beer, there is a great deal of business in grinding the malt, and

that spoils any man's clothes that comes near it ; then it must be mashed ; then comes a fellow in and drinks of the wort, and he is drunk ; then they keep a huge quarter when they carry it into the cellar ; and a twelvemonth after it is delicate fine beer.

5. It must necessarily be that our distempers are worse than they were in the beginning of the parliament. If a physician comes to a sick man, he lets him blood, it may be, scarifies him, cups him, puts him into a great disorder, before he makes him well : and if he be sent for to cure an ague, and he finds his patient hath many diseases, a dropsy, and a palsy, he applies remedies to them all, which makes the cure the longer and the dearer : this is the case.

6. The parliament men are as great princes as any in the world, when whatsoever they please is privilege of parliament ; no man must know the number of their privileges, and whatsoever they dislike is breach of privilege. The duke of Venice is no more than speaker of the house of commons ; but the senate at Venice are not so much as our parliament men, nor have they that power over the people ; who yet exercise the greatest tyranny that is any where. In plain truth, breach of privilege is only the actual taking away of a member of the house, the rest are offences against the house : for example, to take out process against a parliament man, or the like.

7. The parliament party, if the law be for them, they call for the law ; if it be against them, they will go to a parliamentary way ; if no law be for them,

then for law again : like him that first called for sack to heat him, then small drink to cool his sack, then sack again to heat his small drink, &c.

8. The parliament party do not play fair play, in sitting up till two of the clock in the morning, to vote something they have a mind to : it is like a crafty gamester that makes the company drunk, then cheats them of their money : young men and infirm men, go away ; besides, a man is not there to persuade other men to be of his mind, but to speak his own heart ; and if it be liked, so ; if not, there is an end.

PARSON.

1. Though we write *parson* differently, yet it is but *person* ; that is, the individual person set apart for the service of such a church, and it is in Latin *persona*, and *personatus* is a personage. Indeed, with the canon lawyers, *personatus* is any dignity or preferment in the church.

2. There never was a merry world since the fairies left dancing, and the parson left conjuring : the opinion of the latter kept thieves in awe, and did as much good in a country as a justice of peace.

PATIENCE.

Patience is the chiefest fruit of study. A man that strives to make himself a different thing from other men by much reading, gains this chiefest good, that in all fortunes he hath something to entertain and comfort himself withal.

PEACE.

1. King James was pictured going easily down a pair of stairs, and upon every step there was written, peace, peace, peace. The wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing.

2. When a country-wench cannot get her butter to come, she says, the witch is in her churn. We have been churning for peace a great while, and it will not come: sure the witch is in it.

3. Though we had peace, yet it will be a great while ere things be settled: though the wind lie, yet after a storm the sea will work a great while.

PENANCE.

Penance is only the punishment inflicted—not penitence, which is the right word. A man comes not to do penance, because he repents him of his sin—but because he is compelled to it: he curses him, and could kill him that sends him thither. The old canons wisely enjoined three years' penance—sometimes more; because, in that time, a man got a habit of virtue, and so committed that sin no more, for which he did penance.

PEOPLE.

1. There is not any thing in the world more abused than this sentence, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; for we apply it, as if we ought to forsake the known law, when it may be most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. For,

first, it is not *Salus populi suprema lex est*, but *esto*, it being one of the laws of the Twelve Tables; and after divers laws made, some for punishment, some for reward, then follows this, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people; and then what does this concern the way they now go?

2. *Objection.* He that makes one, is greater than he that is made; the people make the king, *ergo*, &c. *Answer.* This does not hold; for if I have one thousand pounds per annum, and give it to you, and leave myself never a penny, I made you; but when you have my land, you are greater than I. The parish makes the constable, and when the constable is made, he governs the parish. The answer to all these doubts is, Have you agreed so? If you have, then it must remain till you have altered it.

PLEASURE.

1. Pleasure is nothing else but the intermission of pain, the enjoying of something I am in great trouble for till I have it.

2. It is a wrong way to proportion other men's pleasures to ourselves: it is like a child's using a little bird, "O poor bird, thou shalt sleep with me;" so lays it in his bosom, and stifles it with his hot breath: the bird had rather be in the cold air. And yet, too, it is the most pleasing flattery, to like what other men like.

3. It is most undoubtedly true, that all men are equally given to their pleasures: only thus, one man's pleasure lies one way, and another's another. Pleasures are all alike, simply considered in themselves:

he that hunts, or he that governs the commonwealth—they both please themselves alike; only we commend that, whereby we ourselves receive some benefit; as if a man place his delight in things that tend to the common good. He that takes pleasure to hear sermons, enjoys himself as much as he that hears plays; and could he that loves plays endeavour to love sermons, possibly he might bring himself to it as well as to any other pleasure: at first, it may seem harsh and tedious; but afterwards, it would be pleasing and delightful. So it falls out in that, which is the great pleasure of some men—tobacco; at first they could not abide it, and now they cannot be without it.

4. Whilst you are upon earth, enjoy the good things that are here, (to that end were they given) and be not melancholy, and wish yourself in heaven. If a king should give you the keeping of a castle, with all things belonging to it, orchards, gardens, &c. and bid you use them; withal promise you that after twenty years to remove you to the court, and to make you a privy counsellor: if you should neglect your castle, and refuse to eat of those fruits, and sit down, and whine, and wish you were a privy counsellor, do you think the king would be pleased with you?

5. Pleasures of meat, drink, clothes, &c. are forbidden those that know not how to use them, just as nurses cry pah! when they see a knife in a child's hand: they will never say any thing to a man.

PHILOSOPHY.

When men comfort themselves with philosophy, it is not because they have got two or three sentences, but because they have digested those sentences, and made them their own : so, upon the matter, philosophy is nothing but discretion.

POETRY.

1. Ovid was not only a fine poet, but, as a man may speak, a great canon lawyer, as appears in his *Fasti*, where we have more of the festivals of the old Romans than any where else : it is pity the rest are lost.

2. There is no reason plays should be in verse, either in blank or rhyme ; only the poet has to say for himself, that he makes something like that which somebody made before him. The old poets had no other reason but this—their verse was sung to music ; otherwise it had been a senseless thing to have fettered up themselves.

3. I never converted but two ; the one was Mr. Crashaw, from writing against plays, by telling him a way how to understand that place, of putting on women's apparel, which has nothing to do in the business ; as neither has it, that the fathers speak against plays in their time, with reason enough ; for they had real idolatries mixed with their plays, having three altars perpetually upon the stage. The other was a doctor of divinity, from preaching against painting, which simply in itself is no more

hurtful than putting on my clothes, or doing any thing to make myself like other folks, that I may not be odious nor offensive to the company : indeed if I do it with an ill intention, it alters the case ; so if I put on my gloves with an intention to do mischief, I am a villain.

4. It is a fine thing for children to learn to make verse ; but when they come to be men they must speak like other men, or else they will be laughed at. It is ridiculous to speak, or write, or preach in verse. As it is good to learn to dance ; a man may learn his leg, learn to go handsomely ; but it is ridiculous for him to dance when he should go.

5. It is ridiculous for a lord to print verses : it is well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public is foolish. If a man, in a private chamber, twirls his band-strings, or plays with a rush to please himself, it is well enough ; but if he should go into Fleet-street, and sit upon a stall, and twirl a band-string, or play with a rush, then all the boys in the street would laugh at him.

6. Verse proves nothing but the quantity of syllables ; they are not meant for logic.

POPE.

1. A pope's bull and a pope's brief differ very much ; as with us, the great seal and the privy seal : the bull being the highest authority the king* can give—the brief is of less : the bull has a leaden seal upon silk, hanging upon the instrument ; the brief has *sub annulo piscatoris* upon the side.

* Sic, but qu. Pope?

2. He was a wise pope, that, when one that used to be merry with him, before he was advanced to the popedom, refrained afterwards to come at him, presuming he was busy in governing the Christian world: the pope sends for him—bids him come again; "And," says he, "we will be merry as we were before, for thou little thinkest what a little foolery governs the whole world."

3. The pope in sending relics to princes, does as wenches do by their wassels at New-year's-tide; they present you with a cup, and you must drink of a slabby staff; but the meaning is, you must give them monies, ten times more than it is worth.

4. The pope is infallible, where he hath power to command, that is, where he must be obeyed; so is every supreme power and prince: they that stretch his infallibility farther, do, they know not what.

5. When a Protestant and a Papist dispute, they talk like two madmen, because they do not agree upon their principles: the one way is, to destroy the pope's power; for if he hath power to command me, it is not my alleging reasons to the contrary, can keep me from obeying. For example, if a constable command me to wear a green suit to-morrow, and has power to make me, it is not my alleging a hundred reasons of the folly of it can excuse me from doing it.

6. There was a time when the pope had power here in England, and there was excellent use made of it; for it was only to serve turns, as might be manifested out of the records of the kingdom, which divines know little of. If the king did not like what the pope would have, he would forbid the pope's legate to land upon his ground: so that the power

was truly then in the king, though suffered in the pope. But now the temporal and the spiritual power (spiritual so called, because ordained to a spiritual end) spring both from one fountain, they are like to twist that.

7. The Protestants in France bear office in the state, because, though their religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other king but the king of France. The Papists in England they must have a king of their own—a pope, that must do something in our kingdom; therefore, there is no reason they should enjoy the same privileges.

8. Amsterdam admits of all religions but Papists, and it is upon the same account. The Papists, wherever they live, have another king at Rome; all other religions are subject to the present state, and have no prince elsewhere.

9. The Papists call our religion a parliamentary religion; but there was once, I am sure, a parliamentary pope. Pope Urban was made pope in England by act of parliament, against pope Clement: the act is not in the book of statutes, either because he that compiled the book, would not have the name of the pope there, or else he would not let it appear that they meddled with any such thing; but it is upon the rolls.

10. When our clergy preach against the pope, and the church of Rome, they preach against themselves; and crying down their pride, their power, and their riches, have made themselves poor and contemptible enough: they dedicate first to please their prince, not considering what would follow: just as if a man were to go a journey, and seeing at his first setting out the way clean and fair, ventures

forth in his slippers, not considering the dirt and the sloughs are a little farther off, or how suddenly the weather may change.

POPERY.

1. The demanding a noble, for a dead body passing through a town, came from hence in time of popery: they carried the dead body into the church, where the priest said dirges; and twenty dirges at fourpence a piece comes to a noble: but now it is forbidden by an order from my lord marshal; the heralds carry his warrant about them.

2. We charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing: just as heretofore they called images Mammets, and the adoration of images Mammetry; that is, Mahomet and Mahometry, odious names, when all the world knows the Turks are forbidden images by their religion.

POWER. STATE.

1. There is no stretching of power: it is a good rule—Eat within your stomach; act within your commission.

2. They that govern most make least noise. You see when they row in a barge, they that do drudgery work, slash, and puff, and sweat; but he that governs, sits quietly at the stern, and scarcely is seen to stir.

3. Syllables govern the world.

4. *All power is of God*, means no more than *Ades est servanda*. When St. Paul said this, the peo-

ple had made Nero emperor. They agree, he to command, they to obey; then God comes in, and casts a hook upon them, *keep your faith*: then comes in, *all power is of God*. Never king dropped out of the clouds. God did not make a new emperor, as the king makes a justice of peace.

5. Christ himself was a great observer of the civil power, and did many things only justifiable, because the state required it, which were things merely temporary for the time that state stood. But divines make use of them to gain power to themselves; as for example, that of *dic ecclesie*, tell the church: there was then a Sanhedrim, a court to tell it to; and therefore, they would have it so now.

6. Divines ought to do no more than what the state permits: before the state became Christian, they made their own laws; and those that did not observe them, they excommunicated, (naughty men) they suffered them to come no more amongst them; but if they would come amongst them, how could they hinder them? By what law? By what power? They were still subject to the state, which was heathen. Nothing better expresses the condition of Christians in those times, than one of the meetings you have in London, of men of the same country, of Sussex men, or Bedfordshire men; they appoint their meeting, and they agree, and make laws amongst themselves; (*He that is not there shall pay double, &c.*) and if any one misbehave himself, they shut him out of their company; but can they recover a forfeiture made concerning their meeting by any law? Have they any power to compel one to pay? But afterwards, when the state became

Christian, all the power was in them, and they gave the church as much or as little as they pleased, and took away when they pleased, and added what they pleased.

7. The church is not only subject to the civil power with us that are protestants, but also in Spain; if the church does excommunicate a man for what it should not, the civil power will take him out of their hands: so in France, the bishop of Angiers altered something in the breviary; they complained to the parliament at Paris, that made him alter it again, with a *comme abusé*.

8. The parliament of England has no arbitrary power in point of judicature, but in point of making law only.

9. If the prince be *servus naturæ*, of a servile base spirit, and the subjects *liberi*, free and ingenuous, oftentimes they depose their prince, and govern themselves: on the contrary, if the people be *servi naturæ*, and some one amongst them of a free and ingenuous spirit, he makes himself king of the rest; and this is the cause of all changes in the state; commonwealths into monarchies, and monarchies into commonwealths.

10. In a troubled state we must do as in foul weather upon the Thames; not think to cut directly through, so the boat may be quickly full of water; but rise and fall as the waves do, give as much as conveniently we can.

PRAYER.

1. If I were a minister, I should think myself most in my office, reading of prayers, and dispensing

the sacraments : and it is ill done to put one to officiate in the church, whose person is contemptible out of it. Should a great lady, that was invited to be a gossip, in her place send her kitchen maid, it would be ill taken ; yet she is a woman as well as she : let her send her woman at least.

2. *You shall pray*, is the right way ; because, according as the church is settled, no man may make a prayer in public of his own head.

3. It is not the original Common Prayer Book. Why, show me an original Bible, or an original *Magna Charta*.

4. Admit the preacher prays by the spirit, yet that very prayer is common prayer to the people : they are tied as much to his words, as in saying, *Almighty and most merciful Father*. Is it then unlawful in the minister, but not unlawful in the people ?

5. There were some mathematicians, that could with one fetch of their pen make an exact circle, and with the next touch point out the centre : is it therefore reasonable to banish all use of the compasses ? Set forms are a pair of compasses.

6. *God hath given gifts unto men*. General texts prove nothing : let him show me John, William, or Thomas in the text, and then I will believe him. If a man hath a voluble tongue, we say, he hath the gift of prayer : his gift is to pray long, that I see ; but does he pray better ?

7. We take care what we speak to men, but to God we may say any thing.

8. The people must not think a thought towards God, but as their pastors will put it into their mouths : they will make right sheep of us.

9. The English priests would do that in English

which the Romish do in Latin—keep the people, in ignorance; but some of the people outdo them at their own game.

10 Prayer should be short, without giving God Almighty reasons why he should grant this or that: he knows best what is good for us. If your boy should ask you a suit of clothes, and give you reasons, (otherwise he cannot wait upon you, he cannot go abroad but he will discredit you) would you endure it? You know it better than he: let him ask a suit of clothes.

11. If a servant that has been fed with good beef, goes into that part of England where salmon is plenty, at first he is pleased with his salmon, and despises his beef; but after he has been there awhile, he grows weary of his salmon, and wishes for his good beef again. We have awhile been much taken with this praying by the spirit, but in time we may grow weary of it, and wish for our Common Prayer.

12. It is hoped we may be cured of our extemporary prayers the same way the grocer's boy is cured of his eating plums—when we have had our belly full of them.

PREACHING.

1. Nothing is more mistaken than that speech, *Preach the Gospel*; for it is not to make long harangues, as they do nowadays, but to tell the news of Christ's coming into the world: and when that is done, or where it is known already, the preacher's work is done.

2. Preaching, in the first sense of the word, ceased as soon as ever the gospels were written.

3. When the preacher says, This is the meaning of the Holy Ghost in such a place—in sense he can mean no more than this: that is, I, by studying of the place, by comparing one place with another, by weighing what goes before, and what comes after, think this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost; and, for shortness of expression, I say, the Holy Ghost says thus, or this is the meaning of the Spirit of God. So the judge speaks of the king's proclamation: This is the intention of the king—not that the king had declared his intention any other way to the judge; but the judge, examining the contents of the proclamation, gathers, by the purport of the words, the king's intention; and then, for shortness of expression, says, This is the king's intention.

4. Nothing is text but what was spoken in the Bible, and meant there for person and place; the rest is application, which a discreet man may do well; but it is his Scripture, not the Holy Ghost.

5. Preaching by the Spirit, as they call it, is most esteemed by the common people, because they cannot abide art or learning, which they have not been bred up in: just as in the business of fencing; if one country fellow amongst the rest, has been at school, the rest will undervalue his skill, or tell him he wants valour: You come with your school tricks; there is Dick Butcher has ten times more mettle in him: so they say to the preachers, You come with your school learning; there is such a one has the Spirit.

6. The tone in preaching does much in working upon the people's affections: if a man should make love in an ordinary tone, his mistress would not re-

gard him ; and, therefore, he must whine : if a man should cry fire, or murder, in an ordinary voice, nobody would come out to help him.

7. Preachers will bring any thing into the text. The young masters of arts preached against non-residency in the university ; whereupon the heads made an order, that no man should meddle with any thing but what was in the text. The next day one preached upon these words, *Abraham begat Isaac* ; when he had gone a good way, at last he observed, that Abraham was resident, for if he had been non-resident, he could never have begat Isaac ; and so fell foul upon the non-residents.

8. I could never tell what often preaching meant, after a church is settled, and we know what is to be done : it is just as if a husbandman should once tell his servants what they are to do, when to sow, when to reap ; and afterwards one should come, and tell them twice or thrice a day what they know already : You must sow your wheat in October, you must reap your wheat in August, &c.

9. The main argument why they would have two sermons a day is, because they have two meals a day ; the soul must be fed as well as the body : but I may as well argue, I ought to have two noses because I have two eyes, or two mouths because I have two ears. What have meals and sermons to do one with another ?

10. The things between God and man are but few, and those, forsooth, we must be told often of : but things between man and man are many ; those I hear not of above twice a year at the assizes, or once a quarter at the sessions : but few come then ; nor does the minister exhort the people to go at

these times to learn their duty towards their neighbour. Often preaching is sure to keep the minister in countenance, that he may have something to do.

11. In preaching they say more to raise men to love virtue than men can possibly perform, to make them do their best : as if you would teach a man to throw the bar ; to make him put out his strength, you bid him throw farther than it is possible for him, or any man else : throw over yonder house.

12. In preaching they do by men as writers of romances do by their chief knights, bring them into many dangers, but still fetch them off : so they put men in fear of hell ; but at last they bring them to heaven.

13. Preachers say, Do as I say, not as I do ; but if a physician had the same disease upon him that I have, and he should bid me do one thing, and he do quite another, could I believe him ?

14. Preaching the same sermon to all sorts of people, is, as if a schoolmaster should read the same lesson to his several forms : if he reads *Amo, amas, amavi*, the highest forms laugh at him ; the younger boys admire him : so it is in preaching to a mixed auditory. *Objection.* But it cannot be otherwise ; the parish cannot be divided into several forms. What must the preacher then do in discretion ? *Answer.* Why then let him use some expressions by which this or that condition of people may know such doctrine does more especially concern them, it being so delivered that the wisest may be content to hear ; for if he delivers it altogether, and leaves it to them to single out what belongs to themselves, which is the usual way, it is as if a man would bestow gifts upon children of several ages ; two years

old, four years old, ten years old, &c. ; and there he brings tops, pins, points, ribbons, and casts them all in a heap together upon a table before them ; though the boy of ten years old knows how to choose his top, yet the child of two years old, that should have a ribbon, takes a pin, and the pin, ere he be aware, pricks his fingers, and then all is out of order, &c. Preaching, for the most part, is the glory of the preacher, to show himself a fine man : catechising would do much better.

15. Use the best arguments to persuade, though but few understand ; for the ignorant will sooner believe the judicious of the parish, than the preacher himself : and they teach when they dispute what he has said, and believe it the sooner, confirmed by men of their own side : for betwixt the laity and the clergy, there is, as it were, a continual driving of a bargain ; something the clergy would still have us be at, and therefore many things are heard from the preacher with suspicion : they are afraid of some ends, which are easily assented to, when they have it from some of themselves. It is with a sermon as it is with a play ; many come to see it, who do not understand it ; and yet hearing it cried up by one, whose judgment they cast themselves upon, and of power with them, they swear, and will die in it, that it is a very good play, which they would not have done if the priest himself had told them so : as in a great school, it is the master that teaches all ; the monitor does a great deal of work ; it may be the boys are afraid to see the master : so in a parish it is not the minister does all ; the greater neighbour teaches the lesser, the master of the house teaches his servant, &c.

16. First, in your sermons use your logic, and then your rhetoric: rhetoric without logic is like a tree with leaves and blossoms, but no root: yet I confess more are taken with rhetoric than logic, because they are caught with a free expression, when they understand not reason. Logic must be natural, or it is worth nothing at all. Your rhetoric figures may be learned. That rhetoric is best which is most seasonable and most catching: an instance we have in that old blunt commander at Cadiz, who showed himself a good orator: being to say something to his soldiers, which he was not used to do; he made them a speech to this purpose: "What a shame will it be, you Englishmen, that feed upon good beef and brewess, to let those rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat nothing but oranges and lemons;" and so put more courage into his men than he could have done with a more learned oration. Rhetoric is very good, or stark naught: there is no medium in rhetoric; if I am not fully persuaded, I laugh at the orator.

17. It is good to preach the same thing again, for that is the way to have it learned. You see a bird by often whistling to learn a tune, and a mouth after record it to herself.

18. It is a hard case a minister should be turned out of his living for something they inform he should say in his pulpit: we can no more know what a minister said in his sermon by two or three words picked out of it, than we can tell what tune a musician played last upon the lute, by two or three single notes.

PREDESTINATION.

1. They that talk nothing but predestination, and will not proceed in the way of heaven till they be satisfied in that point, do, as a man that would not come to London, unless at his first step he might set his foot upon the top of St. Paul's.

2. For a young divine to begin in his pulpit with predestination, is, as if a man were coming into London, and at his first step would think to set his foot, &c.

3. Predestination is a point inaccessible, out of our reach ; we can make no notion of it, it is so full of intricacy, so full of contradiction ; it is in good earnest, as we state it, half-a-dozen bulls one upon another.

4. Doctor Prideaux, in his lectures, several days used arguments to prove predestination : at last tells his auditory they are damned that do not believe it ; doing herein just like schoolboys, when one of them has got an apple, or something the rest have a mind to, they use all the arguments they can to get some of it from them : I gave you some the other day ; you shall have some with me another time. When they cannot prevail, they tell him he is a jackanapes, a rogue, and a rascal.

PREFERMENT.

1. When you would have a child go to such a place, and you find him unwilling, you tell him he shall ride a cock-horse, and then he will go presently : so do those that govern the state deal by men, to

work them to their ends ; they tell them they shall be advanced to such or such a place, and they will do any thing they would have them.

2. A great place strangely qualifies. John Read, groom of the chamber to my lord of Kent, was in the right. Attorney Noy being dead, some were saying, "How will the king do for a fit man?" "Why, any man," says John Read, "may execute the place." "I warrant," says my lord, "thou thinkest thou understandest enough to perform it." "Yes," quoth John, "let the king make me attorney, and I would fain see that man, that durst tell me, there is any thing I understand not."

3. When the pageants are a coming there is a great thrusting, and a riding upon one another's backs, to look out at the window ; stay a little and they will come just to you, you may see them quietly. So it is when a new statesman or officer is chosen ; there is great expectation and listening who it should be ; stay awhile, and you may know quietly.

4. Missing preferment makes the presbyters fall foul upon the bishops. Men that are in hopes and in the way of rising, keep in the channel ; but they that have none, seek new ways : it is so amongst the lawyers ; he that hath the judge's ear, will be very observant of the way of the court ; but he that hath no regard, will be flying out.

5. My lord Digby having spoken something in the house of commons, for which they would have questioned him, was presently called to the upper house : he did by the parliament, as an ape when he hath done some waggery ; his master spies him, and he looks for his whip ; but before he can come

at him, "Whip," says he, "to the top of the house."

6. Some of the parliament were discontented, that they wanted places at court, which others had got; but when they had them once, then they were quiet: just as at a christening, some that get no sugar plums, when the rest have, mutter and grumble: presently the wench comes again with her basket of sugar-plums, and then they catch and scramble; and when they have got them, you hear no more of them.

PREMUNIRE.

There can be no premunire: a premunire, so called from the word *premunire facias*, was when a man laid an action in an ecclesiastical court, for which he could have no remedy in any of the king's courts, that is, in the courts of common law; by reason, the ecclesiastical courts, before Henry the Eighth, were subordinate to the pope; and so it was *contra coronam et dignitatem regis*; but now the ecclesiastical courts are equally subordinate to the king; therefore, it cannot be *contra coronam et dignitatem regis*, and so no premunire.

PREROGATIVE.

1. Prerogative is something that can be told what it is—not something that has no name: just as you see the archbishop has his prerogative court, but we know what is done in that court: so the king's prerogative is not his will, or what divines make it, a power to do what he lists.

2. The king's prerogative, that is, the king's law. For example, if you ask whether a patron may present to a living after six months by law? I answer, "No." If you ask whether the king may? I answer, "He may, by his prerogative;" that is, by the law that concerns him in that case.

PRESBYTERY.

1. They that would bring in a new government, would very fain persuade us, they meet it in antiquity; thus they interpret *presbyters*, when they meet the word in the fathers. Other professions likewise pretend to antiquity. The alchymist will find his art in Virgil's *aureus ramus*; and he that delights in optics will find them in Tacitus. When Cæsar came into England, they would persuade us they had perspective glasses, by which he could discover what they were doing upon the land, because it is said *positis speculis*: the meaning is—his watch, or his sentinel discovered this, and this unto him.

2. Presbyters have the greatest power of any clergy in the world, and gull the laity most. For example: admit there be twelve laymen to six presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please; first, because they are constant, and the others come in like churchwardens, in their turns, which is a huge advantage. Men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next, the laymen have other professions to follow; the presbyters make it their sole business: and besides, too, they learn and study the art of persuading: some of Geneva have confessed as much.

3. The presbyter, with his elders about him, is like a young tree fenced about with two or three or four stakes ; the stakes defend it, and hold it up—but the tree only prospers and flourishes ; it may be some willow stake may bear a leaf or two, but it comes to nothing. Lay-elders are stakes, the presbyter the tree that flourishes.

4. When the queries were sent to the assembly, concerning the *jus divinum* of presbytery, their asking time to answer them, was a satire upon themselves ; for if it were to be seen in the text, they might quickly turn to the place, and show us it ; their delaying to answer, makes us think there is no such thing there. They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a tavern-reckoning ; when he should come to pay his reckoning, he puts his hands into his pockets, and keeps a grabbing and a fumbling, and shaking, at last tells you he has left his money at home, when all the company knew at first he had no money there, for every man can quickly find his own money.

PRIESTS OF ROME.

1. The reason of the statute against priests, was this : in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, there was a statute made, that he that drew men from their civil obedience was a traitor. It happened this was done in privacies and confessions, when there could be no proof : therefore, they made another act, that for a priest to be in England, was treason, because they presumed that was his business to fetch men off from their obedience.

2. When queen Elizabeth died, and king James came in, an Irish priest does thus express it: *Elizabetha in orcum detrusa, successit Jacobus, alter hereticus*. You will ask why they did use such language in their church? *Answer*. Why does the nurse tell the child of raw-head and bloody-bones, to keep it in awe?

3. The queen mother and count Rosset, are to the priests and Jesuits like the honey-pot to the flies.

4. The priests of Rome aim but at two things; to get power from the king, and money from the subject.

5. When the priests come into a family, they do as a man that would set fire to a house; he does not put fire to the brick wall, but thrusts it into the thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.

6. For a priest to turn a man when he lies a dying, is just like one that hath a long time solicited a woman, and cannot obtain his end; at length makes her drunk, and so lies with her.

PROPHECIES.

Dreams and prophecies do thus much good; they make a man go on with boldness and courage upon a danger or a mistress: if he obtains, he attributes much to them; if he miscarries, he thinks no more of them, or is no more thought of himself.

PROVERBS.

The proverbs of several nations were much studied by bishop Andrews, and the reason he gave, was,

because by them he knew the minds of several nations—which is a brave thing ; as we count him a wise man, that knows the minds and insides of men, which is done by knowing what is habitual to hem. Proverbs are habitual to a nation, being transmitted from father to son.

QUESTION.

When a doubt is propounded, you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it does not hold : aye, or no, never answered any question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguished—and the not confounding, where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the world.

REASON.

1. In giving reasons, men commonly do with us as the woman does with her child ; when she goes to market about her business, she tells it she goes to buy it a fine thing—to buy it a cake or some plums. They give us such reasons as they think we will be caught withal—but never let us know the truth.

2. When the schoolmen talk of *recta ratio* in morals, either they understand reason, as it is governed by a command from above—or else they say no more than a woman, when she says a thing is so, because it is so ; that is her reason persuades her it is so. The other exception has sense in it. As, take a law of the land, *I must not depopulate, my*

reason tells me so. Why? Because if I do, I incur the detriment.

3. The reason of a thing is not to be inquired after, till you are sure the thing itself be so. We commonly are at, *What is the reason of it?*—before we are sure of the thing. It was an excellent question of my lady Cotton, when sir Robert Cotton was magnifying of a shoe, which was Moses's or Noah's, and wondering at the strange shape and fashion of it: "But, Mr. Cotton," says she, "are you sure it is a shoe?"

RETALIATION.

An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. That does not mean, that if I put out another man's eye, therefore, I must lose one of my own; for what is he the better for that? (though this be commonly received) but it means, I shall give him what satisfaction an eye shall be judged to be worth.

REVERENCE.

It is sometimes unreasonable to look after respect and reverence, either from a man's own servant, or other inferiors. A great lord and a gentleman talking together, there came a boy by, leading a calf with both his hands: says the lord to the gentleman, "You shall see me make the boy let go his calf." With that he came towards him, thinking the boy would have put off his hat; but the boy took no notice of him. The lord seeing that, "Sirrah," says he, "do you not know me, that you use no

reverence?" "Yes," says the boy, "if your lordship will hold my calf, I will put off my hat."

NON-RESIDENCY.

1. The people thought they had a great victory over the clergy, when, in Henry the Eighth's time, they got their bill passed, "That a clergyman should have but two livings:" before a man might have twenty or thirty. It was but getting a dispensation from the pope's limiter, or gatherer of the Peter-pence, which was as easily got, as now you may have a licence to eat flesh.

2. As soon as a minister is made, he hath power to preach all over the world, but the civil power restrains him; he cannot preach in this parish, or in that; there is one already appointed. Now if the state allows him two livings, then he hath two places where he may exercise his function, and so has the more power to do his office; which he might do everywhere if he were not restrained.

RELIGION.

1. King James said to the fly, "Have I three kingdoms, and thou must needs fly into my eye?" Is there not enough to meddle with upon the stage, or in love, or at the table—but religion?

2. Religion amongst men appears to me like the learning they got at school. Some men forget all they learned, others spend upon the stock, and some improve it. So some men forget all the re-

ligion that was taught them when they were young, others spend upon that stock, and some improve it.

3. Religion is like the fashion; one man wears his doublet slashed, another laced, another plain; but every man has his doublet; so every man has his religion: we differ about trimming.

4. Men say they are of the same religion, for quietness' sake; but if the matter were well examined, you would scarce find three any where of the same religion in all points.

5. Every religion is a getting religion; for though I myself get nothing, I am subordinate to those that do. So you may find a lawyer in the Temple that gets little for the present; but he is fitting himself to be in time one of those great ones that do get.

6. Alteration of religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay: it is like a millstone that lies upon the top of a pair of stairs; it is hard to remove it; but if ouce it be thrust off the first stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.

7. *Question.* Whether is the church or the Scripture judge of religion? *Ans.* In truth, neither; but the state. I am troubled with a bile; I call a company of chirurgeons about me; one prescribes one thing, another another: I single out something I like, and ask you that stand by, and are no chirurgeon, what you think of it? you like it too; you and I are judges of the plaster, and we bid them prepare it, and there is an end. Thus it is in religion: the Protestants say they will be judged by the Scripture; the Papists say so too; but that cannot speak. A judge is no judge, except he can both speak and command execution; but the truth is, they never intend to agree. No doubt the pope,

where he is supreme, is to be judge : if he say we in England ought to be subject to him, then he must draw his sword and make it good.

8. By the law was the manual received into the church before the Reformation ; not by the civil law—that had nothing to do in it ; nor by the canon law—for that manual that was here, was not in France, nor in Spain ; but by custom, which is the common law of England ; and custom is but the elder brother to a parliament ; and so it will fall out to be nothing that the Papists say ; ours is a parliamentary religion, by reason the service-book was established by act of parliament, and never any service-book was so before. That will be nothing that the pope sent the manual : it was ours, because the state received it. The state still makes the religion, and receives into it what will best agree with it. Why are the Venetians Roman Catholics ? Because the state likes the religion. All the world knows they care not threepence for the pope. The council of Trent is not at this day admitted in France.

9. *Papist.* Where was your religion before Luther, a hundred years ago ? *Protestant.* Where was America a hundred or sixscore years ago ? Our religion was where the rest of the Christian church was. *Papist.* Our religion continued ever since the apostles, and therefore it is better. *Protestant.* So did ours. That there was an interruption of it, will fall out to be nothing, no more than if another earl should tell me of the earl of Kent, saying, He is a better earl than he, because there was one or two of the family of Kent did not take the title upon them ; yet all that while they were really earls ; and afterwards a great prince declared them to be

earls of Kent, as he that made the other family an earl.

10. Disputes in religion will never be ended, because there wants a measure by which the business would be decided. The Puritan would be judged by the word of God; if he would speak clearly, he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so; and he would have me believe him before a whole church, that has read the word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another: and there is, I say, no measure to end the controversy. It is just as if two men were at bowls, and both judged by the eye; one says it is his cast, the other says it is my cast; and having no measure, the difference is eternal. Ben Jonson satirically expressed the vain disputes of divines, by Inigo Lanthorne, disputing with his puppet in a Bartholomew fair: "It is so;" "it is not so:" "it is so;" "it is not so:" crying thus, one to another, a quarter of an hour together.

11. In matters of religion to be ruled by one that writes against his adversary, and throws all the dirt he can in his face, is, as if in point of good manners a man should be governed by one whom he sees at cuffs with another, and thereupon thinks himself bound to give the next man he meets a box on the ear.

12. It is to no purpose to labour to reconcile religions, when the interest of princes will not suffer it. It is well if they could be reconciled so far, that they should not cut one another's throats.

13. There is all the reason in the world divines should not be suffered to go a hair beyond their bounds, for fear of breeding confusion, since there

now be so many religions on foot. The matter was not so narrowly to be looked after when there was but one religion in Christendom; the rest would cry him down for an heretic, and there was nobody to side with him.

14. We look after religion as the butcher did after his knife, when he had it in his mouth.

15. Religion is made a juggler's paper; now it is a horse, now it is a lantern, now it is a boar, now it is a man. To serve ends, religion is turned into all shapes.

16. Pretending religion and the law of God, is to set all things loose: when a man has no mind to do something, he ought to do by his contract with man, then he gets a text, and interprets it as he pleases, and so thinks to get loose.

17. Some men's pretending religion, is like the roaring boys' way of challenges; "their reputation is dear, it does not stand with the honour of a gentleman;" when, God knows, they have neither honour nor reputation about them.

18. They talk much of settling religion: religion is well enough settled already, if we would let it alone. Methinks we might look after, &c.

19. If men would say they took arms for any thing but religion, they might be beaten out of it by reason; out of that they never can, for they will not believe you whatever you say.

20. The very arcanum of pretending religion in all wars is, that something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the groom has as much interest as the lord. Were it for land, one has a thousand acres, and the other but one; he would not venture so far as he that has

a thousand : but religion is equal to both. Had all men land alike, by a *lex agraria*, then all men would say they fought for land.

SABBATH.

Why should I think all the fourth commandment belongs to me, when all the fifth does not ? What land will the Lord give me for honouring my father ? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the land of Canaan ; but the meaning is, if I honour my parents, God will also bless me. We read the commandments in the church service, as we do David's Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does.

SACRAMENT.

1. Christ suffered Judas to take the communion. Those ministers that keep their parishioners from it, because they will not do as they will have them, revenge, rather than reform.

2. No man can tell whether I am fit to receive the sacrament ; for though I were fit the day before, when he examined me, at least appeared so to him ; yet how can he tell what sin I have committed that night, or the next morning, or what impious atheistical thoughts I may have about me, when I am approaching to the very table ?

SALVATION.

We can best understand the meaning of *σωτηρια*, salvation, from the Jews, to whom the Saviour was

promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in the other world ; but the Gentiles, that were good men, should likewise have their portion of bliss there too. Now by Christ the partition-wall is broken down, and the Gentiles that believe in him, are admitted to the same place of bliss with the Jews : and why then should not that portion of happiness still remain to them who do not believe in Christ, so they be morally good ? This is a charitable opinion.

STATE.

In a troubled state save as much for your own as you can. A dog had been at market to buy a shoulder of mutton ; coming home he met two dogs by the way, that quarrelled with him ; he laid down his shoulder of mutton, and fell to fighting with one of them ; in the mean time the other dog fell to eating his mutton. He seeing that, left the dog he was fighting with, and fell upon him that was eating ; then the other dog fell to eat : when he perceived there was no remedy, but which of them soever he fought withal, his mutton was in danger, he thought he would have as much of it as he could, and thereupon gave over fighting, and fell to eating himself.

SUPERSTITION.

1. They that are against superstition, oftentimes run into it of the wrong side. If I will wear all colour but black, then am I superstitious in not wearing black.

2. They pretend not to abide the cross because it is superstitious: for my part, I will believe them, when I see them throw their money out of their pockets, and not till then.

3. If there be any superstition truly and properly so called, it is their observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.

SUBSIDIES.

1. Heretofore the parliament was wary what subsidies they gave to the king, because they had no account; but now they care not how much they give of the subjects' money, because they give it with one hand, and receive it with the other; and so upon the matter give it themselves. In the mean time what a case the subjects of England are in! if the men they have sent to the parliament misbehave themselves, they cannot help it, because the parliament is eternal.

2. A subsidy was counted the fifth part of a man's estate, and so fifty subsidies is five-and-forty times more than a man is worth.

SIMONY.

The name of simony was begot in the canon law; the first statute against it was in queen Elizabeth's time. Since the Reformation, simony has been frequent: one reason why it was not practised in time of popery, was the pope's provision; no man was sure to bestow his own benefice.

SHIP-MONEY.

1. Mr. Noy brought in ship-money first for maritime towns; but that was like putting in a little auger, that afterwards you may put in a greater. He that pulls down the first brick, does the main work; afterwards it is easy to pull down the wall.

2. They that at first would not pay ship-money till it was decided, did like brave men, though perhaps they did no good by the trial; but they that stand out since, and suffer themselves to be distrained, never questioning those that do it, do pitifully, for so they only pay twice as much as they should.

SYNOD ASSEMBLY.

1. We have had no national synod since the kingdom hath been settled, as now it is, only provincial: and there will be this inconveniency, to call so many divines together; it will be to put power in their hands, who are too apt to usurp it, as if the laity were bound by their determination: no, let the laity consult with divines on all sides, hear what they say, and make themselves masters of their reasons; as they do by any other profession, when they have a difference before them: for example, goldsmiths; they inquire of them, if such a jewel be of such a value, and such a stone of such a value, hear them, and then, being rational men, judge themselves.

2. Why should you have a synod, when you have a convocation already, which is a synod? Would you

have a superfetation of another synod? The clergy of England, when they cast off the pope, submitted themselves to the civil power, and so have continued; but these challenge to be *jure divino*, and so to be above the civil power: these challenge power to call before their presbyteries all persons for all sins directly against the law of God, as proved to be sins by necessary consequence. If you would buy gloves, send for a glover or two, not Glover's-hall; consult with some divines, not send for a body.

3. There must be some laymen in the synod, to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the civil work; just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milk-house to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat should eat up the cream.

4. In the ordinance for the assembly, the lords and commons go under the names of learned, godly, and judicious divines; there is no difference put betwixt them and the ministers in the context.

5. It is not unusual in the assembly to revoke their votes, by reason they make so much haste, but it is that will make them scorned. You never heard of a council revoked an act of its own making; they have been wary in that, to keep up their infallibility; if they did any thing, they took away the whole council, and yet we would be thought infallible as any body. It is not enough to say, the house of commons revoke their votes, for theirs are but civil truths which they by agreement create and uncreate, as they please: but the truths the synod deals in are divine; and when they have voted a thing, if it be then true, it was true before; not true

because they voted it, nor does it cease to be true because they voted otherwise.

6. Subscribing in a synod, or to the articles of a synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it; because, if I am of a synod, it is agreed, either tacitly or expressly. That which the major part determines, the rest are involved in; and therefore I subscribe, though my own private opinion be otherwise; and upon the same ground, I may, without scruple, subscribe to what those have determined, whom I sent, though my private opinion be otherwise; having respect to that which is the ground of all assemblies, the major part carries it.

THANKSGIVING.

At first we gave thanks for every victory as soon as ever it was obtained, but since we have had many now, we can stay a good while. We are just like a child; give him a plum, he makes his leg; give him a second plum, he makes another leg: at last, when his belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do; then his nurse, or somebody else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his duty, "Where is your leg?"

TITHES.

1. Tithes are more paid in kind in England, than in all Italy and France. In France, they have had impropriations a long time; we had none in England till Henry the Eighth.

2. To make an impropriation, there was to be the consent of the incumbent, the patron, and the

king; then it was confirmed by the pope. Without all this the pope could make no impropriation.

3. Or what if the pope gave the tithes to any man, must they therefore be taken away? If the pope gives me a jewel, will you therefore take it away from me?

4. Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedec; what then? It was very well done of him. It does not follow therefore that I must pay tithes, no more than I am bound to imitate any other action of Abraham's.

5. It is ridiculous to say the tithes are God's part, and therefore the clergy must have them: why, so they are if the layman has them. It is as if one of my lady Kent's maids should be sweeping this room, and another of them should come and take away the broom, and tell for a reason why she should part with it, "It is my lady's broom:" as if it were not my lady's broom, which of them soever had it.

6. They consulted in Oxford where they might find the best argument for their tithes, setting aside the *ius divinum*: they were advised to my History of Tithes—a book so much cried down by them formerly; in which I dare boldly say, there are more arguments for them than are extant together any where: upon this, one writ me word, that my History of Tithes was now become like Pelus's *Hasta*, to wound and to heal. I told him, in my answer, I thought I could fit him with a better instance: it was possible it might undergo the same fate that Aristotle, Avicen, and Averroes did in France, some five hundred years ago; which were excommunicated by Stephen, bishop of Paris, (by that very name, excommunicated), because that kind of learn-

ing puzzled and troubled their divinity: but finding themselves at a loss, some forty years after, which is much about the time since I writ my history, they were called in again, and so have continued ever since.

TRADE.

1. There is no prince in Christendom but is directly a tradesman, though in another way than an ordinary tradesman. For the purpose, I have a man; I bid him lay out twenty shillings in such commodities, but I tell him for every shilling he lays out I will have a penny: I trade as well as he. This every prince does in his customs.

2. That which a man is bred up in, he thinks no cheating; as your tradesman thinks not so of his profession, but calls it a mystery: whereas, if you would teach a mercer to make his silks heavier than what he has been used to, he would peradventure think that to be cheating.

3. Every tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his commodity twice as much as it is worth.

TRADITION.

Say what you will against tradition, we know the signification of words by nothing but tradition. You will say the Scripture was written by the Holy Spirit; but do you understand that language it was writ in? No. Then, for example, take these words, *In principio erat verbum*. How do you know those words signify—"In the beginning was the word,"—but by tradition; because somebody has told you so?

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

1. The fathers using to speak rhetorically, brought up transubstantiation ; as if, because it is commonly said, *Amicus est alter idem*, one should go about to prove a man and his friend are all one. That opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic.

2. There is no greater argument, though not used, against transubstantiation, than the apostles, at their first council, forbidding blood and suffocation. Would they forbid blood, and yet enjoin the eating of blood too ?

3. The best way for a pious man, is to address himself to the sacrament with that reverence and devotion, as if Christ were really there present.

TRAITOR.

It is not seasonable to call a man traitor that has an army at his heels. One with an army is a gallant man. My lady Cotton was in the right, when she laughed at the duchess of Richmond for taking such state upon her, when she could command no forces. "She a duchess ! there is in Flanders a duchess indeed ;" meaning the arch-duchess.

TRINITY.

The second person is made of a piece of bread by the Papist, the third person is made of his own frenzy, malice, ignorance, and folly, by the round-head. To all these, the Spirit is intituled. One the baker makes ; the other the cobbler ; and be-

twixt those two, I think the first person is sufficiently abused.

TRUTH.

1. The Aristotelians say, All truth is contained in Aristotle in one place or another. Galileo makes Simplicius say so, but shows the absurdity of that speech, by answering, " All truth is contained in a lesser compass ;" *viz.* in the alphabet. Aristotle is not blamed for mistaking sometimes ; but Aristotelians for maintaining those mistakes. They should acknowledge the good they have from him, and leave him when he is in the wrong. There never breathed that person to whom mankind was more beholden.

2. The way to find out the truth is by others' mistakings : for if I was to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the right-hand, and he was out ; another had gone on the left-hand, and he was out ; this would direct me to keep the middle way, that peradventure would bring me to the place I desired to go.

3. In troubled water, you can scarce see your face, or see it very little, till the water be quiet and stand still : so in troubled times you can see little truth ; when times are quiet and settled, then truth appears.

TRIAL.

1. Trials are by one of these three ways ; by confession, or by demurrer ; that is, confessing the fact, but denying it to be that wherewith a man is

charged : for example, denying it to be treason, if a man be charged with treason ; or by a jury.

2. *Ordallum* was a trial ; and was either by going over nine red hot ploughshares, (as in the case of queen Emma, accused for lying with the bishop of Winchester, over which she being led blindfold, and having passed all her irons, asked when she should come to her trial ;) or it was by taking a red hot coulter in a man's hand, and carrying it so many steps, and then casting it from him : as soon as this was done, the hands or the feet were to be bound up, and certain charms to be said, and a day or two after to be opened ; if the parts were whole, the party was judged to be innocent ; and so on the contrary.

3. The rack is used no where as in England : in other countries it is used in judicature, when there is a *semiplena probatio*, a half proof against a man ; then to see if they can make it full, they rack him if he will not confess : but here in England they take a man and rack him, I do not know why, nor when ; not in time of judicature, but when somebody bids.

4. Some men, before they come to their trial, are cozened to confess upon examination : upon this trick, they are made to believe somebody has confessed before them ; and then they think it a piece of honour to be clear and ingenuous, and that destroys them.

UNIVERSITY.

1. The best argument why Oxford should have precedence of Cambridge is the act of parliament,

by which Oxford is made a body; made what it is; and Cambridge is made what it is; and in the act it takes place. Besides, Oxford has the best monuments to show.

2. It was well said of one, hearing of a history lecture to be founded in the university; "Would to God," says he, "they would direct a lecture of discretion there! this would do more good there a hundred times.

3. He that comes from the university to govern the state, before he is acquainted with the men and manners of the place, does just as if he should come into the presence chamber all dirty, with his boots on, his riding coat, and his head all daubed. They may serve him well enough in the way, but when he comes to court, he must conform to the place.

VOWS.

Suppose a man find by his own inclination he has no mind to marry, may he not then vow chastity? *Ans.* If he does, what a fine thing hath he done? It is as if a man did not love cheese; and then he would vow to God Almighty never to eat cheese. He that vows can mean no more in sense than this; to do his utmost endeavour to keep his vow.

USURY.

1. The Jews were forbidden to take use one of another, but they were not forbidden to take it of other nations: that being so, I see no reason why I may not as well take use for my money, as rent for my house. It is a vain thing

to say, money begets not money ; for that no doubt it does.

2. Would it not look oddly to a stranger, that should come into this land, and hear in our pulpits usury preached against, and yet the law allow it ? Many men use it ; perhaps some churchmen themselves. No bishop nor ecclesiastical judge, that pretends power to punish other faults, dares punish, or at least does punish, any man for doing it.

PIOUS USES.

The ground of the ordinary's taking part of a man's estate, who died without a will, to pious uses, was this : to give it somebody to pray that his soul might be delivered out of purgatory : now the pious uses come into his own pocket. It was well expressed by John o' Powls in the play, who acted the priest : one that was to be hanged, being brought to the ladder, would fain have given something to the poor ; he feels for his purse, which John o' Powls had picked out of his pocket before : missing it, cries out, he had lost his purse. Now he intended to have given something to the poor : John o' Powls bid him be pacified, for the poor had it already.

WAR.

1. Do not undervalue an enemy by whom you have been worsted. When our countrymen came home from fighting with the Saracens, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces, as you still see the sign of the Sara-

ceus's head is, when in truth they were like other men : but this they did to save their own credits.

2. Martial law, in general, means nothing but the martial law of this or that place : with us to be used in *servore belli*, in the face of the enemy, not in time of peace ; there they can take away neither limb nor life : the commanders need not complain for want of it, because our ancestors have done gallant things without it.

3. *Quest.* Whether may subjects take up arms against their prince ? *Answ.* Conceive it thus : here lies a shilling betwixt you and me ; tenpence of the shilling is yours, twopence is mine ; by agreement, I am as much king of my twopence, as you of your tenpence : if you, therefore, go about to take away my twopence, I will defend it : for there you and I are equal, both princes.

4. Or thus : two supreme powers meet ; one says to the other, " Give me your land ; if you will not, I will take it from you." The other, because he thinks himself too weak to resist him, tells him : " Of nine parts I will give you three ; so I may quietly enjoy the rest, and I will become your tributary." Afterwards the prince comes to exact six parts, and leaves but three : the contract then is broken, and they are in parity again.

5. To know what obedience is due to the prince, you must look into the contract betwixt him and his people ; as if you would know what rent is due from the tenant to the landlord, you must look into the lease : when the contract is broken, and there is no third person to judge, then the decision is by arms ; and this is the case between the prince and the subject.

6. *Quest.* What law is there to take up arms against the prince, in case he break his covenant?

Ans. Though there be no written law for it, yet there is custom, which is the best law of the kingdom; for in England they have always done it. There is nothing expressed between the king of England and the king of France, that if either invades the other's territory, the other shall take up arms against him; and yet they do it upon such an occasion.

7. It is all one to be plundered by a troop of horse, or to have a man's goods taken from him by an order from the council table. To him that dies, it is all one whether it be by a penny halter, or a silk garter; yet I confess the silk garter pleases more; and like trouts, we love to be tickled to death.

8. The soldiers say they fight for honour; when the truth is, they have their honour in their pocket; and they mean the same thing that pretend to fight for religion: just as a parson goes to law with his parishioners, he says, for the good of his successors, that the church may not lose its right; when the meaning is, to get the tithes into his own pocket.

9. We govern this war as an unskilful man does a casting-net: if he has not the right trick to east the net off his shoulder, the leads will pull him into the river. I am afraid we shall pull ourselves into destruction.

10. We look after the particulars of a battle, because we live in the very time of war; whereas of battles past, we hear nothing but the number slain. Just as for the death of a man, when he is sick, we talk how he slept this night, and that night; what he eat, and what he drank: but when he is

dead, we only say, he died of a fever, or name his disease ; and there is an end.

11. Boccaline has this passage of soldiers : they came to Apollo to have their profession made the eighth liberal science, which he granted. As soon as it was noised up and down, it came to the butchers, and they desired their profession might be made the ninth ; “ for,” say they, “ the soldiers have this honour for the killing of men : now we kill as well as they ; but we kill beasts for the preserving of men, and why should not we have honour likewise done us ?” Apollo could not answer their reasons, so he reversed his sentence, and made the soldier’s trade a mystery, as the butcher’s is.

WITCHES.

The law against witches does not prove there be any ; but it punishes the malice of those people, that use such means to take away men’s lives : if one should profess that by turning his hat thrice, and crying buz, he could take away a man’s life, though in truth he could do no such thing : yet this were a just law made by the state, that whosoever should turn his hat thrice, and cry buz, with an intention to take away a man’s life, shall be put to death.

WIFE.

1. He that hath a handsome wife, by other men is thought happy : it is a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company ; but the husband is cloyed with her : we are never content with what we have.

2. You shall see a monkey sometimes, that has

een playing up and down the garden, at length leap up to the top of the wall, but his clog hangs a great way below on this side. The bishop's wife is like that monkey's clog: himself is got up very high, takes place of the temporal barons, but his wife comes a great way behind.

3. It is reason, a man that will have a wife should be at the charge of her trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him: he that will keep a monkey, it is fit he should pay for the glasses he breaks.

WISDOM.

1. A wise man should never resolve upon any thing, at least never let the world know his resolution: for if he cannot arrive at that, he is ashamed. How many things did the king resolve in his declaration concerning Scotland, never to do, and yet did them all? A man must do according to accidents and emergencies.

2. Never tell your resolution beforehand: but when the cast is thrown, play it as well as you can to win the game you are at: it is but folly to study how to play size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

3. Wise men say nothing in dangerous times. The lion, you know, called the sheep, to ask her if his breath smelled: she said, Aye; he bit off her head for a fool. He called the wolf, and asked him: he said, No; he tore him in pieces for a flatterer. At last he called the fox, and asked him: truly, he had got a cold, and could not smell! King James was pictured, &c.

WIT.

1. Wit and wisdom differ : wit is upon the sudden turn ; wisdom is in bringing about ends.

2. Nature must be the groundwork of wit and art : otherwise whatever is done will prove but Jack-pudding's work.

3. Wit must grow like fingers : if it be taken from others, it is like plums stuck upon black thorns : there they are awhile, but they come to nothing.

4. He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get money, may be-rich ; so he that lets fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be satirically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from growing rich, and civility from being witty.

5. Women ought not to know their own wit, because they will still be showing it, and so spoil it : like a child that will continually be showing its fine new coat ; till, at length, it all bedaubs it with its pah hands.

6. Fine wits destroy themselves with their own plots, in meddling with great affairs of state : they commonly do as the ape that saw the gunner put bullets in the cannon, and was pleased with it, and he would be doing so too : at last, he puts himself into the piece, and so both ape and bullet were shot away together.

WOMEN.

1. *Let the women have power of their heads, because of the angels.* The reason of the words *because of the angels*, is this : the Greek church held an opinion that the angels fell in love with women :

this fancy St. Paul discreetly catches, and uses it as an argument to persuade them to modesty.

2. The grant of a place is not good by the canon law before a man be dead: upon this ground some mischief might be plotted against him in present possession, by poisoning, or some other way. Upon the same reason, a contract made with a woman during her husband's life was not valid.

3. Men are not troubled to hear a man dispraised; because they know, though he be naught, there is worth in others: but women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spoken against; as if the sex itself were guilty of some unworthiness.

4. Women and princes must both trust somebody; and they are happy or unhappy, according to the desert of those under whose hands they fall: if a man knows how to manage the favour of a lady, her honour is safe, and so is a prince's.

5. An opinion grounded upon that, Gen. vi. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair.*

YEAR.

1. It was the manner of the Jews, if the year did not fall out right, but that it was dirty for the people to come up to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, or that their corn was not ripe for their first fruits, to intercalate a month, and so have, as it were, two Februaries; thrusting up the year still higher, March into April's place, April into May's place, &c.: whereupon it is impossible for us to know when our Saviour was born, or when he died.

2. The year is either the year of the moon, or the year of the sun; there is not above eleven days'

difference : our moveable feasts are according to the year of the moon, else they should be fixed.

3. Though they reckon ten days sooner beyond sea, yet it does not follow their spring is sooner than ours: we keep the same time in natural things; and their ten days sooner, and our ten days later, in those things mean the self same time; just as twelve *sous* in French are tenpence in English.

4. The lengthening of days is not suddenly perceived till they are grown a pretty deal longer; because the sun, though it be in a circle, yet it seems for a while to go in a right line: for take a segment of a great circle especially, and you shall doubt whether it be straight or no: but when that sun is got past that line, then you presently perceive the days are lengthened. Thus it is in the winter and summer solstice, which is indeed the true reason of them.

5. The eclipse of the sun is, when it is new moon; the eclipse of the moon when it is full. They say Dionysius was converted by the eclipse that happened at our Saviour's death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural.

ZEALOTS.

One would wonder Christ should whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and nobody offer to resist him, considering what opinion they had of him: but the reason was, they had a law, that whosoever did profane *sanctitatem Dei aut templi*, the holiness of God or the temple, before ten persons, it was lawful for any of them to kill him, or to do any thing this side killing him; as whipping him,

or the like : and hence it was, that when one struck our Saviour before the judge, where it was not lawful to strike, as it is not with us at this day, he only replies : “ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil ; but if well, why smitest thou me ? ” He says nothing against their smiting him, in case he had been guilty of speaking evil, that is, blasphemy ; and they could have proved it against him. They that put this law in execution were called zealots : but afterwards they committed many villanies.



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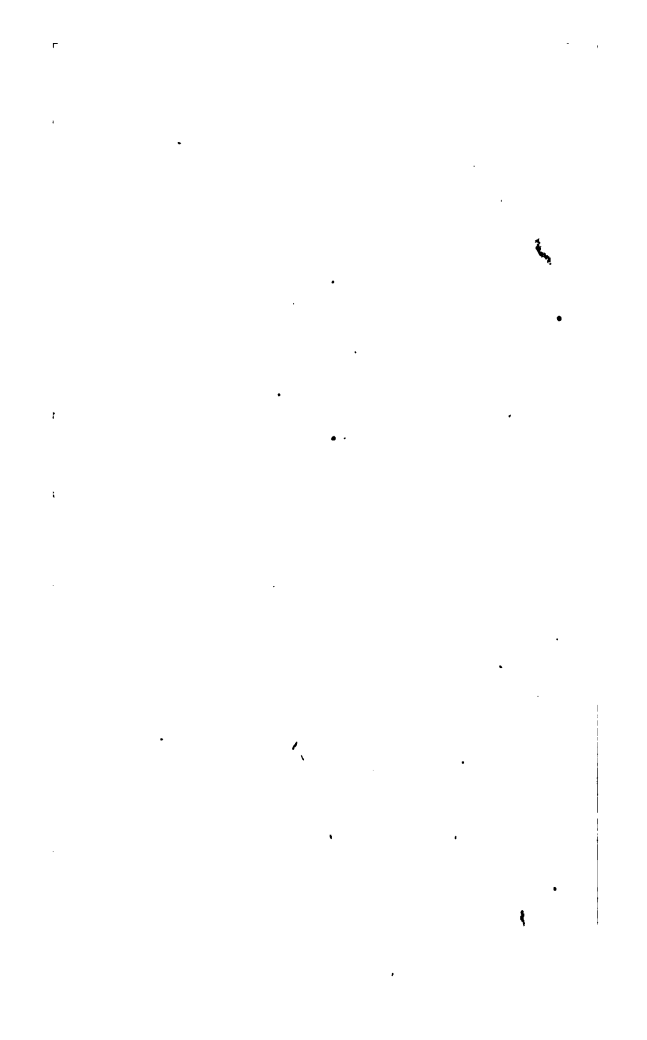
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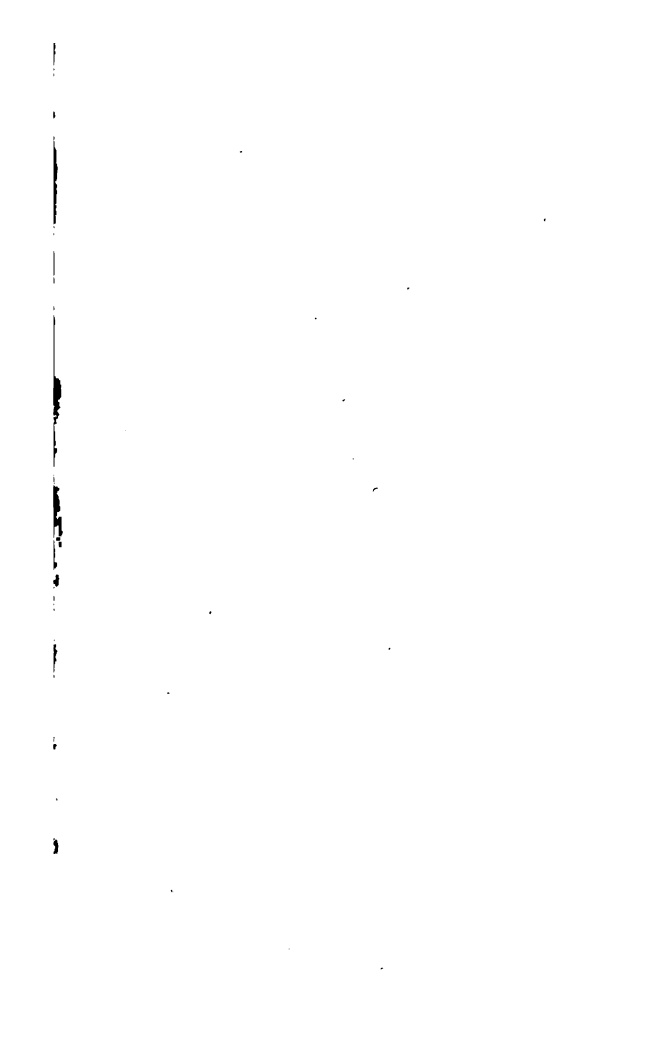
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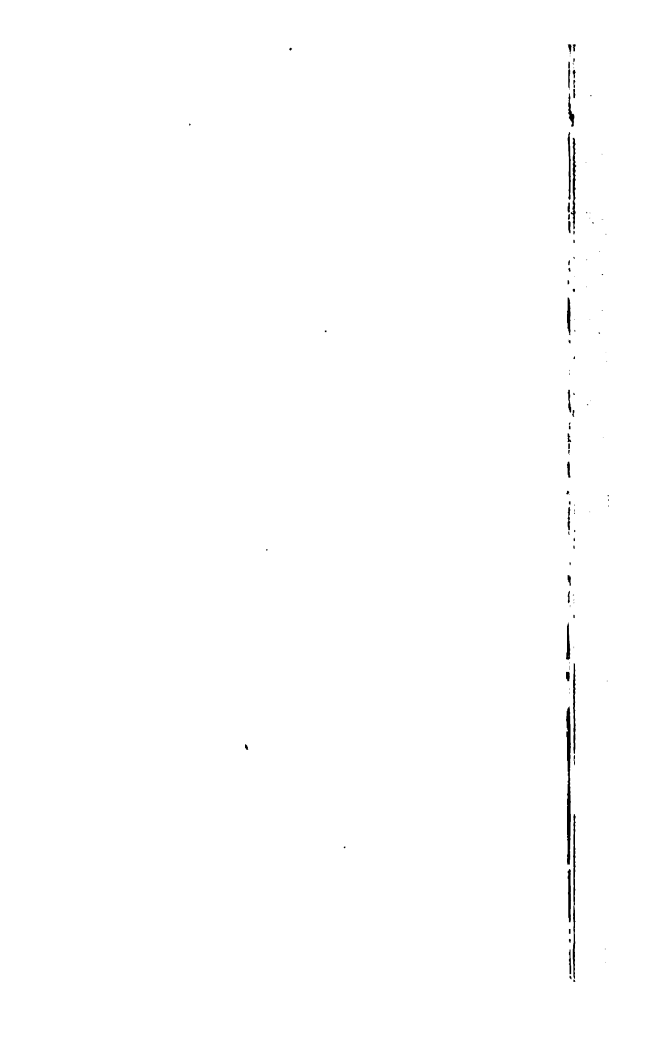
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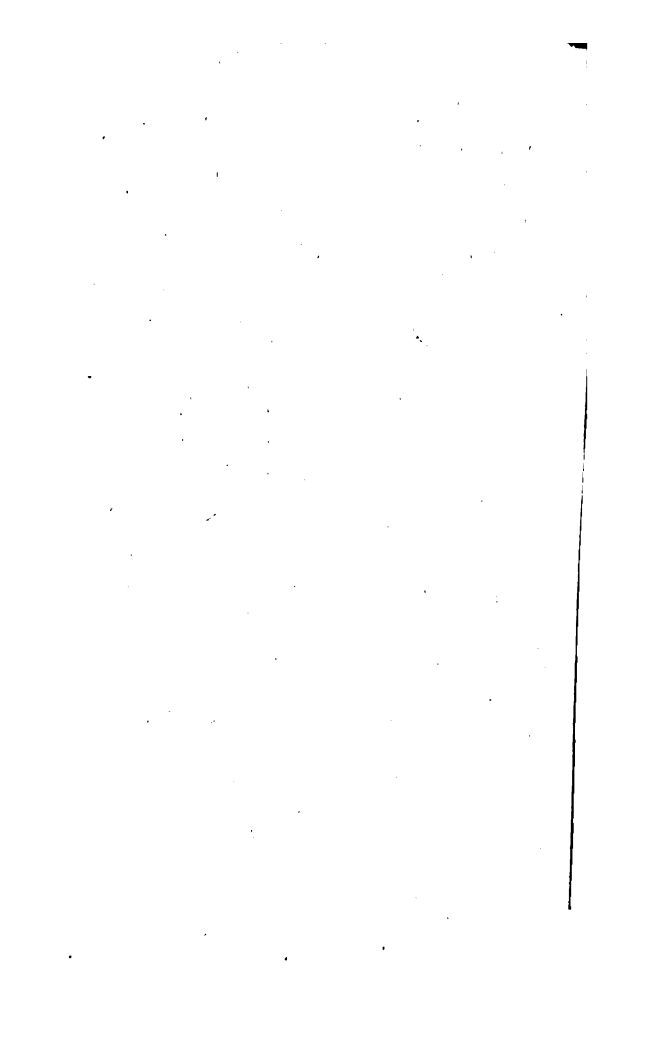






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