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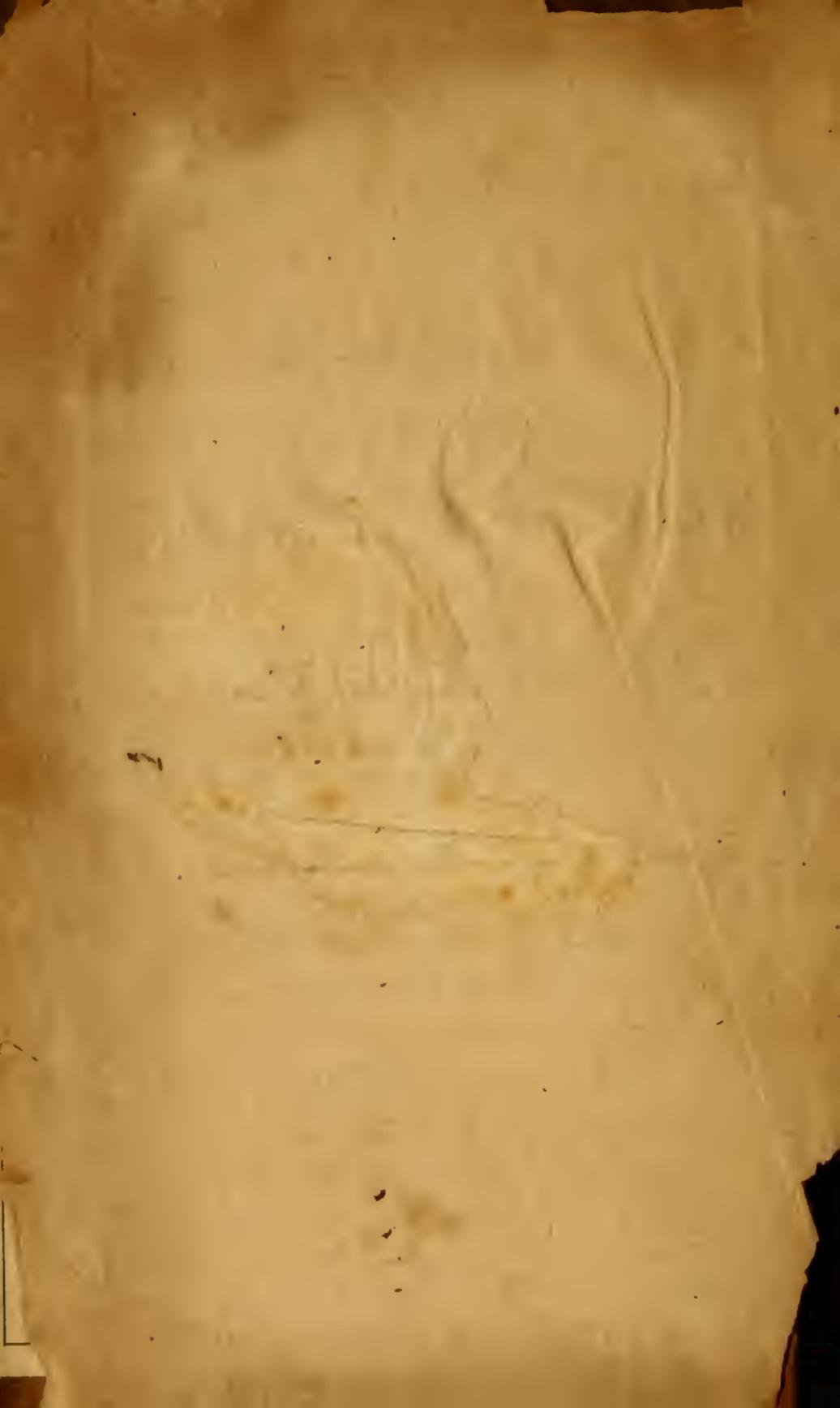
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Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE'S

Moral Essays.



ESSAYS

UPON SEVERAL

Moral Subjects,

V I Z.

The Religious STOIC.

SOLITUDE preferr'd
to Publick Employ-
ment.

Moral GALLANTRY.

The Moral History
of FRUGALITY:
With its Opposite
Vices.

An Essay on REASON.

By Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, K^t.

To which is Prefix'd,
Some Account of His *Life and Writings.*
With an INDEX to the Whole.

L O N D O N :

Printed for D. Brown, R. Sare, J. Churchill,
J. Nicholson, B. Tooke, and G. Strahan.
M D C C X I I I.

37A22d

Handwritten notes, possibly a list or account, with several lines of text that are mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through.

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S O M E
A C C O U N T
O F
Sir George Mackenzie.

I Suppose there is the same Curiosity in Readers, as there always hath been, to know as much as they can of the Person whose Works they peruse; especially if it appears, by what he has left behind him, that he was a very Ingenious, Worthy Man. And therefore, since the Writings of this Excellent Person have been long since made Publick with great Approbation, and nothing of his Life prefix'd to any of them, I shall venture to send abroad with

this New Edition of his Moral Tracts, such an Account of the Author as I find in *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, or have received from some of his Acquaintance, or have gather'd from what he says of himself in the following Book.

Sir *George Mackenzie* was born at *Dundee* in the County of *Angus*, 1636. His Father was *Simon Mackenzie*, Brother to the Earl of *Seaforth*, and his Mother *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Dr. *Andrew Bruce*, Rector of the University of *St. Andrew*. He was such an early Proficient in Learning, that when he was about Ten Years old, he had read his Grammar and the best Classick Authors, so that he was thought fit at that Age to be sent to the University of *Aberdene*. There, and afterwards at *St. Andrews*, he went through the Courses of Logick and Philosophy, under the Tuition of several Eminent Masters; and this he perform'd before

fore he was quite Sixteen. In the next place, he turn'd his Thoughts with great Application, to the Study of the Civil Law; for which Purpose he travell'd into *France*, and settled himself in the University of *Bourges* a close Student for about Three Years. After this he return'd to his Native Country, and became an Advocate in the Courts at *Edenburgh*, being then scarce Twenty Years of Age. In 1661. he was made Choice of, to be an Advocate for pleading the Causes of the Marquess of *Argyle*: His next Promotion was to the Office of a Judge in the Criminal Court, which he discharged with great Justice and Integrity. This raised him so much in the Esteem and Favour of King *Charles II.* that he made him his Lord Advocate, and one of his Privy Council. And notwithstanding the great Trouble and Molestation that was given him by the Fanatick Party, yet he continued in those Places, and stood Steddy,

Faithful and Just in the Opinion of all Loyal and Good Men, to the End of this Reign.

When King *James* the II^d, (the VIIth of that Name in *Scotland*) who came next to the Crown, attempted to take away the Penal Laws, requiring the Compliance of his Judges, Sir *George* still held fast his Integrity, and chose rather to quit his Station than betray his Trust: Upon his Removal, Sir *John Dalrimple* was put into his Place. But it was not long before he was restored, and continued Lord Advocate and Privy Counsellor till King *William* III. made a Revolution in *Scotland*. Upon which Change of Government, and the violent Proceedings of the Kirk Party, he left his own Country, and retired to the Famous University of *Oxford*, in *September*, 1689. and in a Congregation of Regents, *June* 2. 1690. he was admitted to study in the Publick Library, which he much frequented all that Summer.

In

In the Spring following, we find him at Lodgings in St. *James's*-Street, *Westminster*, near the Royal Palace; which was the last Scene of his Life in this World; for in the Beginning of *May* he died there, much lamented of all truly Religious, Loyal, and Learned Men. From thence his Body was carried by Land into *Scotland*; and after it had lain some time in the Abbey-Church of *Halyrood-House* at *Edenburgh*, it was, on the 26th of *June* following, buried with great State and Solemnity, in the *Franciscan* or *Grey-Fryars* Church-yard, in a Vault there made by himself, with a Cupulo of Freestone over it.

His Funeral was attended by all the Council, Nobility, Colleges of Justice, University, Clergy, and Gentry, and such a Concourse of People, as was never seen upon the like Occasion. At the same time was fasten'd to his Coffin a large Inscription in *Latin*; Part of which runs thus-----*Patriæ decus, religionis Vin-*
dex,

*dex, Jusſiticiæ propugnator, juris Regii
 aſſertor ſtrenuus & indefeſſus. Collegii
 Juridici, ſive Jurisprudentiæ ſummam,
 ſive eloquentiam eximiam, ſive in inſtru-
 endâ Jurisconſultorum Bibliothecâ cu-
 ram, & locupletandâ munificentiam ſpe-
 ſtes, ornamentum imprimis illuſtre.
 Comitatis exemplar, eruditorum Mæce-
 nas eruditiffimus, omnibus charus, ſi
 perduellium colluviem excipias. A quo-
 rum violentiâ patriam patriæque patrem
 cum ore tum calamo acerrimè vindicavit,
 virulentiam jure & juſtitiâ temperavit,
 ferociam rationis viribus retudit, ac
 tantum non domuit. Monarchiæ Genius
 tutelaris, famâ, eloquio, morum inte-
 gritate, factis & ſcriptis clarus, Eccle-
 ſiæ, Regi, Reipublicæ, Literis &
 Amicis vixit. Maij die oſtavo, anno
 1691. in Domino obiit deſideratiſſimus.
 i. e. “ The Glory of his Countrey,
 “ the Champion of Religion, the
 “ Patron of Juſtice, the ſtrenuous and
 “ undaunted Aſſertor of the Royal
 “ Prerogative. He was a ſhining
 “ Ornament of the College of Advo-
 “ cates;”*

“ cates, both for his perfect Know-
“ ledge of the Law, and his Eloquent
“ Pleadings ; as also for his great
“ Pains and Munificence bestowed
“ upon the Library there. He was
“ a Person of singular Humanity , a
“ constant Encourager of Learned
“ Men, and had the Love of every
“ Body, except the factious and sedi-
“ tious Sort of People : Whose Rage
“ he opposed with his Tongue and
“ Pen, in Defence of his Prince and
“ Countrey , curbing their violent
“ Spirits with the strict Reins of the
“ Law, and forcing them , for the
“ most part , to contain themselves
“ within the Bounds of Duty and
“ good Order. He was zealously af-
“ fected to Monarchy , entirely de-
“ voted to the Service of his Church,
“ his King, his Countrey , and all
“ his Friends. He lived in great Re-
“ putation for his Eloquence, Since-
“ rity , strict Virtue , and learned
“ Works ; and was much lamented
“ at his Death, which happen'd on
“ the

“ the 8th of *May*, in the Year
“ 1691.

He was a Gentleman of a Pleasant and Useful Conversation ; but a severe Opposer of vicious and loose Principles in whomsoever he found them : He was a great Lover of the Laws and Customs of his Country, regardless of Riches or Popularity, frugal in his Expences, and temperate in his Diet : A Faithful Friend, a Loyal Subject, an Able Statesman, a Constant Advocate for the Clergy and Universities, and a zealous Defender of Piety and Religion in all Companies. His Abilities in his Profession were great, which he never exerted but with the greatest Integrity, being a Person of strict Honour and Justice in all his Actions. His Natural Parts were extraordinary good, which he improved by indefatigable Pains, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the best Writers, Ancient and Modern.

The

The Gayety of his Fancy, and Fertility of his Invention, were corrected by so exact a Judgment, that he is copious upon all his Subjects, and yet very close and pertinent. All his Thoughts are clear and coherent, and his most serious Discourses have such Variety of Curious Remarks and Observations, as render them very pleasant and diverting.

His *Virtuoso* or *Stoic* shews us what solid Fruits his green and tender Years were able to produce: For he was not Five and Twenty Years old when he writ it. It is wonderful to find so young a Person make choice of such grave and weighty Subjects to employ his Thoughts upon; and to treat them with such Variety of Learning and Exactness of Judgment. His Observations upon Divine and Human Things are far beyond what one would imagine him capable of making at that Age. But I was most surprized at the Modesty and Piety of the good Man, when I read that Passage

in his Chapter of the Holy Scriptures, p. 40, 41. "I pity (*says he*) those, who
 " out of an inadvertent (and, as they
 " think, sinless) Humour, jest with
 " these Divine Truths ; like foolish
 " Children, who love rather to sport
 " with their Meat, than eat it.
 " These, tho' they intend not to pro-
 " phane Scripture, yet they vilify
 " it : And we may say of the Bible,
 " as of taking God's Name in our
 " Mouths, which must not only not
 " be done upon Design to blaspheme
 " and defame him, but must not be
 " taken but upon Necessity ; and like
 " the Shew-bread, must be used on-
 " ly when we are in Straights. I
 " have been too guilty of this last
 " Sin my self ; and therefore lest I
 " should make no Atonement, I have
 " rather resolved to appear before the
 " World in the Dust and Sackcloth
 " of this silly Discourse, a Penance
 " really to me very great". This
 certainly is an Instance of Ingenuity,
 Piety, and Modesty, very uncom-
 mon

mon in Young Men of such great Parts and Learning. And let this suffice for a Taste of the Spirit of the Man, which is indeed all of a Piece, Excellent throughout, as the following Essays will abundantly testify.

Antony Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, has given this Catalogue of *Sir George Mackenzie's* Learned Works.

1. *Aretina, a Romance*, 8vo.
2. *Religio Stoici, The Virtuoso or Stoick*, 8vo. Printed 1663. Edenb.
3. *Solitude preferr'd to Publick Employment*. 8vo. Edenb.
4. *Moral Gallantry*. 8vo.
5. *A Moral Paradox, maintaining that it is easier to be Virtuous than Vicious*. 8vo.
6. *Pleadings in some Remarkable Cases before the Supreme Courts of Scotland*. 4to.
7. *Observations upon the 28th Act of the 23d Parliament of King James*
the

the VIth, against Dispositions made in Defraud of Creditors. 8vo. Edenb.

8. *Of the Laws and Customs of Scotland, in Matters Criminal.* 4to. 1678. Edenb.

9. *Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry treated as a Part of the Civil Law of Nations; wherein Reasons are given for its Principles, and Etymologies for its harder Terms.* Fol. 1680. Edenb.

10. *Idea Eloquentiæ Forensis hodiernæ: Unà cum Actione Forensi ex unaquaque juris parte,* 8vo. 1681. Edenb.

11. *Jus Regium: Or the just and solid Foundations of Monarchy in general; and more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland; maintained against Buchanan, Naphthali, Doleman, Milton, &c.* 8vo. 1684. London.

This Book being dedicated and presented by the Author to the University of Oxon, the Members thereof assembled in Convocation, 9 June, 1684.

1684. order'd a Letter of Thanks to be sent to him for the said Book, and his worthy Pains therein, &c.

12. *The Discovery of the Fanatick Plot*, Fol. 1684.

13. *Institutions of the Laws of Scotland*, 8vo. 1684.

14. *Process against Bayly of Jer-viswood*.

15. *A Defense of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland: With a true Account when the Scots were govern'd by Kings in the Isle of Britain*, 8vo. 1685. London.

Written in answer to an Historical Account of Church Government, &c. published by Dr. *William Lloyd* Bishop of *St. Asaph*. Sir *George's* Defense was published in the latter end of *June*, 1685; but before it came out, it was animadverted upon by Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet* (who had before seen the MS. of it) in his Preface to his Book entituled *Origines Britannicæ*, Fol. June. 1685. Lon.

16. *The Antiquity of the Royal*
(a) *Line*

Line of Scotland farther cleared and defended, against the Exceptions lately offer'd by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his Vindication of the Bishop of St. Asaph, 8vo. 1686. Lond.

17. *Observations upon Acts of Parliament, Fol. 1686. Eden.*

18. *Oratio Inauguralis habita Edenburgi Id. Mar. 1689, de structurâ Bibliothecæ purè Juridicæ, & hinc de vario in jure scribendi genere, 8vo. 1690.*

19. *Moral History of Frugality, with its opposite Vices, 8vo. 1691. Lon.*

20. *Imbecillitas humanæ rationis. Also in English, 8vo. 1690. Lon.*

21. *Vindication of the Government of Scotland during the Reign of K. Ch. II. Also the Method of proceeding against Criminals and Fanatical Covenantants, 4to. 1691. Lon.*

22. *Answer to the Scotch Ministers: Being a Vindication of the Proceedings against Argyle. Edinb.*

23. *Defense of the Proceedings of the Privy Council in Scotland.*

24. *Me-*

24. *Memorial about the Bishops to the Prince of Orange, &c.*

He hath also (says *Wood*) left behind him about 14 *MSS.* of his own Composition, which in good Time may see the Light.

Besides his Ingenious Writings, I have seen Two other Remains of this Worthy Gentleman: One, a Son of his, who was Gentleman Commoner of *University-College* in *Oxford* about Eight or Nine Years ago, and had the Character of a very Sober, well Accomplish'd Man: The other, his Picture, which is in the Hands of his intimate Friend the Reverend Dr. *Charlett*, Master of the said College, to whom Sir *George* presented it.

The C O N T E N T S of the
Several Treatises.

THE Religious Stoic : Or a short Discourse on several Moral Subjects. With a Friendly Address to the Fanaticks of all Sorts. Page 1.

A Moral Essay, Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment, and all its Appanages; such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c. Page 89.

Moral Gallantry : A Discourse wherein the Author endeavours to prove, That Point of Honour (abstracting from all other Ties) obliges Men to be Virtuous. And that there is nothing so Mean (or unworthy of a Gentleman) as Vice. To which is added, A Consolation against Calumnies. Page 157.

The Moral History of Frugality : With its opposite Vices, Covetousness, Niggardliness, Prodigality, and Luxury. Page 285.

Reason. An Essay. Page 361.

T H E

Religious Stoic:

Or, A Short

DISCOURSE

O N T H E S E

Several Subjects.

V I Z.

Of Atheism. Superstition. World's Creation.
Eternity, Providence, Theology.

Strictness of Churches. Of the Scriptures.

Of the Moral and Judicial Law.

Of Monsters. Of Man and his Creation.

Of the Immortality of the Soul.

Of Faith and Reason.

Of the Fall of Angels; and what their Sin was.

Of Man's Fall. Of the Stile of *Genesis*.

Why Man fell.

A Refutation of the *Millinaries*, &c.

W I T H

A Friendly Address to the Fanatics,
of all Sects and Sorts.

By Sir *G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E*.

Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven. Act. I. II.

L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year M D C C X I.

The STOIC's Address

Visible Church may be now concluded to be in a very distempered Condition, when its Charity waxeth cold, and its Zeal hot, beyond what is due to either; and those feverish Fits of unnatural Zeal, wherewith the Church is troubled in its old and cold Age, betokens too much that it draws near its last Period.

The Inconsiderableness likewise of our Differences, and Inconsiderateness wherewith they are pursued, induces me to believe, that the Zeal now A-la-mode, is not that Holy Fire which is kindled by a Coal from the Altar; but is that Ignis fatuus, or Wild-fire, which is but a Meteor piec'd up of malignant Vapours, and is observed to frequent Church-yards oftner than other Places.

I am none of those who acknowledge no Temples, besides those of their own Heads. And I am of Opinion, that such as think that they have a Church within their own Breasts, should likewise believe their Heads are Steeples, and so should provide them with Bells. I believe that there is a Church militant, which, like the Ark, must lodge in its Bowels all such as are to be saved from the Flood of Condemnation: But, to chalk out its bordering Lines, is beyond the Geography of my Religion. He was infallible who compared God's Spirit to the Wind that bloweth where it listeth; we hear the Sound of it, but know not whence it comes, or whither it goeth. And the Name graven upon the white Stone, none knows but he who hath it. Eli concluded Hannah to be drunk, when she was pouring out her Soul before her Maker: And Elias believed, that the Church, in his Days, was stinted to his own Person; and yet God told him, that there were 7000 in Israel, who had not bowed their Knees to Baal: Why then should any private Christian determine magisterially, that wherein the greatest of Prophets erred?

to the FANATICS.

The Reed wherewith the Temple was to be measur'd, Rev. II. 2. was only entrusted to an Angel; and yet he had not in Commission to measure the Court that was without, because it was given to the Gentiles. And albeit, Rev. 7. the Number of the Jews who were saved is determined; yet the Number of Gentiles is left indefinite, and said to be numberless.

There is nothing more ordinary, than for each Nation to confine the Church within themselves. And in that Nation again, one Corner will have themselves the Sanctum Sanctorum of that only Temple; albeit our Saviour in his Gospel assures us, that Men shall come from all Corners of the World, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And John in his Revelation tells us, that Multitudes of all Nations, Kindreds and Families, were seen following the Lamb. Upon this same Block do those likewise stumble, who put the Bolt of their Uncharitableness upon the Gates of Heaven, to debar whole Professions, such as Lawyers and Physicians, from entering in thereat; notwithstanding that the above-cited Place tells us, that there were only 1200 of the Tribe of Levi, the Priest-chosen; and the like Number was prick'd in the Tribe of Judah, the Lawgiver. Aaron the Priest did mold the Golden Calf, and not Moses the Judge; and Korah and Dathan were Levites, and yet mutiny'd against their Magistrates.

I say not this to disparage that Holy Function; for none shall with Aaron's Rod to flourish more than my self; and ordinarily, those who love not to touch the Lord's Anointed, will likewise be sure to do his Prophets no harm: But, I say it to take off an Aspersion which hath stain'd too long, and too unjustly, those of my own Profession. Is not the Church our common Mother? Albeit, I confess, she is likewise their Nurse, in a more particular way; and since there is Heaven-

The STOIC's Address

ly Manna enough to aliment us all, why should Christians deny to admit their Brethren to an equal Partage?

It grieves me sore to see my Mother, the Church, tortur'd, like Rebecca, by carrying struggling Twins in her pained Bowels. And seeing all Christians are but Pilgrims here, I admire that those Pilgrims should leave off to journey, and stand skirmishing and fighting with all such as will not travel their Road. And albeit we acknowledge, that the Spirit of God takes pains, and is sufficient for leading all Men in the way wherein they should walk; yet we must compel them, as if either He needcd our help, or we resolv'd to share with him the Glory of their Conversion. Thus God (who loves us all infinitely better than any one of us doth another) leaves us, upon our own hazard, a freedom in our choice, albeit we poor Miscreants compel one another, denying to our Fellow-creatures that Freedom which he allows all the Creation. I wish we would consider how each Man eats, drinks, cares for his Family, and performs all common Duties, rationally enough without any Compulsion; and yet, in the Affairs of Religion, wherein doubtless Man is led by a far more infallible Assistance, there are many Slips committed daily and grossly, notwithstanding all Pains taken and Force used by one Man towards another. Thus it fares with us as with Patients, whom when the Physician stints to a narrow Dyet, then they loath even that Food, which their unreined Appetite would never have rejected. And this makes me apt to believe, that if Laws and Law-givers did not make Heretics vain, by taking too much notice of their Extravagancies, the World should be no more troubled with these, than they are with the Chimera's of Alchymists and Philosophers. And it fares with them, as with Tops, which, how long they are scourged, keep foot and run pleasantly, but fall how soon they are neglected and left to themselves.

to the FANATICS.

In order to which it was wittily observed by our great King James the Sixth, that the Puritans of his Age strove with him, and yet ceded at first, in a Difference between them and the Shoemakers of Edinburg: For, not only pleases it their Humour to contend where they gain Honour and can lose none, but likewise, by contesting with Monarchs, they magnify to the People their pious Courage: assuring the World, that such Attempts require a particular Assistance from Heaven; and when their jangling hath extorted some Concessions from the Magistrate, (as ordinarily it doth) then they press that Success as an infallible Mark of the Jure-divinship of their Quarrel. Albeit, I confess, that when these not only recede from the Canonized Creed of the Church, but likewise incroach upon the Laws of the State, then, as of all others, they are the most dangerous, so, of all others, they should be most severely punished.

Opinion, kept within its proper Bounds, is a pure Act of the Mind: And so it would appear, that to punish the Body for that which is a Guilt of the Soul, is as unjust as to punish one Relation for another. And this blood-thirsty Zeal, which hath reigned in our Age, supposes our most merciful God to be of the same Temper with those Pagan Deities, who desired to have their Altars gored with Blood; and being Devils themselves, delighted in the Destruction of Men: Whereas the Almighty, who delights not in the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he should repent and live, hath left no Warrant upon holy Record, for persecuting such as dissent from us: But even then when He commands that the Prophets, who tempt other to Idolatry, should be slain; yet speaks He nothing of punishing of those who are seduced by them. And why should we shew so much Violence in those Things, whereof we can shew no certain Evidence? as ordinarily we cannot in circumfundamental Debates. Are we not ready to condemn to day, as Fanatic, what yesterday was judged Jure-divino? And do not even those who persecuted others for their O-

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pinions,

The STOIC's Address

pinions, admire why they should be, upon that score, Persecuted themselves? So that (Victory depending upon Event) we legitimate the Persecutions to be used by others against our selves, by the Persecutious used by our selves against others. Our Saviour forbids us to pluck up the Tares, lest the Wheat be pulled up with it; and how can the most pious Persecutors know, that the Saints are not destroyed with the Sinners?

It is remarkable, that our Saviour disarmed zealous Peter, even when he was serving Him in Person, in his greatest Straits, and against the most profligate of his Enemies, the Jews: And that to prevent the irregular Zeal, even of the first and best of Christians, the Blessed Apostles, their divine Master thought it fit to arm them, not with Swords, but with Scrips; and to root out of their Hearts all Thoughts of Violence, did oft inculcate to them, that his Kingdom was not of this World; convincing them by an excellent Argument, That he had no need of Arms, or Armies; for else he could have commanded Thousands of Angels. Did ever God command the Jews to war against any neighbouring Nation because they were Pagans, (a Quarrel which would have lasted till all the World had been conquered.) Or, did our Saviour leave in Legacy to his Servants, that they should force others to turn Profelytes? which doubtless he had done, if he had resolved to allow such a rude mean of Conversion. All which makes me admire, why, in our late Troubles, Men really pious, and naturally sober, could have been so transported, as to destroy whom they could not convince; and to persuade those who were convinced, that Religion obliged them to destroy others.

My Heart bleeds when I consider how Scaffolds were died with Christian Blood, and the Fields covered with the Carcasses of murdered Christians; and it's probable, that there were more damned by unprepared Deaths, in the Fields, than were saved by peeping Sermons in Inflammatory Churches: And in this I admire the Clemency of our Royal Master, who, albeit his Cause was more
just

to the FANATICS.

just than theirs, albeit he might have convinced them by obtruding to them their own Practices; yet, hath rather chosen to command with his Scepter than his Sword. But, if the Glory of God were the Mark at which these do level, why bestow they not their Zeal, rather in converting such as scarce know or acknowledge that there is a God? And why are they more enraged against those who agree with them in most things, than these who dissent from them in all? Take not Christians more pains to refute one another, than to convince Gentiles? And stand not some Episcopists and Presbyterians at greater Distance, than either do with Turks and Pagans? And to evidence, that rather Humour than Piety occasions our Difference, we may easily perceive, that the meaner the Subject is, the Heat is always the greater.

If I had ever known so much as one whose Faith had been the Trophy of a Debate, I should allow of Debates in Matters of Religion: But seeing Men cannot be convinced by Miracles, it were ridiculous to press Conversion by Arguments. All the Divines in Europe could not press the best founded of their controverted and polemic Truths, with so much Scripture, or so many Miracles as our blessed Saviour did his own Divinity (which is the Foundation of all Truths:) And yet the Jews, and almost all the World besides, slighted this infallible Doctrine. And to evidence that there is a Season of Grace, independent from Arguments, did not many Thousands turn Profelytes at Peter's Sermon, whom all our Saviour's Homilies and Miracles could not persuade? If one should say, that the Testimony of a few Fishermen should not be believed in a matter of so great Consequence, as is the Salvation of the whole World; especially when they did depone as Witnesses, in a matter wherein both their Honour and Livelihood was concerned; might not this stagger some mean Christians? And yet I believe these Truths so much the more, because such as these were its first Asserters; for, certainly it is one
of

The STOIC's Address

of the greatest of Miracles, that so few, and so illiterate Persons were able to convince the whole World. Thus we see, that one may account that a Miracle, which another looks upon as a Folly; and yet none but God's Spirit can decide the Controversy. Matters of Religion and Faith, resembling some curious Pictures, and Optick Prisms, which seem to change Shapes and Colours, according to the several Stances from which the Aspicient views them.

The Balance of our Judgments hath catched such a Bruise by Adam's Fall, that scarce can we, by them, know the weight of any Argument. But, which is worse, there is as great a defect in our partial weighing as in the Scales themselves: For, when we take either the pro or con of any Controversy into our Patronage, we throw always in Arguments into that Scale wherein our own Opinion lies; without ever taking leisure to conclude what may be alledged for the antipode Proposition: And then, when we receive an Answer, our Invention is busied, not in pondering how much Conviction it hath in it, but by what slight it may be answered; and thus either Passion, Interest or frequent Meditation, are still the Weights which cast the Balance.

This fiery Zeal hath likewise made another Pimple flash out in the Face of the Fanatick Church, and that is, a Conceit that the Saints have the only Right to all God's Creatures, the Wicked being only Usurpers, and not Masters of them: But I have heard this Opinion (so beastly is it) confuted by Balaam's Ass; who could tell its Master, Am not I thine own Ass? When Aaron and the People did Covenant without Moses, then every Man did bring his Ear-rings to make up the Golden Calf. And we have lived in an Age, wherein we have seen our Countrymen, like the Chaldeans, take the Furniture both of the Temple, and of the King's House, and carry them away to their Babylon of Confusions; and in an Age, wherein sober
Men

to the FANATICS.

Men were forced to lend Money, to buy for their own Arms the heavy Shackles of Slavery;

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

Religion doubtless aims at Two great Designs; one is like the first Table, to persuade us to adore God Almighty; another is to persuade us, like to the Second Table, to love our Neighbour, and to be a Mean to settle all these Jealousies, and compesce all these Animosities which Interest might occasion: And this appears by the Doxology jubiled by the Angels at our Saviour's Birth; Glory to God, and Peace and Good-will towards Men. And therefore, as every private Christian should be tolerated by his Fellow-Subjects, to worship God inwardly according to his Conscience; so all should conspire in that Exterior Uniformity of Worship, which the Laws of his Country enjoin. The first Remark which God made of us after the Creation, was, that it was not fit for man to be alone; there was only one Ark amongst the Jews by God's own Appointment. And seeing the Gospel terms the Church Christ's Spouse, it were absurd to think that He will divorce from her upon every Error or Escape; especially seeing his blessed Mouth hath told us, that under the Gospel it is not lawful to divorce upon all Occasions; and if He will not for these deny her to be His Spouse, much less should we deny her to be our Mother. May not one, who is convinced in his Judgment that Monarchy is the best of Governments, live happily in Venice or Holland? And that Traveller were absurd, who would rather squabble with those amongst whom he sojourns, than observe those Rites and Solemnities which are required by the Laws of the Places where he lives? What is once statuted by a Law, we all consent to, in chusing Commissioners to Represent us in these Parliaments where the Laws are made; and so if they ordain us to be decimated, or to leave the Nation

if

The STOIC's Address, &c.

if we conform not; we cannot say, when that Law is put to Execution, that we are oppress'd; no more than we could complain, if one did remove us legally from those Lands which he purchased from our Trustee, whom we had empower'd to sell it.

As David said to Saul, 1 Sam. 26. 20. Why went the King out to catch a Flea? So may I say to our great Divines, Why contravert they about Shadows? Is it fit that Christians, who find it too great a Task to govern their private Souls, should be so much concerned how the Church is governed by others? Wherefore, seeing many have been saved who were most inexpert in these Questions; and that foolish Zeal, Passion, and too much Curiosity therein, hath damned many; I may conclude, that to pry into these, is neither necessary, because of the first, nor expedient, because of the last.

Since Discretion open'd my Eyes, I have always judg'd it necessary for a Christian to look oftner to his Practice of Piety; than to Confession of Faith; and to fear more the Crookedness of his Will, than the Blindness of his Judgment; delighting more to walk on from Grace to Grace, working out the work of his own Salvation with fear and trembling; than to stand still with the Galileans, curiously gazing up to Heaven. True Religion and undefiled, is to visit the widow and the fatherless; and the Ditty drawn up against the damned Spirits shall be, That when our Saviour's poor ones were hungry, they did not feed them; when they were naked, they did not cloath them; without mentioning any thing of their Unbelief in Matters of Controversy, or Government. And therefore, I hope, that these to whom I address my self in this Discourse, will rather believe me to be their Friend, because of their Piety, than their Enemy, because of their Errors.

T H E

Virtuoso or Stoic.

C H A P. I.

Of Atheism.

AL B E I T Man be but a Statue of Dust kneaded with Tears, moved by the hid Engines of his restless Passions; a Clod of Earth, which the shortest Fever can burn to Ashes, and the least Shower of Rheums wash away to nothing ; yet makes he as much Noise in the World, as if both the Globes (those glorious Twins) had been unwombed from that formless *Chaos*, by the Midwifry of his Wit; he speaks Thunder, looks Lightnings, breathes Storms, and, by the Eloquence of his own Vanity, persuades himself that his Commands are able to unhinge the Poles. From which boundless Pride, I confidently conclude, that if a natural Instinct, or as the Stoics term it, *προς του θεου*, had not irresistibly bowed his Faith to assent to a Deity, he had never, neither upon Design, nor in compliance to Custom (as Atheists alledge) suffer'd to creep into his Creed, that there was one greater than himself, who could rein his Affections, and bound their Affects, according to the Dictates of his irresistible Will.

And

And albeit Regiments of Arguments, levyed both from the stately Fabrick of Heavens arched Pend, and from the inimitable Embroidery of Earth's flowry Boul, be requisite for conquering the Infidelity of others, and for rendering them Tributaries to that All-forming Essence: Yet, doth my Faith render up the Arms of its depraved Reason, and turn Profelyte to this divine Truth, upon the sole sight of one of these dying Atheists; who, upon any surprizal, do, with Amazement, throw up their Eyes to Heaven, as if they sent their Looks in Embassage to beg Assistance from thence; and cry, *God save me*, as if these beastly Souls, when attacked unexpectedly, knew whence their Health were to be expected: Like to other sick Brutes, who when assaulted by Sickness, are, by the Hand of that same Storge and Instinct, led to some Herb or Flower, which is an Apothecary's Shop appointed by Nature for them.

Neither think I those Arguments which are twisted together of Three Propositions so strong as these Instincts are; where Truth, like the Sun, seems to dart home its Light in one unperceivable Act; whereas in these, purblind Nature may be mistaken, not only judging of the Truth of either of the Three Parts, but likewise of their Connexion and Alliance. I know that that Miscreant, who began his Hell upon Earth, by being burnt at *Tholouse* for Theorick Atheism, did, upon his first approach to the Fire, cry, *O God*: Whereupon, being tax'd by the assisting Jesuit, answered, that these and such like Expressions were the Offspring of Custom: But poor Soul he might have considered, that seeing he had crept from his Cradle into that Error, and had run his Glass to its last Sand, in propagating that hellish Conceit; that therefore this Expression was rather

ther a Confession than an Escape ; rather a Product of a rational Soul, than of depraved Custom ; for as it was in it self a divine Truth, so it was in him contrary to a settled Habit.

There is another Cabal of Atheists, who think that this Belief was at first but the quaint *Leger-demain* of some strongly-pated Statesman ; who to over-awe the Capriciousness of a giddy Multitude, did forge this Opinion of a Rewarder of all Human Actions : And to enforce this, do instance *Numa Pompilius*, and *Mahomet*, whose palpable Cheats grew up in their Successors into Religions ; and whose Inventions were received with as much Bigotry, by the wisest of Men, as is that Deity which is now the Object of our Adorations. Wherefore (say they) seeing the Rational Soul hath failed so oft, and so absurdly in its Discoveries, how, or why should we submit our selves slavishly to its Determinations ? For that which doth at some times err, can never at any time be concluded infallible.

To these I answer, that albeit, as to the particular way of Worship, the World is oft-times deluded : And albeit, even as to their Apprehensions of this incomprehensible Essence, Multitudes be sometimes misled, yet these staggering Fancies fix this great Truth, *That there is a Supreme, who must be Adored* : For if this innate Instinct did not co-operate with these Impositions, in gaining an Assent to their fictitious Religions and Hierarchies, it were impossible for any Human Authority to establish Principles so remote from Reason, and to subjugate by these, even the mildest Tempers. But I take the Root from which these Errors do spring, to be, that the Twilight of darken'd Reason glimpsing to Man that *impressa* of the Divine Image, which though much decayed, yet rests still upon his Soul ; and not being able,
be-

because of the Faintness of his Light, and the decay of that Divine *impressa*, to discern exactly what that Deity is, with whose Image it is signetted, believes implicitly, with a profound Respect, any who hath the Confidence to obtrude any Knowledge of it upon them: Concluding in the Conclave of their own Thoughts, that none durst contemn so far that omnipotent Thunder-darter, as to vend their own Fancies for sacred Oracles. And albeit these hoodwinked Nations did erect a *παιδεον* in their own Hearts, wherein all these Vice-gods were worshipped, yet were all these but Representations of the true God. For his Omnipotency and Power was adored in their *Mars*; his Omniscience in their *Apollo*, &c. And it is very probable that the Heathens admired so each Attribute of God Almighty, that they thought each deserved distinct Altars; so that their Errors had their rise from rather too much than too little Respect; and that as the same Ocean receives several Names from the several Shores it washes; so, according to the several Operations of the most High, did these deluded Pagans establish several Deities. But that all these did ultimately terminate in one, is clear from the Inscription of that Athenian Altar, *To the Unknown God*; from the designation of *συμβουσι*, from their common Feasts or *δεοξενια*; from the adjunct of *Delphicus* given to *Apollo*, which in *Greek* signifies *unus*; as *Macrobius* observes: From their Altars erected, *Diisque Deabusque omnibus*; and from the general Invocation of all the Deities jointly subjoined to all their particular Sacrifices. So that the great and all-comprehending *Idea*, wherein he is represented, as in one big Mirror to us, was by them broke in pieces; and in each of these Pieces taken alone did they see a Deity, though much abridged; whereas all these Pieces, when
 set

set together, did represent but one, and each piece did then shew but a part. But to evidence that our Belief of a Deity is not a State and Traditional Imposture, I would willingly know, if ever the skilfullest of Satan's Emissaries was able to induce the World to believe that there was no God; which (doubtless) might have at some occasions contributed much to some men's politick Designs, and which that Rebel would have attempted, if either God had not restrained him, or himself had not known it impressable. And it is most remarkable, that the first Promoters of that Divine Doctrine were Persons, who, both by Precept and Practice, decried Ambition, and declined State-Employments; and so it were absurd to think that they invented these, in Subordination to State-Projects.

There is also much Force in that Argument, wherein, from the Nature of Prophecy, is concluded the *Being* of a God: For to foresee, is doubtless a way of seeing far above the reach of Human Nature; Man not being able to conclude but that, What is possible upon both Parts, may come to pass upon either of its Parts. And hence it was, that the Heathens themselves termed this Prediction *Divination*; as if it could not be but Divine. As also, if there were not a God, but that this were a Fiction, it would follow, that Error and Delusion (such as this *ex hypothesi*) were able, and actually did, of all other things, frame a Man's Soul most to Virtue: and that the Best of Men (such as the Adorers of a Deity) were both the greatest Cheats and Blockheads. All which are Absurdities to be hiss'd at by all who are Masters of the meanest portion of Human Reason.

There lurketh much curious Contemplation in pondering, how that albeit the Parents of all

Heathenish Religions, have been incomparably the chiefest Wits in their times; for else they could not have impress'd the Spirits of their Disciples with such abstract Principles: Yet all their Models seem repugnant to Common Reason; and they have chose to teach Principles which seem ridiculous.

Thus the Fictions related by the Poets of their Gods, the Rites used by the *Romans*, and the Fopperies of the *Alcoran*, are Absurdities unworthy of a Rational Belief; if Man were not acted by an Innate Principle, to place the Mysteries of Religion above his Reason.

By which we see, that the Imputation cast upon the Scriptures of their Contrariety to Reason, chocks likewise the Principles of all Nations: And certainly, if there were nothing revealed to us in Religion, but what the short Line of our Reason might fathom, the Omnipotency of God, and the Weakness of our own Reason, should remain still unknown: and seeing our Reason is only suitable to our Nature; certainly if that Infinite Essence and its Mysteries, might be comprehended by that same Reason which measureth things Finite, we might conclude God to be Finite likewise: And is it not Impudence in us who know not the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, nor the Reason why the *Adamant* draweth the Iron, to repine because we cannot comprehend the Essence of God Almighty? And then vainly to conclude, that because we cannot grasp within the short Arms of our Understanding, the vast Bulk of the Deity, that there is no Deity? A Conclusion as absurd, as if one should say, that when the nimble Wings of an Arrow transport it above our sight, it did leave off to be, when it left off to be perceived. And I am of opinion, that Mystriousness suits rarely well with Divine Truths;

Truths ; the finest Things using always to be best wrapt up. Thus if we listen to our hid Inclinations, we will find a pleasing Veneration in reserved Silence ; and our Curiosity will swiftly follow, what by its Retiredness fleeth from us : Silent Groves, whose Bush-top Trees lay their heads together, as in a Conspiracy, to resist the Sun's Entry, and powder its Light with Sables, creates a Veneration in us. And as the Heathens did chuse Groves, so did the Primitive Christians light their Devotions with Torches and Candles ; intimating thereby, that umbrag'd Silence was an excellent Shrine for sincere Devotions : And in this sense, it may be, the Word of God is said to be a Lanthorn to our Steps ; and the seven Churches are compared to seven Candlesticks. Did not our Saviour teach his Disciples in Parables ? And was not the Ark veiled from the Eyes of the People ? The Pagans dispensed their Divinity in Hieroglyphicks ; and amongst human Writers, the most Mysterious carry still the Laurels : And why should we vainly wish to comprehend the Nature of the Deity, seeing *Moses*, God's Intimate, and Minion, could not have that allowance ? And God himself, when for our necessary instruction He would discover something of Himself to us, is forced *per ἀναγκασιότητα* (as Divines speak) to discover Himself in a Stile borrowed from human Frailty, and to express His infinite Affections by our disordered Passions.

* I believe that *Socrates*, Nature's greatest Disciple, and the Deity's *Protomartyr*, was a Profelyte of the same Faith which we profess, and had his large Soul illuminated by that Sun of Righteousness, whose refulgent Rays are now the bright Torches of the Christian Church. Neither is my belief in this staggered by the Silence of his co-tempory Writers, as to this particular ; Seeing

these, not being of the same Persuasion with him, but being convinced of his Moral Worth, did describe his Opinions suitably to their own apprehension. Thus did those Pagan Historians admire the great Saviour of Mankind, only for His Moral Accomplishments, without reaching these Divine Principles, by which He was acted. The *Stoics* likewise were, in all probability, a Tribe of *John Baptist's*; and God having resolved to purge the Universe of its Original Unrighteousness, by that blessed *Manna* which came down from Heaven to give life to the World, did, by their Doctrine of Abstemiousness, as by a spare Dyet, prepare its Body for receiving that divine Dose. And certainly, if Men had disbanded that execrable Troop of Lusts, against which these preached, and had listened (as the *Stoic's* Book of Discipline enjoined) to their own private Consciences, and had, by Retiredness, abstracted themselves from the reach of Temptations, it had facilitated much their Conversion: For if the young Lawyer, who came to consult Christ how to draw up his Security of Heaven, and of his Portion there, had believed their Oracle, which decry'd Riches as the unnecessary Baggage of Man's Life, and the Mud which clogg'd the Wings of the Soul's Contemplation, and kept it from soaring its Natural Pitch, he had never refused our Saviour's Yoke, because he was commanded to sell all, and to give it to the Poor. Thus likewise, if the Rich Glutton had dieted himself according to the scant Prescript of their allowance, his scorched Tongue had not stood in need of a drop of Water to allay its Thirst. Neither had *Nicodemus* needed to have mantled himself in the darkness of the Night, when he came to our Saviour, out of fear lest he should have been discovered; seeing their Doctrine might have taught him,

him, that *Fear* was a Passion unworthy to be lodged in the Soul of Man : And that there is nothing here, which a Man either should, or needeth to fear.

But albeit neither *Instinct* nor *Faith*, were able to convince us infallibly of this Truth ; yet is it both more satisfying, and more safe to embrace this Opinion, than its contrary. More satisfying, because Man's *summum bonum* here, being lodged in the Tranquility of his Spirit ; that which can best plain and smooth the rugged and uneven Face of his frequent and inevitable Misfortunes, must be doubtless the most careffable of Opinions : Wherefore, seeing nothing can strengthen so much Man's Frailty, nothing check so soon his Despair, nothing feed so much his Hope, nor animate so much his Courage, as to believe that there is a God, who beareth the heaviest End of all our Crosses upon the Shoulders of his *Love* ; who is able to turn, or arrest the giddy Wheel of Fortune by the strong Hand of his Omnipotency ; and who twisteth Lawrels of unimaginable Joys for the Heads of those who fight under his Banners. If a Man leaned not his weary Soul upon this Divine Rest, he were not only an Enemy to Nature, but even to his own Happiness. What Rocks of Danger could Men escape, if blind Fortune did sit at the Helm. And if vertuous Persons complain, as Affairs are presently stated, that their Merits are not weighed with indifferency enough in the Scales of Justice ; what might be expected, if Hazard got the Balance to manage ? And those who leave their Native Countries, when they perceive that the Law beginneth to render its Oracles in an unconstant Stile, and with a trembling Voice, behoved to leave the World, if this Anarchy were by Atheism established

blished? For as a Wise *Stoic* well observed, *ἔκ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κίω θεῶν, καὶ κίω προνοίας.* It were impossible to live in a World void of God, and void of Providence.

It is likewise most safe; for if there be a Deity, doubtless these obdured Atheists, whose obstinacy hath conjured their Consciences to a constrain'd Silence, and bribed these infallible Witnesses, to depone what suited best with their wild Resolutions, or rather neglected resolutely their sincere Depositions: Then certainly, the just Flames of that God's Indignation, whom they have disclaimed, will heat for them a Furnace in Hell, beyond what the other damned Spirits shall meet with in their Torture: Whereas albeit there be no Tribunal, from which such a Thunderbolt Sentence may be darted, nor no supreme Judge by whom our Actions shall be canvas'd; then those who have paid their Adorations at his Altars, shall be in no danger. Wherefore, seeing it should be the task of a *Virtuoso*, to turn out all such Thoughts as may raise a Mutiny in his Breast; it were a foolish Toy in him to entertain Atheism, which is a Nursery of Disquietness; for whose Breast could enjoy a Calm, whilst a Concernment of so much Weight as his Eternal Portion, did hinge from the weak Thread of a mere *may-be*, and of such a *may-be* as marches so near with a *will-not-be*?

But if ye would know, what disquieting Vapours Atheism sends up to the Brain, when it is once drunk in: Go to the Horror-creating Beds of a dying Atheist, whose roaring Voice might awake the most lethargy Conscience that ever the Devil lull'd asleep: There ye shall know by the Urinal of his Eyes, and the Water standing therein, what Convulsion-Fits his Soul suffers; and shall learn, from his own Mouth, how grievously his

his diseas'd Soul is stretch'd upon the rack of Despair : Then it is that the voluminous Registers of his Conscience, which did lie formerly clapp'd in some unsearch'd Corner of his Memory, are laid open before him ; and the Devil, who hitherto gave him the lessening end of the Prospect, to survey his Sins in, turns now its magnifying end to this fearful Eye. It should be then the grand Design of a Philosopher, to order his own Breast aright, before he go abroad to view the Works of the Creation ; lest if he leaves its Door unbolted, the Devil steal from him his richest Jewel, whilst he sweats to enrich his Contemplation with what is of far less Consequence.

C H A P. II.

Of Superstition.

IT is not wild Fancy to think, that *Atheism* hath been the product of *Superstition* : For certainly, many who were by humour *Gallio's*, finding that Religion exacted from Men such inhuman homage to its Recognizance, as was the sacrificing Children among the Heathens, wearing Pilgrimages and hecick Lents amongst Christians, did resolve rather to deny than to adore such Deities. Thus *Lucretius* revolted upon *Agamemnon's* sacrificing his Daughter *Iphigenia* for the *Grecian* Safety, crying out,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

And thus *Petronius Arbitar*, a Monk of the same Cell, y

Primus in orbe deos fecit timor.——— *Fulmina caelo**Cum caderent* ——— ———

And to prevent this, our Saviour doth oft inculcate, that his Yoak is easie, and his Burden is light. And doubtless, as the straightest Line is always the shortest; so the most rational Designs are always easiliest effectuated; and as *Seneca* hath excellently observed, *Licet Deus non esset, tamen non peccarum ob peccati vilitatem.* There is something of meanness in the gallantest, and most alluring Sin. And this is most energetically exprest in Scripture, whilst it is said *that the Wicked weary themselves by their Sins.* A Principle, which not only the Magisterial Authority of God's Spirit, but our Experience likewise places above the reach of all Scruples: For are not the Inquietudes, the Cheats, and palliated Parricides. and Sacrileges brooded by Ambition, the Churlishness and Close-handedness parented by Avarice, Effects unworthy to be father'd upon any Rational Soul; and at which we should scarlet our Cheeks with Blushes, as well as enpale them through Fear, and should stand as much in awe of our Consciences, as most do of a Deity? Yet, it may be we are in a mistake, whilst we place Superstition in the excess of such Adorations, as are either commanded or indifferent: For seeing the Object of our Adoration, God Almighty, is, in himself infinite, we can never exceed either in our Respects to him, or in the Expressions of them. Excess being only admissible, where the Object is finite, and where we attribute more than is due, which can never be here. Thus if Kneeling be lawful at any occasion, I hardly see why it is not lawful to kneel at all Occasions. And if these

these Exterior Rites and Ceremonies (some whereof are allow'd in all Churches) be judg'd requisite, for expressing our Vassalage and Subordination to God our Maker, either they are altogether unwarrantable, or else we should proportion them (as far as in us lies) to that infinite Object. And seeing the Angels are said to cover their Faces with their Wings before him, the Patriarchs to fall upon their Face and Worship; and our adorable Saviour, in that Conflict wherein he represented Sinful Man, is, by *Matthew*, remarked to have fallen upon his Face; by *Mark*, to have fallen upon the Ground, and by *Luke* to have Kneeled: What is crawling Man, that he should account such Gestures fond Superstition! It would appear then, that Superstition consists in Man's worshipping God by Means unlawful; such as are Children-Sacrifices, and such like; whereby his Divine Attributes are misrepresented, and tainted with Cruelty or Tyranny; and not in an Excess, in such Expressions of our Respect as are in themselves Lawful. And if there be any Strength in that Argument, wherein we enforce the Being of God, from the Harmonious Consent and Assent of all Nations; certainly, by that same Argument, we may establish the Decency, if not the Necessity of Ceremonies. For, what Nation bows to Altars, without profound and external Submissions? And, who lodges upon the Surface of our Globe, who pays not, as the *Reddendo* of their Charter to those Gods whom they Worship, Ceremonial Adorations, wrapt up in most submissive Rites?

C H A P. III.

Of the World's Creation.

THAT God made all things for his Glory, is an Expression, which, I think, looks not well at the Test of Reason, and seems to have no Warrant but unwary Custom: For beyond all Question, his Glory was so Brim-full formerly, that it neither needed, nor could receive any considerable Accession from this small Drop. And besides this, the innate Apprehension we have of doing any thing for one's Glory, dyes this Expression with some Guilt: Yet, I confess, we may warrantably say, that when perverse Man calls his Power in Question, or controverts his Being *only wise*; that then, God, for our Instruction, and the Vindication of his own Glorious Attributes, doth many things for his own Glory. And in this Sense, the Scripture saith, that God will punish the Wicked, and deliver his People, for his own Glory. And wherever it is said, that God doth, or createth any thing for his own Glory, it is doubtless in this Sense; in which Man (who is made after his Image) may act for his own Glory without any Vanity; albeit to act for his own Glory, in the first Sense, were in him Criminal. It is then more probable, that God being infinitely Good, and all Good being *sui communicativum*, that his Design in Creating the World, was to communicate and display his Goodness: And upon this *Base* probably, hath *Aristotle* reared up his Error, of *the World's Existency from all Eternity*; for, seeing God was *ab aeterno*, infinitely Good, and that Good is still Communicative; he did (it may be) conclude, that *ab aeterno*, God did communicate his Goodness; which could

could only be to Creatures. And therefore it was necessary that there should have been a World: And some Philosophers have averr'd, that the World flowed from God *per emanationem, ab æterno*, as Beams are lanced out from the Body of the Sun. Albeit, I be none of *Aristotle's* Partizans, nor hold my Philosophy of him, as my Superior; yet I cannot but think, that God hath communicated his Goodness to Worlds prior to ours, which seems but a Conceit of 5682 Years standing. But I am not so arrogant, as to determine the time of the first World's Birth, nor how many Cadets it hath had; resolving to leave its Date blank, to be fill'd up by some arrogant Pretender. Neither should I accuse mine own Thoughts of Heresie, for concluding, that probably there are at present thousands of Worlds co-existing with ours; whereof some, it may be, are govern'd by Maxims, if not contrary, yet at least different from these which are our Canons. All which Worlds, albeit they were actually subsisting, would lie in the Bosom of the large imaginary Spaces, but like so many small Balls in the Corner of a large Tennis-Court. I shall not, for confirming this Opinion, cite, with an ignorant *French* Curate, the Parable of the Lepers; where it is said, *Nonne sunt decem mundi?* Because I know that it was wittily answered, *Sed ubi sunt reliqui novem?*

C H A P. IV.

Of Eternity.

THAT Eternity is all present, and that, in it, there is neither preterit, nor future, is but a Conceit, and a needless Mystery imposed upon our Belief, which is really more Mysterious than
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the Trinity. Who knows but it is founded upon an expression in *Cicero*, wherein Eternity is call'd *æternum instans*? For how then can it be said, that God^s was before the World? For *was* is preterit, and before the World there was, as themselves alledge, no time; and so there was a *was* in Eternity. Is not God call'd by Himself *Alpha* and *Omega*, first and last, the one whereof is preterit, and the other future? And it is said, *Rev. 16. 5. O glorious God, who art, and wast, and shalt be.* And if it be answered, That this is only fitted to our Capacities; certainly, that is all is craved: For doubtless there is no such real thing, as these three Measures of Time, even in things finite and created; for they owe their Being only to our Conceit, as well in the one as in the other. And when God describ'd Himself by His Name *J A H, I am*, it was not meant, that no Measure of Time could be attributed to Him, but the present; but rather, that what He was, was to Man incomprehensible. And that all we could know of Him, was, that He existed; and by that Expression, that all things to Him are present, was meant, that by His Knowledge *intuitive*, (as Divines term it) He comprehends all things which were to be, as if they were really present; and this is spoke, not of his Being, but of his Knowledge. Neither can it be concluded, that if *was*, or *shall be*, may be attributed to God, then He must be mutable, and that *was* denotes Mutation; for, as I said formerly, these are but Terms, not really Existing, and so cannot import any real Mutation.

C H A P. V.

Of Providence.

HOW God employs His uncontrollable Scepter, after what fashion He governs this lower World, and in what Characters He writes His Eternal Decrees, hath been the Arrogant Study of some mad-cap Pedants, who talk as Magisterially of His Decrees, as if they were of his Cabinet-Council. And albeit to deter such bold Intruders, He destroyed thousands of His ancient People, because they look'd into His Ark; yet such is the Petulancy of some later Wits, that they must needs look into His unsearchable Bosom, and there marshal all His Decrees, and conceit they understand His way of working; and thus in disputing of Objects infinitely removed by their Abstruseness from their Sense, they shew themselves more ridiculous, than those who would dispute concerning the Qualities of an Object, before it come so near as that they may know of what *Species* it is: For seeing it is a Maxim, That there is nothing in our Understanding, which hath not pass'd to it thro' our Senses; and that the Things of God are Immaterial, and so fall not under the Cognizance of our Senses; it must be Folly to think, that any Human Scrutiny can find out Mysteries that are so unsearchable, except they be imparted to them by immediate Revelation; a Kind of Correspondence which I conceive few now-a-days hold with Heaven. Yet, I confess, it is as hard to confute the Fictions, as it is impossible for them to come by the Knowledge of them. But as this Study is unattainable, so it is unprofitable; for seeing God's Art of governing the World, and
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his Decrees of saving or damning its Citizens, is a Trade we shall never be able to practise: why should we have such an Itch to understand it? It should be enough to us to be saved, albeit we know not how, or by what Manner of Decrees; except we be of the same Metal with that foolish Patient, who would not be cured, because the Physician would not shew him how the Cure was to be compos'd, and what were its Ingredients. And is it not the *Zenith* and Top Branch of Madness for us to pry into God's unsearchable Decrees, who know not how our Neighbour's Calf is form'd in its Dam's Belly?

It was a narrow Omnipotency, which some mean-spirited Heathens allowed their *Jupiter*, when they conceited that he wanted Leisure to dispose of Trifles.

Non licet exiguis rebus adesse Jovi.

For if the Twinkling of an Eye, were not time sufficient for God to dispose of all the Affairs of this World, then there might be a greater Power than his; and the Power to dispose so suddenly, were wanting to his Omnipotency; and so he were not infinite, and consequently no God.

Neither was the Rodomontade of *Alphonsus*, King of *Portugal*, more impious than this; when he alledged, that if God had made use of his Advice in framing the World, he had helped many things in it, which he now could justly tax of Error.

These Two Extremes are the Two Poles, whereon the Globe of Atheism turns it self; some out of an impious Humility, complementing God out of his Authority, by denying that he disposes of the meaner Size of Business; and others detracting from his Providence, in attributing

ting his Operations to *Chance* and *Fate*, or branding them with Injustice or Imprudence.

There are among School-men, Two Opinions which dispute Victory with (almost) equal Forces: The one whereof will have God the sole Agent, and to make use of secondary Causes only, as of Ciphers. These say, that it is not Fire which burns, but that God burns *ad præsentiam ignis*; nor Water which cools, but that God cools *ad præsentiam Aquæ*: which is in my Opinion the same thing as to say, That God juggled with Man; and as Charmers do, presented Ingredients, but wrought by hid Means.

In too near an Affinity with this, is the Doctrine of Predestination, as some teach it; wherein they well have Man to play the mere Spectator in his own Salvation: And albeit there be a free and full Tender of Mercy made to lost Man, yet will not allow him any Power to embrace or reject it; judging this one of the necessary Appanages of God's Omnipotency, that he doth save or condemn *ex mero beneplacito*; never considering, that the Question is not, what God can do, but what he doth: And that it derogates nothing from his Omnipotency, that he will not damn poor Sinners; who according to their Doctrine cannot be blamed for their Obstinacy, because it was never free to them to do otherwise. And how (I pray you) could the Sluggard in the Parable have been punished for not improving his Talent, and laying it up in a Napkin, if God had by his Decree cast an insolvable Knot upon that Napkin, wherein it was laid up?

The other Opinion will have Secondary Causes the sole Agents; and teaches, that God, in the first moulding of each Creature, did dote it with innate Qualities, sufficient to act every thing requisite for its Subsistence; but in Sign of its Subjection

tion to its Maker, reserved to himself, as his Prerogative Royal, a Power to bend and bow these Inclinations upon extraordinary Occasions, for the Good of the Universe, or when his infallible Omnipotence should think expedient. Thus when that All-seeing Eye of the World, the Sun, was first turned off the Frame, it had in Commission to sow its Influences over the World without any Retardment; yet was its Motion Arrested, and turned back by an extraordinary Warrant, in the Days of *Joshua* and *Zedekiah*. Thus they make the Creatures resemble a Watch, which after it is once compleated, goes by its own Springs and Wheels, without the Artists extraordinary Assistance. Yet when either its Motion becomes irregular, or when the Owner finds it fit, it is unpieced, or hath its Index put forward or backward at his Pleasure. And this last seems to suit best with the Principles, both of Christianity and Stoicism. With Christianity, because it gives a Check to Presumption, and suffers not Man to think himself the sole Arbiter of his own Condition; because God can easily quash these *Babylon*-like Fancies, which his Toplevels Ambition is still a building; and to his Despair, because a Lift from the strong Arm of Providence, may heave him up above all his Difficulties.

This corresponds best likewise with Stoicism, because it pulls the Hands of a Sluggard from his Bosom, and sets them at Work to prepare for himself, and not to repose his unreasonable Hopes upon Divine Providence; which only keeps those from sinking, who endeavour to swim. This likewise takes from Man all Excuse of sinning; not suffering him to lay over his Vitioufness upon Providence; a Shift too ordinary amongst such as misunderstand the rashless Doctrines of the Reformed Churches.

This

This Opinion makes us likewise understand, what the Heathens meant by *Fortune*, which they termed *giddy*; what the Stoicks meant by *Fate*, which they confessed to be *irresistible*; and in what Sense Philosophers concluded, that each Man could hammer out his own Fortune. As to the Pagan's *Fortune*, it cannot be thought, that seeing it was by themselves confess'd to be *blind*, that they could trust it with the Reins of the admirably managed World. And seeing they confessed, that it was always staggering and unconstant, it cannot be thought that they could ascribe to it all the curious and just Events, which they themselves admired hourly. Wherefore it is probable, that the Philosophers having, through the Prospect of Nature, and by an uninterrupted Experience, observed, that Man (who acted from a Freedom of Spirit unrestrained either by Providence or Star-Influences, as to his ordinary Operations) was of a volative and capricious Humour; therefore they conclude, that the State of Human Affairs, which was framed and unframed at his ill-fixt Pleasure, behoved necessarily to be most subject to Changes. And that seeing the Victories of *Cæsar* depended upon the Inclinations of his Soldiers, who by abandoning him, would fetch his Prosperity away with them, they had Reason therefore to term Fortune Frail, and exposed to Hazard.

Thus the Advancement of the restless Courtier is uncertain, because it hinges from the Humour of his Prince, whose Spirit hath some Allay of Unconstancy, as well as hath that of the fearful Subject, who trembles under his Scepter. And thus the Oyl-consuming Student can promise himself no Applause, because the Paralytic Hand of the Multitudes Fancies, holds the Scales wherein his Abilities are weighed.

In fine, *Fortune* was nothing to those Ancients, but the unbodied Freedom of Man's Will, considered abstractly from all particular Persons, and the innate Qualities of all other Creatures (which, because they are mortal, must therefore be changeable) than which nothing is more inconstant, nothing more blind.

The other Branch of Divine Providence, which consists in the Supreme Authority, whereby God makes all Human Inclinations run sometimes against the Byass of their Specifick Nature, was by them termed *Fate*. And this in their Mythology, they fabled to be an *Adamant* Chain, which they fastned to the Foot of *Jupiter's* Chair; meaning by its Adamantine Nature, that it was hard to be broke, like the *Adamant*; and by fast'ning it to *Jupiter's* Chair, that it was the Product of the Almighty's Power. Thus *Fortune* and *Fate* were to them, but the Right and Left Hand of Christian Providence.

These Embodied *Angels*, the *Stoicks*, finding that *Fortune's* Megrim could not be cured, nor *Fate's* Decrees rescinded; and yet resolving, in Spight of all External Accidents, to secure to themselves a Calmness of Spirit; did place their Happiness in the Contempt of all these Follies, whose Blossoms *Fortune* could not blast; and sought for Happiness in an Acquiescence to all which Providence did unalterably decree: So that neither *Fortune* nor *Fate* could stand in the way of their Happiness, because they slighted the one, and submitted to the other.

And in this Sense, each Man in their Schools was admitted to be Master of Work to his own Fortune; and that, without disparaging the Omnipotent Power of the great Fortune-maker, in Submission to whom their Happiness was placed.

Albeit the Knowledge and Acknowledgment of a God, be the *Basis* of true Stoicism, and a firmer one than any the Heathens could pretend to: Yet that Knowledge of him, which by the Curiosity of School-men, and the Bigotry of Tub-preachers, is now formed in a Body of Divinity, is of all others the least necessary, and the most dangerous. And whereas we did see God but in a Glass formerly, that Glass is now so misted and soil'd by each Pedant's flegmatic Breath, that it is hard to see him at all, but impossible to see him there. And to extend a little that *Mysterious Analogy*; we are said to behold God here, as in a Glass; and as Objects are best perceived in the smoothest Mirrors; so the plainest Descriptions of him, are still the truest: For when he is seen by Atheists in the *Globe-glass* of their Infidelity, he appears less than really he is; when beheld by the Pagans in the *Multipling Glass* of Paganism, he appears many; and when he is look'd upon in the *Magnifying Glass* of Superstition, tho' he appear but one, yet he is misrepresented, because he is represented as more terrible than he desires to appear; and ordinarily the better cut Glasses are, in the more Artificial, the worse the Face, as by them represented.

C H A P. VI.

Of Theory.

THAT First Curse which did sow all the World with Briars and Thorns, did, of all other Things, fall most heavily upon the Soul of Man: Which because it was chief in the Transgression, ought in Reason to have been most

tortured in the Punishment. And now his disquieted Spirit, is daily pierc'd with the Prickles of Thorny Disputes and Debates; which, as like Briars, they produce no Fruit fit for alimenting that noble Half of Man, which is his Rational Soul; so do they, like Thorns, pierce his tender Conscience, and so screw his Torments to their highest Pin. The Thoughts of God, and of Settlement in him, which like Balm should cure those Sores, is become that Hemlock which occasions his Distractions, and poisons his Meditations. For albeit the Heroes of the Primitive Church, did give Milk in abundance to Infant-Christians; yet many of their Successors have mixt it so with the tart Vinegar of Contention, that the Milk begins now to curdle, and so is become loathsome to the Appetite of tender Believers. For most of Churchmen being idle, and conceiving, that if they taught only the Holy Scriptures, their Vocation might by Laics be undervalued as easy; and that they would be deny'd that Applause which was due to Quaintness of Wit, especially in a settled Church, wherein Churchmen could not draw Réverence from the People by Oracles, as did the Heathen Priests; nor by Prophecies and Miracles, as did the Servants of the most High, under the Old and New Testaments; did therefore, according to their private Inclinations, frame each to himself a new kind of Divinity. The more Pragmatick Sort, and those whose Humour was edged with Choler, invented Polemic or controverted Divinity: And so by an Intestine and Civil War of Opinions, raised within the Bowels of Religion, did waste and pillage that Holy *Canaan*, which formerly flowed with the Milk of sincere Doctrine, and the Honey of Divine Consolations. And then that precious Blood, which formerly purpled only Pagan Scaffolds,

dyed

died now the Swords of Fellow-believers; who to propagate their private Judgment, buried Churches under their Rubbish, fed the Birds of Heaven with the Carcases of Pious and Reverend Churchmen; and by the mad Hands of bigot Opiniastry, broke to pieces all the Sacred Bonds of Natural and Civil Duties: And thus they raised the Devil of Contention, whom they could not lay again; and made this Itch of disputing, turn the Scab of the Church.

Others again, in whose Brains swollen melancholy form'd Phantoms and Ideas, invented Scholastic Theology; and these in abstract Cells erected a Mint-house, for coyning the Dross of their own Contemplations into wonderful bombast Notions; and to make them go current in the suffering Church, gave them the *Impressa* of Theology.

A Third Sort, not able to soar their Pitch in the Sky of Invention, resolved to set up a Correspondence with Heaven: And this they called Enthusiastic, or Inspired Theology. And their Cabbins were Post-houses, where one might know what was resolved lately in the Conclave of Heaven, whether the King or Parliament was to wear the Lawrels, and what should be the Issue of our Pious Rebellions. These could likewise cast the Horoscope of our Salvation; and invented a Species of Physiognomy, whereby they could tell, if the Marks of Grace dwelt upon a Face; and if one had the Tracts of an Elect of God. After this Fashion did they prophesy their own Fancies, and call that *Providence* only which made for them.

There wants not some likewise, who out of a well-meaning Desire, to make the Lamp of Truth dart its Rays with the clearer Splendor, snuff it so nearly, that they extinguish it quite, and leave us nothing but the Stink of its Snuff; like some

curious Physicians, who purge so frequently, that they destroy the Body entrusted to their Cure. We in this Island have met with some of these *Charletans*, who, I am confident, purged oftner both Church and State, than *Luke*, the beloved Physician, would have prescribed, if we had had the good Fortune to have been his Patients.

The tallest Wit is not able to reach Heaven, albeit (I know) many disjoint their Wits in stretching them too high in the Enquiry of its Mysteries. Neither impute I our short coming in the Knowledge of these Mysteries, solely to their Obstruseness; but I believe our Meditations are more clouded in Relation to these, than really they need to be, because of their innate Frailty: For we see, that some who are Masters of much Reason in Things Human, betray much Folly in their Devotions; wherefore I am induced to believe, that it fares with the Soul in this, as usually it doth with the Body, whose Pulls are proportionably the weaker, as the thing grasp'd after is plac'd above its true Reach. And so these arrogant Pretenders pull but faintly, because they raise their Meditations too high on their Tip-toes; whereby they are disabled from employing all their natural Vigor, in pulling at these weighty and sublime Truths, which they catch not by that Corner which is nearest, as meaner Wits do, (and so are more successful) but endeavour a Fetch at what in Divinity is highest; by which Effort their Endeavours are fainter than those whose Spirit is of a lesser Size. And these *Colossus* Wits become the greatest Hereticks, as those ordinarily are most burnt, whose Fingers oftneft stir up Fires; and as Chirurgions have more Cuts and Wounds, than any other Mechanicks, who handle not so oft these wounding Tools. It is not fit that mortal Man should wrestle too much with

with these Myſteries, left his Reason, like *Jacob*, be forc'd to come off halting.

Nothing hath more buſied my Thoughts than to find a Reason why the Heathens, who were as affidious and zealous too in the Worſhip of their Gods, as we Chriſtians, did never frequent Sermons, nor knew no ſuch part of Divine Service; whereof (probably) the Reason was, becauſe their Governors (whoſe Commands amongſt them were the ſole *jure-diviniſhip* of all Eccleſiaſtick Rites) feared that Churchmen, if they had been licens'd to harangue to the People, would have influenc'd too much that groſs Body; which was the Reason likewise, why in the Primitive Church (as one of their Hiſtorians obſerves) *ex formula populo prædicabant, tantum antiquas timebat diuorogus*; They preached only approved Sermons. So much did Antiquity fear theſe Leaders of the People; a Practice, as is reported, lately renew'd by the Duke of *Ruſſia*: And this ſeemeth alſo to have been the Reason, why all Liturgies have prick'd Texts for their Preachers, left if they had been left a Freedom in their Choice, they had choſe ſuch as might in the Letter, have ſuited beſt with ſuch ſeditious Libels as are now obtruded upon the People, in Lieu of pious Homilies, at remarkable or feſtival Occaſions. Yet, I think, that our late Doctors, who can find all Doctrine in any Text, would eaſily have eluded that Canonick Deſign. If we ſhould parallel the Homilies, which thoſe Renowned Fathers have left as Legacies to Poſterity, with theſe which our Age runs after, we would find, that the firſt were pointed Leſſons of Mortification; which, like *Moſes's Rod*, could draw Guſhes of Tears from the rocky Hearts of the moſt obdured Sinners: Whereas many of theſe laſt are but State-gazettes, wherein the People are informed, what are the

Resolves of the Civil Magistrate: And whereas their first Institution made them Ambassadors of Glad-tidings betwixt God and his People, they have made themselves Heralds to denounce Wars betwixt God's Vice-gerent and his Subjects. Thus *Peter's* Successors will oft-times, like himself, rather draw the Sword, than watch for their Master. And since our Saviour hath disarmed them, as he did *Peter*, and filled their Hands with the Keys, those who offend them are sure to get over the Head with these. I confess, God hath not left his Church without some skilful Pilots, to lead in his Servants with Security to the Harbour of Salvation: To whom this Discourse and its Author shall pay all Respects.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Strictness of Churches.

MOST of all Churches do, like coy Maids, lace their Bodies so strait, that they bring on them a Consumption; and will have the Gates of Heaven to have been only made for themselves: And as this Nigardlines hath possess'd Churches, from that Root hath stem'd the Churlishness of some private Christians, who will allow God but a most inconsiderable Number of those whom he hath admitted to make up his visible Church. Thus some Pastors will only admit Two or Three to be Guests at the Lord's Table, allowing no wedding Garment, but what is of their own spinning: and others, with their uncharitable Hands, blur the Names of all their Acquaintances out of the Book of Life, as if they were Keepers of his Registers and Rolls; and will only have Seats kept in the Church triumphant, for three or four
Sisters,

Sisters, who are so frugal of their Devotions, as to spare them at Home, to the end they may be liberal in publick. But both these should consider, that the New *Jerusalem* is said to have more Gates than one; that *John*, in his *Revelation*, tells us, That numberless Numbers were seen following the Lamb; and that it is not probable, that the wise Framer of the World made such a spacious Dwelling, as Heaven, to be inhabited by so inconsiderable a Number: Whereas Hell (Hell in the Geography of Believed Tradition) is only the small Kernel of this small Shell *the Earth*. I know that many are called and few chosen; and that the Way is strait, and few enter in at it. But we should consider, that these Chosen are said to be few, in Respect only of those many who are called: Which is most certain; for Ten Parts of Eleven are Pagans or Mahometans (and all are called); of that Eleventh Part, many are malicious Hereticks; and amongst the Residue many are flagitious and publick Sinners: So that albeit the greatest part of the regular Members of the Visible Church were sav'd, yet the Number wou'd be small, in Comparison of these others: The Body of the Visible Church must (like all other Bodies) be compounded of contrary Elements. And albeit I am not of Opinion, that this Body should be suffer'd to swell with Humours; yet I would not wish, that it should be macerated with Purgations. Its Nails (though but Excrementitious Parts) should not be so nearly pared, as that the Body may bleed; yet they should be so pared, as that Christians may not scratch one another. They should feed not upon Blood, but Milk; and they are unmannerly Guests, who will not suffer others to sit at their Master's Table with them.

It pleases my Humour to contemplate, how that albeit all Religions war against one another;
yet

yet are all of them governed by the same Principles; and even by those Principles, in effect, which they seem to abominate. Thus albeit the Cessation of Miracles be cried down by many, yet do the most Bigot relate, what Miracles have been wrought by the Founders of their Hierarchies, and what Prophecies they have oraculously pronounced. And seeing all confess, that God in our Days breaks the Prosperous upon the same Wheel, on whose Top they did but lately triumph, making *Fortune* adopt the oppress'd in their Vice; why should we talk so much of the ceasing of Miracles? For doubtless these Effects are in Policy as contrary to Nature, as are the swimming of Iron, or sweetning of Rivers; or rather more: Seeing in the first, Man's will is forc'd, (without which such Revolutions could not be effectuated) whereas in the last, dull and sensual Qualities are only wrested; which as they are not so Excellent, so doubtless are not able to make such Resistance, as the Soul of Man. Yea, I should rather think, that the World being become old, must doubtless be more dim-sighted (as all old things are) than formerly; and therefore God doth now present greater Objects of Admiration to our Eyes, than he did formerly: For Man is become so Atheistical, that if God did not press his Meditation with such infallible Testimonies of the Being of an irresistible Power, he would doubtless shake off all Resolutions of submitting. Thus we see, that in all the Tract of *John's Revelations*, Miracles grow still more frequent the nearer the World draweth to its Grave; and like all other Bodies, the weaker it becomes, the more subject it is to all Alterations, and the less is Nature able to resist. And it would appear, that if Miracles were requisite at first for the Establishment of Religion, even when no older

Reli-

Religion was to cede it, and to make an *Exit* at its Entry; much more should Miracles be necessary, for fixing any Religion against the received Constitutions of a previously settled Church. But to prosecute my first Design; it is remarkable, that albeit Infallibility be not by all conceded to any Militant Church, yet it is assumed by all: Neither is there any Church under the Sun, which would not fix the Name of Heretick, and account him (almost) reprobate, who would refuse to acknowledge the least Rational of their Principles; And thus these Churchmen pull up the Ladders from the Reach of others, after they have by them scal'd the Walls of Preferment themselves. That Churchmen should immerse themselves in Things Civil, is thought Excentrick to their Sphere, even *in ordine ad spiritualia*: And yet even the *Capuchins*, who are the greatest Pretenders to abstract Christianity and Mortification, do, of all others, dipth most in Things Civil. The *Fanaticks* inveigh against Presbyterian Gowns. The *Presbyterian* tears the Episcopal Lawn Sleeves, and thinks them the Whore of *Babel's* Shirt. The *Episcopist* flouts at the Popish Robes, as the Livery of the Beast. The *Antinomian* emancipates his Disciples from all Obedience to the Law. The *Protestant* enjoins good Works, and such are commanded, but place no Merit in them. The *Roman Catholick* thinks he merits in his Obedience. The *Fanatick* believes the Lord's Supper but a Ceremony, though taken with very little outward Respect. The *Presbyterian* allows it, but will not kneel. The *Episcopist* kneels, but will not adore it. The *Catholick* mixeth Adoration with his kneeling. And thus most of all Religions are made up of the same Elements, albeit their Asymbolick Qualities predomine in some more than in others. And if that Maxim hold,

that

that *majus & minus non variant speciem*, we may pronounce all of them to be one Religion.

The Church, like the River *Nilus*, can hardly condescend where its Head lies; and as all condescend that the Church is a Multitude of Christians, so join all their Opinions, and you shall find that they will have it to have, like the Multitude, many Heads. But in this (as in all Articles not absolutely necessary for being saved) I make the Laws of my Country to be my Creed: And that a clear Decision herein is not absolutely necessary for Salvation, is clear from this, that many poor Clowns shall be saved, whose Conscience is not able to teach their Judgments how to decide this Controversy, wherein so many Heads have been confounded, so many have been lost, and so many have been shrewdly knock'd against one another; from which flinty Collisions much Fire, but little Light, hath ever burst forth.

God, by his Omniscience, foreseeing that it was too dazling a Sight for the Pur-blind Eyes of Man's Soul, to behold him invironed with the Rays of Divine Majesty, did bestow upon us three Mirrors, wherein we might contemplate him, (as we use to look upon the Sun in a Tub of Water, not daring to eye his Native Splendor): The one was the Mirror of the Law; the Second is the Works of the Creation; and the Third is the Soul of Man, which he himself hath told us, is framed after his own Glorious Image.

As for the First Mirror, the Law; God knowing that *Instinct*, or as we term it, a *natural Conscience*, were compleat Digests of all that Man was to observe, he did make that Mirror very little, a Volume of only Two Pages; but that Mirror is of late so mullered about, by marginal Notes and Commentators, that the Mirror it self is almost over-spread by them: And it is very ob-
servable,

servable, that in the Holy Registers the Law is still abridged; but we never see it enlarged: For albeit the fundamental Laws of both Tables were packed up in narrow Bounds, yet our Saviour sums them up in these Two, *Fear the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, and *love thy Neighbour as thy self*. And the Apostle *Paul*, in his Divine Epistles, professes, that he desires to *know only Christ, and him crucified*: So that I am confident, that if our Saviour were to preach in Person once more to the World, he would inveigh against our Casuists, as much as he did against the *Jewish* Talmudists; for the one, as well as the other, are equally guilty of burdening the Shoulders of weak Christians, with the unnecessary Trash of Human Inventions. For I remember to have seen a late Casuist dispute contentiously amongst his other Cases, whether Tobacco, taken in the Morning, did break a commanded Fast, or not? To which, after a feverish Conflict, his Wisdom, forsooth, returns this oraculous Answer; *That if Tobacco be taken at the Nose, it breaks not the Fast; but if it be taken at the Mouth, then it breaks the Fast*. Which, because I made a Collasterion betwixt the Casuists and the Talmudists, I shall only mention, out of the Talmud (which was the *Jews* Comment upon the Law) a Case exactly parallel to this, wherein is decided, that if a Man carry a Burden on the Sabbath-day upon both Shoulders, then he is guilty of Breach of Sabbath; but that he is not guilty, if he carry it upon one Shoulder. As to my own private Judgment, (which I submit to my Spiritual Tutors) I think, that seeing the Conscience of Man is the same Faculty with the Judgment, when conversant about Spiritual Employments, (as the Word *συνείδησις*, which imports a Knowledge reflexive upon a Man's own self; doth abundantly evidence) that therefore, as there

there are Judgments of different Tempers, so there are likewise Consciences of different Frames; and which vary as much amongst themselves, as natural Constitutions do. And therefore, as the same Dose would prove noxious to one Constitution, wherein another would find his Health; so in one and the same Act, that Resolution may be saving to one Conscience, which may condemn another: For seeing God hath kindled a Torch in each Man's Breast, by whose Flame he may see what Path he should beat; in which Sense it is said, *Prov. 20. 27. That the understanding of man is the candle of the Lord;* and can that Light mis-lead? And seeing Man must be answerable according to what it prescribes to him, doubtless it is fitter that he should hearken to the reiterated Dictates of his Conscience, than to the Resolution of any School-Casuit; and that for the same Reason, that it is more Rational to obey the Law it self, than the wisest Lawyer, who may either be deceived himself, or have a Design to deceive others. For if God hath endued Man with every thing necessary for working out the Work of his own Salvation with Fear and Trembling, he hath doubtless bestowed upon him an internal Touchstone, by whose Test he may discern betwixt Good and Evil; seeing to command Man to walk uprightly, and not to bestow on him Eyes to see the Road, were to command a blind Man to walk, and to punish him if he went astray. And as the Composure of Man's Body would be imperfect and manck; if he wanted a Palate to discern betwixt the Taste of what is wholesome, or what is putrid; so if the Soul of Man were not able to know its own Duty, and by the Palate of a natural Conscience, to difference betwixt lawful and unlawful; certainly the Soul might be thought to be but ill appointed. Thus Beasts are, by

an intrinsic Principle, taught their Duty, and do accordingly shun or follow what is convenient for them, without consulting any thing from without. And shall Man be less perspicacious, or more defective than these? As also seeing Man is oft-times, by thousands of Occasions, removed far from the Assistance of Chair or Pulpit-informers; and in that his Retiredness hath most of these Cases to be resolved; it were absurd to think, that he then wants Sufficiency of Help for their Resolution. And it is most observable in Scripture, that Men are oft check'd for quenching the Spirit, but never for not consulting Casuists. I know it may be thought, that when the Soul of Man rages at some time in a Fever of Lust, Revenge, or some such Sin, that then the Conscience may rave; yet I dare say, that albeit the Soul, out of an inordinate Desire to enjoy its own Pleasures, may set its Invention at Work, to palliate the Sinfulness of what it desires; yet by some secret Knell, the Conscience sounds still its Reproof. And I dare say, that never Man erred without a Check from his Conscience; nor that few have sinned, after an Approbation obtained from his Conscience of what he was about: And when we assent to these Doctors, is it not because our Consciences, or our Judgments (which are the same) assent to what they inform? Which evidences, that our Consciences are more to be believed than they; by that Rule, *Propter quod unumquodq; est tale, &c.* But to convince us of the Folly of our Addresses to these Doctors, it may, and often doth fall out, that that may be a Sin in me, which a Casuist pronounces to be none: as if my Breast did suggest to me, that it were a Sin to buy Church-Lands; if there-after I did buy them, it were doubtless a Sin, albeit my Doctors following the Canons of their particular Church,

assured

assured me, that the Sale of Church-Lands were no Sin in it self. I am confident then, that this Casuist-Divinity hath taken its Rise from the Desire Churchmen had to know the Mystery of each Man's Breast, and to the end, nothing of Import might be undertaken without consulting their Cell; persuading Men, that *in ordine ad spiritualia*, their Consciences, and consequently their Salvation may be interested in every Civil Affair. And to confirm this, it is most used by *Jesuits* and Innovators, who desire to know all Intrigues, and subvert all States; whereas the Primitive Church knew no such Divinity, neither have its Doctors left any such Volumes.

It may be urged, that seeing the Conscience is but a reflex Act of the Judgment, that as the Judgment is an unsure Guide, the Conscience cannot pretend to be infallible; and that the one, as well as the other, is tutor'd by the fallacious Principles of *Sense* and *Custom*. And I my self have seen my Landlady, in *France*, as much troubled in Conscience for giving us Flesh to eat in Lent, as if she had cast out the Flesh of a Christian to be devoured by Dogs: And so Atheism may attribute to Custom these Inclinations, whereby we are acted on to believe a Deity; and may tell us, that the Mahometans find themselves as much prickt in Conscience, for transgressing their Prophet's Canons, as we for offending against the Moral Law. And thus the adoring of a Deity might have at first been brooded in the Council-Chamber of a Statesman's Head; and yet might have been at that time, by the Vulgar, and thereafter by the wisest Pates, worshipped with profound Respects: Yet, if we pry narrowly into this Conceit, we shall find in it something of Instinct, previous to all Forgeries possible. For what was it (I pray you) which encouraged,

couraged, or suggested to these Politicians, that such a Thing as the Deity might be dissembled to their People? For their imposing that Cheat, presupposed some pre-existing Notion of it. Or, how entred that Fancy first in their wild Heads? Or, how could so many contemporary, yet far distant, Legislators fall upon the same Thoughts, especially it being so remote from *Sense*; and for framing of which *Idea*, their Experience could never furnish a Pattern? Conscience then must be something else, than the Fumes of Melancholy, or Capricio's of Fancy; for else roaring Gallants, who are little troubled, or can easily conquer all other Fancies, would not be so haunted by these pricking Pangs; which if they were not infallibly Divine, behoved to be merely ridiculous, and to want all Support from Reason or Experience.

There is another File of Cases of Conscience, which is a Cadet of that same Family; and these are such Cases as were the Brood of these late Times, which like Insects and unclean Creatures, may be said *generari ex putri materia*: An Instance whereof was the Famous Sister, who ask'd, if she was oblig'd to execute her Cat for killing a Mouse upon the Sabbath. This was a Theology taught by old doting Wives, and studied by State-Expectants, who to gain Applause, and in Hopes to mount Preferment's Saddle, made use of this gilded Stirrup. I shall not inveigh against this Foppery, seeing it hath not possess'd Mens Conceit so long, as to have prescribed the Title of Divinity; but like a Meteor, which because it is fixt to no Orb, and is but a Mass of inflamed Vapors, doth therefore disappear immediately, how soon its Substance flashes out; and its Ashes are now entomb'd in the same Clay with its Brother Twain, that pious *Nonsense*, wherein God Almighty was treated with in Familiar, and not in Superior.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Scriptures.

AS God did light the Candle of a private Conscience, in each private Breast; so hath he hung up the Lamp of the Scriptures in the Body of his Church: And these we may call the Conscience of the Church, whilst Militant. Which some, by the Breath of their Vanity, and Storms of their Passion, endeavour to blow out; whilst others make no other Use of its Light, than to shew them where to find a Jest. And within the Arms of this Division, lie folded all the prophane Race of Mankind. As to these first (who should be first, because they are Satan's First-born, and so deserve a double Portion of this Reproof) they contend, that the Scriptures are written in a mean and low Stile; are in some Places too Mysterious, in others too Obscure; contain many things incredible, many Repetitions, and many Contradictions. But these Miscreants should consider, that much of the Scripture's native Splendor is impaired by its Translators, who fearing to fall within the Verge of the Curses, pronounced against such as should pare from, or add to, any thing contained in that Divine Book, were, and are willing, that their Translation should want rather the Lustre, than the Meaning of the Original. As also of all Tongues, I believe the *Hebrew* admits least of a Translation, especially into *Northern* Languages: For as those Nations differ least in their Expressions, who because of their Commerce or Contiguity, have the most frequent Converse; so doubtless the *Jews* and we, by this Rule, should

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in Language hold the least Correspondence. And because there is no pure Fountain of this Tongue left, besides the Bible, it must be hard to understand its Expressions, wherein the Translators can find little or no Help from the Variety and Collation of Authors. And seeing this Book was penn'd indifferently for all Ages, Nations, and Sexes, it was fit that its Stile should have been condescending: For those who are tall, can pull the Fruit which hangs low; whereas those who are low, cannot pull what perches high. And it is very observable, that where the Fruit is greatest and ripest, there the Branch whereon it hangs bows lowest. When God appeared to *Elijah*; 1 *Kings* 19. there came first a terrible Wind, thereafter a great Earthquake, and then Fire; and yet God was in none of these, but spoke in the shrill small Voice. His Divine Providence hath so order'd it, that our Conviction cannot be ascrib'd to the Fard of Eloquence, nor the Slight of Logic, but merely to the Truth of what is therein represented: Our Saviour will, with Clay and Spittle, illuminate our Eyes, as he did those of the other blind Man in the Gospel. And such is the Strength of his Divine Arm, that he can vanquish Satan, Misbelief, and Ignorance, with any Weapon. And as we think the Sun's Circumference but little, because it is situated so far above us; so we conclude these Truths and Excellencies but mean, because they are plac'd above our frail Reach; and will blame the Scriptures, when the Fault lurks in our selves. That great Physician will cure us, like an Artist, with Simples specific for our Disease; and not like a *Charlatan*, with perfum'd & gilded Nothings. It is not alway the best Metal, which carries the most pleasing *Impressa*; nor doth the painted Candle cast the clearest Light. There are many things in Scripture, which because of

our Frailty, appear (like a Staff in the Waters) to be crooked, albeit they be straight. Why *Abraham* should have kill'd his Son *Isaac*, or the *Israelites* have borrow'd, and not restored the *Egyptian* Ear-rings, staggers not my Belief; for these belong'd to God, and neither to *Abraham*, nor the *Egyptians*; and so God might have given Order to any he pleas'd to receive them: And those who obey'd, were no more guilty than such are, who by Order from the Master, receive what he did formerly lend to others. And as to its Repetitions, they differ no doubt from one another, albeit we (who think all things removed, though by a little Distance from us, of one Shape) judge ill, in judging otherwise. And as an Excellent Person hath well observed, God hath appointed these reiterated Expressions to be as so many Witnesses, to convince Hereticks and others, who should call the Meaning of any one Place in Question, or wrest it by what precedes or follows it.

As to those others, in whom the Wine of God's Consolations (by being winded in the crack'd Vessels of their Heads) turns into the tart Vinegar of prophane Satyrs, I condole their Condition: For that Stomach must be very corrupt, wherein the best of Aliment putrifies most; and probably, that indigested Milk being converted into excrementitious Bile and Humours, may cast them in a Fever, which shall never cool to all Eternity. I pity likewise those, who out of an inadvertent (and as they think, sinless) Humour, jest with these Divine Truths; like foolish Children, who love rather to sport with their Meat than eat it. These albeit they intend not to prophane Scripture, yet they vilify it: And we may say of the Bible, as of taking of God's Name in our Mouths, which must not only not
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be done upon Design, to blaspheme and defame him; but must not be taken but upon Necessity, and like the Shew-bread, must be used only when we are in Straights. I have been too guilty of this last Sin my self; and therefore, lest I should make no Attonement, I have rather resolved to appear before the World; in the Dust and Sack-cloth of this silly Discourse, a Penance really to me very great.

When I consider, how various and innumerable are the Actions of Men, and that in all these they need particular Instructions from above the Poles; I admire why there are so many Passages in Scripture, from which our Necessity may expect no Assistance. And therefore lest I should think, that in Scripture there is any Waste of Words, I am induced to believe, that there run many hid Allegories from *Genesis* to *John's Revelations*; wherein the Mystical Sense deserves likewise the Name of God's Word. Might we not have admired, why the Story of *Hagar* and her Bastard, is there voluminously described; and what the Church or private Devotion was concerned therein, if *Paul, Gal. 4. 24.* had not discovered the Mystery to us? By which Things, another Thing is meant: For these Two Mothers are the Two Testaments; the one which is *Agar* of Mount *Sinai*, which gendereth unto Bondage, &c. I might here relate many Excellent Allusions to prove this; but I shall satisfy my self with one, which I did read in one Doctor *Everot*; who preaching upon *Joshua 15. 16.* *Then Caleb said, he who smiteth Kirjath-sepher and taketh it, even to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. And Othniel took it, &c. saith, That Caleb signifies, a good Heart; Kirjath-sepher, the City of the Letter; Achsah, the Vision; Othniel, God's Opportunity.* And so the Mystical Sense runs; a good Heart saith, that who-

eye will take in (and smite, as *Moses* did, the Rock) the Letter of the Word, shall have the Vision which lurks under it, discovered, and given to him. And God's own Time is the only Mean for accomplishing this: As also it is most remarkable, that City which was called *Kirjath-sepher* before it was taken in, or, *the City of the Letter*, was, after it was conquered, called *Debir*, which signifies *an Oracle*; so that the Word, or Letter, is no Oracle, till it be once, as it were, taken in and overcome. Since the reading of which Sermon, I believe, that one may profit more by an *Hebrew Lexicon*, than by a Thousand *English Lectures*.

Those who detract from Scripture, by attributing the Production of Miracles to natural Causes, do not much disparage the Power of God, but (tho' against their depraved Intention) cry rather up his Omnipotency: For certainly, if these Miracles were produced by secondary causes, then doubtless that productive Faculty was bestowed upon them by the Almighty; and if he can make the Creatures produce such strange Effects, much more is he able to effectuate them himself; as it is more difficult for a great Master, to form curious and admirable Characters, when he leads a Scholar's Hand, than when he writes them with his own: For such Help may be called, *resisting Assistance*. I cannot likewise but blame many of our Preachers, who rather break than open Holy Texts; and rather make new Meanings, suiting with their private Designs, than tell the Meaning of the Spirit. Who would not have laugh'd, to hear a Presbyterian observe, from the first Chapter of *Genesis*, first Verse, That whilst *Moses* relates what God made, he speaks nothing of *Bishops*; by which it was evident (said *Don Quixot's* Chaplain) that *Bishops* were not of
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Divine Institution: A Conceit as ridiculous as that of a Priest, who hearing *Maria* spoken of for to signify *Seas*, did brag that he had found the *Virgin Mary* named in the Old Testament. Albeit I think Preaching no part of Divine Worship, hearing being no Adoration; yet, I love to go to Church, were it but to see a Multitude met together, to confess that there is a God: But when I go to hear, I care not whom, knowing that Christ elected Fishermen to preach down Infidelity, when it was in the Ruff of its Pride: and that *Paul* (the most signal Trophy of our Christian Faith) was sent for Confirmation, not to *Peter*, or *James* at *Jerusalem*, but *Ananias* one of the meanest amongst the Disciples. And seeing our Salvation, by preaching, is a Miracle; it is still so much the greater, by how much weaker the Instruments are. When the Pulpit was a Mount *Sinai*, from which the Law was thundered, or a Mount of *Olives*, whereon our Saviour's Glorious Transformation was to be seen, then were Sermons to be honoured; but since it is become a Mount *Calvar*, whereon our Blessed Saviour suffers daily by scandalous Railings, Sermons are become unfavoury for the most part. I hate to see that Divine Place made either a Bar, whereat secular Quarrels are with Passion pleaded; or a Stage, whereon Revenge is by Satyrs satisfied; or a School-chair, from which unintelligible Questions are mysteriously debated: But amongst all these Innovations introduced by our Infant Divines, I hate none more than that of giving Reasons for proving the *Doctrine*, which being Scripture it self, can be proved by nothing that is more certain. As for Instance; when the *Doctrine* is, *that God loved us freely*, how can this be proved more convincingly than thus, *my Text says it?* And that is *idem per idem*, a most unlogical

cal Kind of Probation. When I then go to Church, I should love to spend my time in Praises and Prayers; which as they are the only Parts of Adoration, so are they the natural Employments of the Church, either Militant or Triumphant: Yet it displeases me to hear our young Pulpiteers screech and cry, like *Baal's* Priests, as if God were no nearer them than the visible Heavens.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Moral Law.

IT honours much our Employment, that God Almighty was the first and great Law-giver; and that our Blessed Saviour stiles himself our Advocate. And it is an amazing Wonder, that we are tied only by Ten Laws; whereof Seven were enacted doubtless for our Advantage and Respect, more immediately the Security of the Creature, than the Honour of the Creator; and are such Restraints, as Men behoved to have laid upon one another, and which Nature lays upon us all. And albeit I laugh at the *Jewish Cabala*, which says, that the Moral Law was written Two Thousand Years before *Moses*, in black Letters at the back of a clear burning Fire; yet I cannot approve *Tertullian's* Wit, who endeavours to find all these Ten in the Prohibition made to *Adam*. There are indeed some Sins, which scarce a Consequence can bring within the Verge of these Commandments. As for Instance, Drunkenness: Yet these are such as are so destructive to our Nature, that there needs no Law be made against them. So that the Priest hit wittily, to whom
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that Sin being confessed, enjoined, as a Penance, their being drunk a second time: Which makes me conclude, that if Drunkenness were to be ranged under any of these Laws, it would fall most naturally under that, *Thou shall not kill*. Albeit the Fourth Commandment seems to respect only the Honour of God, and that the Creature seems to be no ways bettered by it; yet our more serious Observation will discover, that all labouring Creatures, as it were, expect an Ease the Seventh Day more than any other. Whether it be, that Nature is by Custom framed to that Expectation, I cannot tell: But we see that God chus'd that Number to be the Year of Jubilee amongst his own People, and that it is the Period of all the several Consistencies in our Life, Infancy, Puberity, &c. And for this Reason Physicians observe, that the Child born in the Seventh Month, is stronger than that which is born in the Eighth; because in the Seventh it is come to a Knot, by passing whereof, in the Eighth it is in a State of Imperfection: But what the Mystery of this holy Climacteric is, I refer till we come to that Sabbath of Rest, whereat we ordinarily arrive after Seven times Nine Years hath snowed upon us.

We may think, that if God had intended, that one and the same Day of the Week should have been appropriated to have been a Sabbath, he had designed each Day by a special Term, and had commanded, that a Day of such a Designation should have been sequestered for a Sabbath; and that by designing only the Seventh Day, he did leave a Liberty to employ any Day of the Seventh for that Use. Yet it is remarkable, that *Moses* nor the *Jewish* Church durst not attempt the Change of their New-Year's Day; but that the Almighty was pleased to bestow a peculiar Sanction

tion upon that Alteration: For, *Exod. 12. 2.* He commands, That the Month wherein the *Israelites* came from *Egypt*, should be by them reputed the first Month of their Year. Wherefore seeing each Nation chalks out a diverse Sabbath, it wou'd appear, that there is something of Humour in it, as well as of Religion. The *Venerous Mahometan* chuseth *Friday*, or *dies Veneris*; the *dull Jew*, dull *Saturn's Day*; the *warlike Parthians*, *Tuesday*, or *Mars's Day*; the *cheery Europeans*, *Sunday*. And albeit the Christians are influenc'd only by Inspiration; yet I am confident, that the Heathens did follow that for Religion, which suited best with their natural Temper. But this is a Meditation, which should travel no where beyond a Man's private Breast, lest it meet with Enmity, and beget Scandal.

It would puzzle a Heathen much to hear, that he who breaks one of these Laws, is guilty of the Breach of all: But it troubles not me, seeing all these Laws are made to shew our Obedience, and the Breach of any one of them shews our Contempt of him who is the Author of all. And it may be, this was typified in *Moses's* breaking both Tables with one passionate Fling, after he came down from the Mount: For if this breaking of them had not been pre-designed for some hid End, doubtless he had been reprov'd for his Negligence. However, we may from this learn the desperate Nature of Passion, which made *Moses*, who was the meekest Man upon Earth, break all the Laws of God in one Act. It might be also argued, that seeing all the Laws of the Second Table were enacted for, and respect ultimately, the Advantage of Man, that where Man is not wronged, there the Law cannot be broke. And thus, if a married Man should have Liberty from his Wife to take another Woman, this could be

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no more reputed Adultery, than it could be reputed Theft to take what belongs to our Neighbour, himself consenting; and that for this Cause, *Jacob's* begetting Children with his Wife's Maids, is not in Scripture reprov'd as Adultery, because they were given to him by her self, for that Effect; but seeing the Practice of all the World condemns this Conclusion, far be it from me to express it farther: Yet this is but a Sophism; for seeing our Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost, we can no more bestow them upon such Uses, than a Church-Warden can give the Use of the Church to Taverners.

C H A P. X.

Of the Judicial Law.

Albeit the Judicial Law (which may be justly called the Judicious Law) is commonly reputed to be but the Municipal Law of the *Jews*; yet seeing it was delivered, in almost one Context, with that Law which was thunder'd from Mount *Sinai* with so much Pomp, and is ingross'd in the Books of Holy Truth, and seems nearer related to Reason, than any other Law; I admire, why it should not be religiously observed by all Nations: Especially seeing, as it is the exactest Picture of Justice that ever was drawn; so it hath this of a Picture in it, that it seems to look directly upon all who behold it; albeit they be placed (amongst themselves) in directly opposite Situations and Stances. Thus this Law suits even with contrary Tempers, and the unequal Complexions of all Nations. I know that the Ceremonial Law is likewise inserted amongst the other holy

holy Canons, and yet binds not us who live under the Jurisdiction of the Gospel: But the Reason of this seems to be, because these did immediately concern the *Jewish* Church, and were conversant about these holy things. And so seeing the Old Testament is a Description of their Hierarchy, and of God's way of working in those times, I wonder not to see the Ceremonies amidst other sacred Truths, and yet not observed, seeing they are expressly abrogated. But if the Judicial Law, which respected not the Hierarchy of that Church, was obligatory only whilst the *Jewish* State was in Being; I admire why the Spirit of God took so much Pains, first to pen it, and then to deliver it, so Canon-like, to Posterity. And since it is a Principle in Law and Reason, that Laws must still stand in Vigor till they be expressly abrogated, and must not be derogated from by Consequences or Presumptions; I admire why this Law, which God hath enervated by no express Text, should be now look'd upon as Statutes no wise *A-la-mode*. It is true, that our Saviour, when the Woman, convicted of Adultery, was brought to him, did not, according to that Law, pronounce the Sentence of Death against her; whence some think, that Churchmen following their Master's Example, should not give their Suffrages in criminal Cases, and have only *δικην ανωμακτην*, a bloodless Jurisdiction; for they are appointed to be Nurses, not Chyrurgions. But it is as true, that our Saviour professed in all the Tract of his Life, that he came not to be a Judge in Things Temporal; and his Design in that place, was only to convince them of their own Sins, and not to absolve her, nor to abrogate the Law: And therefore he desired him who was freest from Sin, to cast the first Stone at her. And whereas it is conjectured, that those Words which our Saviour stoop'd down

to write in the Clay, immediately thereafter was an Abrogation of that Law; this is Geomancy more wild than any Lesson, which is alledged to have been read in the Mysterious Face of Heaven, and should never be taught but in a Rabby's Cabalastick Gown. And whereas it is alledged, that there are many Precepts in that *Corpus Juris*, which respects only the Humour of the *Jews*, I admire why that can be urged; for certainly Theft, Murder, and those other Crimes punished there, are the same Crimes which reign amongst us; and so, why not punishable after that same Manner? Neither are the Humours of these *Jews* more different from ours, than was the *Genius* of the *Romans*; and yet few or no Nations refuse to cast their modern Laws in that antique Mold. And it is very probable, that as God did in the Moral Law, teach Man how to be just in his own Actions; so he would likewise instruct him by a Judicial Law, how to administrate Justice to others.

What can perpetuate a Law more, than that the Authority whereby it is enacted, should be obligatory in all Ages; and the Reason whereon it is founded should be Eternal? And in what Laws do these two Qualities appear more, or so much, as in the Judicial Laws of the *Jews*, where the Eternal Lawgiver was Legislator; and the Occasion productive of them, seemed rational (and necessary) to his infallible Omniscience? And if in any of these Statutes our purblind Judgments cannot see a present Conveniency, we should rather impute that to our own Simplicity, than charge it as a Guilt upon his Divine Statutes. And are there not many Municipal Laws in each Country, which have no Hedge about them to keep them untrampled upon by wanton and too curious Wits? But that Excellent Maxim, *Omni-*

nam quæ fecerunt Majores nostri, non est reddenda ratio; neque certa sunt, incerta redderentur; a Reason must not be rendred for all that our Ancestors have enacted, lest what is now certain, become then uncertain. Albeit a Law enacted only by Human Authority, seem unreasonable or inconvenient; yet it retains its Vigor till it be abrogated by the same, or an higher Authority; than that whereby it was first statuted; and the Law says, *That nihil est tam naturale quam unumquodque eodem modo dissolvi quo colligatum est.* And seeing the Moral and Judicial Laws are twisted so together, and are oft incorporated in one Statute, as *Lev. 20. 10. Deut. 22. 22.* where Adultery is forbidden, and the Adulterer is to die the Death; how can we think the one half of this Law obligatory for ever, and yet neglect its other half, wherein the Punishment is specified, and which appears to have been the Scope of the Divine Lawgiver? For the World needed not so much to have been acquainted, that Adultery was a Sin, as that Sin deserved Death; and if we allow our capricious Humour the Liberty to reject what we think inconvenient, we may at last arrive at that Pitch of Licentiousness, as to abrogate by our Practice, whatever chocks our present Humour.

There are many things much mistaken in that Law, which makes the Dissonancy betwixt it and our Law, appear so much the greater. As for Instance; it is concluded, that by that Law, no Theft was punishable by Death; whereof this is given as a Reason, because there is no Proportion betwixt the Goods and Life; and that all that a Man hath, he will give for his Life: Whereas this Argument would prove, that no Guilt, but Murder, should be punished with Death; and so this Dart rather flees over, than hits the Mark at which it is level'd. And if this Argument concluded,

cluded; why should Adultery have been punished with Death by that Law, seeing there seems no Proportion betwixt that Guilt and Death? For if *vita & fama* be in Law *equiparat*, by that same Law, *pecunia est alter sanguis*. But if there be no Proportion betwixt Goods and Life, and if the Punishment of Theft, when it's aggrag'd to its greatest Height, cannot in their Opinion reach so far as to be capital; why was it, that by that Law, Nocturnal Thieves might have been killed by those who found them? *Exod. 22. 2.* For it appears against Reason, that more should be permitted to a private and passionate Party, than to a disinterested Judge. And it is clear by *2 Sam. 12. 5.* Theft was in some Cases capital: For there *David* vows, that he who took his Neighbour's one Sheep, and spared his own many, should surely die; which being spoke by a just King to an Excellent Prophet, and not reprov'd, must not be thought a flash of Passion, but a well-founded Sentence. Were not likewise Two Thieves crucified by the *Jews*, at the same time with our ever-Glorious Saviour? Which must not be thought a *Romish* Execution, seeing the Law of the *Romans* allowed no such Punishment for Theft. I judge therefore the Reason why Murder and Adultery were punished with Death, rather than all Thefts, to have been, because Theft may be repaired by Restitution, but Murder and Adultery cannot. And albeit the Judicial Law commands Restitution only in the Theft of an Ox or Sheep, (things of small Moment, and which may be stollen to satisfy rather Hunger than Lust); yet I see no Limits set to Judges, commanding them not to inflict a capital Punishment in extraordinary Cases: For certainly he who steals, may, for ought he himself knows, be about the committing of Murder, seeing to steal what should aliment
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any poor one, is, in Effect, the same thing as to murder him. It is much controverted, if this Law prohibits Self-murder; and I think it doth: For we are commanded to love our Neighbour as our self; and so since we are commanded not to kill our Neighbour, that same Law must likewise forbid our killing of our selves. But the Reason probably, why no express Text did forbid that Sin, was, because the Spirit of God knew that the Natural Aversion we have against Death, would in this do more than supply a Law; and that those who would be so desperate, as to neglect the one, would never be so pious, as to obey the other. Or else God hath been unwilling, by making such a Law, to intimate to the World, that such a Sin might be committed. Yet it seems strange, that many are in Scripture related, as *Saul*, and others, to have killed themselves, against whom no Check stands registred in holy Records. But I stop here, intending to bestow a whole Tract upon the Judicial Law, a Task hitherto too much neglected.

The Second Mirror, wherein God Almighty is to be seen, is that of his Creatures: And in that a *Virtuoso* may contemplate his infinite Power, as in the other he may see his admirable Justice. It is very observable, that when God, or his Prophets, would prove his Greatness, the *Sun*, *Orion*, and the *Leviathan*, are made use of as Arguments. And when the Spirit of God describes the inimitable Knowledge of *Solomon*, bestowed upon him by God, as an extraordinary Mark of his Favour, he says not, that he understood the Quirks of Philosophy, or Notions of Divinity; but it is said, that he knew all from the Cedar of *Lebanon*, to the Hyssop that grows upon the Wall. And in Earnest it is strange, that when Man comes into the Gallery of this
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World, he should take such Pleasure in gazing upon these ill-drawn Fictions, which have only past the Pencil of Human Wit, and should not fix his Admiration upon those glorious Creatures; which are the Works of that great Master; in framing whereof, God is content to be said to have spent Six Days, to the end, that Man might admire the Effects of so much Pains; whereas his Omnipotency might, with one *fiat*, have summon'd them all to appear, apparell'd in these gorgeous Dreffes which now adorns them. And it is as strange, that Man having that huge Volume of the Creation to revolve, wherein is such an infinite Number of curious Tale-doufes to feast his Eyes with Curiosity, and to furnish his solid Knowledge, he should notwithstanding spend so much Oyl and Sweat, in spinning out *ens rationis*, *materia prima*; *potensia obedientialis*; and such like unintelligible Trash, which like Cobwebs, are but envenomed Dust curiously wrought. And because the Gross of Mankind was so gross, as not to understand God's Greatness by the abstract *Idea's* which Instinct presented to him; Therefore to reach that sensual Croud by the Trunch-man-rie of Sense, he hath bestowed upon them this Mirror, wherein they may see how infinite he is in Power, who made *Nothing* so fruitful, as to bud forth in this glorious Crop of Creatures; which now inhabit the Surface of Heaven and Earth.

C H A P. XI.

Of Monsters.

I Admire that such Philosophers as have had their Faces wash'd at the Font, can allow of Monsters, and define them to be the Preter-intentional Works of Nature, wherein Nature miss'd of her Design, and was not able to effectuate what she intended: For if *Nature* and *Providence* signify the same thing in the Dictionary of Christianity, it were Blasphemy to think, that *Providence* could not be able to effectuate what it once designed. All the Creatures are indeed, but as Clay in the Hand of this great Potter; but it were impious to think, that his Art can be mistaken in framing any Vessel: Wherefore I am apter to believe, that all these Creatures which the Schools term *Monsters*, are rather the Intentions than Errors of *Nature*; and that as *Nature* doth nothing without Design, so it doth nothing without Success. And thus I rather admire Nature in these, for her cunning Variety, than upbraid her with Insufficiency and Weakness. Neither term I an Hermaphrodite, Man or Woman, according to the Prevalency of that Sex which predomines in it; no more than I think that the Painter, when he hath delineated curiously an exact Mermaid, resolved to draw either a Woman or a Fish, and not one distinct Creature piec'd up of both. And doubtless this Error did at first proceed from Man's Vanity; who concluded, that every Frame which answered not that *Idea* which resides in him, was the Effect of *Chance*, and not of *Nature*; as if *Nature* had been obliged to leave in the Bibliotheque

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of his Head, the Original of all such Pieces as was to pass its Press.

Seeing God in his Survey of the Creation, called all that he had made *Good*, because they were useful, I conclude, that those are the best, which are the most useful. And albeit I condemn Prodigality of Ignorance, in preferring a Diamond to a Capon or Sheep; yet do I not condemn such of Vanity, as shine with these sparkling Creatures: For since God made *nothing*, which he did not destinate for some Use, and seeing most of these serve for no Use else, doubtless the wearing of them is most allowable. Yet can I not allow of those gaudy Compounds, which Men create to themselves, as if something had been still wanting after the Creation was finished; wherein Man could supply God, and Art Nature. The bestowing of an Hundred Pounds upon a Tulip, or a Thousand on a Picture, are not to me the mere Rants of Luxury; but are Courses pre-ordained by the Almighty, for returning to poor Artisans that Money, which Oppression did at first most unjustly screw from their weary Hands. It is our Ignorance of Nature's Mysteries which persuades us, that some, if not most, of the Creatures serve rather for beautifying the Universe, than for supplying Necessity; an Error which Experience daily confutes: So those Herbs which of old cloathed only the uninhabited Mountains, do now deserve their own Place in Apothecaries Shops. And it is most observable, that the Scurvy grows no where, but where the Disease rages, which is cured by it. Seeing God loved Variety in the Creation, he cannot hate Curiosity in Man; these Two being Correspondents: And the one without the other would be but as Flowers to the Blind, or as Musick to the Deaf. I laugh at the fruitless Pilgrimages of such as travel to *Foppa* or *China*,

China, to satisfy their Curiosity; there being a *Tredskin's* Closet in each Tulip, and a *Solomon's* Court in each Lilly of the Field. And seeing Men's Tempers are so various, it was no Wonder that the Creatures (which were made for his Use) should have been made proportional to his Humour: But seeing Art hath in many things copied Nature to the Life, I think not the Symmetry nor Variety to be seen amongst the Creatures, such an infallible Argument for proving the Being of God, as is *Instinct*, which all the Art of Men and Angels cannot counterfeit: And herein is it, that that grand Magician must acknowledge the Finger of his Maker, seeing here his own Art fails.

Those who expect equal Excellency in all the Parts of this curious Fabrick, do not understand wherein its Symmetry consists. All the Strings of an Instrument sound not equally high; and yet they make up the Harmony: The Face of the Earth looks in some places deform'd and patch'd; and yet it is there the Mother of rich Mines (as if God intended to bestow a great Portion where he bestows an ill Face); and what we think Deformities, were placed there as Patches; and are no more Blemishes, than the Spots are to the Leopards.

I confess, that at first it puzzled much my Enquiry, for what End these Mountains were made so near Neighbours to the divided Clouds: And I once imagin'd, that these were rather the Effects of the Flood, than Creatures at first intended; and were but the Rubbish and Mud which these impetuous Waters had heap'd up in a Mass: But I was thereafter dissuaded from this Conjecture, by the 8th Chapter of *Prov.* where Wisdom proving its Antiquity, says, That it was with God before the Heavens were prepared, and the
Mountains

Mountains settled; by the Scope of which Text it is clear, that the Heavens, Hills, and the rest of the Creation, are said to bear one Date. It is then more probable, that God foreseeing that the Lust of Conquest would, like the Needle of the Compass, look oft *North*; as is evident by comparing all the Monarchies (first the *Assyrian*, then *Grecian*, then *Roman*, now *German*) did therefore bound Ambition, as it were with high Hills, (albeit since Ambition hath found a way to climb over them) as if he told them that they should march no farther. Thus it is very observable, that the *Northern* Parts of one Kingdom are always more barren than the *Southern* Limits of the Countrey which lies to the *North* of it. The *North* of *England* more mountainous and barren than the *South* of *Scotland*, albeit it lye nearer the Sun; the *South* of *England* more pleasant and fertile, than the *North* of *France*; and the *South* of *France*, than the *North* of *Italy*, &c.

We must likewise consider, that Nature bruised its Face so when it fell in *Adam*, that it did then contract many of these Blemishes which now deform it; and that as it waxes old, its native Beauty is the more deformed by furrowed Wrinkles. We cannot judge what it was in Health, by its present distempered Condition, wherein it groans and travelleth in Pain, as the Apostle tells us. And the Differences betwixt these Two States may be known from this, that God, when he compleated the Creation, saw that all was good; whereas *Solomon* having reviewed it in his time, saw all to be *Vanity*, and *Vexation of Spirit*.

C H A P. XII.

Of Man, and his Creation.

THE Third Mirror wherein God is to be admired, is *Man*. This is that noble Creature which God was pleased to mould last of all others, not willing to bring him home, till by the preceding Creations he had plenished his House abundantly for him. And albeit in the Creation of all other Creatures it is only said, that God spoke, and it was: Yet when Man was to be framed, the Cabinet Council of Heaven was called; and it is said [*let us*]; as if more Art had been to be shewed here, than in all the remanent Fabrick of the terraqueous Globe, and glorious Circles of Heaven. It is likewise very observable, that albeit all the Fishes of the Sea were formed by one Word, all the Beasts of the Field by one Act, &c. Yet God was pleased to bestow Two upon the Creation of *Man*; by the first, his Body was created out of the Dust, and thereafter was breathed in his Soul. And albeit transient Mention is only made of all other Creations; yet the History of Man's Creation is twice repeated, once *Gen. 1. 27.* and again *2. 7.* And lest that foreseen Deformity, wherewith he was to be besmeared after his Fall, should make it be questioned, that at his first Creation he had receiv'd the *Impressa* of God's Image, this is oft repeated. For in the *26. v. Gen. 1.* it is said, *Let us make Man in our Image*; and then again, *and after our Likeness.* And in the *27th v. So God created man in his own image*; and again immediately thereafter, *in the image of God created he him.* Yet I am confident, that this Image is so bedaled in the Mire of Sin, and so shatter'd by its first Fall, and this Divine

Impressa

Impressa and Print so worn out by our old vicious Habits, that if this Genealogy had not been so oft inculcated, we could not but have called it in question, albeit our Vanity be ready enough to believe a Descent so Royal and Sublime. Wherefore I must again admire the Folly of Atheists, who, by denying a Deity, cloud their own noble Birth-right.

But albeit Man be made after God's Image, yet that can be no Argument to conclude, that therefore God may be made after Man's Image, or represented under his Figure, as the Anthropomorphites foolishly contend, no more than if we should conclude, that because a Copy may be taken of an Original, therefore an Original may be taken of a Copy. Neither is this Representation salv'd from being Idolatry, by alledging that the Image is not worshipped, but God, who is represented by it: For it hath been well observed by an Ancient Father, That Idolatry in Scripture is called Adultery. And it is no good Excuse for an Adulteress, that she did lye with another because he represented her Husband to her, and resembled him as a Copy doth its Original: Yet seeing nothing is roomed in our Judgment and Apprehension, but what first entred by the Wicket of Sense, it is almost impossible for Man to conceive the *Idea* of any thing but vested with some Shape, as each Man's private Reflections will abundantly convince him.

As the boundless Ocean keeps and shews its well-drawn Images, whilst it stands quiet, with a Face polish'd like a Crystal Cake, but loses them immediately, how soon its proud Waves begin to swell and enrage, to spit its frothy Foam in the Face of the angry Heavens; so whilst a Stoical Indolency, and Christian Repose, smooths our restless Spirits, it is only then that the Soul of

Man can be said to retain that Glorious Image of God Almighty, with which it was impressed at its created Nativity. But when the Waves of Choler begin to roar, or the Winds of Vanity to blow, then that Glorious Image is no more to be discerned in him, than the Shadows and Representations of In-looking Objects are to be seen and discerned in the disquieting Bosom of the troubled Waters.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Immortality of the Soul.

THE Stings of a Natural Conscience, which according to each Man's Actings, create to him either Agues of Fear, or Paradises of Joy, do, by these omniating Presages, convince us of the Immortality of the Soul: And seeing we see its Predictions both in Dreams, in Damps of Melancholy, and such like Enthusiastick Fits, followed by suitable Events; why may we not likewise believe its Predictions, as to its own Immortality; it being the Prudence of a *Virtuoso* to lay hold of every Mean, which may allay the Rage of his Hereditary Misfortunes? And to what end would the Soul of Man receive such Impressions of Fear and Hope, if by its Mortality it were not to be stated in a Condition, wherein its Fears and Hopes were to have suitable Rewards or Punishments? Moreover, seeing God is just, he will punish and reward; and therefore, seeing he punishes and rewards not Men according to their Merits or Demerits here, there must be doubtless a future State wherein that is to be expected. But that which convinces my private Judgment most of
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this Truth, is, that the noblest Souls, and the sharpest-sighted, do, of all others, most desire the State of Separation, and have the weakest Attaches to this Life; which must doubtless proceed from an Assurance of Immortality, and that it hath, from the *Pisgab* of its Contemplation, got a View of the Spiritual *Canaan*. For seeing the brutishest of Creatures abhors Annihilation, as the most averfable Ill in Nature, doubtless the Soul of Man which is the most Divine of all Creatures, would never appetite this Separation, if by it it were to be extinct, and to be no more. And how absurd were it to believe, that Man's Soul should be made after God's Image, and yet conclude it mortal, a Quality repugnant to any thing that is Divine? As also, how can the Soul be thought to perish with the Body, seeing these Accidents which destroy the Body, cannot reach it? How can the Heat of a Fever burn, or Rheums drown, that which is not Corporeal, and cannot be touched? And seeing Man's least Peccadilio against God Almighty, is against one who is infinite, were it not absurd to think, that it could be proportionally punished in the swift Glass of Man's short Life? than which nothing is more finite, or sooner finished.

As the Soul is God's Image, so its Products are the Images of his admirable Operations. Do not Mathematicians create Eagles, Doves, and such like *Automata's*? And spring not Flowers from the Chymists Glasses? And thus Art, which is Man's Offspring, doth ape Nature, which is the Workmanship of the Almighty: And therefore seeing the Soul can, with one Thought, grasp both the Poles, can dart out its Conceits as far as the farthest Borders of the imaginary Spaces, create Worlds, and order, and disorder all that is in this which is already created; it's strange

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to think it to be either Corporeal or Mortal: For if it were Corporeal and a Mass of Blood, its Actings wou'd be lent and dull; neither could its Motions be so nimble and winged, as are these of our agile Spirits. It were impossible for our narrow Heads, to inn all these innumerable *Ideas* (which are now in them) if these were all corporeal; and if these be not Corporeal, that which produces them must be doubtless Incorporeal, seeing *simile generatur a simili*; and dull Flesh and Blood could never produce such Spiritual Emanations.

As the Soul is God's Image, so in this it resembles him very much, that we can know nothing of its Nature without its own Assistance: Like a Dark Lanthorn, or a Spy, it discovers every thing to us, except it self. And because it refuses us the Light of its Candle, whilst we are in the Quest of its Mysteries; therefore it is that our Re-searches of its Nature are Gropings in the Dark; and so oftentimes vain, if not ridiculous. *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, and the Remnant of that *Arabian* Tribe, admiring its prodigious Effects, did attribute our Spiritual Motions to assisting Angels; as if such admirable Notions could not be fathered upon less Sublime Causes: Which *Cardan* likewise thinks, do offer their Assistance and Light to sensitive Creatures, but that the Churlishness of their Matter will not suffer them to entertain such pure Eradiations. This disparages so much Humanity, making Man only a Statue, that it were against the Soul's Interest to admit of any such *Idea's*: For as it tends more to the Artist's Praise, to cause his Products move from hid and internal Springs, than from extrinsick Causes; as we see in Watches, and such like: So it is more for the Honour of that great Artist, and more suitable to the Being and Nature of his Creatures, that all its Operations flow from it self, than
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from assisting but exterior Coadjutors; which makes me averſe from *Aristotle's* Opinion, of the Motion of the Spheres by Intelligences. And it were abſurd to think, that Men ſhould be blamed or praiſed for thoſe Effects which their Aſſeſſor Angels could only be charged with. The *Platonics* alledged, that all Souls exiſted before their Incarceration in Bodies; in which State of Pre-exiſtence, they were doted with all theſe Spiritual Endowments, which ſhall attend them in the State of Separation; and that at their firſt Alliance with Bodies, their native Knowledge was clouded ἐπισημῶν ἀναβολῆ, with the putting off Knowledge for a time, till by a *Remiſcentia*, their Intellectuals revived, as by a Reſurrection. And *Origen* added, that theſe Souls were, according to their Eſcapes committed in the State of their Primitive Separation, yoked with better or worſe Bodies; a Shift taken, in all Probability, by him to evite the Apprehenſion of God's being unjuſt, for infuſing innocent Souls into Bodies which would infect them, and by drawing them into inevitable Snares, at laſt condemn them; or at leaſt their Infuſion was the imprifoning thoſe who were not guilty: A Difficulty which ſtraits much ſuch as maintain, that the Soul is not *extraduce*. What the Hazard of this Opinion may be, my Twilight is not able to diſcover.

It may be, that the *Stoicks* miſtake in making the Souls of Men to be but Parcels, decerpt from that *Universal Anima Mundi* (by which they doubtleſs meant God himſelf) was occaſioned by a Miſtake of that Text, that *God breathed into man's noſtrils, the breath of Life*; concluding, that as the Breath is a part of the Body which breathed it; ſo the Soul behoved to be a part of that Divine Eſſence: From which by a Second Conſequence, they concluded, that the Soul being a part of that
 Divine

Divine Being, could not suffer nor undergo any Torments; as is asserted by *Seneca*, Epist. 29. *Cicero*, Tusc. 5. and defended by their Successors, those primitive Hereticks, the *Gnosticks*, *Maniches*, and *Priscillianists*. But this Bastard is not worth the fostering, being an Opinion that God hath Parts, and Man real Divinity; and is doubtless a false and flattering Testimony given by the Soul to it self. For seeing the Soul is, by Divine Oracles, told us to be made after God's Image, it can be no more called a part of God, than the Picture should be reputed a part of the Painter.

Aristotle, like the Devil (who because he knows not what to answer, answers even in Engines) tells us, That *Anima* is *εντελεχεια*, a Term fixed to exercise the empty Brains of curious Pedants, and apter to beget, than explicate Difficulties. Neither believe I, that his Three Souls, which he lodges in Man, to wit, the Rational, Sensitive and Vegetative, do differ more amongst themselves, than the Will, Understanding and Fancy differ from the Two last: So that his Arithmetick might have bestowed Five Souls upon Man, as well as Three. But seeing he, and many of his Disciples, believe these to be Three, and yet these Three to be but One; I admire why they should be so nice, as not to believe that pious Mystery of the Holy Trinity: Whereof in my Opinion, his Trinity of the Soul is as opposite an Emblem, as was the Conceit of a simple Clown, who being ask'd, how he could apprehend the Three Glorious Persons to be but one? did fold his Garment in three Pleats, and thereafter drew out all three in one.

As the Heraldry of our Reason cannot blazon the Soul's *Impressa*; so can it not help us to line out its Descent: And such would appear to be the Excellency of that noble Creature, that Hea-
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ven and Earth seem to contend the which shall be the Place of its Nativity. Divines (who are obliged to contend for Heaven, because they are its more immediate Pensioners) will have it to be created and infused ; whereas Philosophers (ambitious to have so noble a Compatriot , and willing to gratify Nature, which aliments their sublime Meditations) contend that it is *ex traduce*, and is in Generation the Bodies other Twin. And albeit it would appear from Scripture, that God accomplish'd the Creation the first Seven Days, and that Nature did then pass Child-bearing ; yet that in my Judgment, must be meant of the Creation of whole *Species*, and not of *Individuals*: And to press the Soul's not Traduction, I shall lend only one Argument, not because it is the best, but because it is my own. We see, that there where the Soul is confess'd to be *ex traduce*, as in Brutes and Vegetative Creatures, that Nature, as it were with a Pencil, copies the Young from off the Old. The young Lions are still as rapacious and roaring, as were their Syres from whose Loins they descended: And the Rose being pous'd up by the salt Nitre which makes it Vegetative, spreads the same Leaves, and appears with the same Blushes or Paleness that beautified its Eye-pleasing Predecessors. The Reason of which continual Assimilation, proceeds from the Seed's having in its Bosom all these Qualities and Shapes, which appear thereafter in its larger Products, whereof they were but a *Map* or *Index*. Whereas Man resembles never, at least not oft, those who are called his Parents: The vitious and tall Father having oft low, but virtuous Children; which shows, that the Soul of Man is not derived by Generation, and that the Soul bestowed upon the Son's Body, is most different and asymbolic to that which lodged in the Father. And this

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may be farther confirmed by that Excellent Passage, *Prov. 20. 27.* where it is said, That the *understanding of man is the candle of the Lord.* Our Soul is God's Image, and none can draw that Image but himself; we are the Stamp of his Divine Nature, and so can only be formed by himself, who is the glorious Seal.

From this Divine Principle, that Man's Soul is made after God's Image, I am almost induced to believe, that *Prophecy* is no miraculous Gift bestowed upon the Soul at extraordinary Occasions only, but is a Natural (though the highest) Perfection of our Human Nature: For if it be natural for the Stamp, to have impress'd upon it all the Traits that dwell upon the Face of the Seal; then it must be natural to the Soul, which is God's *Impressa*, to have a Faculty of foreseeing; since that is one of God's Excellencies. Albeit I confess, that that Stamp is here infinitely be-dimm'd and worn off; as also we know by Experience, that Men upon a Death-bed, when the Soul begins (being detached by Sicknes from the Body's Slavery) to act like it self, do foresee and foretel many remote and improbable Events: And for the same Reason, I do think Predictions by Dreams, not to be extraordinary Revelations, but rather the Products natural of a Rational Soul. And if sagacious Men can be so sharp-sighted in this State of Glimmering, as to foresee many Events which fall out; why may we not say, That Man, if he were rehabilitated in the former State of pure Nature, might, without any extraordinary Assistance, foresee and prophesy? For there is not such a Distance betwixt that Foresight and Prophecy, as is betwixt the two States of Innocency and Corruption; according to the received Notions which Men have settled to themselves of that primitive State of Innocency.

From the same Principle may it likewise be deduced, that natural Reason cannot but be an Excellent Mean for knowing, as far as is possible, the Glorious Nature of God Almighty. He hath doubtless lighted this Candle, that we might by it see himself: And how can we better know the Seal, than by looking upon its Impression. And if Religion and its Mysteries cannot be comprehended by Reason, I confess it is a pretty Jest to hear such frequent Reasonings amongst Churchmen, in Matters of Religion. And albeit *Faith* and *Reason* be look'd upon as *Jacob* and *Esau*, whereof the Younger only hath the Blessing, and are by Divines placed at the two opposite Points of the Diameter; yet upon a superficial Enquiry, it would appear by the Laws of his Country, that *Faith* is but sublimated Reason, calcined by that Divine Chymical Fire of Baptism; and that the Soul of Man hath lurking in it, all those Virtues and Faculties which we call Theological; such as *Faith*, *Hope* and *Repentance*: For else *David* would not have prayed, *Enlighten, Lord, my eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law*; but rather, *Lord, bestow new eyes upon me*. Neither could the opening of *Lydia's* Heart have been sufficient for her Conversion, if these pre-existing Qualities had not been treasur'd up there formerly: So that it would appear, that these Holy Flames lurk under the Ashes of Corruption, until God, by the Breath of his Spirit (and that Wind which bloweth where it listeth) sweep them off. And that God having once made Man perfect in the first Creation, doth not, in his Regeneration, super-add any new Faculty (for else the Soul had not at first been perfect) but only removes all obstructing Impediments.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Faith and Reason.

I Am always ashamed, when I hear *Reason* called the Step-mother of *Faith*, and proclaimed Rebel against God Almighty, and such declared Traitors as dare harbour it, or appear in its Defence. These are such Fools as they who break their Prospects, because they bring not home to their Sight the remotest Objects; and are as unjust as *Jacob* had been, if he had divorced from *Leah*, because she was tender-eyed: Whereas we should not put out the Eyes of our Understanding, but should beg from God the Eye-salve of his Spirit for their Illumination. Nor should we dash the Prospect of our Reason against the rocky Walls of Despair; but should rather wash its Glasses with the Tears of unfeigned Repentance.

Ever since *Faith* and *Reason* have been by Divines set by the Ears, the brutish Multitude conclude, those who are most reasonable; to be least religious; and the greatest Spirits; to be the least Spiritual: A Conceit most inconsistent with that divine Parable, wherein those who received the many Talents, improved them to the best Advantage; whilst he who had but one, laid it up in a Napkin. And it is most improbable; that God would chuse low Shrubs, and not tall Cedars, for the building of his Glorious Temple. And it is remarkable, that God in the Old Law, refused to accept the First-born of an Ass in Sacrifice, but not of any other Creature. And some who were content to be called *Atheists*, providing they were thought Wits, did take Advantage

rage in this of the *Rabbles* Ignorance, and authorized by their devilish Invention, what was at first but a Mistake: And this unriddles to us that Mystery, why the greatest Wits are most frequently the greatest Atheists.

When I consider, how the Angels, who have no Bodies, sinned before Man; and that Brutes, who are all Body, sin not at all, but follow the pure Dictates of Nature; I am induced to believe, that the Body is rather unjustly blamed for being, than that really it is, the Occasion of Sin; and probably the witty Soul hath in this cunningly laid over upon its Fellow, that wherewith it self is only to be charged. What Influence can Flesh or Blood have upon that which is immaterial? No more sure than the Case hath upon the Watch, or the Heavens upon its burgesing Angels? And see we not, that when the Soul hath bid the Body adieu, it remains a Carcass fit nor able for nothing? I believe, that the Body being a Clog to it, may slow its Pursuit after Objects, and that it may occasion indirectly some Sins of Omission: For we see palpably, that eating and drinking dulls our Devotions; but I can never understand, how such dumb Orators, as Flesh and Blood, can persuade the Soul to commit the least Sin. And thus, albeit our Saviour says, that *flesh and blood did not teach Peter to give him his true Epithets*; neither indeed could it: yet our Saviour imputes not any actual Sin to these pithless Causes. And seeing our first Sin hath occasioned all our After-sinning, certainly that which occasioned our first Sin was the main Source of sinning; and this was doubtless the Soul: For our first Sin being an immoderate Desire of Knowledge, was the Effect and Product of our Spirit, because it was a Spiritual Sin; whereas had it been Gluttony, Lust, or such like, which seems Corporeal, the Body had been more

to have been blamed for it. And in this Contest, I am of Opinion, that the Soul wins the Cause, because it is the best Orator.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Fall of Angels, and what their Sin was.

WHAT was the Occasion of the first Ill is much debated (and most deservedly) amongst Moralists: for that which was good, cou'd not produce that which was evil; seeing that which works Mischief cannot be called good. Nor can we ascribe the Efficiency of the first Evil to Evil; for then the Question recurs, what was the Cause of that Evil? And by this the Supposition is likewise destroyed, whereby the Evil enquired after is supposed to be the first Evil: But if we enquire, what could produce in the Angels that first Sin, whereby they forfeited their Glory? we will find this Disquisition most mysterious. And it is commonly believed, but by what Revelation I know not, that their Pride caused their Fall, and that they catch'd their Bruise in climbing; in desiring to be equal to their Creator, they are become inferior to all their Fellow-Creatures. Yet this seems to me most strange, that these Excellent Spirits, whose very Substance was light, and who surpassed far Man in Capacity and Understanding, should have so erred, as to imagine, that Equality feasible: A Fancy which the fondest of Men could not have entertained. And it were improbable to say, that their Error could have sprouted at first from their Understanding; and to think it to have been so gross, as that fallen Man doth now admire it: But why may we not

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not rather think, that their first Error was rather a Crookedness in their Will, than a Blindness in their Judgment; and that they fretted to see Man, whom they knew to be inferior to themselves by many Stages, made Lord of all that pleasant Creation, which they gazed on with a staring Maze. And that this Opinion is more probable, appears, because this Sin was the far more baiting, seeing it appeared with all the Charms wherewith either Pride, Vanity or Avarice, could busk it; and explicates better to us the Occasion of all that Enmity with which that Serpent hath always since pursued silly Man. But whether God will save just as many Believers as there are fallen of the Angels, none can determine; neither can it be rationally deduced from that Scripture, *Statuit terminos gentium, juxta numerum Angelorum Dei.* But if it please God so to order it, it will doubtless aggrage their Punishment, by racking their Disdain.

And seeing the Angels have never obtained a Remission for this Crime, it is probable, that the Correspondent of their Sin is in us the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Sin of the Angels was the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

For if their *Lapse* had been pardonable, some one or other of them had in all probability escaped; but if this was not that unpardonable Sin, I scarce see where it shall be found. For to say, that it is a hating of Good, as *God*, is to make it unpracticable, rather than unpardonable: For all Creatures appetite naturally what is Good, and *God*, as *God*, is Good; so that it is impossible that he can be hated under that Reduplication.

It may be likewise conjectured, that voluntary and deliberate Sacrilege is the Sin against the Holy Ghost; because *Ananias* and *Saphira*, in withholding from the Church a Part of the Price for which they sold their Lands, are by *Peter* said

to have lied, not to Man, but to the Holy Ghost; and his Wife is there said to have tempted the Spirit: But seeing both of them resolved to continue in the Church (a Resolution inconsistent with the Sin against the Holy Ghost) and seeing many Sins are more heinous, I cannot interpret this lying to the Holy Ghost to be any thing else, but a Sin against Light, in which most Penitents have been involved: Albeit I confess, this was a gross Escape, seeing it robb'd God of his *Omniscieney*, and supposed that he was not privy to such Human Actings, as have not the Sun for a Witness. I do then conclude, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost may rather be a resolute undervaluing of God, and a scorning to receive a Pardon from him: And this is that which makes the Angels Fall irrecoverable, and, like the flaming Sword, defends them from their Re-entry into that Paradise from which they are exiled. And albeit to say, that the Angels Rebellion flows from God's denying them Repentance, may suit abundantly well with his unstainable Justice; yet it is hard to reconcile it with his Mercy. And this makes my private Judgment place the Unpardonableness of this Sin, not in God's Decree, but in their Obduration and rebellious Impenitency: And the Reason why those who commit this Sin are never pardoned, is, because a Pardon is never sought. That Place of Scripture wherein *Esau* is said to have sought the Blessing with Tears, and not to have found it, astonishes me: Yet, I believe, that if his Tears had streamed from a Sense of his Guilt, more than of his Punishment, doubtless he had not wept in vain; and in that he tear'd, he was no more to be pitied, far less pardoned than a Malefactor, who upon the Scaffold grants some few Tears to the Importunity of his Tortures, but scorns to acknowledge the Guilt of his Crime;

for Pain, by contracting our Bodies, strains out that liquid Matter, which thereafter globes it self in Tears; there could come no Holy Water from the Pagan Font of *Esau's* Eyes; and if his Remorse could have pierc'd his own Heart, it had easily pierc'd Heaven. Whilst others admire, I bless God, that he hath clos'd up the Knowledge of that unpardonable Sin under his own Privy Seal: For seeing Satan tempts me to Sin with Hopes of an After-pardon, this Bait is pull'd off his Hook by the Fear I stand under, that the Sin to which I am tempted, is that Sin which can expect no Pardon. And albeit it be customary amongst Men, to beacon and set a Mark upon such Shelves and Rocks as destroy Passengers; yet that is only done where Commerce is allowed, and Sailing necessary: But seeing all Sin is forbidden, God was not obliged to guard us with the Knowledge of that Sin no farther than by prohibiting us not to sin, but to stand in Awe.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Man's Fall.

THAT first Sin whereby our first Parents forfeited their Primitive Excellencies, was so pitiful a Frailty, that I think we should rather lament, than enquire after it. To think that an Apple had in it the Seeds of all Knowledge, or that it could assimilate him to to his Creator, and could in an Instant sublimate his Nature, was a Frailty to be admired in one of his Piety and Knowledge. Yet I admire not that the Breach of so mean a Precept was punish'd with such appearing Rigor, because the easier the Command was, the Contempt was proportionally the greater;

and the first Crimes are by Legislators punished, not only for Guilt, but for Example : But I rather admire, what could persuade the facile World to believe, that *Adam* was created not only innocent, but even stored with all Human Knowledge : For besides that we have no Warrant from Scripture for this Allegiance, this his easy Escape speaketh far otherwise.

And albeit the Scripture tells us, that Man was created perfect ; yet that infers not that Man was furnished with all Human Knowledge : For his Perfection consisted in his adoring of, and depending upon God ; wherein we see those are exactest, whose Judgments are least pestered with terrestrial Knowledge, and least diverted with unnecessary Speculations. And thus it appears that those Sciences, after which his Posterity pants, were not intended as noble *Appanages* of that rational Soul, but are rather toyish Babies buskt up by fallen Man, whereby he diverts himself from reflecting too narrowly upon his native Frailty. And thus Scripture tells us, *That God made man perfect, but that he sought out to himself many inventions* ; where Perfection and Invention seem to be stated as Enemies : And it is palpable, that those Sciences which are by us lawrel'd and rewarded, are such as were inconsistent with that State of Innocency, such as Law, Theology and Physick. And as for the rest, it is absurd to think that *Adam's* Happiness did consist in the Knowledge of those things which we our-selves account either impertinent or superfluous. But that which convinces me most of this, is, that we forfeited nothing by *Adam's* Fall, which Christ's Death restores not to us ; wherefore seeing Christ by his own, or his Apostles Promises, hath not assured us of any Sublunary or School-Knowledge ; nor hath our Experience taught us, that Sciences are entailed

entailed upon the Saints: I almost believe, that *Adam* neither possess these before, nor yet lost them by his Fall. Neither think I *St. Paul* the more imperfect, that he desired to *know nothing but Christ, and him Crucified*: So that the Difference betwixt *Adam* and his Successors, stood more in the Straitness of his Affections, than in the Depth of his Knowledge. For albeit it be believed, that the Names whereby he baptized the Creatures were full Histories of their Natures, written in short Hand; yet this is but a Conjecture authorized by no Holy Text. It is a more civil Error in the *Jewish* Talmudists, to think that all the Creatures were brought to *Adam*, to let him see that there were none amongst them fit to be his Companion, nor none so beautiful as *Eve*; than it is in their Cabalists to observe, that the *Hebrew* Word signifying *Man*, doth, by a Transposition of Letters, signify likewise *Benediction*; and the Word signifying *Woman*, makes up *Malediction*. If we should take a Character of *Adam's* Knowledge from the Scriptures, we shall find more Imprudence charged upon him, than upon any of his Successors: For albeit the silly *Woman* was not deceived without the Help of Subtilty; yet *Adam* sinned upon a bare Suggestion, and thereafter was so simple as to hide himself, when God called him to an Account; as if a Thicket of Trees could have sconced him from his All-seeing Maker: and when he was accused, was so simple as to think his Wife's Commands sufficient to exoner him; and so absurd, as to make God himself sharer with him in his Guilt, *the Woman whom thou gavest me, &c.*

There is more Charm in acquiring new Knowledge, than in reflecting upon what we have already gain'd, (as if the *Species* of known Objects did corrupt, by being treasur'd up in our Brains).

And this induces me to believe, that our Scantness of Native Knowledge, is rather a Happiness than a Punishment: The Citizens of *London* or *Paris* are not so tickled by the Sight of those stately Cities, as Strangers who were not born within their Walls; and I may say to such, as by spelling the Stars desire to read the Fortunes of others, as our Saviour said to *Peter*, when he was desirous to know the Horoscope of the beloved Apostle, *What is that to thee?* What can it advantage us to know the Correspondence kept amongst the Planets, and to understand the whole Anatomy of Nature's *Skeleton*; in gazing upon whose Parts, we are oft-times as ridiculous as Children, who love to leaf over talidouce Pictures; for in both, Variety is all the Usury that can be expected, as the Return of our Time and Pains. And if we pry inly into this small Mass of our present Knowledge, we shall find that our Knowledge is one of the fertilest Fountains of our Misery: For do not such as know that they are sick, groan more heavily than a Country Clown, who apprehends nothing till Extremity creates in him some Sense? And doubtless the Reason why Children and Ideots endure more, and drunken Men escape more Dangers than others, is, because albeit they cannot provide such apt Remedies, yet they are less acquainted with what they feel than we are. Are not those who understand that they are affronted, more vex'd than such as are ignorant of these Misfortunes? And those who foresee the Changes and Revolutions which are to befall either their Friends or their Countries, are thereby more sadly diseased, than he who sees no farther than his Nose. Our Saviour wept when he did foresee, that one Stone of *Ferusalem* should not be left upon another; and when *Hazael* ask'd *Elisha* why he wept, he told him, It was because

he did foresee what Mischief *Hazael* was to do in *Israel*. Let us not then complain of the Loss of *Adam's* Knowledge, but of his Innocency; we know enough to save us, and what is more than that, that is superfluous.

Adam cannot be thought to have been the first Sinner, for *Eve* sinned before him; so that albeit it seem a Paradox, yet it is most probable, that albeit *Adam* had for ever abstained from eating the forbidden fruit, his Posterity had been still as miserable as now they are; seeing the Guilt of either of the Parents had been sufficient to dash the Innocence of the Children. For as the Scripture tells us, *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* And *David*, in that Text which of all others speaks most expressly of Original Sin, lays the Guilt upon her, and confesseth only, *That his Mother had conceived him in Sin.*

As *Adam* was not the first Sinner, so the eating of the Apple may be justly thought not to be the first Sin; *Eve* having, before his eating the Apple, repeated most falsely the Command. For whereas God did assure them, *That in that day they did eat the fruit, they should surely die*: *Eve* relates it thus, *Ye shall not eat the fruit, lest ye die*; representing only that as a Contingent which was most certain: And whereas God had only said, *Ye shall not eat of the fruit of the tree*, *Eve* says, *God said, Ye shall not touch it*; which, it may be, furnished the Serpent with this Argument to cheat her; Ye see God hath deceived you, for the Fruit may be touched without Danger, why may it not be eaten without Hazard? And it is probable that he hath failed in the one, as well as in the other. But to abstract from this; it cannot be said that the eating of the forbidden fruit was the first Sin; for before *Adam* did eat thereof, he behoved both to believe the Serpent and misbelieve his Maker; and thus

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Misbelief was the first Sin : For after he had credited the Serpents Report, he was no longer Innocent ; and so he did not eat the Apple till after his Fall. What wiser are those Divines, who debate whether *Adam's* Falling-sickness and Sin had become hereditary, if our Predecessors had come out of his Loins before he sinned ; than those who combated for the largest Share of the King of *Spain's* Gold, if it had been to be divided ?

In the Almighty's Procedure against poor *Adam* for this Crime, his infinite Mercy appears to Admiration ; and God foreseeing that Man might sharpen the Axe of Justice too much upon the Whetstone of private Revenge, seems to have in this Process formed to him an exact Model of Inquisition. For he arraigns and cries, *Adam, Adam, where art thou ?* He shews him his Dittary, *Hast thou eat of the fruit whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat ?* He allows him Exculpation, *Who told thee ?* and in order thereto, did examine the Woman upon whom *Adam* did transfer the Guilt. And albeit nothing could escape his Omniscency, and that he did see *Adam* eat the Apple ; yet to teach Judges that they should walk according to what is proved, and not according to what they are themselves consciousto, he did not condemn him till first he should have a Confession from his own Mouth. And thus, *Gen. 18. 21.* the Lord says, *Because the cry of Sodom is great - - - I will go down and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, &c.* And in the last place, albeit the fatal Decree did bear, *In that day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die ;* yet were his days prolonged Nine Hundred and Thirty Years after the Sin was committed. It is too curious a Disquisition to enquire how God can be said to be merciful, Mercy being the Mitigation of Justice ; of which his pure Nature cannot be capable, seeing
whatever

whatever he wills is just; and so he cannot be thought in any thing which he wills, to recede from Justice: And so can no more properly be said to be merciful, than one Act can be both the Law, and the Mitigation of the Law. But I will press no Point of this Nature, knowing that humble Modesty is the best Theology.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Stile of Genesis.

THE *Vatican* of Paganism cannot, for the Maleness of its Stile, match that matchless Book of *Genesis*, whereof each Sentence seems a Quarry of rich Meditations, and each Word a Spell, sufficient to conjure the Devil of *Delphos*. Might not that excellent Expression, *Let us make man after our image*, convince any of the Being of a Trinity, who deny Plurality of Gods? It is wonderful, that the Saturn-humor'd Jew can, in this Passage mistake his own Saviour; and it is strange that he should not, from the Triangular Architecture of his own Heart, conclude the Trinity of the Godhead, whose Temple it was appointed to be. Albeit I be an Admirer of this Nurse of Cabalism; yet, I approve not the Conceit of those doting Rabbies, who teach that God, from his own mouth, indited both the Words and Matter of the *Pentateuch*; whereas he furnished only to the other Prophets the Matter and Subject unphrased: for not only did God promise that he should put his Words in their Mouths, but likewise, they preface thus their own Prophecies, In the days of such a King, the Word of the Lord came to such a Prophet, saying, &c. Neither is this Conceit consistent with that high Esteem which they, even in this intend for their Patron

Moses;

Moses; seeing it allows him less Trust from his divine Master, than the other Penmen of Scripture had reposed in them.

CH A P. XVIII.

Why Man fell.

TH A T Brain hath too little *pia mater*, that is too curious to know, why God, who evidences so great a Desire to save poor Man, and is so powerful, as that his Salvation needed ever have run the Hazard, if his infinite Wisdom had so decreed, did yet suffer him to fall: For if we enter once the List of that Debate, our Reason is too weak to bear the burden of so great a difficulty. And albeit it may be answered, that God might have restrained Man, but that Restraint did not stand with the Freedom of Mans Will which God had bestowed upon him; yet this Answer stops not the Mouth of the Difficulty. For certainly, if one should detain a mad man from running over a Precipice, we could not be thereby said to have wronged his Liberty: And seeing Man is by many Divines allowed a freedom of Will, albeit he must of Necessity do what is Evil, and that his Freedom is salv'd by a Liberty to chuse only one of more Evils, it would appear strange why his Liberty might not have consisted well enough with a moral Impossibility of sinning, and might not have been abundantly conserved in his Freedom to chuse one of more goods: yet these Reasonings are the calling God to an account; and so impious. For, if God had first created Man surrounded with our present Infirmities, could we have complained? Why then should we now complain, seeing we are but fall'n to a better Estate than we deserved; seeing we stumbled not
for

for Want of Light, but because we extinguish'd our own Light; and seeing our Saviour's dying for us may yet reinstate us in an happier Estate than that from which we are now fall'n.

Albeit the Glass of my Years hath not yet turn'd Five and Twenty, yet the Curiosity I have to know the different *Limbo's* of departed Souls, and to view the Card of the Region of Death, would give me Abundance of Courage to encounter this King of Terrors, though I were a Pagan: But when I consider what Joys are prepared for them who fear the Almighty, and what Craziness attends such as sleep in *Methusalem's* Cradle, I pity them who make *Long Life* one of the ofttest repeated Petitions of their *Pater noster*; and yet, those sure are the more advanc'd in Folly, who desire to have their Names enshrin'd after Death in the airy Monument of *Fame*. Whereas it is one of the Promises made to the Elect, *That they shall rest from their labours, and their works shall follow them*. Most Mens Mouths are so foul that it is a Punishment to be much in them: For my own part, I desire the same good Offices from any good Name that I do from my Cloaths; which is to skreen me from the Violence of Exterior Accidents.

As those Criminals might be judg'd distracted who being condemned to die, would spend their short Reprieval in disputing about the Situation and Fabric of their Gibbets: So may I justly think those *Literati* mad, who spend the short time allotted them for Repentance, in debating about the Seat of Hell, and the Torments of tortur'd Spirits. To satisfy my Curiosity, I was once resolv'd, with the Platonic, to take the promise of some dying Friend, that he should return & satisfy me in all my private Doubts concerning Hell and Heaven; yet I was justly afraid, that he might have return'd me the same answer which *Abraham* return'd to *Dives*,
Have

Have they not Moses and the Prophets ; if they hear not them, wherefore will they be persuaded though one should rise from the dead ?

C H A P. XIX.

A Refutation of the Millenarians.

TH E *Millenar's* Ephemerides, which assure us that Christ shall reign a thousand years with the Saints on Earth, is as sensual an opinion as that of the *Turks*, who make Heaven a Brothel, wherein we shall satisfy our Venereous Appetites; for the one shews the vain Glory and vindictive Humor of the Saints, as palpably as the other shews the Lust of the *Mahometans*. If Christ's Reigning so many Years be for convincing the World that he is the real *Messiah*, their Heresy should have antedated his Coming, and his Reign should rather have begun long since, when many Ages were to be converted; or at least it should not have been thrust out upon the Selvage and Border of Time, when very few shall remain to be convinc'd: And if in this they intend a Displaying of Christ's Glory, certainly they are mistaken; for what Honour can it be for a King, to have his Foot-stool made his Throne? So that I think, these poor Phanatics have taken the Patronage of this Error rather by Necessity than Choice, all other Opinions and Conceits being formerly preengaged to other Authors.

C H A P. XX.

The Author's Censure of this Essay, and an Account of his Design.

AS I am not able, by the *Jacob's Ladder* of my Merits, to scale Heaven; so am I less able, by the *Jacob's Staff* of my private Ability, to take up the true Altitude of its Mysteries. I have travel'd no farther in Theology than a *Sabbath-days Journey*; and therefore, it were Arrogance in me to offer a Map of it to the credulous World: But, if I were worthy to be consulted in these Spiritual Securities, I should advise every private Christian; rather to stay still in the Barge of the Church, with the other Disciples, than by an ill bridled Zeal, to hazard drowning alone with *Peter*, by offering to walk upon the unstable Surface of his own fleeting and water-weak Fancies, though with a pious Resolution to meet our Saviour. For, albeit one may be a real Christian, and yet differ from the Church, which says, That the Wise Men who came to bow before our Saviour's Cradle-throne, were three Kings, and in such other Opinions as these wherein the Fundamentals of Faith, and Quiet of the Church are no ways concerned; yet certainly, he were no wise Man himself, nor yet sound Christian, who would not, even in these bow the Flag of his private Opinion to the commands of the Church. The Church is our Mother, and therefore we should wed no Opinion without her Consent who is our Parent; or if we have rashly wedded any, it is in the Power of the Church and her Officials to grant us a Divorce. As for myself, my Vanity never prompted me to be Standardbearer to any, either new Sect, or old Heresy;

fy; and I pity such as love to live like Pew-keepers in the House of God, busied in seating others, without ever providing a Room for themselves. If there be any thing in this Discourse which may offend such as are really pious, it shall much grieve me, who above all Men honour them most. What I have spoken against Cases of Conscience and the like, strikes not against their Christian-Fellowship and Correspondence, but against the apish Fopperies of pretending Counterfeits. It shall always be my Endeavour for the future, rather to drop Tears for my own Sins, and the Sins of others, then yrk for their Conversion: Our Prayers help such as never heard them, whereas those only who read our Discourses are better'd by them. *Abraham's* Prayers prevailed more with God (even for *Sodom*) than *Lot's* reiterated Sermons; and no Wonder that the Success be unequal, seeing in the one we have to do with a merciful God; whereas in the other we must pusuade a hard-hearted People.

I intend not to purchase from Posterity, the Title of *Reformer*, seeing most of these have fall'n under the same Guilt, and have had the same Fate with that curious Painter, who having drawn an excellent *Face*, as happily as could have been expected from the smoothest Mirror, did thereafter dash it afresh upon the Suggestion of each Intransigent, till at last he reformed it from being any way like to the Original.

Divinity differs in this from all other Sciences, that these being invented by Mortals, receive Growth from Time and Experience; whereas, it being penn'd by the omniscient Spirit of God, can receive no Addition without receiving Prejudice. It is most remarkable, that our Saviour's Prayers, His Sermons, and the *Creed* delivered to us by his Apostles, were roomed up in far nar-

rower Bounds than these of our times, which an Hydroptic of ill concocted Opinions hath swell'd beyond their true Dimensions: many whereof have either been brooded by *vanity* or *interest*; or else ignorant and violent Defendents being brought to a Bay, by such as impugn'd their resolv'd upon principles, have been forc'd to assert these by-blow and Preter-intentional *Tenets*; and having once floored them have thereafter judg'd themselves concerned to defend them, in point of Scholastic Honour. Some well-meaning Christians likewise, do sometimes, for maintenance of what is lawful and pious; think that they may lawfully advance Opinions, which otherwise they would never have allowed of; and as in Nature we see, that the Collision of two hard Bodies makes them rebound so much the farther from one another: So Opposition makes both Parties fly into Extremities. Thus I believe that the Debate betwixt *Roman-Catholicks* and *Protestants*, concerning the Virgin *Mary*, have occasion'd in some amongst both, expressions, if not Heretical, yet at least Undecent. Thus a great many *Confessions of Faith*, become, like *Noah's Ark*, a Receptacle of clean and unclean: and which is also deplorable, they do, like ordinary Dyals, serve only for use in that one Meridian for which they are calculated, and by riding twenty Miles ye make them Heterodox. I speak not this to the Disparagement of our own Church, (which I reverence in all its Precepts and Practices) but to beget a blushing Conviction in such as have diverted from it; and whose Conventicles, compared with our *Jerusalem*, resemble only the removed Huts of those who live apart, because they are sick of the Plague.

I am not at a maze, to see Men so tenacious of contrary Principles in Religion; for, Man's

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Thoughts

Thoughts being vast and various, he snatches at every offered Suggestion; and if by Accident he entertain any of those many, as a divine Immision, he thereafter thinks it were Blasphemy to bring that Thought to the Test of *Reason*, because he hears that *Faith* is above *Reason*; or to relinquish it, because the common Suffrage of his Country runs it Counter, seeing he is taught even by them, that the Principles of *Belief* must not be chosen by the Poll.

And seeing *Faith* is above *Reason*, (albeit as I said formerly; it would seem otherwise) I wonder not to see, even the best temper'd Christians, think that which is not their own Religion to be therefore ridiculous.

My Design all alongst this Discourse butts at this one Principle, *that Speculations in Religion are not so necessary, and are more dangerous than sincere Practice.* It is in Religion as in Heraldry, the simpler the Bearing be, it is so much the purer and the ancients. I will not say that our School-distinctions are the Impressions of the Devil's Cloven Foot; but I may say, that our Piety and Principles scarce ever grow after they begin to fork in such dichotomies; which, like *Jacob* and *Esau*, divide and jar as soon as they are born, and betwixt whom, the poor Proposition out of which both did spring, is, like a Malefactor, most lamentably drag'd to pieces. I have endeavour'd to demonstrate, that Dogmaticalness and Paralytic Scepticism, are but the *Apocrypha* of true Religion; and I believe the one begets the other, as a Toad begets a Cockatrice. For the Sceptic perceiving, that the magisterial Dogmatist errs (as those must err somewhere who assert too much) even in those things whereof he affirms he is as sure as of any Principle in Religion, (which is their ordinary Stile) he finding out their

Error

Error in one of their Principles, is thereby emboldned to contravert all. This being the Scope of this Essay, I wish that those who read, expound it as Divines do Parables, *Quæ non sunt argumentativa ultra suum scopum.*

C H A P. XXI.

The Author's Apology.

I Doubt not but some will think me no less absurd in writing against Vanity, whilst I am so vain my self as to write Books, than the Philosophers were judged of. old, for denying Motion whilst their Tongues mov'd in their Cheeks. But to these my Answer shall be, that finding many groveling in their Errors, I have, in this Essay, proffer'd them my Assistance; not to shew my *Strength* but my *Compassion*. The Multitude (which albeit it hath ever been allowed many Heads, yet was never allowed any Brains) will doubtless accuse my Studies of Adultery, for hugging Contemplations so Excentric to my Employment. To these my Return is, that these Papers are but the Parings of my other Studies; and because they were but Parings, I have flung them out into the Streets. I wrote them in my Retirements when I wanted both Books and Employment; and I resolve that this shall be the last Inroad I shall ever make into foreign Contemplations. There are some Thoughts in this Piece which may seem to rebell against the Empire of the Schools: yet, who knows but my Watch goes right, albeit it agree not with the public Clock of the City? especially where the Sun of Righteousness hath not, by pointing clearly the Dyal

of Faith, shewed which of the Two are in the Error. There are some Expressions in it, which Censure may force to speak otherwise than they have in commissions; yet none of them got room in this Discourse, until they first gave an Account of their Design to a most pious and learned Divine: and so, it may be the Lines are of themselves streight, albeit they lye not parallel'd with each Censurers crooked Rule. As this Discourse intends for the Divines of our Church all Respects; so all that is in it, is most freely submitted to their Censure.

The Author intended this Discourse only as an Introduction to the Stoics Morals; but probably, he will, for many Years, stop here.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BY the *Laws of this Country*, the Author means that Religion which is settled by Law. In other Expressions the Author recommends himself to the Gloss of the Readers Charity.

A M O R A L

A MORAL
ESSAY,
PREFERRING
SOLITUDE
TO
Publick Employment,

And all its

APPANAGES:
Such as Fame, Command, Riches,
Pleasures, Conversation, &c.

By Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, K^t.

----- *Wouldst thou be spoken for to the King, or to
the Captain of the Host? And she answered, I
dwell among mine own People, 2 King. 4. 13.*

L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year MDCCXI.

A MORAL

ESSAY

PREFACING

SOLITUDE

TO

Publick Employment

And all in

APPLIES

As well as to the Court of Rites
The said Court of Rites

By the said Court of Rites

Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Sign of the Anchor, in the Strand

1704

Printed in the Year 1704

To the Right Honourable

J O H N

Earl of CRAWFORD, &c.

My LORD,

Seeing Man can glory in nothing, but in that he is God's Image; certainly that must be his most Glorious State wherein that Image is most clearly seen; and this is Solitude; wherein his composed Soul (like the smooth Face of the Ocean) represents, with much Advantage, this Glorious Image which the unequal Risings of stormy and aspiring Waves of Ambition do exceedingly conceal. The Heathen Poet Lucretius describes the great Perfections of the Deity to consist in that it is,

—Privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
Ipsa suis pollens opibus——

And Cicero upon this score confesses, That the Philosopher's Life was of all others most preferable, because of all others it approached nearest to that of the Gods. This, My Lord, invited me to write this Discourse in its Favour; which

because I intended as a Bundle of Rods, for whipping such as were fondly ambitious, I did therefore strip naked of those Leaves and Flourishes of Eloquence, which by making them more pleasant, could not but make them less sharp. And if any tax me for sending this Book to publick View, from that Solitude which both it and I so much commend; my Answer is, That either it will convince those who read it, and then it will gratify that Solitude which it hath left; or else it will meet with Censure and Disdain, and then its Fate will demonstrate how dangerous it is to gadd Abroad: To press which is another of my great Designs.

I intend not really to depreciate such by this Discourse, as enjoy Honours and Employment; that Design lies as far out of my Road, as it is rais'd above my Power: But I intend by it to congratulate with such as either undervalue them out of Inclination, or have lost them by Accident; and to discipline such unquiet Humours, as like Powder, do in blowing up themselves destroy all that is above them, or resists their violent Ascent; Wherein as I oblige Philosophers by complimenting the Object of their Complacency, so I gratify Statesmen by reclaiming such as are the ordinary Object of their Fears. Neither should any thing in this Discourse, which is picquant against those Courtiers who have been rather Great than Good, displease such as are both Good and Great; more than it should displease a Gentleman of Noble Shapes and Features, to see a Painter draw another Man (though of the same Species with himself)

self) under all the Disadvantages that can be trac'd by a deforming Pencil.

That I should chuse your Lordship for my Patron, is no Act of Virtue; because your Condition, as it stands circumstantiate, made you almost the only Person who deserv'd it at all, and altogether the Person who deserv'd it most; for being the best Pattern for Solitary Persons, ye were the Person who deserv'd most to be the Patron of Solitude it self; especially having oblig'd it so far, as to prefer it to that Rival against which it now disputes for Precedency; and prefer'd it, after its adverse Party had been your old Acquaintance, and had offer'd to bribe you for your Suffrage, with a Purse heavy enough to have weigh'd down a light Spirit. Fear not, my Lord, the Want of Fame (which is the only thing that Solitude is thought to want): For as the Heathens resembled it to a Maid, so it hath this of a coy Maid likewise, that it courts most those who seem most to undervalue it; and rarely any Person admires his own Servants so much, as it doth those who are Strangers to it. And great Men have this Loss, that their Superiors will not admire them, as being less than themselves; their Equals will not, because they hate them; nor their Inferiors, because they envy them; and do but too oft imagine that they are oppress'd for feeding their Luxury. That famous Rod which wrought so many Miracles for others openly in Egypt, did never it self flourish till it was laid up in the Tabernacle, (according to their Opinion, who will have both these

these to have been one and the same); and the Diamond ceases not to enjoy a greater Lustre, though hid in the darkest Corner, than these pleasing Blossoms do, which the weakest Breath of a Storm will command down from the highest Branch upon which they perch. Fame then shall transmit your Name to Posterity, as the Jews did their embalm'd Bodies which they preserv'd perfum'd and odoriferous in secret and retired Grotts and Sepulchres; whereas it will preserve that of more publick Persons, only as the Egyptians did theirs, whom by exposing to the open Sun they kept as Mummy, but so black and parch'd, as that it had been better they had return'd to their former Ashes. But though Fame should not thus gratify you, yet Virtue (who hath so few deserving Followers now, that it cannot but pile up Pyramids of Favours upon such as are) will recommend you to succeeding Ages, both to let see that she wants not her Trophies even in this Dotage of the World (wherein she is not so deform'd by Age, as not to have Charms strong enough to conquer such as deserve her Favour) and to engage others by this Act of Gratitude to a Dependance upon her. And amongst her Admirers, You, as one of her Minions, shall have still all Deference paid you, by

Your Lordship's

Most Humble Servant.

S O L I T U D E

Preferr'd. to

Publick Employment.

Generous CELADOR,

I Know that your Advancement was to you, but as the being thrown up is to solid Bodies; from which State they cannot be so properly said to fall, as to run with Inclination to that beloved Centre and Level from which they were at first rais'd. I know you made no other Use of that Height which makes others giddy, than to take, from off its loftiest Tops, a full Prospect of all these Vanities which so much ravish mean Spirits. And your publick Department being thus so exact a Picture of true Virtue, I hope your Retirement will be the shadowing of that noble Draught.

In the Confidence of this, I send you this Elogy of *Solitude*; not as Physicians send Pills, with Praises to their averse Patients: for, as it were below your Stoicism to need such; so it is above my Skill, to be able to administrate the meanest Remedy to so well a complexion'd Soul as yours. But I praise it to you, as we use to praise a Mistress to her enamour'd Gallant, whose intimacy with her, thought far exceeds the Acquaintance
of

of the Praiser, yet it breeds not in her *Enamorado* an *Unwillingness* to hear what he already knows; *Complacency* being oftner the Product of our Knowledge, than the Occasion of our Enquiry. In paralleling *Greatness* and *Solitude*, as to their Moral Advantages, I shall first make some few Reflections upon the Ends for which both are sought; upon the Employments wherein both are exercised; and lastly upon the Revenue made upon either of these Employments, when Fate or Death shall force us to leave both.

Sect. I.
The Mo-
tives to
both com-
pared.

As to the Design which Men propose to themselves, in pursuing *Greatness* and publick Employment; all will tell you, That they seek these either to under-prop their falling Families, (whose proud Tops begin to bow in Homage to that Mortality, which will needs one Day triumph over us and ours) or else to defend themselves against some considerable Enemy, or to wipe off the Stains and Scars of Disloyalty or Prejudice. For when opulent or great Persons undertake them, the very Rabble have so much Prudence, as to condemn these for mad Men. When Philosophers or strong Spirits embark in them, they say they do it to serve their Country, and not their Inclinations; and Flatterers pretend, That they design in these, the pleasing of their Prince, and not of their Humour: So that as if all were ashamed of them, all do excuse their Zeal after them: whereas *Solitude* (like a great Beauty) is courted for it self, and not for its Portion. And such as intend publick Employments, will pretend a Love and Design for *Solitude*; and when they have attained their Honours, they will still praise Retirement: whereas, such as live privately, may sometimes pity, but will never seem to envy such as are in publick Employment. And not only is *Solitude* courted for it self, and

Great-

Greatness for some remoter End ; but even Greatness and publick Employment are themselves oft (if not always) design'd as subservient to *Solitude*. Thus Merchants hazard drowning, and, like the Sun, reel about the World, that they may gain as much as may afford them the Conveniency of a Recess. For this Lawyers empty their Brains; and Soldiers open their Veins ; and have oft nothing to sweeten their Anxieties, but the Remote Prospect of a solacing Retirement : So that *Solitude* must be excellent, seeing its Enemies buy it at so dear a rate. And even *Cæsar* behoved to recreate himself, with an *aliquando mihi licebit mihi vivere*, esteeming that part of his Life to belong to others, which was spent on other Mens Employments. And seeing all aim at *Solitude*, it must certainly be by as much more nobler than publick Employment, as the End is more noble than the Means : and in this it approaches very near the Nature of Happiness, which is defined to be that *To which all things tend, and which it self respects nothing yet acquirable*. But yet I must condemn those, who are at all this Pains to gain *Solitude*, whom for this I esteem as unskilful in the Art of Happiness, as those Navigators in *Solomon's* time were of the Art of Sailing ; who cruised along so many tedious Shoars for reaching the Gold of *Ophir*, a Journey easily to be accomplished, in far less than half the time. Happiness is not the Product of such Endeavours, and these are rather Hindrances than Helps to *Solitude*. And this remembers me of that notable Answer, given by *Cineas* the Philosopher, to *Pyrrhus* ; who when he told him that he intended to conquer *Greece*, then *Rome*, and so all the World ; askt him, why he propos'd all that Toil to himself ? To which *Pyrrhus* answering, that he would do it to the End he might at his return live happily and merrily with
his

his Friends the residue of his Life, *Cineas* tancing him most sharply, told him that he might live so, and do so presently, and so need not be at so much superfluous Pains.

Man is so frail a Creature, and his Imperfections are so great and many, that that can only make him be reputed Excellent, which can best conceal his Natural Frailties: And albeit our Judgments are but shallow, yet here lies our Misfortune, that we are not able to abide the Test of one anothers Judgment. And this is the Knack for which Men who are silent and reserved, or melancholy and dumpish, are reputed Wise: For we admire not what we see, but what we see not. And yet, neither Melancholy nor Silence serve so to skreen our Infirmities, as *Solitude* does; seeing such as converse in the World may be fathomed by other Means than Discourse, and may upon unexpected Rencounters be even provoked to that likewise. Wherefore it is a virtuous Imposture, and an allowable Charltantry, to design Retirement; because that secures against all the Inconveniencies of either of these, by abstracting us from the Temptations of the one, and from the Engines of the other: And if Melancholy or Silence possesses any thing in their Nature, which can be thought Excellent, certainly *Solitude* enjoys the same in a more eminent Measure; for these make but Parcels of that Noble State; Silence being but a *Solitude* in Discourse, and Melancholy a *Solitude* in Humour: Whereas *Solitude* is more Excellent than these, because in possessing both their Advantages, it wants the adust Bile and Jealousies of Melancholy, and the Constipation of Silence.

Except some volatile Heads, whose mercurial Complexion hath inclined them rather to a Restlessness, than virtuous Activity; and who, like
the

the Wind, are nothing at all when they are not moving; and ye will find the Residue of Men so averse from Toil and Employments, that they must be either brib'd to them by Gain, or baited with Honour: And the most diligent amongst active Statesmen will wish, that their long'd-for Triumphs, or desired Employments, were at a Period, that they might *enjoy themselves* (for so they term it) *in a solitary Retirement*; which is that *Canaan* of Rest, which, like *Moses* on *Pisgab*, they see afar off, but without Hopes of Enjoyment; and so fond are these upon one Moment of it when enjoyed, that they will disoblige for it On-Waiters, neglect their Interest, and slight oft great Advantages. Thus then we see that Nature, Inclination and Pleasure, vote all for *Solitude*; and that Publick Employment is unnatural in its Rise, and wearying in its Sequel, as it is dangerous (if not fatal) in its Termination.

I know that there are some great Persons, who, like great Fishes, never come to Shoar till they be wounded; Disasters, Affronts and Necessities driving them there for Shelter, rather than Choice; and this makes many think that these *Encomiums* given to *Solitude*, are either contrived by Pedants, who could never reach Preferments, or by degraded Courtiers, who after they have been outed of their publick Employments, harangue against what they have lost, to satisfy not their Reason, but their Revenge. But to these I answer, that *Solitude* is by this Objection prov'd to be an Excellent State, seeing even the Distressed expect an Asyle and Protection there: For Distresses make us run where we may expect Help; & that must be the securest Harbour, to which the distressedst Vessels make their Application. And I believe best these Elogies, which *Solitude* gets from such who know both States; and because
some

some use this as a Pretext, therefore it must be Excellent: For the excellentest Things are only used, and can only serve as Pretexts; and that cannot but be much respected amongst Men, whose very Shadow can make Misery pass for Virtue, and make Misfortunes be esteemed Happiness. Yet certainly Misfortunes may make Men real Philosophers, as Afflictions make real Christians: And it is very probable that one, who after much Confidence in Court and Riches hath been tumbled down unexpectedly, will be more really convinced of its Slipperiness and Emptiness, than such as never found the Effects of so much Revolution. But there are many also, such as *Dioclesian* and *Charles* the Vth, both Emperors, and many others, who after a compleat Fruition of all Courtly Success and Pleasure, have taken a solemn Congy of it, whilst it yet smiled upon them; and I am confident many more would; if they did not apprehend much Hazard in their Retreat from those who thought themselves injured by them in their Prosperity.

Sect. 2.
The Em-
ployments
and Diffi-
culties of
both com-
parcd.

In balancing the Employments of *Solitude* with those of Greatness, because Greatness will still struggle for Precedency, I shall therefore scan first its Disadvantages; amongst which, this is one, That either Publick Persons have attained to the Fruition of what they design'd; and in that Case there are many ways to make them miserable, because the Substraction of any one of these many Enjoyments, robs them of all the Satisfaction they can enjoy in what remains; and there are but few ways to make them happy, because little can be added to their present Possessions: Or they have not attain'd to what they have projected; and then they fret more, and suffer more Disquietings, than the meanest Servant whom they com-

command; and like that Man in the Parable, consider more the one lost Sheep, than the ninety nine which yet remain. Did the Conquest of all that the Sun sees, restrain *Alexander* from weeping, because he could conquer no' more? No. For Ambition is like Hunger; which tho' it is once satisfied, continues no longer so than it hath for a little time prey'd upon what was at first presented to it; and, like the Fire, is so far from being satisfied with what is thrown into it, that it is by that new Fewel not only enabled to destroy, but likewise forc'd to seek more Aliment for sustaining its wasting Rage.

Those who are in publick Employment have either many Dependens, or not: If they have not, they are not satisfied; for the Scope of such is to be depended on, and the missing of this renders them more miserable, than Poverty or Sicknes could a *Stoick*: But if they be encircled by Crowds of Attenders, then are they interested, not only in maintaining their own Posts, but likewise in sustaining their numerous Clients; in whose Fall their Reputation is, as in their own Standing, equally interested. And when they have been at great pains to effectuate the Pretences of these their Dependens, if these Pretences succeed, then either the Pretenders whom they assist do arrogate the Success to themselves, or their own Merits; or else they think it but the Price of their Attendance, and so look upon it as paid before bestowed: Whereas the Party with whom these have to do, will ever thereafter carry the Patron at implacable Malice. Or, if these Pretences succeed not, then they impute it to the want of Conduct, or of Gratitude in these their lofty Patrons. And if any two, or more of these Dependens should juggle amongst themselves, (as ordinarily falls

out amongst such as are Rivals in Favour) then the Grandee is divided in his Resolution; and as he gains no new Friend by assisting the one, so he loses an old Servant by opposing the other. And when a Grandee hath spawn'd out his Estate amongst his Favourites, One of a Thousand will not prove grateful: But tho' all the Thousand should prove grateful to one, the Ingratitude of that one will be more unpleasant, than can be repair'd by the Gratitude of all the remanent Nine hundred ninety and nine.

As to their Equals, such as are in publick Employment, lye under this Inconvenience, That either they please them not, and these they either find or make their Enemies; or, if they endeavour to please all, then the Task is either impossible, or unprofitable: Impossible, because after that they have crook'd their own Humour, to make it fall parallel to another Man's uneven Fancy, then they may instantly lose their Pains; when, upon the same Principle (of pleasing all) they endeavour to oblige one, who either is, or is believed to be, either Rival or Enemy to him who was first obliged. And is there any thing more ordinary (tho' nothing more unjust) than to hear, *Ye must either not be my Friend, or that Man's Enemy?* This Pleasing all is likewise unprofitable, because Things are not valued by Advantage but by Propriety: And thus we value that Friendship most, which is born to us solely, or in a greater measure than to others. Whereby it appears clearly, that if ye carry equally to all, ye oblige none; and if more to some than to others, ye disoblige those to whom ye carry least; which certainly (because our Love is like our selves, most finite) must be the greatest part: And these who are disobliged, are more zealous in their Enmity, than those who
 are

are obliged are in their Friendship. The Conclusion of all which is, That albeit the great Pleasure of Publick Employment is, that thereby they may oblige many to a Dependance upon them; yet Men gain by it more and more vigorous Enemies than such as are Recluse do, albeit they profuse none of their inestimable Time upon so uncertain a Purchase.

As to their Superiors; it vexes doubtless such as are at so much Toil to be high themselves, to see any yet higher than themselves; and they count as many Crosses, as they do Superiors. If Statesmen be not at the highest pitch of Favour, they fret at the Unluckiness of their own Fate, and exclaim against their ill-faced Stars: And if they attain to it, then they are oft jealous by their Promoters. And *Sejanus* is loaded with more Contumely by his Patron *Tiberius*, than ever he was with Honours. And after that these plodding Pates have raised their Designs to that Line, that they conceive they may justly admire its noble Structure, and their own Skill in its Contrivance; then that Fabrick, upon which for (possibly) their whole Life, they have laid out the whole Stock of their Happiness and Expectation, may be in one Moment blown over by one Word from their Prince, who is a Man subject to his own Fate, as they are to theirs: And when they perceive that the same Prince is thereafter forc'd to yield to his own Destiny, they cannot but conclude, That they have been themselves mean Persons, who were so easily destroy'd by one who was so easily destroy'd himself. If *Parmenio* had not killed *Attalus*, or *Cleander Parmenio*, their Disobedience had been a Crime; and when they obey'd, their Obedience was really a Crime in them, and was hated as such by *Alexander* who commanded it: So

that Superiors do oft tye their Favourites to the Observance of what is contradictory, and consequently require what is impossible.

Señ. 3. It was nobly said by that grand Master of Stoicism, *Seneca*, that, *Qui multa agit, sæpe se fortuna obijcit*. And publick Persons are in this, like great Garisons, which by how much the greater they are, are so much the worse to be defended; and by how much the richer they are, are so much the more stoutly assaulted. For establishing this great Truth, which is *unum ex mirabilibus Stoicorum*, I shall under-prop it by these Two subservient Conclusions. 1. That seeing that is only, in all the Schools of Philosophers, defin'd to be morally good, which is compleat at all Points; and that to be evil, which labours of the least Defect; certainly it must be a great Task, not only to do good, but even not to fall into the Commission of Evil. The Second Conclusion shall be, That as it is almost impossible not to slip into the committing of Evil, yet our Escapes are never forgot when once committed; and not only wrong they us as to that Action, but they likewise detract from all our subsequent good Actions. And albeit it be very hard to do what is good, yet our good Actions are most unfrequently remembred; or if they be, then they are esteemed Duties, and so they bring us by that Remembrance no other Advantage from Men, than not to bring a Tash upon us. Marshal *Biron's* many Victories, obtained by his Valour for *Henry the IVth.*; *Walstien's* for the Emperor, nor *Essex's* for Queen *Elizabeth*, did not excuse their After-Treason. And *Balaam's* Beast (tho' otherwise an Ass) could tell its Master, *Have not I ridden with thee ever since I was thine without stumbling; and yet now thou hast struck*

me thrice? From all which it follows, That publick Employments, because they oblige a Man to many Actions, they therefore engage him in many Misfortunes, and lay him open to much Detraction. Neither doth Man's Misery stint it self here; but, which is worse, Envy, Malice and Mistake, blaze us for more vicious than really we are. We commit some Escapes, wherein we mistake our selves; but we are said to commit others, wherein others do but mistake us: We commit some, which are really our own Transgression; but we are said to commit others, which are but other Men's Imputations. Such as are in publick Employments can never want Rivals; and such as want not Rivals can never miss Misreports; especially in our Country, where the way to Preferment is so narrow, that we imagine no Man can get by his Neighbour, except he run over him. O, what a Divine State then must *Solitude* be, wherein a Virtuous Inactivity fortifies us against all these Inconveniencies, and begets in us a Tranquility, not conceivable by such as do not possess it!

Have you not, my Lord, oft heard great Men say, *I must do this, and assent to that; tho' neither the one nor the other satisfies my Judgment?* Have you not seen great Men forc'd to abandon their most deserving Friends; forc'd to connive at, and oft to congratulate the Promotion of their greatest Enemies? Will they not be sometimes oblig'd to put on a constrain'd Countenance, feign an unnatural Mind, and express what is diametrically opposite to their Thoughts; all which are Servitudes which Greatness exacts from us. For every Force is a Yoke ty'd upon our Nature: And Man, being more Noble than Brutes, because he is more free than they are, certainly what impairs his Freedom, destroys his Reason. And

most of these Restraints, as they are against Nature, in being Servitudes, so they are against Virtue, in being opposite to what our Reason would (if not over-power'd by Interest or Fancy) exact of us. And I should think, that the same Impulse which hurries Men on to desire to be great that they may be Masters, should with far more Reason carry them to be Solitary: For there they are emancipate from these Necessities, and have none to obey but God and Nature; Masters who command us to do nothing, but what were fit for our selves to do, albeit we were not commanded.

As these Countries are esteemed most excellent and preferable, whose Necessities are supply'd by their native Commodities, pulling out of their own Bosom all that their Inhabitants require; so by the same Rule, *Solitude* must be by much preferable to publick Employment, seeing this requires and wants but little, but the other needs much, and is not satisfied when it gets what it needs. *Solitude* requires no Avarice to maintain its Table, nor Oppression to bear up its Train: It is satisfied without Coaches, Lacqueys, Treasures and Embroideries. The Solitary Man is not vext that others must take the door of himself, or are able to maintain a more sumptuous Table than he: He is not disquieted at the Infrequency of Guests, nor Eccho's of his Equal's Praises. And seeing great Men are still disquieted at the Advancement of others, they must still be unfortunate; for tho' they were capable to receive, yet they are not able to sustain the Weight of all Employments alone.

Consider those Clouds which sit oft upon the Countenance of Men in Employments; their Gate like to that of a disrudder'd Ship, and their Discourse disjointed, and blown, as it were, all

to pieces by their tempestuous Passions ; and ye will find such (many times) to differ but by an Ace from those who have Keepers at *Bedlam* : And by these Disorders ye may perceive , that Employment and Madnes are of too near an Alliance ; and if the one , certainly both must be Diseases , seeing both have the same Symptoms, and the same Prognosticks. And in these Distempers , how oft speak the Things which are thereafter either quarrell'd openly , or at least are the Seed-plot of continual Heart-burnings to those at whom they aim ? But to abstract from all these accidental Disadvantages ; is it not a Madnes for a Rational Soul, for whom all the World was created , to observe nothing in this World , but whether another manages his Process well ; with what Harmony strikes another Man's Pulse ; or how to brigue the Favour of a Minion : Acts so extrinick to the Nature of an Immaterial Creature , such as the Soul, that if Men got not Money by these Employments , they would themselves condemn them as ridiculous. And is there any thing more ordinary, even amongst the Herd of brutish Busybodies, than to chide their Friends for attending either the Persons or Employments of those who reward not such Pains, and for so doing upbraid them as Mad-Men ? And so they are indeed. By which it is most evident , That Men in Employment have nothing to excuse their Madnes ; but, That they are not mad, but for Money or Preferment. And is it not a shame for so noble a Creature as Man, to be content to shew himself mad for any Hire whatsoever ?

Solitude has likewise this Advantage over publick Employment, that there is no Vice commisable in *Solitude*, to which Men in publick lie not yet more open ; whereas, there are some Crimes,

such as Treason, Sedition, Ostentation, and a whole Tribe of the like nature, which Retired Persons can hardly commit; and tho' they could, yet hardly does that State admit of these Temptations, which are previously necessary to the Commission of them. Is there any thing more ordinary, than to hear one who is accused for deserting his Friend or Party, to answer, that his Office, or present Designs, occasion'd and required that Defection? And are not Men, for accomplishing their Projects, tempted to betray Secrets, to become Rivals to their Friends, and assisting to their Enemies? Whereas, no Record can witness against Retired Persons, that they ever either ruin'd their Native Country, betray'd their Prince, or deserted their Friend. At least, if any in that State have been tempted to the least Degree of any such Crime, certainly they had committed more and greater Villanies, if they had lived in publick, where those wicked Inclinations might have been strengthned by Example, Design, Passion, Revenge, or some such Temptation. And if our Inclinations be so wild when they are caged up in *Solitude*, how untame will they become when they are licensed to range abroad? He who would stab his Prince who had never the Occasion to offend his remote Cell, would burn the World, if he had a Design to which that might be subservient. Did not *Nero*, *Tiberius*, *Heliogabulus* and others, enjoy the Repute of Noble Souls, before their mounting the Imperial Throne brought them new Vices with new Honours, and made them as much beyond others in their Debauches, as they were in the Power which fed them in that their dissolute Humour? Since then no honest Person can deny, but that it were better never to have the greatest Honour, than to be said by After-ages

to have committed the least Villany ; certainly the State of Publick Employment is scarce to be wished for , seeing therein Men are tempted to commit the greatest of Crimes ; especially seeing these their Escapes must be committed in publick , where they are never concealed , and but seldom (if ever) pardoned.

As to the Periods of both , certainly *Solitude* hath by much the Advantage : For look over the Calendar of all those Heroes or Grandees who have governed Kingdoms, or were Favourites of the first *Rate* to such as did govern them ; and ye will find most of their Fates marked with the red Letters of a violent *Death*, or the black Letters of *Shame*. Ignominy overtakes whom Fate hath left undestroy'd, and gleans the Grapes after the other hath cut down its Vintage :

Sect. 4.
The Peri-
ods of both.

— — *Sine cæde & sanguine pauci*
Descendunt Reges & sicca morte Tyranni.

It is observed, that betwixt *Julius Cæsar* and *Charlemain*, Thirty Roman Emperors have been slain, and many since. And I am so ashamed of the Cruelty of those who are of the same *Species* with my self, that I must conceal the many other Murthers of Kings and Grandees : And as to the Disgrace of others, these can hardly be sufficiently either numbred or regretted. And albeit others are not deterred from embracing those Honours under which their first Owners have been crushed, upon the Account that they imagine their Predecessors Ruin to have flowed from some personal Fraily or Error, against which they are confident they can guard ; yet certainly all should even from this Answer conclude, That Greatness must be most undesirable , seeing at least it disco-

vers

vers these Frailties, or tempts Men to commit those Errors, which thereafter occasions these Ruins. Neither find we any such Dangers to attend *Solitude*, either necessarily, or by Accident: So that albeit these be the Misfortunes of these Men, and not of the Employment, yet seeing these are only the Misfortunes of Men in Employment, I see not why Employment should be so desirable by Men who fear Misfortunes. But the truth is, it is impossible to ward against the unexpected Blows which are thrust in at such; for they are so cunningly contrived by the Attackers (because of the Danger of being discovered) that they are sooner felt than foreseen. Who could disappoint the Malice of those who killed those noble Princes, *Henry the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth of France*? Who could have targetted *Buckingham* against *Felton's* Thrust? And all the Prudence of *Cæsar's* Court could not avert his Massacre in the Senate, especially being contrived by his Confident *Brutus*; *Et tu, fili Brute*, said that great Emperor. And that which renders the sudden Fall of these Heroes the more deplorable, is, That by being sudden it not only disorders their Affairs and endangers their Souls, but likewise so amazes their Friends and Followers, that they are thereby incapacitate from providing against the Sequels of that Fall, and are themselves (who only can help their falling Friend) brought to fall with him. I have often remarked with wonder, how ghastly the Favourites of a falling Minion do look, and how astonishingly they are look'd at by their former Intimates; and which is strange, not only do the Enemies of a fallen Grandee insult over his Misfortunes, but even those who were his former Well-wishers, are (to avert the Jealousy of those who occasion his Fall)

necessi-

necessitated to inveigh most bitterly against his Memory.

Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Cæsaris hostem.

Neither can I see how Greatness can be defended against Misfortunes; for ordinarily these rise from such unexpected Beginnings, that none see in (or apprehend the least Danger by) them: And all the World is not able by Conjecture, to fall upon that *medium* by which Providence intends to infer their Ruin. Who could have guessed, that *Mordecai's* discovering a Plot to *Abasuerus*, wherein *Haman* was not concerned, would be the Mean to destroy that great Favourite? I have oft heard the Friends of those who are now low, ask at such as told them of the Slipperiness of Favour, how could their Patron ever be destroyed? and it was impossible that could fall out during such a Government. And yet I have my self seen these Men outed of all their confident Expectations: A passionate Expression, a rash Act, a Jealousy or Mis-information which could not be foreseen, because then there was no bottom for such a Conjecture, hath ruined oft-times such as never expected any Alteration: And who can promise that they shall never drop one word in Passion, act any thing without a previous Deliberation, or never fall under Misinformation? And, which is yet worse, when Misinformations are forged against great Men; they are not acquainted by such as either give or receive them, and so their Defence becomes imprestable. I have heard of Favourites who have been ruined, because the Queen said they were handsome Men, or the King thought them to excel himself in any thing wherein himself pretended to a Mastership: And what

what plodding Pate could have stav'd off, or foreseen these Misfortunes? No, no,

Ludit in humanis divina prudentia rebus.

And seeing there are many who have the Courage to throw away their Lives upon the Revenge of a small Affront, or to hazard them in an open, and yet almost barren Robbery, why should it be thought, that to satisfy so impetuous a Passion as Revenge, there should not be some found who will hazard Death, by giving it in the Revenge of either an Injury done to a Family or Nation, much more of an Affront fix'd upon the Undertaker himself, in his Honour, or entire Fortune, as oft falls out?

But albeit great Men and publick Ministers escape the Fate of a Murder or Massacre, yet how is their Happiness founded? Is it not either upon the Humour of a capricious People, if in a Commonwealth? And then how unsolid is that Happiness where the Foundation is so fleeting? Consider *Rome*, which though the wisest of all Republicks, yet, upon a Jealousy or a Mistake, or sometimes out of Wantonness, destroyed in an instant the most caressed and most deserving of her Favourites. Or, upon the Favour of a Prince, if in a Monarchy; and then ye must confess them oftentimes subject to all the Caprices of a lofty Humour, licens'd by the Extent of his Power, to equal his Power and his Humour; and entic'd, by the Instigation of Enemies or Rivals, to stretch his Humour beyond all his allowed Power. Why did *Solyman* the Magnificent, cut the Throat of *Ibrahim Bassi* his Confident? Was it not to satisfy the Fancy of a Concubine? Or *Iustinian* pull out the Eyes of valiant *Bellisarius*? Was it not to gratify an insolent Wife? So that a Statef-

Statesman lies open not only to the hazard of his Master's Fancy, but to the Passion of his Wife, his Concubines, his Favourites and Fellow-Servants, and even to Fate it self, which is the most comprehensive of all Dangers.

But albeit a Statesman were able to escape private Revenge, and to manage with Success, his Prince's Humour, and to satisfy that of his Favourites, yet he is still obnoxious to *ragione del stato*, and Interest of State, by which his Prince is oft (to evite the Rage of a Multitude) either forc'd to object his Minion to their Rage, as the Head in a natural Body defends it self by throwing up its Hand or Arm to receive the Stroak, or else he may be pull'd from the kind Bosom of his unwilling Master: And of this Hazard our own Age affords us a lamentable Instance in the Person of the great Earl of *Strafford*, whom popular Fury did drag to the Scaffold; his Prince's Protection not being sufficient for his Defence; who viewing from that deplorable Stage, the Inconstancy of Courtship and Advancement, did leave in Legacy to his Son, a strait Command never to aim at higher Promotion than that of a Justice of Peace in his own County.

Consider likewise how sometimes the Satiety of a Prince produces the same Ruin of Favourites, which is at other times the Product of his Cruelty. And *Commynes* observes, that *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* used to say, That seeing Princes grew weary of Houses, Countries, and other inanimate Things, which could never offend them, and which no Rival or Enemy was at the pains to traduce, it was no wonder that they were wearied of Favourites, who were subject to all these Inconveniencies. Princes do likewise ruin their Grandees, sometimes to satisfy their Vanity, in shewing that their Power is able

to

to remove those who think they cannot fall without a Miracle ; and sometimes to make way to new Favourites, thinking it Injustice to entail all Honours upon the same Persons. And, as in the Body Natural, so likewise in the Politick, it is observable, that Nature hath provided more Diseases, than the best of Physicians can prevent by Remedies.

To conclude this Period, be pleas'd to conclude the Unluckiness of Publick Employment from this, That not only amongst Rivals, one of two Pretenders satisfy by their Fall the Rage of Fate, but when it hath assist'd the one to destroy the other, it then turns its Fury against the late Victor : Thus *Pompey* and *Cæsar's* Blood purpl'd equally the Swords of Murderers, agreeing in nothing but their Destiny. *Hannibal* beats the *Romans* ; *Scipio* beats *Hannibal* ; and the *Romans* banish *Scipio*. *Bellisarius* makes *Gilimer*, King of the *Goths*, ridiculous, leading him as a Prisoner in his Triumph ; and Fate renders *Bellisarius* yet more ridiculous, driving him to beg, with this Expression, *Bestow but a Farthing upon Bellisarius*. And it is most observable, that during our Civil Wars, Four most eminent Persons who did head contrary, as well as different Parties, did all lose both their Heads and their Fortunes in the Quarrel ; whereas it might have been expected, that at least one of the Opposites, should have worn unfading Lawrels : And really there was more Hazard in the fear of being the one who was to be destroyed (for they might certainly have expected, that one of themselves should fall) than all the Grandeur, which the Survivors might expect, could sufficiently requite.

And when the Monarch or Commonwealth, which a Statesman hath long served, intends, either in compliance with their Interests, or to gratify

tify their Humour, to out their Servant of his Employment, or in order thereto to fix a Crime upon him ; then how can he escape from that Trial, or defend his Right against that Pursuit ? For where the Judge is Party, there the Law may prove Advocate. And in these *contrastos*, I remember few Decisions, amongst all who have collected them, of any Subject who came off with Honour.

Seeing as of all other Things, so of our Thoughts the first-born should be sacrificed to our Almighty Maker ; I therefore resolv'd to begin my first Discourse with these Reflections, which Solitude might borrow from Devotion. But, since Orators recommend the last place in our Discourse, to the strongest Perswasives (as being able when plac'd there to leave the freshest Impressions, upon the leaving Reader) I shall therefore in this last place, (which is, alas ! the too ordinary Room allowed to Devotion) recommend to you, to consider, that God possesses more Excellencies, and we labour under more Sins, than can be fully contemplated, in the one Case, or lamented in the other, throughout the whole Flux of Eternity. And after that we have evacuated our more refined Spirits, in chase of these fleeing Follies, will it satisfy him to have our dulled Thoughts (the lame of the Flock) served upon his Holy Altars ? And seeing he styles himself a Jealous GOD, certainly he cannot but be jealous, that because we converse with others more than with him, we must therefore either love these better, or expect more either Advantage or Pleasure in their Society than in his.

Sect. 5.
*Motives to
Solitude
from Religion.*

I confess that Publick Employment, is lawful in it self, and necessary to the Commonwealth, and that Men may serve GOD in the Intervals
of

of their other Publick Negotiations. But the Question is not, What is lawful in it self; but what is convenient for us? And seeing we run already but too slowly that Divine Race, I see not why we should slow our Pace yet more, by taking on the Burthen of Publick Employment. And seeing all our Time is but too short for the Service of him, whom far more excellent Creatures than we worship uncessantly, Time without end; I think it strange, that we should content our selves to serve him *per Parenthesin*, or by Intervals.

To these I shall add this important Consideration; That most of Temptations are in *Solitude* disarm'd of these Charms, which render them formidable to us in publick: Love wants there the Presence of an inflaming Object to second it; Revenge wants the Presence of the Party injured to press it; and Vanity, when it wants Admirers, wants Force. Tho' *Moses* was the meekest Man upon the Earth whilst he liv'd in the Desert; yet the Extravagancy of those whom he govern'd, when Providence had advanced him, made him offend his Maker so highly, that all his former Services could not obtain, even from the Father of Mercies, a Liberty to enter into an Earthly *Canaan*. If *Naaman* had liv'd an Hermit, he needed not have crav'd the Prophet's Leave to bow to the Idols of his Master in the House of *Rimmon*. And if *David* had not been Governor of *Israel*, he had wanted the Means both to humble *Bathsheba*, and kill *Uriah*. Such is the ill Fate of Publick Employment, that it not only affords us Temptations, but the Means likewise of effectuating that to which we are tempted.

It was, I confess, GOD's own Verdict of Man, That it was not good for him to be alone; but

but this was when because of his Congenial Innocence, he needed not fear the Contamination of Society. But to demonstrate what the Hazard of being in Company is; even *Adam* could not live one Day in it, and live innocent; for the first News we hear of him, after that *Eve* was associate to him, is, that he had forfeited that native Purity.

I know that our Saviour was carried by Satan to the Wilderness, that he might tempt him there. But it is most observable, that after that experienced Enemy found that his Divinity would not yield to any thing therein represented, he thereafter (as the last, and so the strongest Shift left to him unessayed) did bring him to *Jerusalem*; and having advanced him above the Temple, he proffer'd him the Half of the belted World, and all its Glories; a Temptation fitted only for such as value Honour and Publick Employment.

When God Almighty intended to converse with *Moses*, he called him from the populous Camp to the Top of Mount *Sinai*. And our Saviour did not disclose the Glories of his Transfiguration at *Jerusalem*, but upon the Top of the Mount of *Olives*. The Widow who intended a Lodging for *Elisha*, that great Prophet, did build it apart upon the Wall, furnishing it only with a Stool and Candlestick: And when he asked her, If he shou'd speak for her to the King, or Captain of his Host? She told him, without farther Answer, That she dwelt amongst her own Friends, and in her own Country; intimating thereby, that there was no need of any Favour Kings could bestow upon such as enjoy'd so happy a Recess. I recreate my self to think I see *Elijah* sitting under a Juniper Tree, or in a concealed Grove, visited in that Solitude by the same God, who refused his Presence to mighty *Abab*; and to contemplate how *Abaziab* was able

2 Kings 4.
10.

2 Kings
14. 12.

to find no Ease upon his purpled Couch, till he dispatched in Quest of it some of his chiefest Captains to court it from the same Prophet, sitting upon the Top of a Mountain: By all which Places and Postures the Spirit of God (who loses no Observation) intends doubtless to enamour us of *Solitude* and *Recess*. And it is very observable, that none of these old Prophets are found in Scripture at Court, or in Publick, but as bearded Comets appear in the Air, where they have no other Errand than to denounce Judgments to the Place over which they hover.

God Almighty, who because he is the Object as well as Enjoyner of our Devotions, should, and does upon these and many other Scores, best know how to address them, hath commanded us to retire into our Closets (the most solitary of all our Rooms); and to make these yet more retired, hath ordained us to close our Doors behind us, when we make any Religious Applications to him; promising, that *he who seeth in secret, will reward us openly*: And if we will consider these gaudy Distractions, whereby our publick Devotions are almost rendred no Devotion at all; and that there is more Noise in the World, than will suffer us to hear that still Voice which cries behind us, *This is the way, walk ye in it*; certainly we may conclude from both Reason and Experience (as well as out of Obedience to Divine Commands) that *Solitude* is the true Forge of the purest Devotions. When God did intend to discipline his beloved (though rebellious) *Israel*, he chose first the Wilderness of *Sinai*, and then the Two Captivities, to be his Sacred School. And *Hosea* 2. 14. he tells his own People, that *he will allure her* (meaning the *Jewish Church*) *and bring her to the Wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her*.

Religion hath another Quarrel at Advancement, which is, that it divests oft-times its Enjoyers, not only of Devotion and of Friendship, which is a Moral Virtue, but even of Affection; which is so natural to Brutes themselves, that a Man is worse than these when he wants it: And not only forego they it upon such Necessities as might at least excuse, if not justify their so doing, but do so likewise to satisfy their Humours; a Slavery which deserves to be condemned, though its Object were in it self justifiable. No Man could have believed, if Scripture had not told it, That *Saul* would, from being an absolute Monarch, descend to so low a Baseness, as to cast away his Daughter *Michal*, merely that he might destroy her Husband; Or that a Prince of *Midian* would have prostituted his Daughter *Cozbi* to the promiscuous Multitudes of the *Israelitish* Camp, of Design to tempt them to a Sin which could not but be attended with his own Infamy, as well as their Ruin. Was it not for this that *Romulus* cemented the first Foundation of the *Roman* Walls with the Blood of his Brother *Remus*? And tho' *Abel* and *Cain* had the Division of what tempts, (I will not say) satisfies now the Ambition of many Thousands to gratify their Expectations; yet was not so ample a Partage able to prevent the spilling even of a Brother's Blood, by one whose Crime was so much the greater, that it was without President, and was to become an Example to many Thousands of succeeding Ages. Many whereof might, and have been thereby not only encouraged to commit afresh this old Sin, but likewise to seek, in the Greatness of this Offence, Excuses, whereby to lessen their own Barbarity.

1 Sam. 18

Numb.
25.

Solitude preferr'd

But if any call in Question the Advantages that accrue to Devotion by *Solitude*, let him cast back his Eye upon the Primitive Church, wherein the material Fabrick was contriv'd dark, and situate in the remotest Corners and solitary Groves, both by Pagans and Christians; as if that black Enamel heighten'd the Lustre of the Golden Candlesticks: And upon the infinite Swarms of such as became Monks and Hermits, encouraged thereto by the Homilies and Intreaties of the noblest Fathers; of which State the Emperor *Justinian* did, after he had kept that Oecumenick Council, become so enamour'd, that he hath register'd its noble Elogies in the Frontispiece of his Divine *Codex*. Whilst upon the other Hand, the Heathens of Old, and now the *Mahometans*, did and do teach, That one of their Mischief-Torments in their Hell shall be, that Men will there be cast loose to those Occupations and Civil Employments, which here exercis'd them; esteeming it a Torture for illuminate Spirits, and such as are defecate from Sensuality, to be imbaras'd with such terrestrial Affairs, as busy us in this our earthly State. Pardon, my Lord, this Inroad I have made upon Devotion; and learn from it, that *Solitude* and *Devotion* are so nearly related, that we can hardly praise the one, and not commend the other.

I shall here use the Authority of great Heroes; who, after the Fruition of both, have by much preferr'd *Solitude*, whereas (which is very strange) there is not a single Testimony to be had from such as these, in Favour of Publick Employment.

Marineus
lib. 18.

The first shall be of *Charles the Great*, who being to die, cry'd out to those who stood about him; *Oh! how vain are the Thoughts of Men? and how wretched are they that aspire to Glory? What hath*

my

my Kingdom, or the Service of so many Men gain'd me? Much more happy had I been, if instead of a Sceptre, I had wielded an Hedging-Bill; and if of a King, I should have made my self a Clown: Following in this almost the very Expressions of *Alphonsus*, his Brother. *Suatocopius*, King of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, having lost a Battel against the Emperor *Arnold*, did retire himself into a Wilderness; where after he had lived a long time with Three Hermits, he at his Death told them, That there was not any Greatness preferable to the Tranquillity of that Solitude. *The safe Sleep* (said he) *which we enjoy here, makes the Roots savoury, and the Waters sweet; whereas the Cares of a Kingdom make all Meat and Drink taste bitter. That Part of my Life, which I have past with you, was true Happiness; whereas that which I led upon my Royal Throne, deserves more the Title of Death than of Life.* And *Giges*, King of *Lydia*, puff'd up with his great Wealth and many Victories, having asked the Oracle of *Apollo*, If there was any Man happier in the World than himself, had *Agefilaus* the poor *Arcadian* Shepherd preferred to him. And *Similis*, one of *Adrian* the Emperor's Chief Captains, having retired to the Country after all his Preferments, caused to grave this Epitaph upon his own Tomb; *Here lies Similis of a very great Age, who yet lived but seven Years.* I might here cite *Constantine*, that Excellent King of *Scotland*; *Theodatus*, King of the *Goths*; *Charles* the Fifth; *Sertorius*, and Hundreds of other Princes, if I thought it not of more Advantage to Solitude to say of these, that they are so many they cannot be cited.

Seeing then Reason and Experience do impress us with so pungent Dissuasives from Greatness, Sect. 6.
Fame examined.

let us a little examine, what can be in it able to preponder to so weighty Discouragements.

The first Prize contended for by great Persons, is *Fame*, a Revenue payable only to our Ghosts; and to deny our selves all present Satisfaction, or to expose our selves to so much Hazard for this, were as great Madness as to starve our selves, or fight desperately for Food to be laid in our Tombs after our Death. Either Publick Ministers value much the Discourses of the Multitude; and if so, they err in offending them as oft as their Gain or Pleasure affords them the meanest Temptation: Or else they value these not; and if so, why is there so much Pains taken for *Fame*, which is nothing else but a Collection of their Suffrages? which Reflection recommends much to me that Stoical Jeer given to *Hannibal* by *Juvenal*:

----- *I demens, & sævas curre per Alpes,*
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.

(Fool,
--- Climb o'er the *Alpes*, thou mad, vain-glorious
That thou may Children please, and be their
(Theme at School.

For convincing us of the Folly of this Passion, be pleased to consider, That either our Souls have the same Period with our Life, and then to talk of us after Death, is to talk of what is not; and what Advantage brings it to us, when seeing we are not, what is said of us cannot effect what is not: Or our departed Souls servive in eternal Bliss; and then the loud Hallelujahs of Miriads of Angels, will so easily drown the Voice of *Fame* in our Ears, that it will not be heard by us; and our Souls will be so replete with infinite Joys, that there will be no Room for its Report, though it were exaudible; for *Fame*,
being

being but Air, must yield and flee out at the Access of any thing, that is more solid. Or else the Souls of those, who are praised, will be damned; and then they will not be susceptible of any pleasing Impressions. And I am confident that one of the Torments of damned Spirits, is, that they imagine all the World to be full of their Infamy. And seeing the *Fame* of the greatest of Men is not able to solace him in the Fit of a Fever, or Gravel; Why should we imagine that it can lessen the Weight of such pressing Torments, as infernal Horror, or eternal Damnation? To talk of *Amphialus*, who never was, is the same thing as to talk of *Alexander*; only *Amphialus*, cannot be stained with Cruelty, Vanity and Drunkenness, as *Alexander* is. But albeit *Fame* were to be courted, what Share of it can we expect, who are scarce known beyond the Line of our own History, and but transiently in that likewise? Who amongst us would toil as we do, to be esteemed, as *Popenham* or *Bajard*, (whom I believe very few have heard of) and yet these acted upon the Continent of the World, and did greater things than the present State of Affairs will admit us to do. And I am confident, that there liv'd lately at the Court of *France* and *Spain*, Hundreds of Courtiers, who enjoyed far taller Honours than we; and who would not have embraced the Honours we grasp after; and yet *Fame* scorns to be at so much Pains as once to mention their Names. How many know not at present, the Name of that Grand Visier, who but lately made *Germany* tremble? and to say that it was the Grand Visier, is to praise his Office, and not himself. Who can name the greatest Cardinals at *Rome*, or *Dogi* of *Venice*? And yet, what infinite pains is taken to gain these Employments, by such as live upon the Place?

I smile to see underling Pretenders, and who live in a Country scarce design'd in the exactest Maps, sweat and toil for so unmassy a Reputation, that when it is hammered out to the most stretching dimensions, will not yet reach the nearest Towns of a neighbouring Country: Whereas, examine such as have but lately returned from Travelling in most flourishing Kingdoms, and though Curiosity was their greatest Errand, yet ye will find that they scarce know who is Chancellor or President in these Places; and in the exactest Histories, we hear but few News of the famousest Pleaders, Divines or Physicians; and by Soldiers these are under-valued as Pedants, and these by them as Madcaps, and both by Philosophers as Fools.

But though *Fame* were desirable, yet publick Employment is not always attended by it: for, either Advancement is attributed to the Fancy of the Advancer, or to Fate and Hazard. And in either of these cases, the Person promoted is not honoured, but his Fate; and it will be loudly proclaimed as a thing most strange, That one of so mean Merit or so rebellious Principles, or tainted with any such Vice (as Envy will either find or make) should be promoted to such Honours: whereas if the same Person had satisfied himself with a solitary Life, his real Vices had neither been discovered, nor such forged Vices proclaimed; and because People blame Minions, whilst they live, for what they dare not charge upon their Master, their Envy or Revenge transmits to Posterity that Character which was received to their Prejudice whilst they yet governed. Was *Perennius* famous, though *Commodus* then Emperor rais'd him next to the Throne? or *Oliver* the Barber, though *Lewis* II. made him his Minion? No, for Princes can bestow Greatness,

ness, but *Fame* lies no more under their Jurisdiction than the Winds do, from which it doth but little differ. Of all Witnesses *Fame* is the most suspected because it ordinarily flatters most those who depended upon it, and were at greatest Toil to gain its Suffrage, and to depone falsely against the greatest of such Men as value not its testimony: And as its Report is by Law judged to be unstable as Water; So in this it resembles much the Water, that it presents (like to it) the straightest Objects to our Sight, as crooked and uneven. And since *Fame* depends upon the credulous Multitude, and upon unrestrainable Accidents, who can assure himself of its Suffrage? or believe it when it is obtained? If the Soldiers prove cowardly, and lose a Battel, the General is for ever affronted, and yet he cannot help it: or if a Servant betray a Statesman's Secret, then the Master's Prudence is for ever traduced. Ignominy being like all other black Spots (a Tenaciousness peculiar only to that Colour) which cannot be worn off, nor washt out: And the Designs of Statesmen being as latent as the Springs which do inwardly move mechanick Machines, the People (whose Intelligence cannot reach these) judge of the Designs by the Events: And if at any time the Event answer the Contriver's Expectation, then the malicious Multitude ascribe this Success, either to Hazard or to their Power. And to speak seriously, *Power* is so happy a suffragant, that it takes off much of that Repute which is due to the Contriver: For who can be foyl'd, having such a Second? And to convince us, that Power and Command conceals what Strength and Energy there is really in the Governor's Wit, reflect but a little upon those pitiful Rebels, who govern'd lately this Country, and did seem most wise, while they were vested with Power: Of which being now again divested, their Wit falls far short of the first Cast.

Cast. Like those *Venetian Ladies*, whose Native Stature rises and lows in Appearance, according to the Height of those *Socculi* whereupon they walk. But if *Fame* be the great Prize, I see not why the *Literati* and *Virtuosi*, or retir'd *Curiosi*, may not put in for as large a Share in it, as most (if not any) Statesman: For if that Maxim hold, that *propter quod unum quodq; est tale, propter hoc, illud ipsum est majus tale*; certainly it follows in true Logick, that seeing solitary Persons are the Dispensers and Bestowers of *Fame* upon great Men, they cannot miss it themselves. How had *Aneas's* Conduct, or *Achilles's* Valour been forgot, had not *Homer* or *Virgil* sung their Elogies? And after a great Man hath defeated Kingdoms, a Pedant is (like the silly Worm) able in one Night to consume that blossoming Gourd of his Reputation; and seeing the World know not what the one did, they will believe what the other said. History (which is the grand Register of *Fame*) is known for the most part only to retir'd Persons; and these will admire most what suits most with their own Humour: And *Fame* it self being most obliged to such as study *Solitude*, it obliges ordinarily these most, because they have obliged it. *Aristotle* hath prov'd himself by his Syllogisms, a greater Person than *Alexander* his famous Scholar: *Solon* is more famous for his Moral Advice to *Cresus*, than *Cresus* who possess'd those Mountains of Gold, which were the Subject of his Advice: And *Cicero's* Tongue, though pull'd out of his Head by *Anthony*, hath spoke out his Praise louder than all the Acclamations of the *Roman* Legions and Ecchoing Artillery could proclaim that more than Monarch. And seeing that Man is happiest, who is happy whilst he is a Man; such as attain to *Fame* by *Solitude*, are happier than great Men, because they are happy whilst they are able to find

it; whilst the others have it only when they are not sensible of what they have. Compare *Julius Cæsar* (to the Stature of whose Repute our dwarfish Endeavours will never be able to rise) with *Lucan*, who wrote the Story of his Wars, and ye will find *Lucan* the much happier: Consider *Cæsar*, macerate oft with Hunger, stiffned with unrewarded Toyl, jealous of his own Soldiers, and apprehensive of the Senate, tortured with the uncertain Events of the War, and terrified by the having kill'd his Son-in-law *Pompy*, after he was sure of the Victory: And then return your Reflections upon *Lucan*, sitting in the Bosom of a shadowy Grove, flankt with a crystal Stream, and there creating those noble Lines, which have since carried his Fame as far as *Cæsar's* Actions; and having in this the Advantage of *Cæsar*, even as to Posterity, that *Cæsar's* Soldiers, *Pompey's* ill Fate, the Senates Irresoluton, and the Cowardliness of their Auxiliaries, share with *Cæsar* in the Event, and really more than he; whereas *Lucan* inherits the sole Praise of his Story now, as he did the Pleasure of having wrote it whilst he was yet alive. But to conclude the Folly of *Fame*, consider even this generous *Lucan*, falling under the Sword of *Nero*; because that cruel Prince was ashamed to see himself so far out-done in Wit by one of his own Subjects: and from this learn, That *Fame* is suspicious to its Dependens when it bestows its Favours, and unjust when it denies them.

Next to this, the Satisfaction received in commanding others, is admir'd as one of the ravishing Advantages of publick Employment: and the Soul of a Man in this seems to have retain'd still a false Appetite of being like, to its Maker. But seeing this Design could not be managed even by
the

Sect. 7.
The Pleasure of
commanding others
examined.

the Judgment and Purity of the greatest of Angels so as not to deserve the severest Punishment; and did in them prove also ineffectual; I find that little hopes can be entertained of our succeeding in it. But consider seriously, that it being a congenial Humour in all Mankind, to desire Freedom; certainly, great Men must conclude, that their Dependens would not bow to such Homages, if they thought not thereby to oblige their Patrons to the full Requital of what they so highly value: And therefore these being Debts rather contracted by us, than Favours done us, I see not why we should so highly prize them; and seeing in Return to these, Protection, Salaries and Offices are expected, all which put us to real Pains; consider if these imaginary Pleasures deserve to be bought at the rate of such real Vexations. The *Magnifico* must himself bow to his Prince, bear his Extravagancies, swear a Friendship with these whom he hates, dispense with Affronts, spend all his time in Attendance at Court, and in observing those Humours, which he must hereafter superstitiously obey; and all this that he may gain wherewith to repay Salutations, Flatteries, Legs, Congies, and such like pitiful Pleasures; and that he may screw himself so far into the Respect of the People that he may have Hats pull'd off to him, which will be likewise done (and for the same Reason likewise) to a lifeless Chair of State or the meanest Fool, if his Shoulders be strong enough to bear a Title, or any other the meanest Mark of his Prince's favour. And that he may be magnified by his Dependens, whom because of their Interest none will believe, being bribed to depone what they say of him; is not this Satisfaction a meer Act of Fancy? And is it not safer to translate our Fancy to some other Object, than to moderate it here? And who

can

can assure himself, that when he hath arrived at that Pitch of Command which he presently proposes, that this shall terminate his Ambition? And is not the *French King* as much troubled, that he cannot command the Grand Signior, as a *French Courtier* is for being lower than his King? And after that a Chancellor hath rendred his Place, by any short Possession, familiar to him, he then despises what he enjoys, by the same Principle which invited him to desire that Employment, when it was yet above his Reach. But abstracting from these Considerations, What can it advantage any Man that another bows to him? It can neither cure Gout nor Gravel: And when he is displeas'd at any thing else, it is so far from being able to solace him, that that which vexes him most is, that any Person can be found who dares displease one who is so great as he; and if he had not been so great, that Accident which now grieves him could not have vexed him: So that in wishing to be great, we wish that we may be made more susceptible of Affronts, than Nature hath already made us.

I need not tell you, *Celador*, that great Men are oblig'd to attend more submissively their Superiors, than we do them, because these have more Designs than we, and Design is the Occasion of our Dependance: So that if there be any Pleasure in Liberty, we enjoy it more than these; and if there be none, Why is there so much Pains taken to be great, upon Expectation, that Greatness sets at liberty? A private Man is not oblig'd to oppose his Relations, fight against his Country, give his own Judgment the Lye; all which are but the meanest Impositions that some Princes lay upon Greatness: and why should Men purchase, at so dear a Rate, the Liberty to serve others, which is all that Greatness can bestow?

I know

Sect. 8.
*The Satis-
 faction of
 Society ex-
 amin'd.*

I know that Society is one of those Satisfactions which we rank amongst the Pleasures of the first Magnitude; and that as to the Possession of this, Solitariness seems to cede to publick Employments. But when we consider, that the Prerogative of Society stands not in seeing one another, but in rational Conversation, it will appear that the Difference is not wide. For, what Pleasure can be received by talking of new Fashions, buying and selling of Lands, Advancement or Ruin of Favourites, Victories or Defeats of stranger Princes, which is the ordinary Subject of ordinary Conversation? And really, I have admir'd to see Persons of Virtue and Honour long much to be in the City, where when they come, they found, nor sought for no other Divertisement, than to visit one another; and there to do nothing else, than to make Legs, view others Habit, talk of the Weather, or some such pitiful Subject: and it may be, if they made a farther Inroad upon any other Affair, they did so picque one another, that it afforded them Matter of eternal Quarrel; for what was at first but an indifferent Subject, is by Interest adopted into the Number of our own Quarrels. This begets Heats; Heats, Opprobries; Opprobries, Revenge; and Revenge leads either to fret, if we cannot satisfy its Thirst; or to Ruin, if we cannot quench it. How many likewise are in these Reincounters, tempted either to betray their Ignorance or Malice? And if one know not the new Name of such a Dish or Dress, such an Intrigue, or such a Quarrel or Marriage, then they are esteem'd Blockheads. Most of Men desire to frequent their Superiors, and there Men must either suffer their Raillery, or must not be suffered to continue in their Society: If we converse with those who speak with more Address than our selves, then we repine equally

at our own Dulness, and envy the Acuteness that accomplishes the Speaker ; or if we converse with duller Animals than our selves, then' we are weary to draw the Yoke alone, and fret at our being in ill Company : But, if Chance blow us in amongst our Equals, then we are so at guard to catch all Advantages, and so interess'd in Point *d' honneur*, that it rather cruciates, than recreates us. How many make themselves cheap by these Occasions, whom we had valued highly, if they had frequented us less? And how many frequent Persons, who laugh at that Simplicity which the Addresser admires in himself as Wit, and yet both recreate themselves with double Laughters? It is remarked by Geographers, That no King alive is worshipp'd by his Subjects, but the King of *Binon*, and that he is never seen by them : and certainly, if he were seen, he would not be worshipp'd. And thus these ancient Heroes were never deify'd till Death had, by burying themselves, buried the Memory of these Infirmities, which, though they were but few in some, and mean in others, had notwithstanding enough of Allay in them to make the Committers not only be conceived no Gods, but oft-times to represent them as frail Men. *Familiarity is* (in the Proverb) *said to breed Contempt* ; which it does not only by that natural Satiety, whereby nothing can become Common and continue (to our Apprehension) good, but likewise ; by laying open to Conversers these Lapses and Failures, which if they deserve not Contempt, do, at least lessen that Repute which was in others founded for them rather upon *Idea's* which they framed of our Perfections, than upon these Merits which might justly challenge them. Familiarity hath likewise this Prejudice in it, that it blunts those Endeavours in us, whereby Repute is ordinarily required ; and in
remitting

remitting that Exactness whereby we entertain Strangers, we lose that Share of Esteem which Exactness and Politeness deserves; these extraordinary Parads, made ordinarily to our less Familiars, being a Holy-Days Dress in Conversation, which though it flatters, ceases not therefore to weary us. Our Saviour does himself, and of himself, say it in holy Scriptures, that *a Prophet hath no Honour in his own Country*; and the foolish Jews gave him Ground to say so, when they concluded that he could not work Miracles, because his Mother and Brethren dwelt amongst them, and because they did know him and his Extraction.

But if Variety be that which is admired in Society, certainly our own Thoughts, or other Mens Books, can in these far exceed Conversation; possessing above it this Advantage, that we can never be either importun'd or betray'd by these, as is much to be fear'd from the other. And it is most remarkable, that after *Solomon* hath fixt a *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit* upon all the Actions of Men, and hath after several times subjoined it to publick Employment, he only says, That *Reading is a Weariness to the Flesh*, without adding it to be a *Vexation of Spirit*. But albeit Society were to be valued at the Rate imagin'd, yet solitary Persons enjoy more the Sweets of Society, than great Men do: For in all Addresses to these, the Addressers consider only what is fit for their private Interest; and little else is added, besides the dropping of a flattering Expression or two: And when any disinterested Subject is fallen upon with them, it is spoke to with so much Constraint, and the Speakers are so hemm'd in by Discretion and Respect, that the Discourse is manag'd with much Disadvantage. And our very Duty teacheth us, that to speak learnedly is Pedantry there, and to speak religiously is impertinent; so that

we must either transgress our Duty, or else be mean in our Conversation. But, albeit the Humour of the Grandee were so noble, as to admit of Freedom in Conversation; yet few ingenious Spirits (who are the only best Companions) can speak freely in Publick, or to Publick Persons: whereas the most hidebound Orator can pour his Conceptions into his Neighbours Bosom, in their natural Set and Fashion, and with as little Alteration as a Discourse receives by being cast off the Press upon Paper.

Reflect but upon these many Thousand Apologies which are carried up and down amongst such as converse much together; and which, as they make up the greatest part both of their Employment and Vexation, so are not incident to any who live solitarily, these being the natural Product of Conference and Rencounters: And ye may conclude, That either these who make such Apologies, are as real in making them, as they seem passionate in having them to be believed; and then Conversation may appear to be most dangerous, seeing these prove, that Men may easily mistake, and are so easily mistaken by such as daily frequent them, as yet to need so solemn and so numerous Apologies; or else these are but feign'd, and then they prove Conversation to be yet more dangerous; seeing, as Men are subject to mistake and be mistaken, so our own real Apologies for those Mistakes will not be believed, because of the frequency of other Counterfeits; nor can we, for the same Reason, discern whether such as are made to us be real or not: What was the Subject of this Day's Conference will be the Subject of an Accusation to morrow; and that Secret, which we thought we did but lately depositate in our Friends Breasts, will shortly fly in our Faces from the Mouth of our Enemies: But

I. thought

though our Friend were real and secret, yet his Inconstancy may make these either no Virtues at all, or ineffectual and unprofitable ones; a Quality now so ordinary, that I take Pleasure to see both my self and others mistake the several Interests which they knew intimately a Year ago; Cabals and Intrigues moulding themselves almost every Month in different Shapes, according to the Humours or Interests of the Parties concern'd: And so pestilential is the Malignity of Conversation that even Ladies fail here, and this piece of Frailty they are suffer'd to carry about them to keep them from being ador'd, because of their other amiable Qualities: For if their Converse were not dangerous, because that any Error is there a Crime, and no Affront can there be revenged; certainly there should no place else be frequented. Consider, I pray you, how Discourses are laugh'd at, though never so witty, if three or four combine to represent them as ridiculous; how a Slip, either in the Choice or Accent of a Word, becomes irreparable, by being incurr'd in a Society where nothing is design'd but Censure; and when any prove happy in that Trade of Gibing, they must be gadding Abroad (so tempting is this Folly) though sure to meet in these Journeys the Repute of *slight* or *dishonest*; and that Jeerer, who at the Beginning was esteem'd a Wit, is, by continuing his Trade (yea, though he improve in it) undervalued as a Buffoon.

It was nobly observed by *Marcus Antoninus*, that great Emperor, and Philosopher, That a Weaver or Cobler would willingly sequestrate themselves from all Society, that they might prosecute their several Trades; and yet Man cannot retire himself, that he may admire the Creation, and exercise his own Soul, which is the great Trade of a rational Creature, and of a true Philosopher.

And

And since Gain can prevail with all so far, as to make them renounce Society, and esteem Company an idle Folly; certainly, if we would reflect upon the great Advantages of *Solitude*, both as to Morality and Devotion, it were an easy Matter to prefer it to those which are in themselves but Trifles, if not Burthens.

I have these three Arguments to perswade me, That *Solitude*, Contemplation, or a Country Life, have more of Pleasure in them than publick Employment: The first is, That Pleasure being in Men an Act of the Fancy, and consequently of the Soul; certainly these Pleasures, which do more immediately affect the Soul, must needs be the most active Pleasures; and such are those which arise from Contemplation: whereas sensual Pleasures, and such as arise from exterior Objects, do arrive but consequentially at that immaterial Agent, and so they do move it with far less Vigor. A second is, That Contemplation does often drive our Souls into Ecstasies, and is so charming, that it may be rather said to ravish than please, committing so open a Rapture upon our Souls, that it pulls them almost into a state of Separation: Thus those old Hermits are the Members of the ancient Church, who are oft remark'd to have become thus nobly senseless, being as far transported out of themselves, as they had formerly transported themselves out of the World, and lying whole Weeks under that spiritual Amazement, and drunk, as it were, with those streams of Consolations which flow from those blessed Cisterns, the open Wounds of our glorious Saviour. And amongst the Heathens, did not *Pythagoras* almost distract with the Satisfaction conceiv'd in finding that Noble and Famous Demonstration mention'd in the second Book of *Euclid*? Was not *Pliny* so ravish'd with the Pleasure

Sect. 7.
That Solitude is more pleasing than publick Employment.

of contemplating the Rarities of the Hill *Vesuvius*, as for further Enquiry to approach so near, that he lost himself in its Flames? And was not *Archimedes* so much pleas'd with his Demonstration upon the Sands of *Siracuse*, that he would not lose so much time from it, as wherein he might beg his Life from the rude Conquerors : Whereas besides what comes from Fear or Revenge, we read nor hear of no such mighty Passion in any of those who live in the Fruition of publick Employments, or sophisticate Satisfactions. The third Argument is, that we find the Satisfaction resulting from Honour and Ambition, to cede to very mean Pleasures, and to such as have nothing of satisfying in them, besides what they owe to the Corruption of our Senses, and to be such as do themselves yield easily to this Energetick Pleasure of Contemplation.

Is not a Gallant, and even a Statesman, who is in Love with a Mistress, and sometimes with a Whore, or hath an unquenchable Thirst for Wine or Companionry, willing to prefer the Satisfaction of these Passions to all Advancement, or the Pleasures which he can receive by them ? And this evidences, that this Desire to govern, is, of its own Nature, none of the strongest ; at least that our Fancy may have other Objects less dangerous, and equally pleasing, whereupon to dote. And a Pedant, reading *Pompey's* Actions in good *Latin*, is as much enchanted with it, at least with the having written handsomely his Epitaph, as *Pompey* could have been himself in the Fruition of all his Glories, and the most spreading Ruff of his Pride. And a Country Gentleman is as much taken with a happy Chace, or a Clown with a mean Hire, as the happiest Favourite can be with the Purchase of the highest Office, which the Fear to lose, or

new

new Pretences, and much anxious Attendance, doth lessen much to him: But if these Concessions of Gain or Honour occasion Raptures in the Receivers, that Joy brings more Tickling with it, than is fit for the Spirit of Man to receive; and occasions Want of Sleep, Discomposure in Discourse, and all those other Extravagancies which proceed from Grief at other times: Whereas *Solitude* gives no other Pleasures than what is fit for our Recreation, or suitable to our Reason and Stoical Indifferency; so that seeing every State hath Pleasant Objects provided for the Enjoyers Fancy, that State must be most preferable which fancies Objects the least dangerous; and such is *Solitude*, but such is not Publick Employment.

I think the Ancient Philosophers put but a mean Compliment upon Man, when they call'd him *a little World*: for certainly, his vast Soul hath in it Nobler *Ideas* of all that is created, than the Finiteness of Matter will allow to the Creation it self. Whose Spirit is so narrow, but it can in one Thought represent larger Sphèrès, a more vast Globe, and more boundless Seas, than all those which were brought from the Bosom of the first *Chaos*? And after infinite Expence hath impoverished a building Prince, the meanest Peasant can in his Fancy add exceedingly to its Bulkishness; and which is more, that Faculty can mould *Ideas* of thousands of Species never yet created, that can bring forth more Monsters than *Africk*, and can produce more Novelties than *America*: and as we cannot but admire these Productions, for their Variety; so we cannot but love them, because they are our own. And thus seeing there can be no Pleasure in that Variety, which is to be discerned in the World, but what our Fancy takes, (for what else is there in behold-

ing real Castles, Navies, Courts or Cities, but a divertising of our Fancies? for Nature needs none of those) certainly, Retirement hath in this the Start of its Rival: for there Fancy is at fuller Freedom and roves with less Contraction, than when it is limited by the Narrowness of the Senses; through which Wickets, certainly nothing can enter which is august or ample. In Publick we see the same Men most ordinarily still act the same things; and we our selves are so much busied with our Interest, that we regard little even the small Variety which is discoverable in them. And certainly, it is a great Disparagement to the Creation, to think that there is not Variety enough there, to busy our Meditation; or that there is less there than in a City or Court: It is true, that we'll see Variety of Hangings, Cabinets, and such like Toys; but if we would view the various Faces of the Sky but one day, we would perceive more of Variety in those, more of Excellent Colours and various Motions, than in Ten Thousand such Trifles as these. Consider but the Beauty of one Tulip, and its several Freckles; the Motion of one Bird, and its several Wheelings, the Shapes of several Worms, and their different Crawlings, and ye will find Task enough, and more Variety there, than a City can afford; wherein they may represent a Painted Rose, but not its Smell; the Shape of a Fowl, but not its Motion: And yet Men there dote upon that one Quality of Shape in Pictures, more than upon ten thousand real Species in the *Complex* of all their Excellent Qualities; which if ye call Fineness, I see no Reason why ye may not call Madness Virtue. It is not then Want of Variety in Nature, but Want of Observation in us, which occasions this Error; and he understood all things infinitely better than we,

who

who said, *That Solomon in all his Glory was not like one Lilly of the field.* It's reported of a great Philosopher, that for fifty Years he employ'd himself in the Observation of Bees, and all that time found both new Task and Pleasure; and never any could say, that he had observed fully all that was to be observed in Flowers, Anatomy, Astrology, or any of those Sciences, amongst which the least copious in measuring Lengths hath Advantage of our Lives; and yet we complain, that Retirement (where these are only to be found) hath not Employment or Divertisement enough for us.

But if these suffice not, my dear *Celador*, enter into your own Breast, and there survey the several Operations of your own Soul, the Progress of your Passions, the Struglings of your Appetite, the Wandrings of your Fancy, and ye will find, I assure you, more Variety in that one Piece, than there is to be learned in all the Courts of *Christendom*. Represent to your self the last Age, all the Actions and Interests in it; how much this Person was infatuate with Zeal, that Person with Lust; how much one pursued Honour, and another Riches; and in the next Thought draw that Scene, and represent them all turn'd to Dust and Ashes.

The World is a Comedy, where every Man acts that Part which Providence hath assigned him; and as it is esteem'd more noble to look on, than to act; so really I know no securer Box, from which to behold it, than a safe *Solitude*; and it is easier to feel than to express the Pleasure which may be taken in standing aloof, and in contemplating the Reelings of the Multitude, the Excentrick Motions of great Men, and how Fate recreates it self in their Ruin; as if it fed them with Success, as the *Romans* fed their Gladiators, who served for nothing

else, but in beating one another to recreate the disinterested Beholders. Consider, how some are cartelling for not drinking off a Glass, others fretting at the Promotion of their Equals; one vexed that he was not safely delivered of his prepared Harangue, another scanning every Syllable of his frowning Mistress's Letter: And even these Humours again laught at by some; and that Laughter wept at by others of these *Virtuoso's*, who pretend to a Dictatorship in Moral Philosophy.

Democ.
Herac.

Señ. 9.
Solitude
enriches
more than
publick
Employ-
ment.

Some admire Publick Employment, and prefer it to *Solitude*, because the one gains (whilst the other wastes) an opulent Fortune: But these should consider, that as those Merchant-Venturers would eminently deserve to be esteemed mad, who would hazard their Stock in a Voyage, where certainly Ten of a Thousand Bottoms will not return unshipwrack'd; so Pretenders to Advancement must be mad, seeing scarce Ten of a Thousand prove successful in the Design, so few are the Preferments which can enrich, and so many the Hazards in reaching them; and which is worse, of these Ten which are preferr'd, scarce Four will be found who do not prove so unhappily long liv'd, as not to survive their Conquests and Honours; and having got a Glimpse only of Happiness, *en passant*, do become so much the more miserable, that they have been once happy. And as to these with whom Greatness is pleas'd to continue, do they not oft-times, by raising themselves as high as their Fancy, raise themselves too high for their Estates; and the one by swelling, make the other to burst? How few Grandees are not forc'd to eke up their Spendings with contracted Debts after their own Revenues are wasted? Whereas, such as live privately, and

in a Country-Life, transmit to their Posterity the Remainders of that yearly Rent, which rests after all Necessities are defray'd: So that the Countryman must be rich, seeing his Necessities overcome not his Fortune; and publick Persons must be reputed Poor, seeing they have not Sufficiency for their Maintenance. Is not a little Man as well cloath'd in his Four Yards of Cloth, as a Taller is in Six? And are not the Princes of *Italy* esteem'd but petty Princes, because in desiring to be such, they have made those Fortunes, which might have made them rich Subjects, too small for the Support of so weighty Titles, as that of Sovereign? But admit that these Enjoyments continued for the Enjoyer's Life-time; yet God ordinarily takes from the Length of the Duration, what these added to the Breadth of their Conquests. As a too hasty Concoction destroys the Body, so a too soon Conquest-Estate destroys the Conquest; and what like *Jonab's* Gourd flourishes in one Night, loses the next those Blossoms wherewith it was adorn'd. *Hasten not to be rich*, was the Counsel of a great Moralist, as well as Divine; and God Almighty gave us no other Task, than to *Gain our Bread*, and that with *the sweat of our Brow*: So that in desiring great and sudden Estates, we are peccant both as to the Matter and Manner of our Acquisition. And what can we propose reasonably to our selves in thus doing? For little can defend us against our present Necessities, and nothing can defend against the future. And when these Riches are pil'd up, they serve either to satisfy Nature, and that is easy; or to satisfy Fancy, and that is impossible. When a publick Minister hath gain'd, by either Toil, Oppression, or a long courted Favour, a great Sum, he possibly makes a great Entertainment, or buys a great Jewel,
with

with that or the equivalent, and either surfeits in the one, or vexes himself in losing the other; and albeit he do not, What Pleasure is there in either of these, but the serving of our Fancy after the same Manner that Children do, when we laugh at them for hugging Toys and Baubles? Most Men are much troubled in the spending of what they gain, as in gaining it; and thus one Trouble creates another by an alternate Succession. All we gain (saith *Solomon*) is either for Food or Rayment (Pomp and Superfluity being no Design allow'd by Nature) and much or Fine of either of these serve not to defend against either Cold or Hunger: And so seeing the Peasant or solitary Philosopher, attains sooner to the true End of Riches by his Sobriety, than the other by his Abundance; certainly he must be the richer: And that is most Excellent which attains soonest to the End for which it was destinate. If such want Money to give Lawyers or Physicians, they also want Employment for these; and without Employment no Man desires Money: So that Riches are really (though they remain) but like the *Manna*, whereof *He who gathered little had abundance; and he who gathered too much, had nothing over*: And if Riches remain not, but *take the wings of the morning, and flee away*, as oft they do; then consider, that publick Persons are most subject to these Alterations; for Forfeitures, Alterations of Government, or Favour, Intestine Wars, Luxury, Gain, Popular Fury, or an Heir confiding in his Father's Prosperity, or Educate amidst many spending Wanters, and such other dissolute Persons as frequent publick Places, will sooner drive to that Necessity, which Men should only fear, than Moderation or Retirement can do. And when great Men are impoverish'd by these Accidents, they are asham'd because of their former

Exod. 16.
28.

former State, and incapable by Want of suitable Breeding to repair their Losses, or satisfy their Necessities by Pains or Frugality, as private Men can; and which is worse than all this, their former Prosperity makes Want far more unsupportable to such, than to the other to whom the greatest Hardships have been rendered familiar.

As to such who think, that Publick Employment and Command will afford them Convenience to satisfy their Lust, I can say nothing, but that it's better to live in a sober *Solitude*, wherein Men may so tame their Lusts, that they need not satisfy them. There is no Pleasure in eating, but to such as are hungry; and certainly it were for our Advantage, rather that we could live without being hungry, than even to have as much as might satisfy Hunger when it comes: High Feeding, and Want of better Employment, begets this; and what impairs these extinguishes it: Whereas I am confident, such as are servilely subject to it, suffer more Anxiety in the purchasing of that Conveniency, than private Men can do by the Want of Bread; for they will for that Purpose disoblige Friends, cheat their Intimates, prove ungrateful to their sweet Bedfellows, suffer themselves to be talked of, and run a thousand other Hazards, which they would not encounter for staving off the greatest of these Necessities under which mean Men suffer; and when this is gain'd, what brings it but Sicknes, Jealousies, Horrors in Conscience, and Reproach amongst Men?

Se^ct. 10.
The Satisfaction of Lust considered.

When I compare *Solitude* with Publick Employment, as to their Recreations, I find that the one follows only such as because Nature hath invented, it doth therefore sweeten, and such as have no
Danger

Se^ct. 11.
The Recreations of both compared.

Danger in them, besides that of being too much Charming; as Hunting, Hawking, Angling, and the like, wherein we have Occasion to learn, as well as to praise the Workmanship of our mighty Maker: And in the other, such Divertisements are most familiar, as if they have not been invented to gain Money, or feed Lust, yet are not really Recreations, if they look not towards these Ends; and which are attended by so much Toil, Fretting, Sweating, Swearing, Lying, Cheating, and other Vices, that their great Pleasures are the worst of Torment, except their tragick Periods; of which Nature are Cards, Dice, Tennis, Dancing, Drinking, Feasting, and Whoring; which do oftner divert Men from being real Christians, than divertise those who are really such. If great Men enjoy not Recreations, they become unfit for Employment, and Employment becomes a Burden to them; and if they sequestrate the meanest Portion of time for private Recreations, they are curst by those Thousands whom Multitude of Affairs, rather than Laziness, hath deferr'd; and who are so unreasonable, as only to consider, that they are put off, but not to consider wherefore.

Sect. 12.
Both compared as to
their Food
and Ray-
ment.

Though Food and Rayment are no Constituents, yet they are too often look'd upon as considerable Appendages of our more material Happiness; and these used by great Men, thro' they cannot make the Enjoyer happy, yet serve to make the By-standers conclude themselves unhappy in the Want of them: And therefore I shall make these few Reflections upon both, whereby it will appear, that as to these the meanest Men are more happy than the greatest Monarch.

As to Rayment, certainly that used by private Men is most Noble, most Easy, and attended by fewest

fewest Inconveniencies: Most Noble, because in these, Great Men follow the Mode, but mean Men make their own Mode; and so the one as to that is a Subject, and the other a Sovereign. Great Men are Servants not only to the Fashion, but to such Cloaths as are in it; they must abstain from every thing which may soil or disorder them, & must employ much of that Time and Life, which is the only thing they pray for, and which they buy with much Torture and Money from Physicians, merely in adjusting them every Morning; and though it should prejudice their Health or Estate, they must have these Fashionable and Rich. How many Shifts will be used, and other Pleasures abandoned, that Money may be got to give for these? Whereas a solitary Person wears such as are convenient for his Health, and may be subservient to any Employment; and that his are more easy, appears from this, That Great Men, when they resolve to take their Ease, lay aside their Robes, which serv'd for nothing else but make themselves sweat, and others gaze: Jewels and Embroideries may make Cloaths, by being stiff, useles and insupportable, but neither are necessary to cover our Nakedness, or entertain our natural Heat. And when the Fashion changes, these rich Suits serve only either to make the Owner ridiculous, if he wear them, or to make him fret and grumble when he must lay them aside; and though they continue fashionable, yet if another out-strip us in a more sumptuous Suit or Retinue, then we repine, and by missing our Design of being more gallant than others, we likewise miss our Happiness; which because it was not plac'd upon something which was in our own Power, it is therefore in the Power of every other Man to take from us.

As to Food, that which is us'd by mean Men is both more natural, & more pleasant: More natural, because it is prepar'd with less Toil, and being cook'd by Nature it self, serves Nature more adequately, as to all Intents and Purposes; it neither entices Men to eat, till they be unable for their Affairs, nor brings it Sickness; it affords Strength, and prolongs Life; whereas, when publick Employment brings Riches, and these have hir'd Cooks, all they can do, is to cheat the Stomach into an Oppression, and by Fumes sent from thence, chase away fine Thoughts out of our Heads to make Room for Vapours. Solitary Persons dine when they please, but great Men when it suits with their Business; and as they are more subject to Invitations, to Feasts and Entertainments, so they must there sit longer, and eat more than Nature requires, and they must either disoblige their Host, or kill themselves. I know many, who in place of complimenting such as they invite, make them envy them; and many who are vext when they hear of another who lives at a nobler Rate than themselves, and who pillage the Poor, that they may entertain the Rich. That the Food of private Men is more pleasant, arises from this, that the Stomach hath, by its Fumes, depraved the Taste, so that nothing can relish; or Custom hath rendred the finest Delicacies so ordinary, that nothing can appear Pleasant; a Peasant by fasting longer, or working more laboriously than at other times, can thereby heighten the Relish of his Dish beyond all the Art in the Emperor's Kitchen, or Apothecary's Shop. And I have heard of a Merchant's Wife, who being much subject to Diseases whilst her Husband's Trade flourish'd, did live very long, and very healthfully, after he was broke. And when rich Persons fall sick, who knows but their Phy-

sicians

fician may contribute to make the Disease continue long, or the apparent Heir to make it end suddenly: And when the Physician is honest, does he not forbid the Use of all these Delicacies, whereof Greatness boasts as an Advantage.

The greatest Pretext used to excuse this Zeal, after publick Employment, is, That the Country must be served, and Man is not made for himself. To which my Answer is, that this makes Employment the Object of our Duty, not of our Passion, and infers it as a Necessity, not as a Choice, which is all that is contended for. Who is so absurd as to deny his Country that Service, which is really but the Return of its Protection? Or, who will be so mad as not to contribute either Skill or Agility in saving that Ship from sinking, wherein himself sails? And this makes me conclude such as rebel against their Governors, to be as mad as those are, who pull down their own Houses, which defend them oft against the Circumambient and Blustering Storms; and gives me a Veneration for the Persons of such as are my Superiors, to whom nothing said here, that is disadvantageous, should be applied. But if the serving of our Country be that Impulse which only acts us on to undertake Employments, this same design should make us wait till we be called for by our Country: Do not Pretenders to Employment, in desiring each to enter first, obstruct all Entry to Employments? As we see, in entering at publick Places, where the pressing of all hinders the Entry of all. Do we not upon this Account oft remark, That Offices are kept vacant by Princes, because of the Multitude of Rivals who compet for Preference; and so by their Hastè to enter, prejudge the Country more, than by their Entry they can assist it? Whereas,

if

Sect. 13
Object.
*That the
Country
must be
serv'd.*

if it were for the publick Good that we undertook these Employments, all would wait till their rational Reluctancy were vanquish'd, with either the Importunities of their Prince, or Conveniency of their Country : And when that Design for which they were called, were satisfi'd or driven to its design'd Period, they would willingly solace themselves again, by their Retreat to these Country Employments, from which they were at first rather driven, than brought. And certainly, if the publick Interest were that which only did invite Men to appear in Publick, they would not repine at their being laid aside, nor force an Entry through the very Sides of their Country, making a Breach in its Ramparts, because they cannot enter at its Gates, as too many Pretenders daily do.

Se^t. 14.
*It is Just
 that there
 should be
 Changes in
 Favour.*

Should not such as the State have thought fit to remove from Employment, consider, That others have an equal Title by Nature to Advancement with them; and that if their Predecessors in these Offices had not been removed, they had not been advanc'd? So either it was Injustice to remove these, or else it is no Injustice to remove them; and they should rather prove grateful for having enjoy'd these Honours so long, than ingrate in Repining, that they retain'd them not still; which were as unnatural as if the Sun should constantly dwell in one of his Twelve Houses (making that the only Summer-house in Heaven) and should not, by successive Withdrawings and Returns, magnify his Presence by his Absence, and by that constant Change be so just, as not to gratify all that he may please a few. If those who are in Offices, were not subject to Alterations, they would presume too much, and such as wanted them would certainly despair; where-

whereas, now the Fear of being degraded, makes such as are in Employment virtuous and compassionate, fearing lest their Practice become their Ditty; and the Hope of Advancement makes such as yet have not attained to it, walk so as may deserve Applause, and so as they may shun Reproach: If such Alterations were not incident to great Men, they would oft want Occasion and Time to repent of those Sins which they committed in Publick, either by Inadvertence, having their Thoughts distracted with many Things; or by Extravagancy, having their Thoughts rais'd above their just Level. And if there were not such Alterations, great Men should neither have time to admire GOD's many Wonders, nor to review his many Mercies, and it should be unknown whether *Greatness* or *Solitude* were the most Christian State.

Many noble Spirits have been frightened from *Solitude*, as conceiving it to be a State wherein the Soul contracts a Rust, which cankers its own Substance and makes it unpleasant to others, and that it begets Men the Name of a Country-Clown, and unfaitions him as to the World. But these should consider, that seeing the Finiteness of our Souls allows not a compleat Accomplishment, it is our Wisdom to fill our narrow Rooms with the most necessary Provisions, and these are *The knowledge of God, and his Works*; from which will result that Tranquility of Spirit which is peculiar to Philosophy, and is the Guest of *Solitude*: So that when in Exchange of Compliment, Courtship, Knacks, Repartees, and such other Appendages of Conversation, we become Pious, Learned, and Moral Philosophers; I think us Losers in no other Sense, than a Tree is, when its gaudy Flourish ripens into such Fruit as can both

Seet. 15.
Solitude
lessens not
our Piva-
city of Spi-
rit.

please the Relish, and feed the Body. It may be, a Philosopher may forget by his *Solitude* whether to give a Lady his Right or Left Hand; but if in his *Solitude* he hath learn'd to know what is right or wrong in her or his own Actions, I think she should esteem him so much the more, and he is by much the more happier. And if the World conclude him improv'd, who in learning how to order an Army, hath forgot how to order a Ball; I see not why they should account him an Apostate in Breeding, who is so Intent upon the Contemplation of a Deity and its Productions, as not to care to adore these Mortal Goddeses, except for whom the Pressers of this Objection have little or no Devotion, being rather devoted Servants to these, than devout Servants to the Almighty: And how can that Soul rust which is in continual Exercise, as those of Philosophers are? And this is more to be feared in such, as by living in Publick are still busied, and yet idle: for may not we be busy in soliciting for unnecessary Favours to others, in receiving and paying Visits, in driving on unnecessary Factions, and yet our Souls contract a Rust, whose Canker may make it at last moulder away to nothing? For what Share can our Souls take in such Actions, wherein it hath no other Concernment than such as a Man hath in the Motions of his Enemies?

Let us then admire *Solitude* (Noble *Celador*) seeing to it Religious Persons flee when they would seek GOD's Face; Sick Men when they would seek Health: Here Statesmen find their Plots, Learn'd Men their Knowledge, Poets their sublime Fancies. In *Solitude*, nestle the greatest of Saints; in Publick, range the greatest of Sinners; to the one we owe the best of Inventions; to the other the worst of Cheats.

Having thus rais'd this pitiful Structure to its Cape-stone, I resolve to furnish it with these two Landskips; the one of *Solitude*, the other of *Greatness*.

When I come to represent *Solitude*, I must confess that its Advantages are so great, as that if any thing can surpass them it must be the Esteem I have of them. And for contriving its Landskip, I represent to my self *Quintus Mælius posthumus*, that noble *Roman*, who having been brought from his Plow to govern that great City, did after he had conquer'd its Enemies, return to his former Employment; and being ready to leave them, call'd for a Balance, and by putting the *Fasces* (or Marks of Authority) in one Scale, and his Plow in the other, did let them see, that these Imperial Ensigns were the far lighter. Not far from him, I represent *Timon* the noble *Athenian*, and *Gerson* Chancellor of *France*, who starv'd after they had spent their Estates in Compliment and Liberality; exclaiming against all Publick Persons as perfidious, and Friends (as they found) to a Man's Fortune, but not to himself. Here *Diogenes* undervalues so far all *Alexander's* Presents, as to prefer one Sight of the Sun to all that he could command, who commanded all that the Sun shin'd upon: And there *Fiacre*, that illurious *Scot* refuses to return from his Hermitage to receive the Crown of his Ancestors. Here lurks *St. Ferom*, laughing in the midst of his own Torments at the Follies of the World: and there the great *Constantine* bewails with Tears the Want of *Solitude*; and the Multitude of those Distractions, which though they did not extinguish, yet did disturb his Devotions. Below these stands a Country-Gentleman, admiring the Folly of a *Venetian* Ambassador, for being vext to Death, be-

Se&t. 16.
The Land-
skip of So-
litude.

cause he was at a Festival plac'd upon a Stool, and not upon a Chair; and smiling to see a *Russian* Ambassador, who could not step (though very found) till he was led by two Attendants; and to hear, of the Emperor's and *Turks* Ambassadors, who at their last Meeting, behov'd, like two Pendula's Clocks, either to set their paces equally, or else not to be reputed just. Represent to your self rich Valleys, where the liberal Soil needs neither be brib'd by yearly Accessions, nor courted with nice Attendance, nor torn by Instruments (as in City-gardens) before it will bestow any thing upon its Masters; but without keeping close Doors (as these do) keeps an open House to all Passengers, for Herbs and Flowers of all Tastes and Liveries. Here the Nightingale is constrain'd to stay, without any other Cage than that of the native Pleasures of the Place; and here the Sun looks from Morning to Night with a pleasing Countenance upon the off-spring of his own Beams, neither clouded with Smoak, nor intercepted by Angles of falling Houses; and these, in Effect, differ from Gardens, but as Prose from Metre, where the Materials are oft-times richer, though the Contrivance be not so artificial. Here the Levelling, though aspiring Trees lay their Heads together, to protect such as seek Shelter under their well-cloath'd Branches: and the Crystal Streams run slowly and turn many Windings, as if by that and their quiet Murmurs, they would express an Unwillingness to leave so pleasant a Field; and in token of their Thankfulness, do in a generous Manner (because without shewing how) enrich freely the Neighbouring Lands, and draw to their Master his Picture in one instant, without putting him to the Pains of frequent or long sitting, beyond all the Skill of *Vandyck* or *Angelo*, entertaining likewise

wife for him whole Plantations of Fishes, which may afford him both Aliment and Recreations beyond all that the City can boast, where Water never comes, but empty, and as a Prisoner, and like all other things and Persons corrupts, if it but stay a while there. Here old Age crowns, with Innocency's Livery, those who have innocently improved their Youth; and Youth bestows Strength, because it knows that the Strength it bestows is not to be revell'd away in Whoring and Banqueting. Here Ladies scorn, and need not submit their native Colours to fading, and in their blushing at the Sins and Impudence of City Gallants shew a Scarlet far exceeding the noblest Lillies, though *Solomon* and all the Glory of his Court was not to be compar'd to one of these. Here Compliments (which, like Cobwebs, are but the artifical Texture of pitiful Stuff, woven by poison Spiders) are look'd upon as unnecessary and dangerous; unnecessary, because there goes much of Time and Pains to their Contrivance, yet do they not perswade such as they are address'd to, to believe them so well as Country Ingenuity does its Inhabitants: and dangerous, because they are ordinarily but handsom Disguises for such cheating Inclinations, as are sent abroad to betray the Party concern'd. Here Lovers are not like Prisoners, coupled together with Chains of Metal, nor joyn'd, like Princes, in a League for Civil Interest. Jealousie, that moral Fever, which tortures so the Soul of Man, as that GOD was content to ordain a Miracle for satisfying his doubts, finds no Employment here: for Vertue entertains those Matches which it self hath made, and lengthens out their Productions to many more Ages, than are able to consume Thousands of publick Families. And (to dispatch) here, Nature, the Eldest Daughter of

Providence, governs as Queen Regent, and receives so absolute a Deference to all her Laws, that Man may be here thought to be restor'd to that Primitive Innocence, which he formerly forfeited by his Courtship.

Seft. 17.
The Land-
skip of
Greatness.

For framing the Landskip of Greatness, represent to your self *Alexander* running like a Mad Man up and down the World; and killing every Man who would not call him Master (for certainly we would call any Man mad, who would behave himself so in our Streets, and yet they might as justly do the one as he the other) and all this to gain as much as might make him a Person worthy of being poyson'd; and esteeming all his Greatness so meanly, as to prefer to its Enjoyment the Embraces of a Whore, who would have prostituted herself to the meanest of his Attenders. Here lies *Tiberius*, toiling more for the Title of Emperor, than a Porter would do for Bread, and yet preferring to all that *Roman* Pomp (after he knew what it was) the Pleasure of seeing a naked Strumpet, than which no Man is so mean, as not to enjoy many greater Pleasures: There stands *Hannibal*, as a *Switz*, gaurding the King of *Bithynia*, here Chancellor *Bacon* starts at Liberty, and there the D. d' *Alva* starv'd in Prison; in this Bed lies a jealous Courtier, tortured with another growing not only greater, but even equal with him; & in another lies one loaded with Wounds, received for his Country or Princ but not regarded by them: not far from these lies *Anthony* stabbing himself, and *Cæsar* stabb'd by the Senate. In another Corner, ye may perceive a rich Heir selling that rich Suit to a Frippery, wherein he had but lately spent a great Fortune at Court; and another despairing under these Wounds which he did receive, for challenging one who took
the

the Wall of him. Here ye may see the Head of a Nobleman, who to be reveng'd of his Prince for complimenting another, was content to hazard the Happiness both of Prince and Country, in a Rebellion which at last could not but ruin himself and his Family: And there you may see the Quarters of another, who after he had gain'd much more Honour than he at first design'd, yet was so desirous to have more, as that to satisfy that desired super-addition, he would hazard what he was already possessed of in Jeopardies, which any Man, not blinded by Ambition, might have seen to be fatal. In a third Corner lies Heaps of such as *Somerſet*, *Marquis D' Ancre*, *Duke Murdock*, *Cardinal Wolfey* and others, whom nothing but their Affronts have made famous, albeit they were the greatest Ministers and Minions of their Age.

In a fourth Corner are represented many great Men, who having left a pleasant Countrey to come to a City, cover'd with Smoak and infected with Stink, are there vex'd to get Money to entertain their Ladies in that Luxury and Fineness, whereof the one tempts them, and the other tempts others to entertain these Amours which are dangerous, and may prove fatal: and who have likewise quit their own Families, wherein all these Respects were paid them, that they are glad to have occasion to pay at that Court, for which they exchange'd their former Residence; and who, by the Diseases occasion'd by want of that free Air which they have left, are rendred unable to relish all the other Pleasures which they expected to enjoy in the City. And if after all this, ye will not conclude a Solitary Life to be more noble than publick Employment, yet at least ye will, with Seraphick Mr. *Boyle*, confess, That there is such a kind of difference betwixt Virtue shaded by a Private, and shining in a Publick Life,

as there is betwixt a Candle carried aloft in the open Air, and inclosed in a Lanthorn; in the former of which Situations it gives more Light, but in the latter it is in less danger to be blown out.

I shall (*Celador*) in this last place, close this Discourse with the last Advantage of *Solitude*; which is, That by abstracting its Favourites from being Rivals to Great Men, and from being Sharrers with Covetous Men, it conciliates to them that Applause, which as it was due to their Merit, so was obstructed by these and the like Incentives.

-----*Defunctus amabitur idem,*

hath been the Fate of many who were persecuted whilst they were alive: And Death and *Solitude* have this in common, That they suffer Enemies and oblige Friends, to express their former Esteems: *Fame* resembling in this a Shot, where the Ball is fled, before the Report arrive at our Ears.

But I have spent so much of the Age of this Night, in ending this Letter, that it now begins to grow gray; and the dawning Twilight brings as much Light as to let me see, that I have been rather Zealous than Mannerly, in shewing you how much I am,

Dear *Celador*,

Your most Humble Servant,

and Sincere Well-wisher.

Moral Gallantry :
A
DISCOURSE
WHEREIN

The AUTHOR endeavours to prove,
That POINT OF HONOUR,
(abstracting from all other Ties)
obliges Men to be *Virtuous*.

And that there is nothing so Mean (or
unworthy of a *Gentleman*) as Vice.

To which is Added,

A Consolation against *Calumnies* :
Shewing how to bear them Easily and
Pleasantly.

Written in Return to a Person of Honour, and
at his Desire subjoin'd to this Discourse, because
of the Contingency of the Subject.

By Sir *GEORGE MACKENZIE*, K^t.

*Though God did not know, nor Men would not punish Vice, yet
would I not commit it ; so mean a thing is Vice. Seneca.*

L O N D O N :
Printed in the Year M DCC XI.

To His G R A C E

JOHN Earl of ROTHES,

His Majesty's High Commissioner, Lord High Chancellor, Lord President of His Majesty's Exchequer and Council, and General of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland, &c.

May it please Your Grace,

MY Obligations to You are such as may excuse real Passion in a Stoic, and seeming Flatteries in a Philosopher: And my Gratitude deserv'd not to aspire to that Name, if it should not, like them, want Measures. But, seeing your Modesty makes you think even what is Justice to your Merit to be Flattery; as the Greatness of your Merit keeps the highest Eulogies I can give you from being so; I shall retain my Respects for you in a Breast, which may dispute Sincerity as to your Interests, with the first of those who pretend to it: With which I shall the sooner rest satisfied, because no Paper, nor any thing else except

cept the Heart which sends you this, is capable to contain or express that Kindness it feels for you. In the above-written Enumeration of your Titles, I have neither design'd to flatter you, nor to contribute to your Fame; but rather, to remember you how much you are Debtor to Providence for its Kindness; and we to you for your repeated Cares: That thereby ye may be thankful for it, and we to you. In order to which, I have presented you and my Countrey with these Discourses; which by inciting both to be Virtuous, will not allow either to be Ingrate: And therein if I evidence not Abilities, I will at least Kindness and Respect; which cannot but far outvalue the other, seeing the last relates to you, and the first respects only my Self. Since then holy Altars have not disdain'd to offer up Pigeons; and such like value-less things, which nothing but the Sincerity of the Offerer could render considerable; refuse not to accept and revise these, though unfinish'd Discourses. And if a Man's last Words may be believ'd; I (who am to make these my last Words in Print, and confine my Thoughts for the future to my ordinary Employment) do assure you that they are presented with all imaginable Respect and Zeal, by

Your Grace's most Humble Servant,

George Mackenzie.

T O T H E

Nobility and Gentry.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING lighted this, tho' the smallest and dimmest of *Virtue's* Torches, at *Honour's* purest Flame; I thought it unsuitable to place it under the Bushel of a private Protection; but rather to fix it upon such a Conspicuous Elevation as your Exalted Names; that *Virtue* might launch out from thence its glorious Beams more radiantly; and the better direct those who intend to be led by it. Narrower Souls than yours, have not Room enough to lodge such vast Thoughts, as *Virtue* and *Honour* should inspire: And that which raised you to that Height which deserves this Compliment from *Virtue*, does deserve that ye should not, when ye have attain'd to that Height, neglect its Address, tho' sent you by the meanest of its and your Servants.

Ye may (*My Lords and Gentlemen*) make your selves Illustrious by your *Virtue*; and which is yet Noble, (because more Extensive) ye may illustrate *Virtue* by your Greatness; and as the *Impressa* of a great Prince, makes Gold more current, tho' not more pure; so your Patrociny and Example may render *Virtue* more Fashionable and Useful, than now it is. Undervalued *Virtue* makes then its Application to you, as to those whom, or whose Predecessors it hath obliged; and Persecuted *Virtue* deserves your Patronage, as Rewarded *Virtue* is worthy of your Imitation.

And

And seeing it did raise your Families, and offers still to raise Monuments for your Memory ; ye do in that Assistance but pay your Debt, and buy Fame from succeeding Ages. And as what is engraven upon growing Trees does enlarge it self as the Tree rises ; so Virtue will be serious to advance you, knowing that it will receive Extension accordingly as ye are promoted. Virtue is nothing else, but the Exercise of these Principles, which respect the Universal Good of others ; and therefore Nature out of Kindness to its own Productions, and Mankind in Favour to their own Interests, have Enobled and Adored such as were strict Observers of those. The only Secure and Noble Way then to be Admired and Honoured, is to be Virtuous ; this will make you, as it did *Augustus*, the Ornament of your Age ; and as it did *Titus Vespasian*, the Delight of Mankind. This is (tho' to my Regret) the Way to be Nobly *Singular*, and Truly Great. For Men follow you, when ye are Vicious, in Compliment to their own depraved Humours ; but when they shall assimilate themselves to you in your Virtues, they will shew truly their Dependance ; and that they follow you, and not their own Inclinations. In Vice ye but follow the Mode of others ; but in re-entring *Virtue* into the Bon-grace of the World, ye will be Leaders ; by this your Lives will become Patterns, and your Sentences Laws to Posterity ; who shall enquire into your Actions, not only that they may admire, but (which is more) that they may imitate you in them. I intend not by this Discourse (My Lords and Gentlemen) that all Virtues should shrink into the Narrowness of a Cell, or Philosopher's Gown ; No, no ; Publick Virtues are in their Extension, as much preferable to private, as the one Place is more *August* than the other ;

of which to give you but one Instance ; (for the Principle is too well founded to need more) there is more Virtue in relieving the Oppressed , than in abstaining from Oppression ; for that comprehends this, and adds to it the Nobleness of Courage, and the Humanity of Compassion. The one is the Employment of Philosophers, but the other of that Omnipotent GOD, whom these Philosophers with trembling adore : In the one we vanquish, but in the other we only fly, Temptations. Virtue has Employment for you, Great Souls, as well as for retired Contemplators ; and tho' Justice, Temperance, and these Vertues wherein none share with you, be more intrinsically Nobler than the atchieving the greatest Victories, wherein Fate, Soldiers and Accidents, challenge an Interest ; yet Virtue loves to bestow Lawrels as well as Bays ; and hath its Heroes, as well as Philosophers. Rouze up then your Native Courage, and let it overcome all things, except your Clemency ; and fear nothing but to stain your Innocence ; undervalue your Ancestors no otherwise, than by thinking their Actions too small a Pattern for your Designs ; and assist your Prince, till he make the World (which is wash'd by the Sea on all Quarters) that Isle which should acknowledge his Sceptre : Your Time makes the richest Part of the Publick's Treasure ; and every Hour ye mispend of that, is sacrilegious Theft committed against your Countrey. Throw not then so much Time away, (tho some be allowable) in Hunting and Hawking, which are not the Noblest Exercises, seeing they favour always the Strongest, and do incline Men (tho furdly) to Oppression and Cruelty ; (for which Reason (I believe) *Nimrod*, the first Tyrant, is in Scripture observed to have been a mighty Hunter) ; and with *Lucullus*, that Glorious Roman, think it
the

the Noblest Hunting, to pursue Malefactors by Justice in Peace, and irreclaimable Enemies by Armies in War. Raise Siege from before these coy Ladies, (I speak not of the Nobler Sort, for to court such will oblige you to learn Wit, Liberality, Patience, and Courage) who do heighten their Obstinacy of Design to make you lengthen your Pursuits, and lay it down before these strong Cities, which are by no forced Metaphor called the Mistresses of the World ; level their proud Walls, when they refuse your just Commands, with the Ground whereon they stand, and leave it as a Doubt to your Posterity, when they see their Ruins, to judge whether your Fury, or the Thunder, has lighted there. But, if ye will justify your Compliments to deserving Beauties, employ your Courage, as well as Affection, in their Service ; (for till then ye serve them up but by halves.) And as *Cæsar* at his parting, told *Cleopatra*, Think your selves unworthy of them, till ye have raised your own Value by such Exploits as Courage has made Great, and Virtue has made Generous. Court them, as he did her, with no other Serenades, than the pleasant Noise of your Victories ; and after ye have returned, covered not with Perfumes or Tissue, but with deserved and blossoming Lawrels ; then that same virtuous Courage, which hath forced a Passage through Walls and Ramparts, (piercing where Shot of Cannon languish'd, or gave back) will find an Entry into the hardest Heart ; which, if it yield not to those Gallant Importunities of Fate and Fame, it is certainly more unworthy of your Pains, than ye of its Choice. But forget not amidst all your Trophies, rather to chastise Pride, than to be proud of any your Plumpest Successes ; (which become Cheats, not Victories, when Men are vain of them) for by so doing you shall
become

become Vassals to it. Whilst ye toil to enslave others to you, endeavour rather to deserve, than to court, Fame: For in the one Case, ye will make it your Trumpet; whereas in the other, it will become your Imperious Mistress, and ye will thus oblige it to follow you; whereas otherwise you may weary your selves in following it. The Noblest Kind of Vanity, is to do Good, not to please others, or to expect a Reward from them; and Fame is nothing else, but to do so of Design, to gratify your own Gallant Inclinations, judging that the having done what is Good and Great, is the Noblest Reward of both; and scattering, like the Sun, equal Light, when Men look, or look not upon it. The Noblest Kind of Detraction, is to lessen those who rival your Virtue, not by obscuring their Light, as the dull Earth Eclipses the Moon; but by out-shining it, as the Sun renders all these other Stars Inconspicuous, which shine, but appear not at the same time with it; raise your Spirits, by these Heroick Exploits, to so generous a Pitch, that ye need not think Heaven it self too high for you; and as if all Things here below were too unworthy a Reward for that Courage, to which all those Things do at last stoop; attempt Heaven, (if ye will be truly Courageous) which the Scripture tells us *is taken by Violence, and the Violent take it by Force*. And when Virtue hath made you too Great for this Lower World, the Acclamations and Plaudites of such as consider the Heroickness and Justice of your Actions, shall be driven upwards with such Zeal and Ardour, that they shall (as it were) rent the Heavens, to clear an Entry for you there; Where, when ye are mounted, tho' *Cæsar* or *Augustus*, *Alexander* or *Antoninus*, were adorning the Skies, transformed into Stars, as their Adorers vainly imagin'd, yet

we may with Pity look down upon them, as Spangles, which at best do but Embroider the Outside of that Canopy, whereupon ye are to trample. Ye shall there have Pleasure, to see our Blessed Saviour interceed for such as were Virtuous, and welcome such as come there under that winning Character; and shall from these lofty Seats, see such Terrestrial Souls, as by their Love to the Earth, were united and transformed into it, burn in those Flames, which took fire first from the heat of their Lusts here; which tho' it be an Insupportable Punishment, yet yields in Horror to these Checks they shall receive from their Conscience, for having undervalued, or oppressed, that Virtue which I here recommend.

T H E

Author's Design & Apology.

Though I can by no other Calculation than that of my Sins, be found to be old; yet in that small Parcel of Time which I have already transacted, I have by my own Practicè been so criminal, and by my Example adopted so many of other Mens Sins into the number of my own, that though I should spend the Residue of my Allowance without one Error, (which is equally impossible and desirable) yet that negative Goodness being a Duty in it self, could expiate my foregoing Sins no more, than the not contracting new Debts can be accounted a Payment of the old. The Consideration of which prevailed with me to endeavour to reclaim others from their Vices by Discourses of this nature; that in their proselyted Practicè I might be virtuous, as I have been vicious in the Practicè of such as have followed my Example: And that I might, in the Time they should employ

employ well, redeem what I my self had so mis-spent. In order to which, I did resolve to address my self to the Nobility and Gentry, as to those whose Reason was best illuminated; and by prevailing with whom, the World (who imitates them, as they depend upon them) may be most compendiously gained to the Profession of Philosophy; and to such as have most Leisure to reflect upon what is offered, and fewest Temptations to abstract them from obeying their own Persuasions. And as Physicians do judge their Medicaments will be most successful, when they rather second than force Nature; so I resolved to use the Assistance of their own Inclinations, in my Discourses to them; laying aside an Enemy, and gaining thus a Friend, by one and the same Task. Wherefore finding that most of them were either taken by an Itch for Honour, or a Love to Ease, I have fitted their Humours with two Discourses; in the one whereof, I endeavour to prove, That nothing is so mean as Vice; and in the next I shall prove, That there is nothing so easy as to be Virtuous. I had, I confess, some Thoughts of this Discourse, when I first undertook the Defence of Solitude; but I thought it fit to acquaint my self with writing, by writing to private Persons; before I attempted to write to such as were of a more elevated Condition: And that it was fit to invite all Men first to Solitude; which I prefer as the securest Harbour of Virtue. But if some would pursue a publick Life, as the more Noble, I thought it fit to demonstrate to them, That there is nothing truly Noble, but what is sincerely Virtuous. I doubt not but some will, out of Mistake, (I hope few will; out of Malice) think, that the Writing upon such Foreign Subjects, binds this double Guilt upon me, that I desert my own Employment; and do invade what belongs to those of another Profession; but if we number the Hours that are spent in Gaming, Drinking, or bodily Exercises (at none of which I am dextrous) if we consider what time is spent in Journeys; and in attending the Tides and Returns of Affairs, we

will find many more vacant Interludes, than are sufficient for writing ten Sheets of Paper in two Years Space; especially upon a Subject which requires no Reading, and wherein no Man can write happily, but he who writes his own Thoughts. With which, pardon me, to think him a sober Wit, who cannot fill one Sheet in three Hours; by which Calculation, there needs go only thirty Select Hours to ten Sheets: And his Life is most usefully employed, who cannot spare so many out of two Years to his Divertisements; especially, where the Materials are such daily Observations as are thrust upon me, and all others, by our living in the World; and are so Orthodox and Undeniable, that an ordinary Dress cannot but make them acceptable. And so few (I may say, none) have written upon the Subject, that I am not put to forge somewhat that may be new. But whatever others judge of this, or me, I find that it is a Part of my Employment, as a Man and Christian, to plead for Virtue against Vice. And really, as a Barrister, few Subjects will employ more my Invention, or better more my unlabour'd Eloquence, than this can do. And I find, that both by writing and speaking Moral Philosophy, I may contract a Kindness for Virtue; seeing such as repeat a Lye with almost any Frequency, do at least really believe it. Neither is there any thing more natural, than to have much Kindness for either these Persons, or Sciences, wherewith we are daily conversant: And by this Profession and Debate, I am obliged (though I fear that I satisfy not that Obligation) by a new and strong Tye to be Virtuous, lest I else be inconsequential to my own Principles, and so be reputed a Fool, either in not following what I commend, or in commending so much, what by my Practice I declare is not worth the being followed. And therefore if I cannot pleasure others, (which is my great Aim, and will yield me great Satisfaction) I will at least profit my self: Which because it is more Independent, is therefore more Noble; and so will suit best with my Subject, tho' the other would suit better with my Desires.

A

DISCOURSE,

Endeavouring to Prove,

That Point of Honour obliges Men to be Virtuous: And that there is nothing so mean as Vice, or so unworthy of a Gentleman.

BY how much the more the World grows Older, by so much (like such as wax Old) its Light grows dimmer; and in this Twilight of its declining Age, it too frequently mistakes the Colours of Good and Evil; and not infrequently believes that to be the Body, which is but its Shadow. But amongst all its Errors, those which concern Honour, are the most (because conspicuous, therefore) dangerous; every Fault being here an Original Sin, and becoming, because of the Authority of the Offender, a Law, rather than an Example. Some conceive themselves obliged in Honour, to endeavour to be second to none; and therefore, to overturn all who are their Superiors: Others to think every thing just, whereby they may repay (tho' to the Ruin of Publick Justice) the Favours done to their

private Persons, or Fortunes. Some imagine, that they are in Honour bound to live at the Rate, and maintain the Grandeur of their Predecessors, tho' at the Expence of their starving Creditors; (obedient to Nature in nothing oft-times, but in this fantastick keeping of their Ranks); and there want not many who judge it derogatory to theirs, to acknowledge these Errors of which they stand convinced. Young Gallants likewise look upon Virtue, as that which confines too narrowly their Inclinations; judging every thing mean which falls short of all the Length, to which Power or Fancy can stretch it self; and as a Genteel Wit hath handsomely express'd it, they believe that,

*Honour is nothing but an Itch of Blood;
A great Desire to be extravagantly Good.*

And thus whilst every Man mistakes his Fancy for his Honour, they make Honour to be like the Wind; (from which at that Rate it doth little differ) than which nothing sounds higher, and yet nothing is less understood. To vindicate Honour from these Aspersions, and reclaim Persons otherwise Noble from these Errors, I have undertaken this Discourse: The Nobleness of whose Subject deserves, that it had been illuminate by the Victorious Hand of mighty *Cæsar*; and to have been writ by a Quill pluck'd from the Wing of Fame. But I hope, the Readers will consider, that seeing I am able to say so much upon it, that more Sublime Wits would be able say much more. And as in refining of Metals, the first Workmen require usually least Skill, so I hope that after I have digged up with rather Pains than Art, the first Oar, it will hereafter be refined by some happier Hand.

I have

I have in great Esteem those Honours which are derived from Ancestors; (though that be to be great by our Mothers Labours, rather than our own) and to those which Princes bestow; (though that be but to be gallant in Livery) and I believe that we may justly interpret *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image (whereof the Head is said to have been Gold, the Breast Silver, and the Belly Brass, the Legs Iron, and the Feet Clay) to be a Hieroglyphick of this lower World, wherein Nature hath impress'd the several Ranks of Mankind with gradual advantages suitable to their respective Employments; the meaner sort falling like dregs to the bottom; whilst the more refined Spirits do like the Cream rise above; these like Sparkles flying upward; whilst the others do like the contempt'd Ashes lie neglected upon the level. And seeing the Wise Former of the World did design by its Fabrick, the Manifestation of his Glory; it is most reasonable to conclude, that he would adorn such as are most conspicuous in it, with such Charms and Accomplishments, as might most vigorously ravish the Beholders into the Admiration of that Glorious Essence they represent. The Almighty being hereby so kind to such whom he hath deprived of the Pleasure of Commanding others, as to give them the Pleasure of being commanded by such as they need not be ashamed to obey; and so just to those whom he had burdened with that Command, as to fit them for it by resembling Endowments: And as by the Heroickness of these who represent him, he magnifies his own Wisdom in that Choice; so by their Publick-Spiritedness, he manifests his Love to these who are to be governed. Thus as amongst the Spheres, the Higher still roll with the greatest Purity; and as in natural Bodies,

*Native
Honour
commend-
ed.*

Dan. 2.

dies, the Head is as well the highest as the noblest Part of that pretty Fabrick, (from being vain whereof nothing could let us, but that as the Apostle says, *It is given us, and it is not our own Workmanship*); so amongst Men (each thereof is a little World, or rather a nobler Draught of the greater) the highest are ordinarily the more sublime; for such as attain by Election to that Height, must be presumed best to deserve it; such as force a Passage to it, could not do so without Abilities far raised above the ordinary Allowance: And such as by their Birth are accounted Noble, have ordinarily (like Water) their Blood so much the more purify'd, by how much the farther it hath run from its first Fountain. Antiquity is an abridg'd Eternity; and that being one of God's Attributes, these do oft resemble him most in his other Attributes, who can pretend with greatest Justice to this: And as in natural Bodies, Duration doth argue Fineness and Strength of Constitution, so we cannot but acknowledge, that those Families have been most worthy, who have worn out the longest Tract of Time, without committing any such enormous Crime, or being guilty of either such Rashness or Infrugality, as moth away these their Linages; which, like *Jonah's* Gourd, rather appear to salute the World, than to fix any Abode in it.

Yet there is a Nobility of Extraction much raised above what can owe its Rise to Flesh or Blood; and that is *Virtue*, which being the same in Souls, that the other is in Bodies and Families, must, by that Analogy, surpass it as far as the Soul is to be preferred to the Body: And this Mortal Honour and Nobility, prizes its Value so far above all other Qualities, that the Stoical *Sayrist*, following the Dictates or Doctrines of that School,

School, is bold to say, That nothing but Virtue
deserves the Name of Nobility.

Nobilitas sola est atq; unica Virtus.

And in Opposition to this Nobility, but most consequentially to that Doctrine, *Seneca*, a Partisan of the same Tribe, doth with a Noble Haughtiness of Spirit tell us, That *licet Deus nesciret, nec homo puniret, peccatum, non tamen peccarem, ob peccati vilitatem*; though God did not know, nor Man would not punish Vice, yet I would not sin; so mean a Thing is Vice. For proving of which, I shall advance and confirm these two great Truths, That Men are in *Point of Honour* obliged to be virtuous: And that there is no Vice which is not so mean, that it is unworthy of a Gentleman: And shall lead you unto that Seraglio of private Vices, of which, though the weakest seem in our Experience to have Strength enough to conquer such who pass for great Spirits, or Wits in the World; a Philosopher will yet find, that these Defeats given by them to noble Spirits, do not proceed from the Irresistibleness of their Charms, but from the Inadvertence of such as are captivate; and is rather a Surprize than a Conquest: For those great Souls being busied in the Pursuit of some other Project, want nothing but Time to overcome these Follies, or else these Vices and Passions (which is a great Argument of their Weakness) do then assault such Heroes, when they are become now mad with their Prosperity. But if we will strip Vice or Passion of these gaudy Ornaments, which Error and Opinion lends them, or advert to our own Actions, we will find that these overcome us not, but that we by our own Misapprehension of them overcome our selves; as will appear,
first,

first, by some general Reflections; to which in the second place, I shall subjoin some particular Instances; and shall by a special Induction of the most Eminent Virtues and Vices, clear, That there is nothing so Noble as Virtue, nor nothing so mean as Vice.

*Virtue con-
tributes
more to
Advance-
ment than
Vice can do.*

As to the general Reflections, I shall begin with this; that if Advancement be a noble Prize, doubtless Virtue must by this be more noble than Vice, seeing it bestows otest that so much desired Reward. From further proving of which from Reason, consider, that no Man will associate with vicious Persons, (without which no Project for Advancement can be promoted). For who will hazard his Life and Fortune with one whom he cannot believe? And who can believe one who is not virtuous? Trust, Fidelity, and Sincerity, being themselves Virtues: Or who should expect to gain by Favours the Friendship of such, as by their Vices are ingrate to God and Nature? Who have been to such liberal, infinitely far above human Reach; (and thus likewise vicious Persons are contemptibly mean, seeing they are so infinitely ingrate.) And in this appears the Meanness of Vice, that it can effectuate nothing without counterfeiting Virtue, or without its real Assistance: When Robbers associate, they entertain something Analogical to Friendship and Trust, else their Vices would be but barren; and without Humility shewed to Inferiors, the proud Men and Tyrants would owe but little to the Greatness of their Spirit. When Undertakers league together, either they trust one another because of their Oaths, or because of their Interests only; if the First, they owe their Success to Virtue; if the Second, then they never fully cement, but assist each other by Halves; reserving the other Half of their Force to attend that Change,

Change, which Interest may bring to their Associates: And do such as fight for Hire (Interest being nothing else) acquit themselves with such Valour, as those whose Courage receives Edge from Duty, Charity, Religion, or any such virtuous Principles? Vicious Persons have many Rivals, and so meet in their Rising with much Opposition: The Covetous fear the Promotion of him who is such; and the Ambitious of him who is of the same Temper: But because all expect Civility from the Courteous, and Money from the Liberal; they therefore wish their Preferment, as what will contribute to their own Interest: And Princes are induc'd to gratify such, as knowing that in so doing they transmit to their People what they bestow upon such Favourites; and that they preclude the Challenges of those, who repine at their Favours as misplac'd, when not bestowed upon themselves.

If there be any thing that is noble and desirable in Fame, Virtue is the only (at least as the straightest, so the nearest) Road to it; Posterity taking our Actions under their Review without the Byass of Prejudice, Passion, Interest, or Flattery. And of such as Story canonizes for its Grandees, *Alexander* is not so truly Glorious for defeating the *Indians*, as for refusing to force *Darius's* fair Daughters; for in the one a great part is due to the Courage of his Soldiers, and the Brutishness of his Opposers; whereas in the other he overcame the Charms of such, as might have overcome all others; and was put to combat his own Youth, which had gain'd for him all his Victories: The meanest of his Soldiers could have forc'd a Pris'ner, but Fame reserved it as a Reward worthy of *Alexander* in his Chastity, to vanquish a Monarch, and gratify a generous Lady; to displease whom was as great a Crime as it

Virtue is more conducive to Fame than Vice.

was

was to ravish others. Nor was *William* the Conqueror more honoured for subjecting a Warlike Nation, than for pardoning *Gospatrick* and *Eustache* of *Bulloign*, after so many Revoltings: For in the one, he conquered but these who were less than himself; but in the other he conquered himself, who was their Conqueror. *Aristides* was esteemed more Noble in undergoing a patient Banishment, than these Usurpers who condemned him to it, whose Names remain as obscure as their Crimes are odious; whilst his is the continual Ornament of Pulpits and Theatres. And all the *Roman* Glories do not celebrate *Nero's* Memory to the same Pitch with that of *Seneca's*, who did (like the Sun) then appear greatest when he was nearest to the Setting. *Alexander* is only praised when we remember not his killing *Parmenio*: And the Famous *Hugh Capet* of *France* ends his Glory, where we begin to talk of his Usurpation; and (to dispatch) this is one great Difference betwixt Virtue and Vice, in relation to Fame; That Vice, like a *Charletan*, is applauded by the unacquainted, or like rotten Wood may shine in the dark; but its Lustre lessens at the Approach of either Time or Light; whereas tho' Virtue may for a time lie under the Oppression of Malice, (which Martyrdom it suffers only when it is mistaken for Vice); yet Time enobles it, and Light does not lend it Splendor, but serves only to illuminate its Beholders; and so to enable them to discover what native Excellencies it possesses.

An Argument from Romances.

If *Amphialus* or *Orondates* had been charged in these Romances ye so dote upon, with Drunkenness, Oppression, or Envy, certainly it had less'n'd their Esteem even with such as most admire, though they will not imitate, these Virtues. And to shew how much Kindness Virtue breeds for such

such as possess it, consider how, though ye know these to be but imaginary *Idea's* of Virtue, yet we cannot but love them for that, as ye can love them for nothing else, seeing they never obliged you or your Relations; and since abstract Virtue conciliates so much Favour, certainly Virtue in you will conciliate much more: For besides that *Idea* which will be common to you with them, some will be obliged thereby to love you, as their Benefactors; and others because they know not when ye will become so; and at least they will honour your Virtue, as that which will secure them against your Wrongs; and which will assure them of your good Wishes, if you cannot lend them your Assistance. Would not the most prostitute Ladies hate *Statira* or *Parthenissa*, if they had been represented under any one of these their own Vices; whose Number can find their Account no where but in the Moments they live, nor Excuses no where but in the Madness of such as commit them? And would not our Gallants think it ridiculous to see these *Hero's* brought in by the Author of *Cassandra* or *Parthenissa*, glorying in having made their Comrades brutish by drinking, or poor Maids miserable by Uncleanliness: And though Whoring be cried up as one of these Genteel Exercises, that are the Price of so much Time and Pains; yet we hear of none of these who are so much as said to have had a Whore, far less to glory in it. But to turn the Medal; Consult your own Experience, and it will remember you of many hopeful Gentlemen, whose Advancement hath been so far disappointed by these Vices, that they fell so low as to become Objects of Pity to such as fear'd them once, as their accomplish'd Rivals. And to let us see the Folly of Sin; I have known such as hated Nigardliness so much, as that to shun it, they spent

spent their Abortive Estates before they were full Masters of them; brought by that Excess to flee Creditors, starve at Home, walk in Rags, and which is worse, beg in Misery; and so to fall in to the Extremity of that Vice, whose first and most innocent Degrees they laugh at in others: And when they begg'd from these who were both Authors and Companions in their Debaucheries, (expecting to be supplied as well by their Justice, as their Compassion) did get no Return but that Laughter which was a Lesson taught by themselves; or at best, a Thousand Curses for having bred them in a way of living, that did naturally occasion so much Mischiefe. If then Poverty be mean and ignoble, certainly Vice must be so too; seeing besides Sicknes, Infirmity and Infamy, it hales on Poverty upon such as entertain it.

Virtue raised the Grecian and Roman Empires.

When the World was yet so Young as to be led by Sincerity, in place of that Experience which makes our Age rather witty than honest; its *Hero's*, who equally surpassed and ennobled Mankind by their Virtue, were for it deified, even by these their Contemporaries, who in possessing much more both Riches and Power than they, wanted nothing but this Virtue to be much greater than they were. And thus *Nimrod's* Kingdom could not build him Altars, tho' sincere *Radamanthus* had Fire kindled on his by the heat of their Zeal, who knowing him to be mortal, could not, even in spite of his dying, but worship that Immortal Virtue which shined in him. And as *Cicero* informs, these Gods of the *Pagans* were at first but Illustrious *Hero's* whose Virtue, rather than their Nature, rendred them immortal, and worthy to be worshipped, even in the estimation of such undisciplin'd Brutes, as thought the Laws of Nature a Bondage, and the Laws of God a Fable. We find, though *Licurgus*
in

in *Lacedemon*, *Aristides* in *Athens*, and *Epaminondas* in *Thebes*, were not born to command, yet their Virtue bestowed on them what their Birth denied; and both without, and against Factions, they were elected by their Citizens to that Rule, which they did not court; and were preferred to such as both by Birth and Pains had fairer Pretences to it. And whilst *Greece* flourished, *Reges philosophabant*; & *Philosophi regabant*; these Commonwealths being more numerous than their Neighbours in nothing but the sincere Exercise of Reason. And when Tyranny and Pride had, by wasting these Commonwealths, made place for the *Roman* Glory; nothing conquered so much the Confiners of that glorious State, (whose Center was Virtue, and Circumference Fame) as their Virtue. Thus the *Phalerians* are by *Plutarch* said to have sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, resigning themselves over to the *Roman* Government, because they found them so just and noble, as to send back their Children who had been betrayed by a Schoolmaster. When *Pyrrhus* was advertised by the *Romans* to beware of Poyson from one of his own Subjects, who had offered to dispatch him; he did then begin to fear that he should be conquered by their Arms, who had already subdued him by their Civilities. And such Esteem had their Justice gained them, that they were chosen Umpires of all neighbouring Nations; and so gained one of the Opposites first to a Confederacy, and then to a Dependancy upon them. And *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* did in Legacy leave them his Kingdom, as to those whose Virtues deserved it as a Reward; which occasioned *St. Augustine* to fall out into this Eloquent Expression: *Because God* (saith he) *would not bestow Heaven upon the Romans, they being Pagans; he bestowed the Empire of the World upon them, because they were Virtuous.*

And

And many have been raised to Empires by no other Assistance than that of their Virtue. As *Numa Pompilius*, *Marcus Antoninus*, *Pertinax* and *Vespasian*; whilst the Want of this hath in Spight of all the Power with which vicious Governors have been surrounded, degraded others from the same Imperial Honours; as *Tarquinius Superbus*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*. And generally there is but one Emperor to be seen in that long *Roman List*, who was unfortunate being virtuous: And not one whose Vice was not the immediate Cause of Ruin to its Author.

*Virtue
hath made
Philosophers to be
admired above Prin-
ces.*

Antiquity hath also transmitted to us the Memory of *Socrates*, *Zeno*, and other Philosophers, under as obliging Eulogies, as these of the most Famous Emperors; whom Virtue (to let us see that Riches and Honours are but the Instruments of Fame, and not the Dispensers of it) hath without any Assistance raised to this Pitch above these Princes; that they have conquered our Esteem without the Aid of Armies, Treasures, Senates, or flattering Historians, and cease not like them to command when they ceas'd to live; but by their Precepts and Discourses force worthy Souls yet to a more entire Obedience, than the others did whilst they were alive, by their Sanctions and penal Statutes. For Princes govern but a short time one Nation; and by these Laws they awe but such vicious Persons, whom it is more Trouble than Honour to command. But these Illustrious Philosophers, and such as imitate their Virtue, have thereby attained to a Sovereignty over both the Wills and Judgments of the best of all such as are scattered amongst all the other Kingdoms of the World. And *Marcus Aurelius*, who was one of the greatest Emperors, doth commend to Kings as well as Subjects, to think that one of these Philosophers is beholding all
their

their Actions, as a most efficacious Mean to keep Men in Awe, not to commit that Vice to which they are tempted.

I have seen very great Men shun to own even their beloved Vices, in the Presence of such as they needed not fear for any thing but their Virtue. And it is most remarkable, that *Nero*, who exceeded all who then lived in Power, and all who shall live (I hope) in Cruelty, did still judge himself under some Restraint, whilst *Seneca* was at Court to be a Witness to his Actions. And every vicious Person must flee Publick, and the Light (which shows the Meanness and Cowardliness of Vice) when he is to resign himself over to any of these Criminal Exercises; by which likewise when committed Men become yet more Cowards; for who having spent his Life at that unworthy Rate, will not (if he be Master of any Reason) tremble and be afraid to venture upon such Exploits, which by taking his Life from him, may and will present him before the Tribunal of that God whom he hath offended? and from whom (which will not a little contribute to his Cowardliness) he cannot expect that Success, whereof the Expectation lessens, or heightens to its own Measures, the Courage of such as are engaged.

Vice must lurk, and is cowardly.

We may easily conclude the Meanness of Vice from this also, that Servants without Pains or Art equal us in them; for these can Whore, Drink, Lie, and Oppress: But to be Temperate, Just, and Compassionate, are Qualities whereby we deserve, and are by such as know us not, judged to be Masters and well descended. And have not Servants Reason to think themselves as deserving Persons as their Masters, when they find themselves able to equal, or surpass them in

Servants equal Masters in Vice.

what they glory in, as their great Accomplishments?

*Vice but
copies Vir-
tue.*

Seeing what is imitated is still nobler than what imitates, certainly Vice must be the less noble, because it but copies Virtue, and owes to its Mask and our Errors, what it possesses of Pleasure or Advantage. Cruelty pretends to be Zeal, Liberality is counterfeited by the Prodigal, and Lust endeavours to pass for Love.

*All Vices
employ
Fear.*

Is there any thing more ignoble than Fear, which does as Slaves subject us to every Attempter? And have not all Vices somewhat of that unmanly Passion? In Covetousness we fear the Want of Money, in Ambition the Want of Honour, in Revenge the Want of Justice, in Jealousy Rivals; and when we lye we fear to speak openly.

*All Vices
make us
depend up-
on others.*

Is there any thing more mean than Dependence? And does not Ambition make us to depend upon such as have Honours? Covetousness upon such as have Riches? and Lust upon the Refuse of Women? Whereas Virtue seeks no other Reward than is paid in doing what is virtuous; and owes its Fee only to it self; leaving Vice in the servile Condition of serving for a Fee, even those whom it most hates. And generally in all Vices we betray a Meanness, because in all these we confess Want and Infirmities: In Avarice we appear either Fools in desiring what is not necessary, in disobliging Friends, hazarding our Health, and other Necessaries, for what is not so in its self; or else we confess that our Necessities are both greater and more numerous than these of others, by heaping together Riches and Money, which serve for nothing when they serve us not in supplying our Wants. In Ambition we confess the Want of Native Honour and Excellency: In Lust, Want of Continency; In Anger we want Command of our selves;

selfes; and in Jealousy we declare we think not our selves worthy of that Love alone, wherein we cannot fear Rivals upon any other Account. And in Jealousy Men likewise wrong their own Honour in suspecting their Ladies or Friends; whereas Virtue persuades us, that our Necessities may be confin'd to a very small Number; and that these may be repaired without any Loss of Friends, and but little of Time. It teaches us that Riches were created to serve us; and that therefore we disparage our selves, when we subject our Humour to our Servants. And from it we learn to rate so justly the Excellencies of that Rational Soul, which is the Image of God Almighty, as to expect from it, and no where else under the Sun, any true and solid Happiness; and to account nothing more noble than it, except the Almighty God whose Offspring it is, and whom it represents.

There is nothing more mean than to be cheated, and all Vices cheat us: Treason promises Honour, but leads to a Scaffold; Lust Pleasure, but leads to Sickness; and Flattery cheats all such as hear it; and such as are Proud are double miserable, because they are both the Cheaters, and the Persons cheated. Thus Vice cannot please without a Crime; and these are even then gaining the Hatred and Contempt of others, when they are enquiring, or hearing from Flatterers, that the People seek no where without them Objects of Love and Admiration: Whereas Sacred Virtue allows us to admire our selves, and which is more, to believe that all these things for which vicious Men neglect the Care of their Souls, are unworthy of our Research; and certainly the Soul is a more noble Creature than that Earth, or Metal, which we stain our Souls to get: For our Souls do censure all these things; it finds

Virtue allows us a just Value of our selves.

Defects in the noblest Buildings, and shews by desiring more, an Un satiableness in all extrinsick Objects; it determines the Price of all other Creatures, and like the Magistrate in this Commonwealth, assigns to every thing its Rate; to Day it cries up the Diamond, and to Morrow it allows Preference to the Ruby: These Treats and Colours which ravish' this Year, pass the next for no Beauty. Red Hair pleases the *Italian*, and our Climate hates it; and it is probable that this Change of Inclination is not a culpable Inconstancy in Man, but a Mark of his Sovereignty over all his Fellow-Creatures. Virtue teaches him not to owe his Happiness to the Stars, nor to be like them foolish Emperors, so fondly vain, as to think that he shall have no other Reward for his Virtue, than the being transformed into one of these lesser Lights, which he knows to have been created only for a Lanthorn to him, or at the best but to adorn with their numberless Associates that Firmament, which was created to be one of these Arguments, whereby he was to be courted into a Belief of, and Love for, that God who thinks him so Excellent a Creature, that he is said to be glad at the Conversion of a Sinner, and to grieve at his Obstinacy. And if we will consider the miraculous Fabrick of our Bodies, which though we be but dull, yet we may see to be all Workmanship; and wherein the Number of Wonders equals that of Nerves, Sinews, Veins, Bones, or Ligaments; the curious Fabrick of that Brain, which lodges (without Croud or Confusion) so many thousand of different and noble Thoughts; the Artifice of those various Organs, that express so harmonious Airs and ravishing Expressions; the Charmingness of these Lines and Features in Ladies, which like the Sun scorch as well as illuminate the Beholders: We

may

may conclude that our Soul must be a most Excellent Piece, seeing all this Contexture is appointed to be but a momentary Tabernacle for it, when it is in its lowest and unworthiest Estate; and which when the Soul deserts, is thrown out with all its Wonders, lest it should by its Stink trouble the meanest of these Senses, which serves the Souls of these who are alive. Consider, how this Soul grasps in one Thought all that Globe for which ambitious Men fight, and for some of whose Furrows the avaritious Man doth so much toil. Consider, how it despises all that Avarice has amass'd; how it is pleas'd with no External Object longer than it fully considers it; and what a great Vacuity is left in our Desires, after these are thrown into them; and by all this we may learn that Vice disparages too much the Soul, when it imagines that any finite thing can bound its Thoughts; and we are but cheated when we listen to these Proffers, which Vice makes use of, Honour, Pleasure, or Advantage: For who can be so mean to think that all these Faculties were bestowed upon our Souls, these Features upon our Bodies, and so much Care taken of both by Providence, for no other End than that we shou'd admire that Wine which Peasants make? those Colours which prostitute Whores wear? that we should gain Fortunes, which serve too oft to corrupt these for whom they are prepared? Or Respect from such as bow not to us, but to our Stations.

Having thus over-run these general Considerations, whereby Men who are gallant may be courted to a Love for Virtue; my Method leads me now to fall down to those Instances of particular Vices and Virtues, wherein I may make nearer Approaches to the Actions of Mankind: And seeing there is too much of Ease, too little

of Cogency, in writing full and tedious Essays upon these common Theams, I shall consider them only as they relate to Gallantry; promising no other Track of Art in all this Discourse, but that I shall pursue my Design so closely, as not to employ any Argument against Vice, nor assist Virtue with one Thought, but such as may decry the one as mean, and cry up the other as Genteel and Handsome.

*Dis-
simu-
la-
tion.*

We owe that Deference to great Men, that even their Vices should have the Precedency of all others; and therefore I shall begin this Inve-tive with *Dis-simulation*, which is peculiarly their Sin; for when the meaner Sort are guilty of the same thing, it is in them called Falshood; from which *Dis-simulation* differs nothing, but that it is the Cadet of a Nobler Family. And this evinces what an ugly and ungenteel Vice *Dis-simulati-on* is, seeing he is no Gentleman who would not chuse rather to die or starve, than to be thought false: All *Dis-semlers* shew an Inability to compass without these pitiful Shifts, what in *dis-sembling* they design, for this is the last Refuge; and by this Courage becomes unnecessary: And we oft see that Cowards *dis-semble* best, gallant Men laying that Weight upon their Courage, which others do upon *Dis-simulation*. And at this unworthy Game it is not requisite to be Gallant, provided men be Wicked. *Dis-simulation* is but a Courtly Cowardliness, and a Stately Cheat: And certainly he is too much afraid of his own either Courage or Fate, and values too much his Prize above his Honour, or Innocence, who can stoop to play this underboard Game: Whereas a gallant and generous Soul will not fear any Event so much, as to leave his Road for it; and will own what is Just with so much Nobleness of Re-solution, that though Fate should tumble down upon

upon him Mountains of Misfortunes, they may perhaps overwhelm, but they shall never be able to divert him. Where are then these gallant Resolutions of our Fore-fathers; who scorn'd even Victories gained by Treachery, Falshood, Poysons, and such other unhandfom Means? Where is the *Roman* Fortitude, which advertised *Pyrrhus* of his Physicians Offer to poyson him, though their greatest Enemy? And which caused *Marcus Regulus* chuse to return to be a Martyr for Virtue, rather than stain the *Roman* Faith? Where are these Resentments of the Lie in frivolous Causes, when great Men magnify in their Dissimulation what is in Effect Lying and Treachery? To deceive one who is not obliged to believe us, is Ill; but to cheat one whom our own fair Pretences have induc'd to believe us, is much worse; for this is to murder one whom we have perswaded to lay aside his Arms: And as Dissimulation thrives never but once; so to use it cuts off from the Dissembler that Trust and Confidence which is necessary in great Undertakings; for who will depend on these whom they cannot trust? And after Dissemblers are catcht, as seldom they escape, the abused People hate and persecute them as Violaters of that without which the World cannot subsist. I appeal to the Reader, if he hath not heard Enemies lov'd for their Ingenuity; and if he hath not seen these Cut-throat Lights blown out and end in a stinking Snuff; and as if every Man had escaped a Cut-purse; if every man did not bless himself, and rejoyce to see these Dissemblers fall. And I may justly say, that Dissimulation is but the Theory of Cutpurse, or Murder: Consider how unpleasant any thing appears that is crooked, and ye will find natural Argument against Dissimulation; and tho' it hath great Patrons, and can pretend to an

old Possession, and much breeding at some Courts, (though all who are gallant there hate it) yet it is never able to gain Esteem; and can defend it self no other ways than by a cowardly Lurking, and shunning to be discovered. Neither can there be so much Wit in this Art, as can Justify its Error; for Women, and the meanest Wits are oft-times most expert in it: All can do it in some Measure, and none ever used it long without being discovered; and such only are rendered its Prey, as make it no great Conquest; they being either our Friends, who expected not our Invasion, or Fools who are not worthy to be gloried in as our Trophies.

*Envy and
Detraction.*

There are none of the Vices which rage amongst them, more destructive to either their Honour, or to the Honour of that Commonwealth which they compose, than Envy, and (which both follows it, and aggravates its guilt) Detraction. Envy is mean, because it confesses that the Envier is not so Noble or Excellent as the Person envied; for none are envied, but such as possess somewhat that over-reaches, or excels what is possess'd by such as do envy. This Vice acknowledges, that he who useth it, wants much of what is desirable; and which is meaner, much of what another possess'es; and as if we despair'd of rising to anothers Height, it makes us endeavour to pull him down to the Stature of our own Accomplishments. Most Men essay to imitate the Actions of these whom they envy; so that in detracting from these they leave others to undervalue what they themselves design ardently to perform. And thus, if these Detracters be so much favoured by Fate, as to atchieve any such great Action; as that is which they undervalue in others, they get but a barren Victory; and which is more insupportable, they see themselves

selves punished by their own Vice. And to convince us how mean Vices Envy and Detraction are; we may observe, that, such as are victorious, judge it their Honour, to magnify these who were vanquish'd; and Men wound extreamly their own Honour, when they detract from Persons who are more deserving in the Eyes of the World than themselves; for they force their Hearers to conclude, that the Detracters themselves must be undeserving; seeing these who deserve better, are by their Confession, cry'd down as being of no Merit; which remembers me of this excellent Passage in *Plinius the Second*, *Tibi ipsi ministras in alio laudando; aut enim is quem laudas, tibi superior est, aut inferior; si inferior, & laudandus tu multo magis; si superior, neque jure laudandus, tu multo minus*: Thou servest thy own Interest when thou praisest others; for either he whom thou praisest, is thy inferior, and then if he deserves to be praised, much more thou; if he be thy Superior, and deserves not to be praised, much less thou. All Men are either our Friends, or our Enemies, or such who have not concerned themselves in our Affairs. We are base because ingrate, when we detract from our Friends; and we assert our own Folly, when by Detraction we endeavour to lessen the Worth of those whom we have chosen for such: We lessen likewise our Honour, when we detract from our Competitors and Enemies, because to contest with undeserving Persons is ignoble; and to be vanquish'd by them has little of Honour in it: Whereas as all Events are uncertain, if we be overcome by such as our Detractions have made to pass for undeserving, our Overthrow will by so much become the more despicable; and to detract from such as expected no Wrong from us, and who are Strangers to us and our Affairs, is not only impru-

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imprudent and unjust, but is as dishonourable and little gallant, as that is to wound one who expects not our Assault, and whose Innocency as to us, leaves him disarm'd; and the Word *Backbiting* clears to us, that Detraction is a Degree of Cowardliness; for it assaults only such as are unprepared or absent; which is held dishonourable amongst the least of such as have Gallantry in any Esteem. He who praises, bestows a Favour; but he who detracts, commits a Robbery, in taking from another what is justly his; and certainly to give, is more noble than to take. Envy is also most prejudicial to great Undertakings, seeing such as are engaged, must resolve either not to act what is necessary for compleating so great Projects, or if they do, to fall under the Envy of these for whom they act them; and the Undertakers do obstruct by Envy their own Greatness, because they are by that Vice persuaded to crop such as begin to perform in their Service, Attempts worthy of the being considered. How destructive likewise this Vice is to the Glory of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, does but too clearly appear from this, that all who are in them are either despicable by not being worthy of the being envied, or else will be destroyed by that Vice, which levels its murdering Engines at such only who are the noblest Spirits, and who deserve most Promotion from their Country. *Carthage* was destroyed by the Envy which *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* bore to *Hannibal*, who by denying him Forces to prosecute his *Italian* Conquests, did involve themselves with him in the common Ruins of their Country; which shews the dishonourable Folly of Envy in conspiring against it self, with these, who being Enemies to both the Opposites, sides first with the one in gratifying his Envy, and then destroys the other,

other, whose Passion it first serv'd. Pitiful Examples whereof our own Age affords us, wherein many great Men were by Envy driven to oppose Principles, whereon they knew the Publick Safety and their own private Interest to depend. *Flaminius*, the *Roman* General, endangered *Rome*; and *Terentius Varro* did almost lose it out of Envy to *Fabius Maximus*; and such was the Force of Envy, that it did defeat the great *Scipio*, and banished him from that *Rome* which he had made both secure and great; and did by his Example cool the Zeal of such who retained their Blood in its Veins, as in an Arsenal, for no other End than the Service of their Country; as a Consequence of which Envy, it was observ'd, that in the next Age most of *Rome's* Citizens declin'd rather to entertain that Fame, which the former courted, than to be expos'd to the Cruelty of that Envy which did usually attend it. Detraction brings likewise these great Disadvantages to our Reputation; that it engages both these from whom we detract, and their Friends, partly out of Revengè, and partly for Self-Defence, to enquire into our Errors and Frailties; and to publish such as upon Enquiry they have found, or to hatch Calumnies, if Truth cannot supply them: And in that Case, Rate of Game obliges us to favour the Counterer; for we defend what may be our own Case, in favouring what is at present but the Defence of others. It legitimates likewise these Calumnies which are vented by us, by such as our Detraction hath not yet reach'd, who will think it their Prudence (like those who fear Invasion) to carry the War into the Territories of such, from whom they do, upon well founded Suspicions, expect Acts of Hostility. If then our own Honour be dear to us, we should not invade the Honour of others; For Revenge, the
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activeſt of Paſſions (when added to that Love of Honour, which is equal in us and them) will oblige them to do more againſt our Honour, than we can do in its Defence.

Whoring renders Men contemptible, whiſt it tempts them to embrace ſuch as are not only below themſelves in every Senſe, but ſuch as are ſcarce worthy to ſerve theſe handſomer Ladies, whom they either do, or may lawfully enjoy. Doth not this Vice perſuade Men to lie in Cottages with Sluts, or (which is worſe) Strumpets? To lurk in Corners; to fear the Encounter of ſuch as know them; and to bribe and fear thoſe Servants, who by ſerving them at ſuch Occaſions, have by knowing their Secrets, attained to ſuch a ſervile Maſtery over them, that I have been aſhamed to hear Gentlemen upbraided by theſe Slaves, in Terms which were the adequate Punishment, as well as the Effect of their Vice. Men in Whoring muſt deſign either to ſatisfy their own Neceſſities, or their Fancy; if their Neceſſities, then as Marriage is more convenient, ſo it is as much more noble than Whoring, as it is more genteel for a Perſon of Honour, rather to lodge conſtantly in a well appointed Palace, than to ramble up and down in blind Ale-houſes; in the one a Man enjoys his own, whereas in the other he only lives as Thieves do by Purchase: If to ſatisfy Fancy, certainly it ſhould pleaſe more, at leaſt it is more honourable to be ſecure againſt Rivals, than to be ſure to be equal'd by them. Who will fancy a divided Affection? And who can be ſure that ſhe who deſtroys her Honour for us, will not reſign the ſame to a Second, or a Third; for beſides the Experiment we have of her Change; Oaths, Honour, and Obligations can be no convincing Evidences of, or Sureties for what ſhe Promiſes; ſeeing ſhe is then breaking

ing these, when she gives Strangers these new Assurances. And this makes me laugh to hear Women so foolish, as to rely upon such Promises as are given by Men who destroy their Nuptial Oaths, when they make them. And if Women be such Excellent Persons, as to deserve that Respect, and these Adorations, which are passionate enough to be paid before Altars; certainly every Man should endeavour to secure the Esteem of one of these rare Creatures: Which is more noble than to rest satisfied with a Tenth, or Sixteenth Part, like Men sharing in a Caper. And therefore seeing Fancy nor Honour allow no Rivals, I am confident that no Man can satisfy his Fancy, nor secure his Honour, in preferring a Whore to a Wife, or in using Whores when he wants one. Have not Whores ruined the Repute of some great Men, who entertained them, by causing them to neglect to pursue their Victories, as *Thais* did to *Alexander*, and *Cleopatra* to *Mark Antony*? Have they not betrayed their Secrets wherein their Fame was most interess'd, as *Dalilah* did to *Sampson*? And there is nothing more ordinary than to hear such (like *Herod*) swear that they dare not refuse their Mistresses, whatever is within their Reach; and thus they must either prove base in perjuring themselves, if they think not what they say; or are contemptible Slaves both to their Passions, and to these who occasion them, if they resolve to perform what they promise; which makes likewise these to be dangerous Masters, who depend upon the Humour of a Woman; and so concludes them unfit to be great. It were then a generous Expiation of this Vice in such as are oppress'd by it, to use it (not its Objects) as *Mahomet* the Great did his gallant Mistress *Irene*, whose Life and Head he sacrificed to the Repinings of his Court, and *Fanisars*; who

who challeng'd him justly for loving rather to be conquered by one silly Woman, than to conquer the World, wherein she had many, but he no Equals. It is noble to deliver Ladies out of Danger, but not to draw Dangers on them; and to punish such as scoff at them, rather than to make them ridiculous: And what Thousands of Dangers are drawn upon Ladies by being debauched, when married; and if they be not married, are they not thereby made the Proverb of all such as know them? And to these I recommend *Tamar's* Words, who when *Amnon* offered to lye with her, told him, *Thou shalt be as one of the Fools in Israel; and I, whither shall I cause my Shame to go?* And after this, let them remember that when he had satisfied his Lust, then he instantly (as is too ordinary) despised her Person. And since Ladies will not stain their Honour with this Vice, till they be married, I conceive they should much less after; for there the Obligation is doubled. From all which it follows, that Lust is equally base and ignoble, whether it discharge it self upon Equals or Inferiors; betwixt which Two there is only this Difference, that it is brutal in the one Case, and cruel in the other.

There is no Vice whereby Gallantry is more stain'd, than by Breach of Promise; which becomes yet more Sacrilegious, when Ladies are wrong'd by it. And of this, Whoring makes Men likewise guilty, when it robs from Ladies their Husbands; robbing likewise such upon which it bestows them, both of their Honour and Quiet. And thus, though it makes such as use it barren, (God in this resisting the Propagation of Sin) yet it self brings forth its Faults in full Clusters. And *Nathan's* Parable to *David* proves it likewise to be so high an Oppression, that no Man of Honour would commit it, if he
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would but seriously reflect upon his own Actions. From which Parable this new Observation may be likewise made, that tho' *David* was guilty of Murther and Whoring, yet the Prophet made choice only of this last to astonish this Warlike Monarch, and raise his Indignation against this Vice, when shadowed out under a foreign and borrowed Representation. Though Murther be so barbarous a Crime in it self, that the *Barbarians* did instantly conclude *Paul* guilty of it, when they saw the Viper fasten upon his Hand. The unjustest Extravagance of Lust is that whereby Men contemn such as become their Wives, tho' they admired them when they were their Mistresses; for in this they confess it is a Meanness to be theirs; for since that time the Neglecters thought them amiable, they sweet Creatures have oft contracted no Guilt; nor lessen'd the Occasion of that Esteem no otherwise, than by marrying their inconstant Gallants, who seem'd to have so warm a Passion for them. And it is strange, that Men should admire their own Eloquence, Courage, Estates, and all things else they possess, for no other Cause, than because they are their own; and yet should undervalue their Wives (the noblest thing they possess) upon this and no other Account.

I cannot think Nature such a Cheat, as that if Women had not been the excellentest of Creatures, it would have beautified them with Charms, and armed their Eyes with such piercing Glances, that to resist them is the next Impossibility to the finding a Creature that is more accomplish'd than they; and I confess, the Love we bear them is not only allowable in it self, as an Inclination that is of its own Nature Noble and Virtuous; but likewise, because it obliges such as are engaged in it to despise all mean Vices, such as
Avarice

Avarice or Fear ; and is incompatible with all disingenuous Arts, such as Dissimulation or Flattery. And though such as are guilty of Whoring, do justify their debording by a Love to that glorious Sex ; yet by this Pretext they are yet more unjust and vicious than their former Guilt made them ; for by roving amongst so many, they intimate that they are not satisfied with their first Choice ; and that not only there are some of that Sex, but that there is none in it who deserves their entire Affection. Or else by dividing them amongst so many, they think their Kindness sufficient to make Numbers of Ladies happy ; by both which Errors, they wrong not only themselves by swearing otherwise to the Ladies to whom they make Love, but they wrong likewise the Innocence and Amiability of that sweet Sex, in whom no rational Man can find a Blemish, besides their Esteem for such Persons as these, who indeed admire them no where but in their Compliments ; and who are oft so base, that not only their Society is scandalous, but they are ready to tempt such as they frequent ; or if they fail in this, are oft so wicked, that they, to satisfy either their Revenge or Vanity, do brag of Intimacies and Allowances which they never possess'd. If then Gallants would be lov'd by their Mistresses, they must be virtuous, seeing such love only these who are secret, many things passing amongst even *Platonicks*, which should not be revealed. These who are couragious, seeing this is appointed to be a Protection to the Weakness of their Sex ; and these who are constant, seeing to be relinquish'd infers either a want of Wit, in having chosen such as would quit them without a Defect ; or else that they were abandoned because of Defects, by such as the World may justly from their first Ardency, conclude, would never
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have abandoned them without these; what Lady without a Cheat, will be induced to love one wasted with Pox and Inconstancy? one whom Drunkenness makes an unfit Bedfellow, as well as a Friend? And though some worship the Relicks of Saints, yet none but these who are mad as well as vicious, will worship the Relicks of Sinners.

Neither is the Meanness of this Vice taken off, by the Greatness of these with whom it is shar'd: which may be clear from this; that either Affection, Interest, or Ambition, are in the Design of these Offenders. If Affection, it should excuse no more her who is Whore to a Monarch, than her who is such to a Gentleman; for Affection respects the Person, but not the Condition of such as are lov'd: And it is certainly then most pure, when it cannot be ascribed to, or needs the Help of either Riches to bribe, or Power to recommend it. But if Riches be design'd, then the Committer is guilty both of Avarice and Whoring; and she is not worthy to be a Mistress, who can stoop to a Fee like a Servant. And she who designs Honour and Repute by these Princely Amours, is far disappointed: For though she may command Respect, yet Esteem is not subject to Sceptres. And I am confident that *Lucretia*, who chus'd rather to open her Veins to a fatal Launce, than her Heart to the Embraces of a Sovereign, is more admired than *Thais*, *Popæa*, *Jane Shore*, and *Madam Gabriel*; whose Obedience to their own Kings was a Crime in them, though it was Loyalty in others. Blushes are then the noblest kind of Paint for Ladies, and Chastity is their most charming Ornament: And if these would send out their Emmissaries, to learn by them how to reform their Errors, as they oft do to reform their Revenge,

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they would easily perceive, that loose Men laugh at their Kindness, virtuous Men undervalue them and it. And whenever any Judgment is poured out upon the Kingdom, or Misfortune overtakes these Minions, then all is ascribed by Divines to their Looseness; and it is one of the allowablest Cheats in Devotion, to invent miraculous Resentments from Heaven upon their Failures. Young Ladies, to recommend their own Chastity are obliged, in good Breeding, at least to say they hate them: Such as are married, are bound by their Interest to decry such as may debauch their Husbands; and these who are old, rail against them, as those who place all Happiness in what, because of Age, they cannot pretend to: Whereas such as are chaste, are recommended with magnifying Praises, for Patterns to such as are vicious; and are copied as admirable Originals, by such as are virtuous. And I cannot omit this one Reflection, that chaste Women are more frequently tainted with Pride, than with any other Vice: Nature as it were allowing to them to raise their own Value far above others, whom they have (almost) Reason to contemn, as Persons who prostitute themselves; (which, and the Word *humbling*, are lessening Epithets of Whoring); and such who are nasty, spotted, and unclean.

Lust and Obscenity in Discourse, run in a vicious Circle, and by an odious Incest beget one another; for as Lust prompts Men to Obscenity, so Obscenity pimps Men into Lust; but in this Obscenity is more culpable than Lust, that in the one, Men alledge a natural Advantage, and some a Necessity; but in the other they have no Temptation, and so fall under that Curse, *Woe unto them that sin without a Cause*. In the one Men sin covertly, making by their Blushes, as by a *ta-*
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cit Confession, some Attonement for their Guilt; but in the other Men divulge their Sin, and by gracing it with what, if the Subject were honesty might pass for Wit, do invite such as wish to be reputed Wits, first to admire; and then to imitate them in their Sinning; and the best of such as use that Eloquence, become thereby most ignoble; being in Effect but Cooks, who prepare Sawces for provoking a lustful Appetite in their Hearts. And I admire, that seeing Comedians are hiss'd off the Stage, when they attempt it, that such as are so far greater than these, as Masters are above Buffoons, should imagine that they can magnify themselves by it. This Vice may well enough be ranged under one of the Species of *Sodomy*, seeing such as use it, employ in their Lust these Members, which were so far from being destinate for so low Uses, that the *Psalmist* in saying, *He will praise God with his Glory*, (which Interpreters render to be the Tongue) doth shew us, that our Tongues are amongst the noblest Parts of our Body. And when I consider, how Melodious it is in its Harmonies; how Eloquent in its Expressions; how whole Multitudes are reclaimed from their greatest Furies by it; and how *Cicero* is in Spight of all his other Faults, so admired for it, that thousands sweat and toil daily, to make one in that Number, wherein he is acknowledged to be by them all far the first: When I consider, how miraculously it expresses, with the same Motion, so varying Sounds, that tho' Mankind be innumerable, yet each in it hath his distinct Tone and Voice; and how with little different Positions, it signets the same Air with Words so extremely differing, that one may think that each Man hath a Spirit speaking out of him: I must tell out in Rebrates and Wonders, that, and how so Excellent a Faculty is so much abu-

fed! Neither must we conclude, that because such go away unanswered, that they owe this to the Sharpness of their Wit, but rather to the Depravedness of its Subject; wherewith the greatest part of accurate Spirits are so little acquainted, that some know not the Terms, and others know them only to hate them. We must not think, that we admire for Wits such still at whom we laugh: And I believe many laugh at such as are prophane, as they do at such as they see slip and catch a Fall, though never so dangerous. I re-grate in this Vice, both to see sharp Men so vicious, and so much Wit so misemployed; for though we may say here, that *Materiam superabat opus*, yet such is the Abjectness and Worthlessness of the Matter, that it is not capable of Ornament, no more than Excrements are to be admired, though they were gilded, and carv'd out by the most curious Hand; and their Wit is at least to be charged with this Error, that it chuses not Subjects worthy of their Pains; for whereas the Quaintness of Fancy doth, when employ'd about indifferent Subjects, beget its Masters Respect; and when upon Excellent Admirations, all that it can do here, is but to Excuse the Faults it makes; and so at least is so beggarly an Employment, that it's scarce able to defray its own Charges. I account him no Wit, who cannot deserve that Name, though he be barr'd any one Subject, especially such a Subject as Obscenity is; wherein former Traffickers have been so numerous, and so vacant from other Employments, that as nothing which is excellent, so little that is new, can be said upon it; and what is said, is transmitted from Ear to Ear, with so much of Secrecy, that as no Historian will write it, so fewer will know it, than will know any of these witty Productions of Learning, or moral Philosophy, which

all Men indifferently desire to read and repeat: Whereas this will be altogether suppress'd from succeeding Ages; and of the present, Ladies, Statesmen, Lawyers, Divines, and Physicians, are not allowed to give it Audience. I have heard Women, though loose, say, That they loved none of these, who publish their Shame, tho' they satisfied their Lust; and that such did often evaporate their Lust in these Raileries, or design to supply their Defects in such Discourses. And I know that Lacquies, or Bawds, will be more accurate in that Kind of Eloquence, than the noblest of such as use it, (if any who are noble use it at all.) Men must either think Women great Cheats, in loving what they weep and blush at; or else they are very cruel, in tormenting their Ears with so grating Sounds. And if Women be such Excellent Creatures, as Mens Oaths and Compliments make them, certainly Obscenity must be a mean Vice, seeing of all others, such decry it most. For Compliance with whom, it is strange that these who offer to die, will not much rather abandon a Piece of Imaginary Wit; and which passeth not even for such, but amongst these who are scarce competent Judges. It is most unbeseeming a Gentleman, for such as frequent Ladies, to spend so much time in studying a kind of Wit, that not only cannot be serviceable, but which cannot in any case be acceptable or recreative to these lovely Persons; for whose Devertisement and Satisfaction, even these obscene Ranters do pretend that they employ all their time and pains; and whom they will doubtless at some Occasions offend, by slipping into one of these criminal Expressions, which Custom will so familiarize, that it will be as impossible for them to abstain, as it will be for these others to hear what is so spoke without Trouble

and Dissatisfaction. Such as have their noble Souls busied about great matters, find little time to invent Expressions or mould Thoughts concerning such pitiful Subjects. And I appeal to the worst of these, if they do not abominate such as are in History noted for Obscenity; and if they would not hate any, who would adorn their Funeral Harangue with no other Praises, but that they were so wittily prophane, that they would force Ladies to blush, Debauches to laugh, Statesmen to undervalue them, and chase Divines from their Table.

*Avarice
and Libe-
rality.*

Avarice is so base a Vice, that the term *Sordid* is improperly used in Morality, when it is otherwise applied; and by terming one a *Noble Person*, we intend to signify, that he is liberal: This is that Vice, which by starving great Designs, hinders them to grow up to their full Dimensions. None will carry about dismembred Bodies, and wear Scars in their Service, nor gain Victories for these, whose Avarice will so little Reward their Pains, that they oft-times refuse to supply these Necessities which were contracted in their own Employments. No great Man hath both the Hearts and the Purse of his Inferiors. And few have been famous or prosperous but such as have been as ready to bestow Riches upon their Friends, as they have been ready to take Spoil from their Enemies. *Themistocles* finding himself tempted to Look upon a great Treasure, blush'd at his Error; and turning to his Servant said, *Take thou that Money, for thou art not Themistocles.* *Rome* then begun to be jealous of *Cæsar's* Greatness, when he begun to put the Army in his Debt. It was said of that Noble Duke of *Guise*, that he was the greatest Usurer in *France*; for he laid out his Estate in Obligations. And *Tacitus* observes, that *Vespasian* had equal'd
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the greatest of the *Roman Heroes*, if his Avarice had not lessen'd his other Virtues: Which is the Observation made by *Philip de Comines*, upon *Lewis* the 11th. of *France*. *Perseus*, out of love to his Treasures, lost both his Kingdom, and these; being as a Punishment to his Avarice, led in Triumph in the Company of his Coffers by a *Roman* General, who gloried, and is yet famous for having died almost a Beggar. The World love Esteem, and follow such as are liberal; Historians celebrate their Names; Soldiers fight their Battels; and their Beadsmen importune Heaven for success to their Arms; but no Man can have a Kindness for such as will prefer to them a little stamped Earth; or value no Obligations but these which bind to a paying of Mony. And it is well concluded by the World, that no vast Soul can restrict all its Thoughts to that Employment, which is the Task of Porters and Coblers. In this Vice we make our Souls to serve our Riches; whereas in its opposite Virtue, Riches, and every thing else (whose Price these may be) are by such as are truly liberal, subjected to the meanest Employment, to which the Soul can think them conducive. And the Soul is too noble and well appointed an Apartment, to be filled with Coffers, Bags, and such like Trash, which even these, who value them most, hoard up in their darkest and worst furnish'd Rooms: And such as are liberal, are the Masters; (for it belongs to these only to spend) whereas the Avaritious are in Effect but their Cash-keepers; who have the Power to keep, but not the Allowance to spend what is under their Custody. I am confident, that *Zeno* is more famous (and to be rich serves for nothing else) for throwing away his Money, when it begun to trouble his nobler Thoughts; than *Cræsus*, whose Mountainous Treasures served only to bribe a more valiant Prince to destroy

them and him. And *Marcus Crassus*, the richest Roman, was so far undervalued by *Julius Cæsar*; that he said, he would make himself richer in one Hour, than these Riches could their Master; which came accordingly to pass, when by his Liberality he gained the Roman Soldiery; and they gained for him the Empire of that World, whereof *Crassus's* Estate was but a small one, though his Avarice made it a great Spot in him. This Vice implies a present Sense of Want, and a Fear of future Misery; to be hoarding up what serves for nothing else, except to prevent, or supply us in these Conditions. But Noble Spirits, who design Fame and Conquests, Virtue and Religion, raise their Thoughts above this low Vice; and design not to gain Riches, but Men, who are Masters of these; and with whom when gain'd, they can soon bring all things to their Devotion: And therefore in Point of Honour we are obliged to hate Avarice, and cherish Liberality.

Rebellion
and Perfidy.

Though Treason cheats with fair Hopes of Glory and Advancement; and at least this Vice pretends to have whole Woods of Lawrels at its Disposal; yet the most ordinary Preference it gains Men is the being first amongst Fools and vicious Persons; for they are then wronging both that Honour they possess, and that to which they aspire; when they by their Usurpation learn others how sweet it is to rebel against their Superiors: And such as Employ the Commons against their Sovereign must expect to allow them greater Liberty than suits with the Honour of Governors; and must stile themselves the Servants of the People. How meanly must these flatter that unreasonable Crew? Swear Friendship with such as have wrong'd their Honour? Lye, dissemble, cheat, beg; meet in dark Corners with their Associates; and suffer so

much

much Toil and Misery, as wants nothing but the Nobleness of the Quarrel to make them Martyrs. It is not safe for any Man in point of Honour, to undertake Designs wherein it is probable he will fail, and wherein if he fail, it is most certain that his Honour will suffer: And there is no Crime wherein Men are more like to fail, than in this; the Rabble whom they Employ, being as uncertain, as they are a furious Instrument: And like the Elephant, ready still to turn head against such as Employ them in Battel; And who will trust the Promise of these Leaders, (for without large Promises, Rebellion can never be effectuate) who in these Promises are betraying their own Allegiance? And such as these employ, will (at least may) consider, that how soon they have effectuate these treacherous Designs; they will either disdain the Instruments as useless; or destroy them as dangerous and as such, who by this late Experience, are abler to ruin them, than they were their Predecessors. And when such Traytors are disappointed of their designs, they are laught at as Fools; for nothing but Success can clear them from that Imputation; and exposed to all the Ludibrie, and thereafter to the Tortures of Enemies; who cannot but be violent Executioners, seeing their Ruin was sought by the Rebellion. Is there any thing more ignoble than Ingratitude? And these Traytors are ingrate; seeing none can pretend to those Arts, but such as have been by the Bounty of these, against whom they rebel, advanced to that Height, which hath made them giddy; and to that Favour with the People, upon which they bottom their Hopes. And do not Men and Story talk more advantagiously of Footmen and Slaves who have relieved their Masters, than of the greatest of such as have rebelled against their Princes?

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All Mankind being concerned to magnify that wherein their own Safety is concerned; and to decry these Arts whereby their Ruin is sought. That same People who cut *Sejanus* in as many Pieces as he had once Favorites; did raise a Statue to *Pompey's* Slave, for staying by the Carcass of his dead Master. And as *Alexander* hang'd *Bessus*, who had betrayed to him his Matter; *Spitamenes* and *Antigonus* caused to massacre these *Higer'spides*, who had betrayed the gallant *Eumenes*: So *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, did refuse to punish such as had opposed him, when he was in Rebellion; for said he, Such as have been faithful to the King against me, when I was but Duke of *Orleans*, will be faithful to me, when I am raised from being Duke of *Orleans*, to be King of *France*.

Inconstancy is likewise an ignoble Vice, seeing it shews, that either Men were foolish in their first Choice, or that they were foolish in relinquishing it; it shews, that Men are too much subject to the Impressions of others; and small or light things are these which are soonest blown off from their first Stations: Whereas virtuous and constant Persons do shew their Greatness in the Impossibility of their being removed. This Vice likewise is unfit for such as design great Matters, seeing no Party will Care much to gain such for Friends, whom they cannot retain; and when they tell you that such are not worth their pains, they tell you how mean an Esteem they put upon Inconstancy. All Affairs in the World are subject to change; and it is most certain that some Occasion or other will somewhat raise all Parties: To be constant then to any one, will gain him who is fix'd, the Honour of being sure to his Friends, which will magnify him amongst such as are in difference, and procure him Respect even from his Enemies; who will

will admire him for that Quality, which by ensuring their own Friends to them will advantage their Interest more than they can be prejudged by him, as their Enemy, how considerable soever he be. *Augustus's* Greatness cannot persuade the World to pardon him this fault: nor can *Cato's* Severity, nor Self-murder, dissuade them from admiring that Constancy, which had as much extraordinary Gallantry in it as may be a Remission for his Crime: Besides, that it made *Cæsar* (even when his Victories had raised him to his greatest Height and Vanity) regrave the losing an opportunity to gain so great a Person.

There is amongst many others one Effect of Inconstancy, which I hate, as mean, and unworthy of a Gentleman; and that is, to alter Friendships upon every Elevation of Fortune; as if (forsooth) Men were rais'd so high, that they cannot, from these Pinacles, know such whom they have left upon the first Level. But really this implies a Weakness of Sight in them, and no Imperfection in their Friends, upon whom they cast down their Looks, and who continue still of their first Stature, though the others Eyes continue not to possess the same clearness. A generous Person should not entertain so low Thoughts of himself, as to think that what is the Gift of another, can add so much to his intrinsic Value, as to make him confess in the undervaluing of his former Friends, the Meanness of his own Parts, and former Condition: And he obstructs extremely his own Greatness, who obliges his Friends, to stop and retard it; as what may be disadvantageous to their Interest, by robbing them of so rare an Advantage as is a Friend. Whereas the noblest Trial of Power is, to be able to raise these whom Men honoured formerly with that Title; for by this others will be invited

*An Inve-
ctive a-
gainst un-
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Friendship.*

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ted to depend upon them; and they may thereby justify their former Choice; and let the World see, that they never entred upon any Friendship that was mean, or low. Friendship, the greatest of Commanders, hath commanded us to stay by our Friend; and he who quits the Post assigned to him, is either Cowardly, or a Fool; and a Gentleman should think it below his Courage, as well as his Friendship, to be boasted from a Station which he thought so advantageous, out of either Fate or Interest: Which recommends much to me that gallant Rant in *Lucan*, when after he had preferred *Cato* to other Men, he in these words extols him above the Gods;

Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

*The Gods did the Victorious approve,
But the great Cato did the Vanquish'd love.*

But lest my Tedioufness should make the Constancy I plead for, seem a Vice; I shall say no more of a Subject, whereof I can never say enough.

Drunkness.
ness. Drunkenness is so mean a Vice, that I scorn to take Notice of it; knowing that none will allow it, but such as are mad; and such as are mad are not to be reclaimed by Moral Discourses. Yet I cannot but press its Meanness from this, that though *Noah* was a Person of the greatest Authority, his once being drunk is remarked in Scripture, to have made him despicable in the Eyes even of his own Children; (whom he had also lately obliged to a more than natural Respect, by saving them from that Deluge, which drowned in their Sight the rest of Mankind.) And yet he might have excused himself more than those of this Age; as not knowing the Strength
of

of that new found Wine: And having been drunk but once, might have defended himself by Curiosity, which too few now can alledge. It is a mean and mad Compliment, to requite the kindness of such as come to visit us, with forcing them (after the Weariness of Travel) to drink to such Excess, that they commit and speak such Follies, as make them return home from that strange Place, without being remarked for any thing else, than the ridiculous Expressions they vomited up with their stinking Excrements. Why are Servants turn'd out of Doors, and each Man (which is very mean) obliged to serve himself, when Men enter upon that beastly Employment? Is it not, that Servants may not hear, or see what Extravagancies are there to be committed? And is it not an ignoble Part in Persons of Honour, to do resolutely what they dare not own before the meanest who attend them? Men by this Vice bring themselves to need their Servants Legs to walk upon, and their Eyes to see by; but which is worse, they must be govern'd at that time, by the servile Discretion of such, (who will be emboldned by this, to undervalue both them and their Commands) and these Masters are accounted wisest, who do most submissively follow their directions. Judge if that Exercise can be noble, which in disabling us to serve our Friends, makes us incapable to discern the Favours they do us; and measure its Disadvantages by this, that when Men have their Sences benighted with the Vapours of Wine, they are thereby unfitted to lead Armies, to assist at Councils, to sit in Judicatories, to attend Ladies; and differ nothing from being dead, but that they would be much more innocent if they were so. Men are then very ready to attack unjustly
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the Honour of others ; and most unable to defend their own : And such as they wrong then, do with a scornful Mercy pardon their Failings with the very same Disdain which makes them forgive Fools, or furious Persons: And that in my Judgment should be the most touching of all Affronts. And if we esteem Roots according to the prettiness of the Flowers they display, (as if they would give a grateful Account to the Sun, of what its Warmness has produc'd) certainly we will find Drunkenness (as the Apostle speaks of Avarice) the Root of all Bitterness. For this is that Vice, which keeps Men at present from attending such of their own, and of their Friends Interests, as concern most their Fame: And as to the Future, begets such Diseases, and Indispositions, as makes their Bodies unfit Instruments for great Atchievements. And seeing to talk idly, (a Character so unworthy, that a Gentleman would scarce suffer another to give it of him, without hazarding his Life in the Revenge) is the most pardonable of its Errors, its other Madness must be beyond all Remission. By this Men are brought to disgorge the deepest buried Secrets ; to reveal the Intimacies, or asperse the Names of Ladies ; to enter upon foolish Quarrels ; and the next Morning, either to abjure what they said, or fight unjustly their Comrades ; and Victory is not in that Case rewarded with Fame, but is tainted with the Aspersions of a drunken Quarrel ; and is not ascrib'd to Courage, but to Necessity.

I confess, Whoring is in this a more extensive Vice, than others ; that it corrupts still two at once, for no Man can sin so alone: but drinking (as if it scorn'd not to be the greatest Vice) does surpass it in another Quality ; which is, that one vicious Person can force or tempt whole Tables
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and Companies to be drunk with him. And if great Men should be known to love this Vice, all such as have need to assist them, would be in danger, either by Complacency, or Interest, to plunge themselves into this miserable Excess. In other Vices, Men debauch only their own rational Souls; but here Men add to that, the Ingratitude of employing against God and Nature, these Rents and Estates, which were kept by Providence, from more pious Persons; that great Men might by that Testimony of his Kindness, be engaged to a Religious Retribution. So that such as employ their Estates in maintaining their Drunkenness, commit almost the same Sacrilege with *Belteshazzar*; who was terrified by a miraculous Hand upon the Wall; delivering his fatal Sentence, for carousing with his Nobles in the sacred Vessels, that were robb'd from the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

My Employment, as well as Philosophy, obliges me to implead Injustice as the worst of Vices; because it wrongs the best of Men, and the best of things; the best of Men, seeing they have still the best of Pleas; and so Injustice can only reach them; and these will not by Flattery, Bribing, or Cheats, conciliate the Esteem of such as have a Latitude, to return them this unjust advantage; which good Men neither need, nor will accept. Injustice likewise debauches the Laws, which is the best of things; and in affronting whereof, of all others, great Men are (when guilty) most ungreat: because it is their Guardian and Fence; by which they exact Respect and Treasures from others; and without which such Magistrates who are unjust, could not escape these hourly Massacres which a robb'd and oppress'd People would pour upon them. And though such as are generously unjust, intend thereby

Injustice.

thereby to compliment their Friends, to repay old Favours; yet in Effect, this Requital, is as base, as if one should rob a Church, to pay his particular Debts. He is not worthy of your Friendship, who will expect such Returns: And Virtue is not like Vice, so penurious or poor, as that it cannot build upon any other Foundation, than the Ruins of another. Such as intend by their Injustice to gain Esteem from the Party advantag'd thereby, are much mistaken; for though they should gain the Esteem of one thereby, yet they would lose that of many Thousands; and he who is wrong'd will disclose the Injustice done him, more than the other dare brag of the Favour. And I have my self heard, even the Gainer hate and undervalue his unjust Patron; loving not the Traitor but the Treason: Considering, that by that Precedent himself was laid open to more Hazard, than he thereby reap'd of Advantage; for that same Injustice, which censured him of his late Conquest, made him unsure both of it, or all that he had or should gain thereafter. And to be unjust for a Bribe, is as mean, as to serve in the worst of Employments for a Fee; it is to be as base as a Theif, and less noble than a Robber; and it deserves all these base Reproaches that are due to Avarice, Lying, Flattery, Ingratitude, Treachery and Perjury: All which are Sharers in this Caper, when it prospers; and when it prospers not, it leads to these ignoble Ports, Infamy, Poverty, the Scaffold, Pillory, or Gibbets.

*Publick
Spirited-
ness.*

Though my having usurp'd so far upon the Reader's Patience, makes all I can say for the future Criminal; yet such Respect I owe, and such I bear to the Memory of those Noble Patriots, who have by their Publick Spiritedness, settled for us that Peace, whose Native Product

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all our Joys are, that I cannot but recommend that protecting Virtue, to such as live now, for the noblest Ornament of a great Soul; and if our Actions be specified and measured by their Objects, certainly those Souls must be accounted greatest, which center all their Cases upon the publick Good; scorning to wind up their Designs upon so small a Bottom, as is private Interest. By this, the Heathens became Gods; and Christians do by it (which is more) resemble theirs. This is the Task of Kings and Princes; whereas private Interest is the Design of Churls and Coblers: Who can so justly expect universal Praise, as these who design Universal Advantage? And none will grudge, that Riches should be carried into his Treasures, who keeps them but as *Joseph* did his Corn in *Granaries*, till others need to have their Necessities supplied.

These are deservedly stiled *Patres Patriæ*? and it is accounted moral Paricide, to wound the Reputation of such as the Commonwealth terms its Parents. And when these Treasures which private Interest have robb'd from the Publick, shall after they have stain'd the Acquirer with the Names of Avarice and Cruelty, invite Posterity to recall them from his Offspring, as not due to them: Then such as have, like Providence, toiled only for the good of their Country and Mankind, shall find their Fame, like Medals; grow still the more Illustrious, by all Accessions of Time; and that the new born Generations shall augment the Numbers of their Admirers, more than following Years can moulder away these heaps of Coin, which avaritious Men raised as a Monument for their Memory. *Epaminondas* is more famous and admired, than *Cæsus*; and Fame may be better believed concerning

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cerning him ; seeing he left neither Gold, nor Money, to bribe from it a Suffrage. And albeit he was so busied in raising the Glory of his Country, that he had no time to gain as much Money, as to raise the Meanest for his own ; yet we find him at no Loss thereby, seeing each *Theban* assisted at his Funeral, as a Mourner : And Nature lays it as a Duty upon all whom it brings to the World, to magnifie him who endeavoured to resemble it, in the Universalities of his Favours. That glorious *Roman*, who threw himself into the devouring Gulf, to divert the Wrath of the Gods from his Country, did, in exchange of a few Years (which he might have liv'd) add an Eternity of Fame to his Age ; and by the Gloriousness of that Action, has buried nothing in that Gulf, but his personal Faults. And *Brutus*, by dying for his Country, is not more justly called the last of *Romans*, than he may be called the first of Men : And for my part, I think that he sacrificed *Cæsar*, rather as a Victim to his injur'd Country, than to his private Malice. For as *Mr. Cowley* well remarks ; the pretext of Friendship can be no Reason, why a Man should suffer without Resentment, his Mother to be violated before his Eyes. *Paul* likewise, whom Grace had raised as much above these as Reason had raised these above others, was so zealous in this Vertue, that after he had known the Joys of Heaven more intimately than others, who had not like him travelled through all these starry Regions ; yet such was his Affection to his Country, that he was content to have his Name expunged out of the Book of Life, that Room might be made for theirs. But if Men will love nothing but what will advance their private Interest, they will at least, upon this Score, love their Country ; be-
cause

cause, when it becomes famous, they will share in the Advantage : As the being a *Roman*, was sufficient to make one terrible when *Rome* flourished. And I imagine, that it was sufficient to incite one of that glorious Republick, to undertake, or suffer the hardest of things, to remember him that he was a *Roman*; and at all times the unacquainted still esteem us, according to the Presumptions they can gather from our Country, Race, and Education. For besides that a Hawk of a good Nest is still prefer'd; we see, that Example and Emulation, are the strongest Motives that can either induce, or inable Men to be noble and valorous : And though some term this but Fancy ; yet granting it were no more ; it is such a Fancy, as tends much to our Honour ; because it heightens in others a Fear of us, and lessens in us the Fear of them. I may then conclude with this; that as the Rays of the Sun are accounted a more noble Light, than any that is projected from a private Candle ; and as amongst Perfumes, those are accounted noblest, whose Emanations dart to the greatest distance ; so amongst Souls, those are the most excellent, which respect most the Advantage of others.

I confess there are some Vices, which by shrouding themselves under the Appearance of good, do advance themselves too far in ill governed Esteems ; as we see in Ambition and Revenge ; yet to our severer Enquiries it will appear, that *Ambition* is ignoble ; seeing such as desire to be promoted, confess the Meanness of that State they press to leave. This Vice obliges Men to serve such as advance its Designs ; exchanging its present Liberty, for but the uncertain Expectation of commanding others ; and paying greater Respects to Superiors for this Expectation,

*Ambition
is a mean
Vice.*

pectation, than it will be able to exact from those whom it designs to subject. What is Advancement, but the People's Livery? And such as expect their Happiness from them, must acknowledge, that the Rabble is greater and nobler than themselves: And by exchanging their natural Happiness, for that which is of its bestowing, they confess their own to be of the least Value; for no Man will exchange for what is worse. A Courtier admiring the Philosopher gathering his Herbs, told him, that if he flattered the Emperor, he needed not gather Herbs; but was answer'd, that if he could satisfy himself with Herbs, he needed not flatter the Emperor; and without doubt, Flattery infers more Dependance, than gathering of Herbs. And in the Dispute for Liberty; *Diogenes* had the Advantage of the *Stagyrite*; when he told him, *Diogenes* did dine when it pleased *Diogenes*; but *Aristotle* not till it pleased *Alexander*.

Vanity.

Vanity is too airy a Vice to be Noble; for it is but a thin Crust of *Pride*; and but a pretending *Cadet* of that Gallant Sin; It is I confess, less hurtful than *Pride*, because it magnifies it self, without disparaging others; (for if we admire others when compared with our selves, we are not vain, but proud) and it is oft the Spur to great Actions; being to our Undertakings, what some Poisons are to Medicines; which, though they be hurtful in a Dose apart; yet make the Compounds they enter more Operative and Pointed. And I have heard some defend, that Vanity was no Sin; because, in admiring our selves at a greater Rate than we deserv'd, we, without detracting from our Neighbour, heightened our Debt to our Maker; which might be an Error, but was no Fault. But Vanity, being an Error in our Judgment, it cannot but
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be Mean, as all Errors are ignoble: And he is a very Fool (which is the ignoblest of Names) who understands not himself; he who understands not his own Measures, cannot govern himself; and so is unfit to govern others; and it is the Employment of a great Soul, rather to do things worthy to be admired, than to admire what himself hath done. But leaving to pursue the Croud of its ill Effects, I shall single out some of these I judge most Enemies to true Gallantry; amongst which, I scruple not to prefer in Meanness, the being *vain of Prosperity*, and derived Power: Which shews, that we prefer and admire more what others can bestow, than what we possess our selves; whereas vertuous Persons may justly think, that nothing can make them greater; and to be vain of Prosperity, shews we cannot bear it; and so concludes, us under a Weakness: To take Advantages of others, when we are more powerful than they, is as base, as it is for an Armed Man to force his Enemy to fight, when he has no Weapon: This is Cowardliness not Courage; and who defers not his Revenge, till his Rival be equal with him, implies a Fear of grappling upon equal Terms. That one Expression, of one of the Kings of *France*, that he scorn'd when he was King of *France*, to remember the Wrongs done to the Duke of *Orleans*, makes his Name grateful in History: And if great Men would reflect seriously, how a Word from him they serve, (though but a Man, who must himself yield oft times to a mean disaster) or how the least Error in their own Conduct, can overturn the fixedst of their Endeavours; and make them in being unfortunâte, ridiculous withal; certainly they would call this Presumption rather Madness, than Vanity; and would conclude

it more gallant, to bear Adversity with a generous Courage; than to be a Fool or flattered by Prosperity; which vanquishes as oft these for whom, as these against whom it fights.

The Meanness of being vain of Riches and Estates.

Neither can I leave this Period, till I inveigh against that meanest of Vanities, whereby Men are vain of Estates and Territories: For, seeing Man is born Lord of all the World; why should he retrench his own Right, by glorying in so little a Part of it, that his Share will escape an exact Geographer. I wish such would remember, that *Pompey* bestowed Kingdoms upon his Slaves; and yet *Epiſtetus*, who was a Slave, is more admired than he; and yet admired for nothing but his Virtue; and why should Men be Proud of enjoying that, upon which the meanest Beggar pours out his Excrements: If these be vain, because they may call it their own; what hath the Master, but that (as *Solomon* says) he beholdeth it with his Eyes? and at this rate, I may glory, in that the glorious Heavens are spread over me; for I may behold the one with as impropriating Eyes, as he can do the other. And he who wants a Tomb, which these have, hath the Heaven for a Vault and Burial Place; — *Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

But if the Answer be, that these Rents will allow them the keeping of a Table for their Grandeur; (which I wish were the only Excuse) that Answer makes them Servants, and burdens them with a Necessity to provide for such as they entertain; and so they are vain of being Servants; and Servants to such as will rise from their Table, to read and admire above them, *Plato*, *Socrates*, or which is less, the Author of a well-contrived Play. But to leave this Folly; these may have some Pretext, for preferring their own Estates, above these of others; but why should

should they admire themselves for their Estates? Which is no part of themselves; and so they should not in Reason think better of themselves than others for it. Under the same Condemnation fall such as are vain of their Horses, Lacqueys, or such like things; which is most unjust, except their Horses and they were all one.

Such as cruff themselves over with Embroideries, and after they have divided their time betwixt their Comb and their Mirrors, are vain of these silly Toys which are the Creatures and Workmanship of Servants, must be certainly very low and mean-Spirited; when they imagine to add to their natural Value, by things that have no Value in them, but what our Fancy (which is the most despicable Quality of that Soul they neglect) gives them. And do not they amongst the rest of Mankind, disparage very much even these Mistresses upon whom they bestow these Adorations, which they deny their Mighty Maker, when they imagine by such Contemptible Means, to scrue themselves into their Esteem? How ignobly undervalue they their own Thoughts; the noble Conversation of Excellent Men and Accurate Books; (to write some whereof, *Cæsar* and the greatest of the Emperors have laid aside their Swords) when they impend upon Ribbons and Laces, that Age of Time, which would be misemployed, though it were let but out in Moments, upon such Womanly Exercise? But if Ladies or their Suitors, will magnifie these handfom Shapes and Colours; which are too often bestowed upon them, to repair the Want of these Noble Qualities, of which those who are Masters may be more justly vain; Why are not they afraid by Whoring, Fairding, Drinking, Gluttony, or macerating Envy, to blast these florid Advantages upon which themselves do, and would have others to dote?

The Meanness of Vanity in Apparel.

Preferment
is not still
honourable.

I must here endeavour to subdue one Error ; which is by so much the more dangerous, that it wears the fairest Mask of all other Vices : And this is that whereby Men are induced to believe, that true Honour is but a Consequent of Preferment ; and that Preferment is seldom without Honour ; but Honour comes never without Preferment ; and not only are the Ices of the People taken with this Opinion ; but the Gallantest of Men, who are speer'd far above those, do in this, slide easily into the Sense of the Neighbourhood. Yet it remains still an Error ; for true Honour is an innate Elevation of the Soul ; whereby it scorns every thing which is more mortal than it self ; and nothing is more frail than Preferment ; whose Paint is washt off by the least Storm ; and whose Being depends upon the Fancy or Humour of others : Whereas true Honour is independent ; and as it cannot flow from any other, so it can't stoop to them. He is truly gallant whose Innocence fears not the Jurisdiction of Men ; and who looks upon Scepters, and such Gilded Trifles, as Impertinent Toys , when they are not sway'd by the Hand of Virtue ; and who would not value Power for any other End, but to be a Second to these Inclinations which are so reasonable, that they should not need Power to make them to be obey'd ? Tyrants can bestow the tallest Preferments, but they cannot make Men truly honourable ; which shews that these Two differ. And *Heliogabolus's* Cock was still but a base Fellow, though his Master's doting made him as great as were his own Vices. A Statue becomes not taller by the height of its Basis ; nor a Head more wise or noble for being adorn'd with a shaggy Plumage. *Julius Caesar*, though
no

no Emperor, has a more lasting Glory than *Tiberius* who was so. And *Cato* gloried more in that the People asked why he was not prefer'd, than he would have done in enjoying the greatest Honours they had to bestow. Preferment is but the Creation of Men; but true Honour is of GOD's own Creation: And as we should esteem this last as a Piece done by the nobler Master; so we should love it best, because it is more our own, than what rises from another's Favour. Greatness, when most advantagiously bestowed, can but produce Love, or Fear; to beget Fear, is not noble; because the Devil doth this most; and these who come next to him in Baseness, come nearest to him in this: Brutes, Savages, and Mad-men, have sufficiency enough for that Undertaking: But to beget Love is peculiar to true Honour: And so generous a Passion is Love; that it is soonest elicite, when least commanded. A Virtuous Person is likewise a greater Governør, than he who suffers himself to be commanded by a Vicious Woman, and a thirsty Appetite; or than that King who suffers himself to be led by the Ears with Flatterers; and to be forced by his own Pride to disobey his Reason, by which alone he is truly great; and which when any Man disowns absolutely, he is to be thrown into a Dungeon or Bedlam. Preferment leaves and obliges us to bow to others, for satisfying our Interest; so that Interest is confest by great Men, to be greater than they. But Virtue and true Honour teacheth us to subject our Interest to our selves; and puts it in our own Power to make our selves happy. And what a Pilot is in the Ship, a General in an Army, the Soul in the Body; that is a Philosopher amongst these with whom he converses.

verfes. *Nec enim unquam in tantum sic convaleſcet nequitia; nunquam ſic contra virtutes conjurabitur; ut non virtutis nomen venerabile & Sacrum maneat.*
 Sen. *Epift.* 14. To which purpoſe I muſt cite
Stat. Silv.

*Vive Mide gazis, & Lido ditior auro,
 Troica & Euphrate ſupra diademata ſælix,
 Quem non ambigui faſces non mobile vulgus,
 Spemque metumque domas, vitio ſublimior omni.
 Exemptus fatiſ.*

*The Ignorance of
 Revenge.*

In Revenge, we muſt uſe Inſtruments, who exact more, and will upbraid us more than the Law will do, when it ſatiſfies us our Wrongs. And does not the Philoſopher, who denies that he can be wrong'd, more nobly; than he who confeſſes, that he is both ſubject to Wrongs, and hath received ſo great a one, that he cannot but purſue its Revenge? He who conceals his Wrongs, is only wrong'd in private; whilſt he who revenges his Wrong, is wrong'd in publick: And certainly, the publick Wrong is more Ignoble. And ſeeing we conceive our ſelves concern'd in Honour, to puniſh ſuch as would divulge an Affront, that was ſmothered as ſoon as given; we cannot be ſaid to wrong our own Honour, when we in ſeeking Revenge proclaim ſuch Wrongs, as had elſe either vaniſht, or been leſſened by the Concealment; which remembers me of a Story, that goes of an Old Man, at whoſe Bald Head, a rotten Orange being thrown in the Street, clapt his Hat upon it; and ſaid, I ſhall ſpoil the Villains Sport, who expected to ſee me come ſhewing my Head all beſmeared over, and complaining of the Injury. It is one of the moſt picquant Revenges, to undervalue our Enemies ſo far, as not to think them

them worthy of our noticing; and we shew our selves to be greater than they, when we let the World see, that they cannot trouble us. When Children and Fools do the same things, that we fret at in others of more advanced Years, we pass them without a Frown; which shews, that it is not the Acts done us by our Enemies, but our own Resentment, which in Effect injures us; so that it is still in our Power to vex such as design to affront us; by laughing at, or undervaluing these, and such like little Endeavours, as what cannot reach our Happiness. He who pardons, proclaims that by so doing, he fears not his Enemies for the future; but Revenge implies a Fear of what we desire upon that Account to lessen. Thus Cowards, and none but they are cruel; seeing they then only account themselves secure, when their Enemies have lost all Capacity to resist. In Revenge we act the Executioner; but we Personate a Prince when we pardon; in the one we bestow a Favour, and so are Noble; but in the other, we disclose our Infirmary, which is Ignoble.

I admire Passive Courage, as a Virtue which deserves its Palms best of all others, because it toils most for them. Honours and Rewards are but Gifts to them, but they are Conquests to it: And it merits as much Praise, as it meets with Injuries. *Avida est periculi virtus, & quo tendant non quid passura sit, cogitat; quoniam & quod passura est; gloriae pars est:* This Vertue hath rather a greediness for, than a desire to find Dangers; and seeing its Sufferings make the greatest Part of its Glory; it runs out to meet them, thinking that to attend them, is a Degree of Cowardliness. And if we remark narrowly, we will find that all other Virtues owe their Gallantry to this; And have no other Title to that Glorious

The gallantry of Patience.

Qua-

Quality, but in so far as they borrow Excellencies from it. Friendship is then only gallant, when to gratifie our Friends, we expose to Injuries for them, either our Persons or Interest. Gratitude is then Noble, when we consider not what we are to suffer ; but what we owe, or (which is more gallant) what is requisite for the Service of such as have obliged us. Justice is always excellent, but is then only most to be admired, when we resist Temptations ; and where we resolve to suffer, for having been just, the Envy and Rage of these, who consider only how much they have been prejudg'd, but not how much the publick Good hath been thereby advanced.

By this it is that a virtuous Person shews how great he truly is ; and that Power and Command were the Instruments only, but not Parts of his former Worth. He who yields to Affliction, shews that those who inflict it, are greater than himself ; but he who braves it, shews that it is not in the Power of any thing but of Guilt, to make him tremble. It is easy for one who is assisted by Power and Fate, to urge these Advantages ; but to dare these, shews a Pitch beyond them : And this induces me to think, that Passive Courage is more Noble than what is Active. For one who fights gallantly in an open Field, and in the View or Front of an Army, is assisted by the Example of others, by Hope of Revenge or Victory ; and needs not much fear that Death which he may shun, as probably as meet : But he who in a noble Quarrel adorns that Scaffold whereupon he is to suffer, evinces that he can master Fate, and make Danger less than his Courage, and to serve him in acquiring Fame and Honour. But this Virtue deserves a larger Room, than my present Weariness will allow it in this Paper ; and therefore I will leave it for Praises to its own Native Excellencies. I shall

I shall (My Lords and Gentlemen) leave these Reflections to your own Improvement ; for I am confident that the Heat of your own Zeal for Virtue, will kindle in your Breasts such noble Flames, as that by their Blaze ye may see further into this Subject, than I can discover: And in this Essay I desire to be esteem'd no otherways presumptuous, than a Servant is, who lights his Master up those Stairs which himself intends to mount.

A M O R A L
P A R A D O X :

Maintaining

That it is much easier to be
V I R T U O U S than V I C I O U S.

---*They weary themselves to commit Iniquity. Jer. 9. 5.*

T O

Sir R O B E R T M U R R A Y,
One of the Honourable Members of the
Royal S O C I E T Y.

S I R,

TH O' I cannot but with much Thankfulness re-
sent your Favours, (wherein ye did both pre-
vent and outdo my Wishes); yet it were a Disparage-
ment

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ment to them, that I should look upon my self as your Debtor for them, seeing ye bestowed them so freely, that they appeard Gifts, not Obligations. And so in this Dedication I design to pay, not them but my Respects. Neither intend I by it, to recommend you to Posterity; for in that I would disoblige Fame, which hath resolved, by speaking Truth of you, to repair and atone its former Guilt, in having so oft ly'd of others. But, Sir, I have chose you to be the Patron of this Book, because your Practice is the strongest Argument, whereby I can evince what is undertaken in it; (which is to prove) That there is more Ease in *Virnie* than in *Vice*. And seeing to undertake the Proof of that, were the next Crime to the doubting of it; and that your Worthiness and my Esteem of it, are much raised above the frail Helps of Compliment, or a wearying Dedication; let me assure you and the World of both, by the innocent Vanity I take in the Title of

Your Sincere Friend,

and Humble Servant,

G E O. M A C K E N Z I E.

It

It is easier to be VIRTUOUS
than VICIOUS.

AS these Spies deserved Ill of the *Israeli-
ish* Camp; who having inflamed
their Breasts with Desires of conquer-
ing *Canaan*, by presenting them of
its Vines, who each Cluster was a Vintage, and
each Grape a Bottle; did thereafter, by a cru-
el Paricide, destroy these same Inclinations
which they had begot, by telling those their
hopeful Brethren, that the Country was as un-
conquerable, as pleasant, and that its Men were
Giants, as well as its Fruits. So by the same
Measures we have Reason to fear, that these
Divines and Moralists are unhappy Guides to us
poor Mortals; who after they have edged our
Inclinations for Virtue, as the most satisfying
of all Objects; do thereafter assure us, that it is
attended with as much Difficulty as it is furnish'd
with Pleasure: And that like some coy Lady, it
possesses Charms, not to satisfy, but to exact
our Longings. This infortunate Error hath in all
probability, sprung either from the Vanity of
these Bastard Philosophers, who having cheated
the People into an Esteem for themselves, as Vir-
tuous, resolv'd by the second Artifice, to heigh-
ten that Esteem, by perswading these their Ad-
mirers, that Virtue was a Work of much Difficul-
ty as it met with Praise. Or else from the Zeal
of some Preachers, who to make us antedate our
Repentance, resolv'd to perswade us, that Faith
and

Numb. 13.

and these other Spiritual Virtues, could not but be hardly attainable, as certainly they are, when Moral Virtue, which was a lower Story of Perfection, was of so difficult an Ascent; or else, which is yet most probable, our Laziness and vicious Habits being called to an Account for these Misfortunes, which they occasion, have run themselves under the Protection of this defence, that Virtue is most difficult and uneasy, and is destitute of both pleasure and advantage: By which Conceit, many are dissuaded in this Age from undertaking a Resolution of being Virtuous, though otherwise they much honour it; and Wickedness is not only furnish'd by this with an Excuse to detain such as it hath already overtaken; but with Charms to entangle these who are yet staid in an Indifferency for either. And though the Heat of Zeal in Preachers, should not be too much disproved in this Age; wherein the Coldness of their Hearers Charity needs those warmer Influences; and though they may be allow'd to bend our crooked Humours to the contrary Side of what they incline to, of Design to bring them to a desired Streightness: Yet if we consider that infallible Theology delivered by our Saviour, we may find, that he invited his Disciples, by assuring them, *that his Yoke was easy, and his Burthen very light*; and by upbraiding them, for *wearying themselves with their sins, and for troubling themselves about many things*. And since the former Artifice hath either by being too familiar preached, lost its Operation with such as love curiosity; or by being too severely prest, discouraged too much these who love too well their own Flesh and Blood, to welcome any Doctrine that stands so opposite to it; I wish these same Preachers would now endeavour to reclaim Mankind, by assuring them that Virtue

is much easier, and much more advantageous than Vice. Imitating in this their great Master, who after his Disciples had wearied themselves with catching no Fish all the Night over; did, by perswading them to throw out their Nets upon the other Side of the Boat, put them upon the way of catching more at one Draught, than they had catcht in their former whole Nights fishing. But leaving (with much resignation) my Ghostly Fathers to manage the Course of our Devotion, as their Knowledge and Piety shall judge most fit; I shall endeavour to clear from Reason and Experience, That *Moral Virtue* is of less Weariness, and suits better with our natural Inclinations, than Vice or Passion doth. And although I fail in an Undertaking, which is too Noble an Enterprize to receive its Accomplishment from so weak a Hand; yet if I shall excite others, out of pity to me, or Glory because of the Subject, to defend what I could not, or to love that Virtue which I recommend, I shall rest satisfied with a Return, which because it will be above my Merit, I have already placed above my Expectation; and so I may meet with a Foil, but cannot with a Disappointment.

All Creatures design Ease; and for this not only Brutes do toil, but inanimate Things likewise shew for it so much of Inclination, that they will destroy all intermediate Objects, that hinder them from joyning to their Centre; to which they have no other Tendency, but because they find that Ease which is desired by their Nature; and because all things find Ease in it, therefore all things flee thither, as to the loveliest of all Stations. And that Happiness consists in Ease, is clear from this, that either

*Ease dis-
commented.
ed.*

we want that we need, as the Accomplishment of our Nature; and then Nature must move towards the Acquisition of what it wants; or else we want nothing; and then Nature will enjoy it self without any further Motion; *nam natura nihil agit frustra*; and it were most frustraneous for Nature, to seek what it wants not: From which we may conclude, when we see any Creature restless, and in Motion, that certainly it either wants something to which it moves, or is oppress'd by a Surcharge of somewhat, from which it flies. This hath made Philosophers conclude, that all Motion tends to some Rest; Lawyers, that all Debates respect some Decision; Statesmen, that all War is made in order to Peace; Physicians, that all Fermentation and boiling of the Blood or Humours, betokens some Dissatisfaction in the Part affected (and to shew how much Happiness they place in Ease, they term all Sickness Diseases) which imports nothing more, than the Absence of *Ease*, that happiest of States, and Root of all Perfections. And that Divinity may sing a part in this *requiem*, Scripture tells us, that G O D hallowed the seventh Day, because upon it he rested from his Creation; and that Heaven is called an Eternal Sabbath, because there we shall find Ease from all our Labours; there G O D is said, when well pleas'd, *to have savoured a sweet savour of rest*; and he recommends his own Gospel as a burthen that is easy. That then wherewith I shall task my self in this Discourse, shall be to prove, *That Virtue is more easy than Vice.*

Vicious persons most dislike Virtue which is easier than to be Virtuous.

For clearing whereof, consider, that all Men who design either Honour, Riches, or to live happily in the World, do either intend to be Virtuous or at least pretend it; these who resolve to destroy the Liberties of the People, will stile themselves

Keepers

Keepers of their Liberties; and such as laugh at all Religion, will have themselves believed to be Reformers; and of these two the Pretenders have the difficultest part, for they must not only be at all that Pains, which is requisite in being virtuous; but they must superadd to these, all the Troubles that Dissimulation requires; which certainly is a new and greater Task than the other; and not only so, but these must over-act Virtue, upon Design to take off that Jealousy which because they are conscious to themselves to deserye, they therefore vex themselves to remove. *Moses*, the first, and amongst the best of the Reformers, was the meekest Man upon the Face of the Earth; But *Jehu*, who was but a Counterfeit *Zelot*, drove furiously, and called up By-standers to see, what else he knew they had Reason not to believe; and the justest of all *Israel's* Chair-men, took not so much Pains to execute Justice, as *Absalon*; who is said to have staid as long in the Gates of *Jerusalem*, as the Sun stay'd above them; informing himself of all Persons and Affairs, though with as little Design to redress their Wrongs, as he shewed much Inclination to know them; and all this, that the People might be gained to be the Instruments of his Unnatural Rebellion: And such is the Laboriousness of these seeming Copies of Virtue, that in our ordinary Conversation we are still jealous of such as are too studious to appear virtuous; though we have no other Reason to doubt their Sincerity, but what arises from their too great Pains; from which we may Conclude, that these who intend to be virtuous, have a much easier Task than these Pretenders have; because they have not their own Conscience, not the Jealousness of others, to wrestle against; and which is yet worse, these

want that habit of Virtue which renders all the Pains of such as are really Virtuous easy to them: And what is more difficult, than for these to act against Custom, which Time renders a second Nature; and which, as shall be said hereafter, is so prevalent as to facilitate to virtuous Persons the hardest Part of what Virtue commands? Besides this, these Dissemblers have a difficult part to act, seeing they act against their own inclination; which is to offer Violence to Nature, and the working not only without the Help of that strongest of all Seconds, but the toiling against it, and all the Assistance it can give; which how great a Torment it proves, appears from this, that such as have as much Generosity as may entitle them to the Name of Man, will rather weary out the Rage of Torture, than injure their own Inclinations. I imagine that *Haman* was much distress'd, by being put to lead *Mordecai's* Horse in compliance with his Master's Commands; and one who is obliged by that Interest which makes him dissemble, to counterfeit a Kindness for one whom he hates, or omit an Applause of what he undervalues, is certainly by that Necessity more cruciate by a thousand Stages, than such as intend upon a virtuous account to love the Person, and really to praise that in him, which they are forc'd to commend; which is so far from being a Torment when it is truly virtuous, that real Love makes him who has it; hungry of an Occasion to shew it; and to pursue all Means for heightning that Applause, which torments the other. Consider what Difficulty we find in going one way, whilst we look another, and with what Hazard of stumbling, that Attempt is attended, and ye will find both much Difficulty and Hazard to wait on Dissimulation; wherein we are tied to a double Task; for we

must

must do what we intend, because of our Inclinations; and what we pretend, because of our Profession; and if we fail in either, which is more probably, than where Simplicity only is profess'd, (Two Tasks being difficulter than one) then the World laughs at us, for failing in what we propos'd; and if we fret at our selves, for failing in what we privately design'd: And not only does Diffimulation tie us to a double, but it obliges us to two contrary Tasks; for we needed not dissemble, if what we intend be not contrary to what we pretend: And thus Men in Diffimulation do but (like *Penelope*) undo in the Night, what they were forc'd to do in the Day-time.

Diffimulation makes Vice likewise the more difficult, in that Dissemblers are never able to recover the Loss they sustain by one Escape; for if they be catch'd in their Diffimulation, or dogg'd out to be Impostors, (which they cannot miss, but by a more watchful Attendance than any that Virtue requires) then they of all Persons are most hated; not only by these whom they intended to Cheat, but by all others, though unconcerned in the Crime; and both the one and the other do yet hate it, as what strikes at the Root of all humane Society: And for this Cause, Murther under Trust, is accounted so impious and sacrilegious a breach of Friendship, that Lawyers have heightned its Punishment, from that of ordinary Murther, to that of Treason; and the grossest Politicians have confest this Diffimulation to be so horrid a Crime, that it was not to be committed for a less Hire than of a Kingdom: Whereas virtuous Persons have their Escapes oftner pitied than punished; both because these Escapes are imputed to no abiding Habit, and because it is not to be feared that they will offend

for the future; seeing what they last failed in, was not the effect of any innate and permanent Quality; but was but was a transient and designless Frailty.

*Dis-
simu-
lation.*

Disimulation is from this likewise more painful than Virtue, which it emulates; that the Dissembler is obliged not only so to dissemble, as that these whom he intends to cheat, may believe him serious; but so likewise, as that others may understand that he is not serious. Thus I have my self seen a Gentleman, who dissembled a Love and Fondness for one whom he was obliged to perswade that she was his Mistress, act so covertly that perfidious part, that his real Mistress was really Jealous that he dissembled with her, and not with the other: And to remove this, put the Gallant to as much new Pains as his former Cheat had cost him. And I have heard of the like Accidents, though in different Actions; as of a Rebel, who counterfeited Loyalty so, that his Complices did really distrust his Fixedness to these damn'd Principles which he still retained. And in ordinary Conversation ye will often find, that in dissembling with the one Party, ye lose still the other: and it is impossible to regain them who are so lost, but by a shameful Discovery of the former Cheat: And after all that Loss, this Doubt is still left; How can I know but this Man dissembles with me, who is so exquisite in that Art, as even to have made me jealous, that his Disimulation was not counterfeit?

*Virtue re-
quires few-
er Instru-
ments
than Vice.*

Let us a little consider; how few Instruments Virtue requires, and we will find it easy to be virtuous: It requires no Arms, Exchequer, Guards, nor Garison; It is all these to it self, in every Sense wherein it needs them; Whereas Vice is a Burden to its Votaries as well in the abundance

bundance of those Attendants which it requires, as in the Difficulty of those Attainments which it proposes. And this is that happy Topick, from which our wise Saviour reproved *Martha*, when he told her, *That she wearied her self about many things, whereas there was one thing necessary.* By which seeing he commended Devotion, I may well press from it the Excellency of Moral Virtue. The ambitious Man is obliged to have his House planted with a Wood of Partizans; as well to secure that Condition which so many envy and rival, as to magnify himself by so unequal'd Attendance. This Desire to command, made *Hanibal* force a Passage through the Rocky *Alps*; *Cæsar* to commit himself to the Mercy of a stormy Sea, and so many weary Journeys. This obliged *Xerxes* to entertain vast Navies; and *Darius* such Armies, as reduced all Mankind into one Incorporation. And so much doth Ambition tie its Dependents to depend upon such Numbers, that tho' that Army of *Lacques* which attend them, signifies no more than so many following Cyphers, yet the subtracting of any one of these doth by so much lessen the Value of what they follow. Doth not Pride require Flatterers; and those Flatterers Salaries; and the Provision of these Salaries much Pains and Anxiety? Doth not it require Precedency? a suitable Estate and Applause? And are not these inattainable, without more Toil and Fatigue than any thing that Virtue enjoyns? Covetousness requires assiduous Drudgery, and Mines as bottomless as the Desires which crave them: It craves every thing which it self can imagine. Luxury seeks only after what is unusual, and what is rare. It must in *Apicius* crave Food from the *Indies*; fetch to *Rome*, in *Heliogabalus*, Fishes when far from the Sea; and more for one Belly, than might enrich Thousands of Nobler Creatures.

tures. Lust requires Plurality of Women, Abundance of Strength, Numbers of Pimps, and much Money. Whereas Virtue craves only what is fit; and perswades us to believe that only to be fit, which is absolutely necessary. *Cato's* Table is compleatly furnished with one Dish, and his Body with one Vesture.

Huic equilæ vicissè famem.

And the Philosopher going by well and rich furnish'd Shops, could cry out with Pleasure, Oh! how many things are there of which I stand not in need? Not only are these many Instruments troublesome, because they are superfluous, but likewise because by their Number they add to these natural Necessities, under which even virtuous Men are weigh'd, as long as they are Men. These who have so numerous Families, cannot remove when their Necessity calls them; but they must expect till their Retinue be ready; and when these are prepared, it is no easie Clog to draw so many after them; or when any Misfortune overtakes any of these many, they must suffer in these, as oft as each of these suffers in themselves; and their Miseries are augmented by every new Increment that is added to their Fortunes. A great Treasure is not only an Enticement to make its Master be assaulted, or betrayed, but is likewise uneasy to be transported: and *Crasus's* many Bags are overtaken, when Moneyless *Solon* escapes with Safety. I shall then conclude, that Virtue is easier than Vice, because it requires fewer Instruments.

Virtue is likewise easy, because it is fitted for all Places and Occasions, whereas Vice is stinted at select ones. One may be just every where, but

but Bribing requires Opportunity, Mediation of others, and that these others be dexterous in the Conveyance, and close as to their Humour. Adultery must busy it self to find a convenient Room; it requires the Husband's Absence, a faithful, and yet a faithless Servant. And albeit with the Concourse of these Provisions, it may attain its Aim oftner than it is fit; yet will it want that Satisfaction oftner than it wishes. Whereas Chastity is circumscribed by no such Limits; but is as free as pure, depending upon nothing that is extrinsick, and Debtor for its Happiness to nothing that is not it self.

I cannot here but reproach Vice for tying us, not only to Place, Times, and Numbers of Instruments; but which is worse, for referring all our Endeavours to Designs that are either unfeasible in themselves, or at best, do become so because of our Fancy, or Excess. Vanity is not satisfied without Applause from others; which being an Act of their free Will who bestow it, doth therefore depend upon their election: whereas Virtue is satisfied with its own testimony; and is satisfied with nothing that others say, except it be bottom'd upon what they are conscious to themselves to deserve. Advancement proceeds not from him who desires it, but he must expect it from another; and no Man can satisfy his own Lust. O then happy Virtue! who art thy own Treasure and Expectation; thou alone may'st dote upon thy self without a Fault; and in thee only Self-love is no way Criminal. Whereas Vice is uneasy, because it fetches its Satisfaction from abroad; and is barren, because it cannot find them at Home. Covetousness must scorch in *Indies* its Suiters; it must freeze them in *Nova Zembla*; it terrifies them at Sea; and shipwrecks them upon the Shore. Whilst Virtue recom-

Vice requires what is impossible.

mends

mends to us, to seek our Happiness in no foreign Pleasure: And *Diogenes* finds without Danger in his Tub, what these Sailors pursue in their dangerous Bottoms. But Vice might plead it self less guilty, if its Design were only difficult; but Difficulty is not all: For Vice either requires what is impossible, or what, by not being bounded, may very easily become so. Covetousness makes nothing enough, and proposes not only what may satisfy, but what may be acquired. Ambition likewise will have every Man to be highest; which is impossible, because there cannot be many highest; and the first Attainer leaves nothing to his implacable Rivals but the Impatience of being disappointed: Which not only disquiets their present Ease, but begets in them Projects of attacking him by whom they conceive themselves vanquish'd. And these Designs being formed by Persons whose Judgments are much disordered by Interest; (which like fir'd Powder, flees out not always where it may) and against Persons already secured by Power, Fame, Law, and other Advantages, they ripen into no other Issue, than a last Ruin to these who were so foolish, as not to satisfy their present Humour with their present Fortune.

Vice in Defect and in Excess are equally uneasy.

Philosophers have divided all Vices into these which consist in Excess, and these which imply a Defect; the one shooting as far over the Mark as the other comes short of it; and if we compare Virtue with either of these, we will find it more easie than either; for as to these which overreach Virtue, they must be as much more uneasy than it, as they exceed it; for having all in them which that Virtue possesses which they exceed, they must require either in Acquisition or Maintenance, all the Pains that the exceeded Virtue extracts: Thus Prodigality requires all the Spending

Spending and Pains that Liberality needs ; and running equally with all its length, it begins to require more Pains and Travel where it outshoots the other : And thus Prodigality bestows not only enough, as Liberality does, but it lavishes out more than is fit ; taking for the Standard of its Bounty, all that it hath to bestow ; and not either what it self can spare, or what its Object needs : Jealousie pains it self more than true Love, with all those Extravagancies, which are so unsufferable to the Party loved, and so disquieting to the Lover himself, that Physicians have accounted this a Disease, and the Law hath made it a Crime. As to these Vices, which by being placed in Defect, seem to require less Trouble than the Virtue they fall short of ; as the others require more, because of their Excess ; yet so uneasie is Vice, that even these, though they exceed not Virtue in their Measures, do yet exceed it in their Toil : For Nature designs Accomplishment in all its Productions ; and therefore frets, and is disquieted at these immature Effects ; and is as much more wounded by these than by Virtuous Productions ; as the Crafts are by being spoiled of their greener Fruits, or as a Woman is by her too early Birth. We see a Miser more cruciate by his scanting Penuriousness, than a Noble Person by his generous Liberality : for these are obliged to keep themselves out of these Occasions of spending ; a Task great enough, because all Men endeavour, both out of Envy, and out of Humour and Sport, to draw them unto these Snares, and when they are within their own Circle, they are forced by that restless Vice, to descend to Thousands of Tricks, which are as wearying, as unhandsome. I have seen some so careful of their Estates, that they brook'd better to have their Names and
Souls

Souls burthen'd than these ; and to preserve which, they were at more trouble than any can have the Faith to believe, besides these who had the Humour so to do. If to hold or draw with our full force be a trouble, both these are the Postures of Covetousness, wherewith it is kept upon constant Guard, and in continual Employment ; and if at any time they remit any thing of that Anxiety, they repine at their own Negligence ; and imagine that they lost as much as they hop'd once to have gained. Fear is the Defect of Courage ; but yet it is more uneasie than Courage ; and really this alone has more uneasiness, than all the Fraternity of Virtues ; for Virtue is at worst busied about what is ; but Fear is frighted at what is not, equally with what is.

Vices oppose one another ; whereas each Virtue assists its Fellow.

Vice likewise is therefore less easie than Virtue, because Virtue proposes only one Aim, which is fix'd and stable ; whilst Vice and Fancy leaves us to undetermination, that is, uneasie as well as dangerous. When it hath prest us, to make Armies fall as sacrific'd to the Idol of our Ambition ; and for humouring that Passion, to bring Cities as well as Men level to the Ground ; then it will in the next Thought perswade us even to laugh at our Ambition ; and to exchange it for Love to a Mistress or Companionry ; as it once serv'd the otherwise *Great Alexander*.

The Practice of one Virtue facilitates other Virtues.

As Virtue makes good Neighbours ; so all the Virtues are so far such amongst themselves ; that not only they interfere not with one another, but the Exercise likewise of the one, facilitates the Practice of the others ; thus whilst we practise Temperance, we learn to be Just ; because Temperance is the just Measure of enjoying and using all Contingents ; and we learn by it to be patient ; Patience being a Temperance in Grief, Sorrow or Affliction ; Patience is likewise the

Exercise

Exercise of Fortitude ; and Fortitude is a just Proportion of Courage, and a temperate Exercise of Boldness. And this occasioned the Philosophers to term this Noble Alliance, the *Golden Chain of Virtue* ; each being link'd with, and depending upon its Fellow. But if we turn the Prospect, we will find, that though Dissention be a special Vice so character'd ; yet all Vices, have somewhat of their ill-natur'd Humour in them ; and agree in nothing but in this, that each of them doth disagree with each other ; which makes the Practice of them both tedious and disagreeable : For all of them consisting the one in Excess, the other in Defect ; they cannot but disagree ; Excess and Defect being in themselves most contrary. Thus Prodigality opposes Avarice, Cowardliness Courage, and Fondness Hatred ; and as Virtuous Persons have a kindness for one another, because the Object of their Love requires, as well as admits Rivals ; so Vice, endeavouring to engross what it pursues, makes Rivals altogether unsupportable. Ambition inciteth each of its Dependents to be chief ; and yet allows only one of these many to enjoy, what it makes all of them desire. Thus Avarice's Task is to impropriate the Possession of what was created ; and is necessary to be distributed amongst many Thousands. And Envy will not only have its Master to be full of Applause ; but will likewise starve the Desires and Merits of others ; judging that it self cannot be happy if others be. Vice then must be less easie then Virtue, because it hath more Enemies than Virtue ; and because the Virtues are more harmonious amongst themselves than Vices are.

Vices not only make Enemies to themselves ; but by a Civil War. (as a just Judgment upon them)

*Providence
resists Vice.*

them) they destroy one another; Providence intending thereby, to hinder the Growth of what, though it prosper not well, yet is already too noxious to Mankind; and upon the same Principle of Kindness to what bears his Image, GOD Almighty, and His Providence, do design the unsuccessfulness of Vice; as being obstructive of his Glory, as well as destructive to his Creatures, being equally thereto engaged by a love to his own Honour and Service; and by a hatred as well to those who commit Vice, as to the Vice which is committed. Thus GOD confounded those Tongues which had spoke so much Blasphemy against him; whilst they were endeavouring to raise a *Tower* as high as their Sins. And when *David* intended to spill *Nabal's* Blood, GOD is said to have stop'd him from being an unjust Executioner, whom he intended to make a most just Judge. And since *Balaam's* Ass open'd its Mouth to speak this Truth, they must be more stupid than Asses, who will not believe it.

*The Law
makes Vice
uneasie.*

The Law likewise by its Punishments, contributes all its Endeavours to crush Vice, and to arrest its Success; forbidding by its Edicts, any Person to assist it; and making not only Assistance, but Counsel; not only Counsel but Connivance; not only Connivance but Concealment of it, to be in most Cases so Criminal, that all the Honours which Vice promiseth, or the Treasures it gives, cannot be able to redeem those who are found to have slighted this Prohibition. Must it not then be difficult to be vicious, where Assistants and Counsellors are so over-aw'd, and the Intenders so terrified, that few will engage as Instruments? And these who do, are so disordered by Fear, that vicious Projectors are as little to expect Success, as vir-

tuous Persons are to wish it for them. And to evidence how much Opposition the Law intends for Vice; it not only punishes Vice with what it presently inflicts; but it presumes it still guilty for the future: *Semel malus semper præsumitur malus*; and upon that Presumption, many vitious Persons have suffer'd for that whereof they were otherways innocent. Though Rebellion hath promising Charms, to allure the Idolaters of Ambition and Fame; yet the Law doth so far stand against it, that few will concur with the Contrivers, except such Fools as have not the Wit to promote it, or some desperate Persons, with whom few will join, because they are known to be discontent: And though Revenge relishes Blood with a pleasing Taste; yet the severity of excellent Law cools much of that inhuman heat; and lessens the Pleasure, by sharpening the Punishment. Vice then must be uneasie, seeing the Law opposes it, and renders its Commission dangerous, as well as odious.

Men likewise join with God and the Law in a Confederacy against Vice; and though they too oft approve it in the warmth and disorder of their Passions, yet in their Professions and Conventions they laugh at it, and inveigh against it; and tho the pressure of a present Temptation, overcomes them so far as to commit what they disallow; yet they do but infrequently, and with so many checks from within, as that its Commission cannot be thought easie: Consider, how amongst Men, we hate even these Vices in others, which we are guilty of our selves; and how we even hate these Vices in others, by which we our selves reap no small Advantage. *Alexander* gloried to destroy that base Person, who had murthered his greatest Enemy *Darius*; and *David* is commended, for
having

Men are in Interest oblig'd to oppose Vice, and so it is uneasie.

having caused to kill him, who but said, that he had killed *Saul*. Who will employ one who is Perfidious? And so uneasy is Vice, that much Pains and Discourse will not persuade us to believe one who uses to lie; whilst we will soon believe what is really a Lie, from one that uses not to abuse our trust; few Judges are so precisely just, as not to think that they favour a Virtuous Person; good Men do likewise reward such as own an Interest so allowable, and wicked Men own such as are Virtuous, out of design thereby to expiate their former Vice; and to persuade the World, that they are not really Vitious, though they be esteemed so: so that seeing Reward as well as Inclination; and just Men as well as unjust, advance Virtue, and oppose Vice; Vice cannot but be more uneasy than Virtue, which is all to be proved.

*Vice makes
us fear all
Men.*

I am from reflecting upon the progress and growth of Vice, convinc'd very much of its uneasiness. If we look upon Rebellion, Revenge, or Adulteries, we find them hatch'd in Corners as remote from Commerce as those Vices are themselves from Virtue; and as black as the guilt of their Contrivers; and almost as terrifying as the worst of Prisons are to such who are but in any measure Virtuous. None of the Contrivers dares trust his Colleague; and which is yet worse, none of them hath Courage enough to reflect upon what he is to do; he must be too bad to be Successful, who is so desperately wicked, as not to tremble at the Wickedness he projects; and these Blessings which adorn the Face, when they are the Motions of Modesty, become Stains and Blemishes, when they are sent there by Fear, or a troubled Conscience. And it is very pretty to observe, with how much Art and Pains, such as are guilty of Vice, endeavour to shun all Discourses

courses, that can renew to them the least Reflection upon their former Failings; and how they must often times disoblige their own Envy and Malice, in not daring to vent or reproach others with that Guilt, which might be easily retorted; and thus Vicious Men have as many Masters as their Vices have Witnesses: And tho' they are bold enough to commit Vice, yet they oftentimes want the Courage to own it; and Servants, if conscious to these Crimes, become thereby necessary to their Masters; nor do wicked and vicious Persons fear only such as do, but (which is more extensive) such as may know their Vices; and tremble at its memory, as if the Sun or Moon would divulge their Secrets; and by accident, they have oft confess'd Crimes upon Mistakes; and have made Apologies for that whereof they were not accus'd; which hath made the Confessors to be laugh'd at for their Error, as well as hated for their Crimes.

Another Argument to inforce, that Virtue is more easie than Vice, is, that seeing Nature is the Spring of all Operations, certainly that must be most easie, which is most natural; and when we would express any thing to be easie to a Person or Nation, we say, it is natural to them; and Miracles are uneasie and difficult, because they run the Counter-tract of Nature, being either above, against, or beside its Assistance: But so it is, that Virtue is a more natural Operation than Vice, both because it less infests Nature than Vice does; and because Nature discovers more of a Bent to act viciously than virtuously; which are the only two Senses in which any thing is said to be *natural*.

It is more natural to be virtuous than vicious.

That Virtue of these two prejudices Nature least, is clear from this, that Sobriety cherisheth
S it,

it, when it is run down by Intemperance; Murder kills it; Gluttony choaks it; and Jealousie keeps it not alive but to torment it; and generally whenever Nature is distressed, it flies to Virtue, either for Protection, as to Courage, Justice, and Clemency; or for Recovery, as to Temperance, Industry, and Chastity: Few Gray Hairs owe their Whiteness, except to that Innocence whose Livery it is; Rapin, Oppression, and these other Vices, heightening their insolence against Man, to that Point, that he must serve them in being his own Cut-throat; to be commended for nothing else, save that they rid the World of such, who came only into it, to deface that glorious Fabrick, whereof the Almighty repented so the Pleasure of having created it; that he appointed a day of each Seven to celebrate its Festivals. Are not some Sins said to be *Sins against our own bodies*? Not because all are not so in some Measure; but because some are so in so eminent a Measure, that the Apostle, who knew much of all Mens Inclinations, thought that their being so much such, was enough to restrain such Persons from committing them, as were yet so wicked, as not to obey a Saviour who dyed for them. And why is it that Laws are so severe against Vice, but because it destroys and corrupts the Members of the Commonwealth? I have oft, notwithstanding the Precepts of Stoicism, which forbids me to be so effeminate, as to pity any thing; and notwithstanding the Principles of Justice, which forbids me to pity Persons who are flagitious; yet been driven to that excess of Compassion for the state of vicious Persons, that I have no more remembered even the Wrongs that they have done me: To see the Pox wear out a Face which had been so oft Fairded; and the

Gout felter Feet, that as the Psalmist says, *were swift to do ill*, are but too ordinary Encounters to excite Compassion: But to see the Wheel fatned with the Marrow of tortured Miscreants; and the Rack pull to Pieces their Receptacles of Vice; are great Instances how great an Enemy Vice is to Nature; under whose ill Conduct, and for whose Errors it suffers Torments, which are much sooner felt than exprest.

Since then Nature is so oppos'd by Vice, it cannot be it self so unwise, in the meanest of these many Degrees which we ascribe to many Creatures whom it makes wise, if it disposed not Mankind to entertain an aversion for Vice, which is so much its Enemy. Shall the Sheep, the silliest of all Animals, or the Earth, the dullest of all the Elements, flee from its Oppressors? And shall Nature, which should be wiser than these, because it bestows these Inclinations upon them, which makes them pass for wise, be so imprudent, as not to mould Men so, as to incline them to hate Vice, which so much hurts it? Is there any Vice committed, to which we may not find another impulsive Cause than Nature? And are not most Vices either committed by Custom, by being mistaken for Good, by Interest, or Inadvertence, as shall be shewed in the Close of this Discourse? And seeing Nature designs to do nothing in vain, it is not imaginable that it should prompt us to Vice, wherein nothing but Vanity can be expected, or from which nothing else can be reapt. These who are so injurious to Nature (because it appears Nature hath been less liberal to them, of Understanding, than to others) as to fasten this reproach upon it of inclining Men to Vice, do contradict themselves, when they say that Nature is satisfied with little, and desires nothing that is superfluous;

whereas all these Vices which consist in Excess, do stretch themselves, to Superfluity; whilst upon the other Side, these Vices which consist in Defect, are yet as unnatural; because in these the Committers deny themselves what is necessary for them, and so are most unnatural: Nature desiring to see every thing accomplished in its just Proportions, and satisfied in its just Desires.

*Each Vice
brings a
special Dis-
ease.*

All Vices have their own peculiar Diseases, to which they inevitably lead; Envy brings men to Leanness, as if it were fed with its Master's Flesh, as well as with its Enemies Failings; Lust, the Pox and Consumptions; Drunkenness, Catarrhs and Gouts; and Rage, Fevers and Phrenies; which is a Demonstration of their Uneasiness and Incommodiousness: And I might almost say, that those Vices are like Frogs, Lice and other despicable and terrible Insects, generated and kneaded out of excrementitious Humours. Lust is occasioned by the superfluity and Heat of the Blood; Drunkenness by a Dryness of the Vessels; and Rage by the Corruption and Exuberancy of Choler. Consider, how much the Frowns of Anger disfigure the sweetest Face; how much Rage discomposes our Discourse; and by these and its other Postures, ye will find Vice an Enemy to Nature. So that in all these, Nature labours under some Distemper; and is distress'd in its Operation; and acts them not out of Choice, but as sick Men rise to hunt for what their Physicians deny them. And for all this it follows, that Vice is neither natural in its Productions, nor in its Tendencies; not being designed by Nature in the one, nor designing to preserve Nature in the other.

I confess there is a Rank of Virtues, which are supernatural, such as Faith, Hope and Repentance

penitance ; but either there could be no Contradistinction of these from such as I treat of, or else these of which I here speak, must be natural. To deny our selves, if we will follow Christ ; and what Flesh and Blood did not teach *Peter*, to emit that noble Confession of Christ's being the Son of the Eternal GOD, proves that some Spiritual Truths are above the reach of Reason ; yet with Relation to those other moral Virtues, that same inspired Volume assures us, *That the Gentiles, who have no Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, are a Law unto themselves ; which shew the work of the Law written in their hearts ; their Conscience also bearing witness, and their Thoughts in the mean time accusing, or else excusing one another :* Rom. 2. 14.

And elsewhere the wicked are said to be without natural Affection. Are not all Sins, even in the dialect of Philosophers and Law-givers, as well as in the Language of *Canaan*, termed unnatural ? Rom. 1. 31.]

What is Paricide, Ingratitude, Oppression, Lying, &c. but the Subversion of these Laws, whereof our own Hearts are the Tables ? Doth not Nature, by giving us Tongues to express our Thoughts, teach us, that to disguise our Thoughts, or to contradict them, is to be unnatural : And seeing the not acknowledgment of Favours, obstructs the future Relief of our Necessities, it must be as unnatural to be ungrate, as it is natural to provide Supplies for our craving wants.

I will not fully exhaust the Miseries that wait upon Vice, by telling you, that no Man who is really vicious, sinneth without Reluctancy in the Commission ; but I must likewise tell you, that though all the Preceding Disadvantages were salv'd, yet the natural Horror which results from the Commission of Vice, is great enough to render it a Miracle, that any Man should be vicious.

The Horror of Conscience makes Vice uneasy.

cious. Conscience can condemn us without Witnesses, though we bribe off all Witnesses from without; or though by Sophistry and Art, we render their Depositions unsuccessful: And though Remissions can secure us against all external Punishments, yet the Arm of that Executioner cannot be stopp'd. And if ye consider how Men become thereby inconsolable, by the Attendance of Friends, and the Advantage of all exterior Pleasures, ye cannot but conclude that Vice is to be pitied, as well as shunn'd; and that this alone makes it more uneasie than Virtue, whereby the greatest of Misfortunes are sweetened; and outward Torments, by having their Prospect turn'd upon future Praise and Rewards, renderd Pleasures to such as suffer them; and are look'd upon as Ornaments, by such as see them inflicted, and draw Praises from succeeding Ages.

-----*Hic murus abenus esto
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa;*

was the Determination of a Pagan, who could derive no Happiness from the Divine Promises, upon which we are obliged to rely for Rewards; which though they be too great to be understood by the Sons of Men, yet are not so great, but that they may be expected by us, when we shall be adopted to be the Sons of that God, whose Power to bestow can be equal'd by nothing, but by his Desire to gratify. After Success hath crown'd vicious Designs, yet Vice meets with this Uneasiness of Remorse, wherein the Souls of Men are made to forget the Pleasure of Success, and are punished for having been successful: And these will either not remember their Success, in which Case they want all Pleasure; or if they think upon it, that Thought will lead them back

to consider the Guilt and Baseness to which they owe it; which will vex and fret them. Virtue afflicts at most but the Body, and in these Pains Philosophy comforts us; but Vice afflicts our Souls; and the Soul being more sensible than the Body, (seeing the Body owes its Sensibleness to it), certainly the Torments of Vice must be greatest. And this seems the Reason why our Saviour, in describing the Torments of Hell, placeth *the worm that never dies*, before *the fire that never goeth out*: And that the Rebukes of a natural Conscience, are of all Torments the most insupportable, appears from this, that albeit Death be the most formidable of all Torments, (Men suffering Tortures, Physick, Contumelies, Poverty, and the sharpest of Afflictions, to shun its Encounter); yet Men, in Exchange of these, will not only welcome Death, but will assume it to themselves; adding the Guilt and Infamy of Self-Murder, the Confiscation of an Estate, and the infamous Wants of Burial, to the Horrors of an ordinary Death; and all this to shift the present Gnawings of a Conscience. The Horrors likewise of a guilty Conscience doth in this appear most disquieting, that those who have their Conscience so burden'd, do acknowledge, that after Confession they find themselves as much eas'd, as a sick Stomach is relieved by vomiting up these Humours, whose Disquietness make such as suffered them, rather sick Persons, than Patients; whereas whatever be the present Troubles which arise from Virtue, yet if they continue not, they are tolerable; and if they continue, Custom and the Assistance of Philosophy will lessen their Weight; and at best the Pain is but temporary, because the Cause from which they descend is but momentary: If they be not sharp and violent, they are sufferable;

and if they be violent, they cannot last; or at least the Patient cannot last long to endure them. Whereas these Reflections that disquiet us in Vice, arising from the Soul it self, cannot perish whilst that hath any Being. And so the vicious Soul must measure its Grief by the Length of Eternity, tho' Vice did let out its Joys but by the Length of a Moment; and did not fill even the narrow Dimensions of that Moment with sincere Joy; the Knowledge that these were to be short-liv'd, and the Fear of succeeding Torment, possessing much of that little Room.

*Virtue is
more pleasurable
than
Vice.*

The first Objection, whose Difficulty deserves an Answer, is, That Virtue obliges us to oppose Pleasures, and to accustom our selves with such Rigors, Seriousness, and Patience, as cannot but render its Practice uneasy; and if the Reader's own Ingenuity supply not what may be rejoin'd to this, it will require a Discourse, that shall have no other Design besides its Satisfaction; and really to shew by what Means every Man may make himself easily happy, and how to soften the appearing Rigors of Philosophy, is a Design, which, if I thought it not worthy of a sweeter Pen, should be assisted by mine; and for which I have, in my current Experience, gather'd together some loose Reflections and Observations, of whose Cogency I have this Assurance, that they have often moderated the wildest of my own straying Inclinations, and so might pretend to a more prevailing Ascendant over such, whose Reason and Temperament makes them much more reclaimable: But at present my Answer is, That Philosophy enjoins not the crossing of our own Inclinations, but in order to their Accomplishment; and it proposes Pleasure as its End, as well as Vice; tho' for its more fix'd Establishment, it sometimes commands what

what seems rude to such as are Strangers to its Intentions in them. Thus Temperance resolves to heighten the Pleasures of Enjoyment, by defending us against all the Insults of Excess, and oppressive Loathing; and when it lessens our Pleasures, it intends not to abridge them, but to make them fit and convenient for us; even as Soldiers, who tho' they propose not Wounds and Starvings, yet, if without these they cannot reach those Lawrels to which they climb, they will not so far disparage their own Hopes, as to think they should fix them upon any thing, whose Purchase deserves not the suffering of these. Physick cannot be called a cruel Employment, because to preserve what is sound, it will cut off what is tainted; and these vicious Persons, whose Laziness forms this Doubt, do answer it, when they endure the Sickness of Drunkenness, the Toiling of Avarice, the Attendance of rising Vanity, and the Watchings of Anxiety; and all this to satisfy Inclinations, whose Shortness allows little Pleasures, and whose Prospect excludes all future Hopes. Such as disquiet themselves by Anxiety (which is a frequently repeated Self-Murder) are more tortur'd, than they could be by the Want of what they pant after; that long'd-for Possession of a Neighbour's Estate, or of a Publick Employment, makes deeper Impressions of Grief by their Absence, than their Enjoyment can repair: And a Philosopher will sooner convince himself of their not being the necessary Integrants of our Happiness; than the Miser will, by all his Assiduoufness, gain them.

There are but Three Instances of Time, and in each of these vicious Persons are much troubled; the Prospect of usual Insuccesfulness, Difficulties, or Inconveniencies, do torment before

fore the Commission ; Horror, Trembling, and Reluctancy, do terrify in the Act ; and Conscience succeeds to these after Commission, as the last, but not the least of these unruly Torments. And as to the Pleasures of Vice, it can have none in any of these Parcels of Time, beside the present ; which present is by many Philosophers, scarce allowed the Name of Time ; and is at best so swift, that its Pleasures must be too transient to be possess'd. I confess, that Revenge is the most enticing of all Vices ; insomuch, that a wicked *Italian* said, That God Almighty had reserved it to himself, because it was too noble and satisfying a Prerogative to be bestowed upon Mortals ; yet it discharges at once its Pleasure with its Fury ; and like a Bee, languishes after it hath spent its Sting ; and when it is once acted, which is oft in one Moment, it ceaseth from that Moment to be a Pleasure ; and such as were tickled once with it, are afraid of its Remembrance, and think worse of it, than they did formerly of the Affront, to expiate which, it was undertaken. Thirty Pieces of Silver might have had some Lechery in them, at *Judas* first Touch ; but they behoved to have a very unressembling Effect, when he took no longer Pleasure in them, than to have come the next Week to offer them back ; and because they were refused, to rid himself of his Life and them together.

The Pains of Vice may be concluded greater than these of Virtue, from this ; that virtuous Persons are in their Sufferings assisted by all the World ; vicious Persons doing so to expiate their own Crimes ; and virtuous Persons doing the same, to reward the Virtue they adore ; and if these Endeavours prove unsuccessful, every Man by bearing a Share in their Grief, do all they
can

can to lessen it ; but vicious Persons have their Sufferings augmented by the Disdain, and just Opprobries thrown upon them by such as were Witnesses to their Vices ; and such as had any Inclination for them, dare not appear to be their Well-wishers, lest they be reputed Complices of their Crimes.

I need not fear so much Weakness in this my Theme, as to bring up a Thousand of these Instances to its Aid, that lie every where obvious to the least curious Observation : What is more laborious than Pride ? wherein by robbing from others what is due to them, the Acquirers are still obliged to defend their new Conquests with more Vigilance than Virtue needs ? The proud Man must be greater than all others, and so must toil more than they all, his Task being greater than all theirs jointly. And the jealous Man must never be satisfied, till he know not only what is Truth, but what he fears to be so ; being most unhappy in this, that if he get Assurance of what he suspects, then he is made really miserable ; or if he attain not to that Assurance, he must still toil for it, and make himself miserable by his Pains, till he become really so, by being inform'd of what at one Instant he wishes to be false, and endeavours to make true. Revenge is most painful, both in perswading us that these are Affronts, which of their own Nature are no Affronts ; and then in bringing on us much more Hazard than their satisfaction can repay. For one Word spoke to us, which (it may be) the Speaker intended as no Injury, how many have, by murdering the Speaker, or some rash Attempt, deprived themselves of the Privilege of seeing their Friends without Horror ; or of coming abroad without imminent Danger ; skulking

ing in Dens like Theives; imprisoned for Fear of Priſon; and dying daily to ſhun the Death they fear? Whereas *Socrates*, by laughing at him who ſpat in his Face, had then the Pleaſure to ſee himſelf at preſent ſatisfied; and did foreſee the Hopes of future Praises. Guiltineſs muſt ſearch out Corners; it muſt at all Rates ſecure Favourites; it muſt ſhun to meet with ſuch as are conſcious to its Guilt; and whenever two Men ſpeak privately in Preſence of ſuch as are vicious, they perſwade themſelves that ſome-what is there ſpoke to their Diſadvantage; and like one who labours of a Sore, they muſt ſtill be careful that their Wound be not toucht.

To conclude then this Period, conſider, that every Thing that is uneaſy muſt be unpleaſant; and that Vice is more uneaſy than Virtue, appears from the whole foregoing Diſcourſe.

*Why Men
are always
vicious.*

I hope the preceding Diſcourſe hath cleared off all theſe Doubts, that can oppoſe this well founded Truth; leaving only this Objection here to be answered: If Vice be leſs eaſy, and leſs natural than Virtue; why do the greater Part of Mankind range themſelves to its ſide? leaving Virtue as few Followers, as it profeſſes to deſire Admirers? In Answer whereto, I confeſs that this Objection proves Men to be mad but not Vice to be eaſy; even as when we ſee Men throw away their Cloaths, run the Fields over, and expoſe themſelves to Storms, leaving their convenient Homes and kind Family, we conclude ſuch as do ſo to be mad; but are not induc'd to believe that what they do is eaſy. And certainly Vice is a Madneſs, as may appear convincingly from this, that when we ſee others run to theſe Exceſſes, (which we thought Gallantry in our ſelves, when we were acting the like) we aſk them

them seriously, What, are ye mad? And *Hazael*, when the Cruelty he was to (and did) commit, was foretold him by the Prophet, did with Admiration ask, *What? am I a dog that I should do these things?* And the Prodigal, when he freed himself from these vicious Rovings, is said to have *come to himself*; by which Word Madnes is usually express'd. Men are said to be mad, when they offer Violence to their Bodies; and it is a more advanc'd Degree of Madnes, to offer Violence to our Souls; which we then do (besides the ruining of our Bodies) when we are vicious. And to such as prefer their Bodies to their Souls, I recommend the Survey of such Bodies, as have wasted themselves in Stews and Taverns, or have left Limbs upon the Field, where they last quarrell'd after Cups, for Vanity, or Mistresses. The Second Answer is, That Men mistake oft-times Vice for Virtue; and are enticed to it by an Error in their Judgments, rather than any Depravedness in their Affections. Thus Drunkenness recommends it self to us, under the Notion of Kindness; and Prodigality under that of Liberality: Complacency likewise is the great Pimp of much Viciousness to well-disposed Persons; and many are by it enticed to err, to gratify a Mistake in their Friendship; for they are perswaded, that Friendship and Kindness are so innocent and sweet Qualities, that they cannot command, what are not just as themselves.

Custom also, as it is a Second Nature, so it is a Step-mother to Virtue; and whilst we endeavour to shun the Vice of being *vain* and *singular*, we slip into these Vices, which are too familiar to be formidable; and which we would not have committed, if the Mode and Fashion had not determin'd us thereto, against our first and pure
Incli-

2 Kings 8.

13.

Luke 15.

17.

Inclinations. Thus the *Germans* believe Drinking to be Kindness: And the *Italian* is, by the Custom of his Country, induc'd not to tremble, but to love *Sodomy*. We have *Interest* likewise to blame, for much of that Wickedness, which we falsely charge upon Nature: For this bribes us to oppose what naturally we would follow; but above all, Want of Consideration is the frequent Occasion of many of these Disorders; so that Virtue is not postpon'd by Choice, but by Negligence; neither would it be more difficult for us to be virtuous in many of our Actions, than it would be for us to consider what we are about to do. And I may seal up this Period with the blunt Complaint made by a poor Woman, who after her Affection and Interest had forc'd from her many passionate Reqrates against her Son's Debordings, concluded thus; Alas! my Son will never recover, for he cannot *think*: Therefore I must conclude, that seeing it is easy to think, it must be likewise easy to be virtuous.

*These prove
the Uneasiness
also
of private
Quarrels
and ill hu-
mours.*

It is indeed hard for one who is drunk to stand upright, or for one who hath his Eyes cover'd with Mire to see clearly; and yet standing upright, or seeing clearly, are not in themselves difficult Tasks; just so Virtue is easy in it self, though our Pre-engagement to the contrary Habit, rather than to the Vice it self, renders its Operation somewhat uneasy; whereas, if we had once imbrued our Souls with a Habit of Virtue, its Exercise would be far easier to us than that of its contrary; for it would be assisted by Reason, Nature, Reward, and Applause; all which oppose the other. He who becomes temperate, finds his Temperance much less troublesome, than the most habitual Drunkard can his Excess; who can never render it so familiar, but that he will be constrain'd to make Faces, when he
quaffs

quaffs off a tedious Health; and will at sometimes find either his Quarrels, the betraying his Friend's Secret, or his Crudities, to importune him. No Lyar hath so much accustomed himself to that Trade, but he will discover himself sometimes in his Blushes, and will be oft distressed to shape out Covers for his Falseness; whereas he who is free from the Bondage of that Habit, will always find it so easy, that he will never hear a Lye, without admiring with what Confidence it could have been forg'd.

Whereas to know the Easiness of Virtue, we need only this Reflection, that every vicious Person thinks it easier to conquer the Vice he sees in another. He who whores, admires the Uneasiness and Unpleasantness of Drinking; and the Drunkard laughs at the fruitless Toil of Ambition; which shews that Vice is an uneasy Conquest, seeing the meanest Persons can subdue it.

Though Truth and Newness do of all other Motives, court us soonest to Complacency, and that my present Theme may pretend to both; yet so studious am I of Success, where I have a Tenderness for the Subject for which I contend, that for further Conviction of its Enemies, I must recommend to them to go to the Courts of Monarchs; and there learn the Uneasiness and Unpleasantness of Vice, from its splitting those in Oppositions and Factions, which afford the reasonable Lookers-on as disagreeable a Prospect, as that of a shipwrackt Vessel. And when Faction has once dismembred a Society, is it not strange to see what Pains and Anxiety must be shewed by both Opposites, to discover and ruin each others Projects? Other Men toil only to make themselves happy; but those must labour likewise to keep their Opposites from being so; they

they must seek Applause for themselves, and must stop it from their Enemies ; they must shun all Places where these are entertained , and all Occasions which may bring them to meet , though Inclination or Curiosity do extremely bend them to go thither. They must oppose the Friends of their Enemies, though they be desirous, and oblig'd upon many other Scores to do them good Offices: They grow pale at their Appearances, and are disordered at what Praise is given those, though bestowed upon them for promoting that publick Good, wherein the Contemners share for much of their own Safety: And it is most ordinary to hear such factious Zealots swear, that they would chuse rather to be destroyed by a publick Enemy, than preserv'd by a Rival. From all which it is but too clear , that all vicious Persons are Slaves ; which though the uneasiest of States, yet to shun a Loss of supposed Liberty, most Men refuse to be virtuous. If we go to Physicians, we will find their Shambles hung round with the Trophies of Vice. For Temperance, Chastity, or the other Virtues, send few thither: But Wantonness repays there its one Moment's Pleasure with a Year's Cure ; and makes them afraid to see that disfigured Face, for whose Representation they once doted upon their flattering Mirrors. There lie such Prisoners, as the drunken Gout hath fetter'd ; and there lie louring such as Gluttony hath oppress'd. Let us go to Prisons and Scaffolds, and there we will see such furnish'd out with the Envoys of Injustice , Malice , Revenge , and Murders. Let us go to Divines, and they will tell us of the horrid Exclamations of such, as have upon their Death-bed seen muster'd before them, those Sins, which how soon they had their Vizards of Sensuality and Lust pulled off , did appear in Figures

gures monstrous enough to terrify a Soul which took leisure to consider them.

Hi sunt qui trepidant, & ad omnia fulgura pallent. Juvenal.

And though the Consciences of Soldiers have oft-times their Ears so deafned with warlike Sounds, or welcome Applauses, that they cannot hear; and their Eyes so cover'd with their Enemies Gore, that they cannot see these terrifying Shapes of inward Revenge; yet, if we believe *Lucan*, neither could the Wrongs done to *Cæsar* so far legitimate his Fury; nor the present Joy, or future Danger, so far divert him from reflecting upon his by-past Actions; nor could the Want of Christianity (which enlivens extremely these Terrors beyond the Creed of a Roman, who believ'd that Gallantry was Devotion) so far favour his Cruelty; but that he and his Soldiers were the Night of *Pharsalia's* Battel thus disturb'd. *Lucan*, Book 7.

*But furious Dreams disturb their restless Rest,
Pharsalia's Fight remains in ev'ry Breast;
Their horrid Guilt still works; the Battel stands
In all their Thoughts, they brandish empty Hands
Without their Swords: you would have thought the* (Field

*Had Groan'd, and that the guilty Earth did yield
Exhaled Spirits, that in the Air did move;
And Stygian Fears possess the Night above;
A sad Revenge on them their Conquest takes;
Their Sleeps present the Furies hissing Snakes,
And Brands; their Countrymen's sad Ghosts appear:
To each the Image of his proper Fear.
One sees an old Man's Visage, one a young;
Another's tortur'd all the Evening long*

It is easier to be Virtuous

*With his slain Brother's Spirit ; their Fathers sight
Daunts some : but Cæsar's Soul all Ghosts affright.*

The Character of a Philosopher, and his Ease.

But that I may rest your Thoughts from the Noise and Horror of these Objects, let me lead them into a Philosopher's Cell or House ; (for Virtue is not like Vice, confin'd to Places ;) and there ye will see Measures taken, by no less noble nor less erring Pattern, than Nature. His Furniture is not the Offspring of the last Fashion ; and so he must not be at the Toil, and keep Spies for informing him, when the succeeding Mode must cause these be pull'd down ; and needs not be troubled, to fill the Room yearly of that contemn'd-Stuff he but lately admir'd. He is not troubl'd that anothers Candlesticks are of a later Mould ; nor vext, that he cannot muster so many Cabins or Knacks as he does. He spends no such idle times as is requisite for making great Entertainments ; wherein Nature is oppress'd to please Fancy ; and must be by the next days Physick tortur'd to cure its Errors : His Soul lodges cleanly ; neither clouded with the Vapours, nor cloy'd with the Crudities of his Table : He applies every thing to its natural use ; and so uses Meat and Drink, not to express Kindness (Friendship doing that Office much better) but to refresh, and not to occasion his Weakness. His Dreams are neither disturb'd by the horrid Representation of his last days Crimes ; nor by the too deep Impressions of the next Day's Designs, but are calm as the Breast they refresh, and pleasant as the Rest they bring. His Eyes suffer no such Eclipse in these as the Eyes of vicious Men do, when they are darkened with Drunkenness, or excessive Sorrow ; for all his Darkneses succeed as seasonably to his Recreations, as the Day is followed in by the Night.

In

In his Cloaths, he uses not such as require two or three Hours to their laborious Dressing; or which over-awe the Wearer so, that he must shun to go abroad to all Places, or at all Occasions, lest he offend their Lustre; but he provides himself with such as are most easy for Use; and fears not to stain these, if he keep his Soul unspotted: He considers his Body and Organs, as the Easement and Servants of that reasonable Soul he so much loves; and therefore he eases them, not upon Design to please them, but to refresh them; that the Soul may be thereby better serv'd; and if at any time he deny these their Satisfaction, he designs not thereby to torture them: For Gratitude obliges him to repay better their Services: (and a Man should not be cruel even to his Beast); but he does so, lest they exceed these Measures, whose Extent Virtue knows better to mark out than they; or else he finds that during the time he ministers to these Appetites, he may be more advantagiously employ'd in enjoying the pure and Spiritual Pleasures of Philosophy. But leaving this outer Court, let us step into a Philosopher's Breast, (a Region as serene as the Heaven whence it came) and there view how sweet Virtue inspires gentle Thoughts, whose Storms raise not Wrinkles, like Billows in our Face, and blow not away our disoblighed Friends. Here, no mutinous Passion rebels with success; and these petty Insurrections of Flesh and Blood, serve only to magnify the Strength of Reason in their Defeat. Here, all his Desires are so satisfied with Virtue, as their Reward, that they need, nor do not run abroad, begging Pleasures from every unknown Object: And therefore it is, that, not placing his Happiness upon what is subject to the Empire of Fate, capricious Fortune cannot make him miserable:

for it can reſume nothing but what it hath given: And therefore, ſeeing it hath not beſtowed Virtue and Tranquility, it cannot call it away, and whilſt that remains all other Loſſes are inconſiderable. And as few Men are griev'd to ſee what is not their own deſtroy'd, ſo the virtuous Philoſopher, having always conſidered what is without him as belonging to Fortune, and not to him, he ſees thoſe burnt or robb'd with a diſinterreſted indifferency: And when all others are allarm'd with the Fears of enſuing Wars and Invaſions, he ſtands as fixt (though not as hard) as a Rock, and ſuffers all the foaming Waves of Fate and Malice to ſpend their Spite and Froth at his Feet. Virtue, and the Remembrance of what he hath done, and the Hopes that he will ſtill act virtuously, are all his Treasures; and theſe are not capable of being pillag'd; theſe are his inſeparable Companions, and therefore he can never want a divertifying Converſation: And ſeeing he is a Citizen of the World, all places are his Country; and he is always at home, and ſo can never be baniſhed; and ſeeing he can ſtill exerciſe his Reaſon equally in all places, he is never (like vicious perſons) vex'd; that he muſt ſtay in one place, and cannot reach another; like a Sick Man, whoſe diſeaſe makes him always tumble through all the Corners of his Bed: He is never ſurpriz'd, becauſe he forecaſts always the worſt; & as this arms him againſt Diſcontents, ſo if a milder Event diſappoint his Apprehenſions, this heightens his Pleaſure. He lives without all deſign, except that one of obeying his Reaſon; therefore it is that he can never be miſerable, ſeeing ſuch are only ſo, who are croſs'd in their Deſigns; and thence it is, that when he hears that his Actions diſpleaſe the World, he is not troubled, ſeeing he deſign'd

not to please them; and if he see others carry wealthy Pretences to which he had a Title, he is little troubled, seeing he design'd not to be rich. The Frowns or Favours of Grandees alter him not, seeing he neither fears the one, nor expects Promotion from the other. He desires little, and so is easily happy; seeing these are without controversy happy, who Enjoy all they desire; and that Man puts himself in great Debt, who widens his Expectations by his Desires: Thus, he who designs to buy a neighbouring Field, must straiten himself to lay up what will reach its Price, as much as if he were Debtor in the like Sum; and *Desire* leaves still an Emptiness which must be filled. He finds not his Breast invaded (like such as are vicious) by contrary Passions; Envy sometimes perswading, that others are more deserving; and Vanity assuring, that none deserves so much. His Passions do not interests him with extreme concern in any thing; and seeing he loves nothing too well, he grieves at the loss of nothing too much; Joy and Grief being like the contrary Motions of a Swing, or *Pendula*; which must move as far (exactly) to the one Side, as it run formerly to the other. He looks upon all Mankind as sprung from one common Stock with himself; and there is as glad to hear of other mens Happiness, as others are to hear of their Kindred and Relations Promotion. If he be advanced to be a Statesman; whilst he continues so, he designs more to discharge well his present Trust, than to court a Higher; which double Task burdens such as are vicious; and having no private Design, if the publick which he serves, find out one fitter for the Employment, he is well satisfied; for his Design of serving the Publick is thereby more promoted. And

if he be preferr'd to be a Judge, he looks only to the Law as his Square; and is not distracted betwixt the Desires to be just, to please his Friends, to gratify his Dependents, and to advance his private Gain. The Philosopher is not rais'd by his Greatness above, nor depress'd by his Misfortunes below his natural Level: For, when he is in his Grandeur, he considers that Men come to him but as they go to Fountains; not to admire its Streams (though clear as Crystal) but to fill their own Pitchers; and therefore, he is neither at much Pains to preserve that State, nor to heighten Mens Esteem of it; but considers his own Power as he does a River, whose Streams are always passing, and are then only pleasant when they glide calmly within their Banks. Injuries do not reach him; for his Virtue places him upon a Height above their Shot; And what Calumnies or Offences are intended for him, do but like the Vapours and Fogs that rise from the Earth, not reach the Heaven; but fall back in Storms and Thunder upon the Place from which they were sent. Injuries may strike his Buckler, but cannot wound himself; who is sensible of no Wounds, but of those his Vices give him. And if a Tyrant kill his Body, he knows his immaterial Soul cannot be stabb'd, but is sure it will fly as high as the Spheres; (nothing but that Clog of Earth hindring it to move upward to that its Centre) and that from thence, he will with great *Pompey*, (in *Lucan*) smile down when he shall see with illuminate Eyes his own Trunk to be so inconsiderable a Piece of neglected Earth. And to conclude, the Philosopher does in all his Actions go to the straitest way; which is, because of that, the shortest, and therefore the Easiest.

When I have constellate all these tousing Eulogies, which Gratitude heaps upon its Benefactors; which foolish Youths throw away upon their Mistresses; and which Flatterers buzz into the depraved Ears of their Patrons: When I have impoverish'd Invention, and empty'd Eloquence of their most flowry Ornaments: When I shall have decocted the Pains of a whole writing Age, into one Panegyrick, to bestow a Compliment upon Virtue, for the Ease it gives us, and the Sweets of its Tranquility, I shall have spent my time better, than in serving the most wealthy or recreating Vice; and yet I shall oblige Virtue by it less, than by acting the least part of what is Reasonable; or gaining the soonest reclaimable of such as are vicious; and therefore I shall leave off to write, that I may begin to act virtuously, tho one of my Employment may find a Defence for writing moral Philosophy, in the Examples of *Cicero*, *Du Vaire* that famous *French* President, the Lord *Verulam*, and Thousands of others.

I have (to deal ingenuously) writ these two Essays to serve my Country, rather than my Fame or Humour; and if they prove successful, Heaven has nothing below it self, wherewith it can more bless my wishes. But if these succeed not, I know nothing else wherewith I would flatter my Hopes; and so whatever be the Event of this Undertaking, (as my Resolutions stand now form'd) *Adieu for ever to Writing.*

A

Consolation against Calumnies :
 Shewing how to bear them easily
 and pleasantly.

(Written in Return to a Person of Honour,
 and at his Desire subjoin'd to the foregoing
 Discourse, because of the Contingency of
 the Subjects.)

My Lord,

TH O' my Friendship pay its Incense no
 where with so much *Devotion*, as when it
 bows to your Merit; and though your charming
 Letter had a Bait hung at its each Line, yet I am
 equally afraid and asham'd to return, in Answer
 to either, that desired *Consolation*, which may
 shew very much Vanity in me to undertake, and
 very little Friendship to be able to perform. For
 either your Misfortunes are not so pointed as ye
 represent, and then I must shew your Weakness
 when I detect the Defects of what conquers you;
 or, if they have Powers resembling the Great-
 ness of these Complaints which ye form of them,
 then it will shew too much Disunion in our Friend-
 ship (pardon the Levelingness of that Word,
 seeing ye have authorized what it expresses) to
 be able to comfort you, when you are not able

to comfort your self; and not to be discomposed by the same Absences of Spirit and Courage that obliges you to crave that Assistance, which my Modesty or Sympathy should make me decline to offer. Yet seeing ye possibly crave this, to try rather my Obedience than to supply your Necessities; I will expose my own real Defects, to help these imaginary ones in you: And this being the last thing I am ever to print, I shall think my Reputation expires nobly, when it dies a Martyr in your Quarrel.

The Misfortune you complain of, is, that your Name is loaded with Mis-reports; and that your Innocence doth not protect you against that Injustice: And albeit I am sorry to see so noble a Name as yours so ill lodg'd, as in the venomous Mouths of the indiscreet World; yet I am glad to hear that your Fortunes are so full, as that ye find no Incommodity, but what is so foreign, and may be so easily remov'd.

Be pleased therefore to consider, that tho' ye imagine all the World talks of you; yet that is your and not their Error; for few have either Time, Convenience, or Humour, to enquire into, or hear such Reports as these which trouble you: And I know by Experience, that where Men fall in your Misfortunes, or under any Affront, they conceive all they meet or know, consider nothing so much as their Case: Whereas I my self have met such Persons without any lessening Thoughts of them, and without any Change in my Humour towards them, besides what was wrought by a Pity to see reasonable Men slip into such an Error. It is the Nearness of Concern, which induces Men to believe this; and so they should conclude, that seeing others are not so concerned in these Misinformations, they will not apprehend them with the same Feelings.

Feelings. Every Man imagines his own Disease greatest, and admires why others are not sensible of his Sufferings; whilst these admire why he sees not his own to be much less than he imagines. And as Self-love makes us imagine, that all the World hears of our Advantages; so it is an equal Error to believe, that all Men are inform'd of our Misfortunes; and I have regrated to my Friends (who of all others should have known best my Misfortunes) what they knew not, but from my own Apologies.

Of these few who hear such Reports, Reason should oblige us to believe, that fewer believe them: For Reason teaches us to presume Men to be just; and really they so are, except they be byass'd by Prejudice or Interest; whereas if they be just, they will little Credit such Discourses; it being so indispensable an Essential of Justice, not to condemn such as we have not heard to defend themselves against what they are accused of: That though God could not but know, what *Adam* had done when he had sinn'd in *Eden*; yet he would not sentence him, till he cited him to appear in his own Defence; *Adam, where art thou?* And when the Cries of *Sodom's* Sins were become as great as the Guilt was which occasioned them; yet God says, *We will go down and see.*

It were likewise Injustice to condemn Men upon the Depositions of such as shall have no Warrant for what they talk, but *common Fame*; which is so infamous a Witness, that it hath been convicted of a Thousand Millions of gross Lies, and stands condemned in the Registers both of sacred and prophane Story. And so unworthy is the Off-spring of this common Whore, that ye will scarce find one in an Age, who will own it for his; and as if every Man condemned it, even these who relate these Discourses will still disown

to be Authors of them: And I may say of them, as the Laws say of Bastards, that *Patrem demonstrare nequeunt*. Why then should we think, that just Men will believe, what even unjust Men are ashamed to maintain; and what is told with so much Caution and Secrecy, as may convince such to whom it is told, that the Relater dares not undergo the Trial? The other Warrants of their Discourses are the Testimonies of such, as Men may see by the feverish Zeal of the Relaters, that they are too much interests'd to be believ'd; and when we hear such Discourses, we should examine why was the Relater at the pains to disperse these Informations; which if we do, we will find, that Interest or Prejudice does prompt them; and so in believing these, we give the Informer Reason to laugh at our Simplicity, in being so easily prompt by him, (which may justly give him ground to prefer his Wit to ours,) and we become but the Executioners of his Revenge and Malice: Should not, and will not reasonable Men think, that these who are so officious as to report such Discourses, wherein they are not interests'd, will be so unjust as to make, as well as tell, such Calumnies? And these who are Busy-bodies in interressing themselves in such Tattles, may be Liars in forging what they want. None should be believ'd, but such as are virtuous; and such will never be Authors of Misreports, or curious to talk of other Mens Affairs; for virtuous Persons will be ashamed to have it thought, that they spend their Time so meanly, as to have Leisure to hear or enquire into what does not concern them: And as the Law, so Men should always suspect Witnesses, who offer themselves to depose without being commanded, or interrogate. Wise Men will likewise examine, upon what ground the Relater founds himself;

himself; and if they do not, they are unjust; or if they do, they will easily find that the weakest Presumptions make the strongest of his Arguments: And in place of making you criminal, your Accusers will thus make themselves ridiculous. Who will condemn upon Presumptions? and upon such as are only Presumptions to Persons ignorant and malicious? What may be, may not be; and therefore it's bad Logick to infer, that such an evil Thing is done, because it may be so; for the Conclusion should follow the weakest Proposition; and therefore we should rather conclude, that such an Evil is not done, because it may be that it is not done. No rational Man should judge of any Action, whereof he knows not the Design of the Actor; for some Actions are good or evil, according as the Design is. *St. Jerome* went to Taverns, to observe and reform; which was a Virtue in him, though it was a Crime in others; and therefore, seeing we know not other Men's Designs, we should not censure their Actions. One Circumstance also will vary the Case; and seeing few Men know all Circumstances of other Mens Actions, it is Rashness to censure what but may be vicious; and Injustice to be rash in censuring, seeing what we censure may be virtuous. Another Ground which perswades me, that few believe what is disadvantageous to another Man's Honour, is, that though Fame and Life be but paralell'd in Law, yet in Honour Fame is much dearer than Life, because it lasts longer than Life; and because Life without it is a Torment; but It without Life is so much a Happiness, that more die for Fame than by Courage. Seeing then we need not fear that just Men will pronounce against our Life without impregnable Evidences, why should we fear that they will pronounce a-

against

gainst our Honour, upon foundless and slight Misreports? It is likewise Mens own Interest not to believe such Discourses of others, lest they thereby establish a Precedent against themselves; for will not they think that the next Turn may be theirs; and that being mortal as you, they are liable to the same Accidents; and that if such Discourses should receive Access, their Innocence and Pains are easily disappointed? And therefore I hope ye will think, that common Interest is a sufficient Security for your Fame amongst wise Men; and that upon that Score, prudent Men will not believe such Reports, as just Men will not upon the former: It is also most ordinary to find, that such as have been once cheated, will be more cautious for the future; Brutes themselves being so wise, as to beware of that Snare where they were once entrapp'd. It is then most probable, that seeing most Men have once, and many too often been cheated with Misreports, having been induced to wrong their Friends hereby; and their Relations; that such therefore, even amongst these who can be unjust, yet will be so no more; and that we will be secured by the Experience, though not by their Virtue.

As to these who will talk to your Disadvantage, I shall class them thus; Some will out of Raillery, some will through Misinformation, some by Interest and Malice. Those who talk out of Raillery, deserve not your Malice; nor should their Discourses fret you, seeing their Humour is generally known to design rather Jest than Truth; and so what they say, may divert others as a Treat of Wit, but cannot wrong you as a disobliging Truth; no more than *Virgil* can be believ'd a Fool, because he is antick in Burlesque Verse; and seeing these use you, as they use their Friends and themselves, ye should be

no

no more angry than the King is, when he sees his Face posted up for a Sign to a Country Tavern. Scripture and Devotion suffer with you on this Account; and because the finest things are most universally known, therefore they are most ordinarily the Subject of such Entertainment. That being the Object thought only worthy to rail at, which deserves not to be so used; and Men being used to make that appear ridiculous, which is not so in it self.

These who talk to your Prejudice through Misinformation, receive but so slight an Impression, as will make them speak but faintly, and as will not hinder them from being easily remov'd from their received Intelligence; and after they are reclaim'd by your Friends, or a ripen'd Information, they will judge it a Duty to expiate their former Error, by confessing to the World their former Injustice; so that by one of those Penitents more will be regain'd, than can be debauched by twenty Misinformers; Men being generally more inclin'd to believe such as have experienc'd both, than such as pretend only an Acquaintance with one of the opposite Sides.

As to such who speak out of Malice, they do either press their Design with such Vehemency, as they may easily be suspected; or else they over-act themselves by telling so improbable Untruths, that they are easily discovered: Few likewise are unacquainted with the Humour of such; and God has in a Manner put *Cain's* Mark upon them, that they may not be believ'd. Malice cannot conceal it self, no more than it can the Faults of others; and the Authority of such is ordinarily of so little Advantage to the Cause they manage, that it hangs Contempt upon a Report, that they spread it: And how soon it is
known

known to have begun at them, it leaves off to be either regarded or believed.

Those whom Interest perswades to talk of you, as being Rivals to either your Fame or Love, do soon discover themselves and their Passion; and by that Discovery they secure you: For after that, the Hearers consider more their Interest, than your Crimes; and in place of hating you, because of that alledged Guilt, they pity and favour you, as a Person who is so persecuted. Others do feed such Misreport, not because they rival you, but because they would have you to rival them; designing to have you loaded with the like Guilt with which themselves stand charged; and expecting either to divert thereby the publick Noise, and make you the Seat of that War; or hoping to lessen their own Guilt by sharing it with you: These you should pardon, even as we pardon those who gripe us when they are like to drown; neither need ye fear such Informers, seeing their Interest is known; and therefore none will believe them but such who are simple; as that their Belief is not worthy your Pains or Anger.

Having thus clear'd off many of those, whom your Lordship suspected as Enemies; my next Chapter shall be to comfort you, against what Impression those who remain can leave on you. In pursuance whereof, my first Conclusion shall be, that nothing can be Arbitrer of your Fate, but what hath Power to make you happy as well as miserable; by the Application whereof, and of the Rule of Contraries, pardon me to assure you, that except ye thought the Rabble might have made you happy, making you great or famous, ye had never fear'd or courted their Suffrage; and seeing they are so miserable and unconstant a Crew; what an empty and unfix'd

Happi-

Happiness must that be which ye expected? The way then not to value common Reports is, not to value what Favours the Multitude can do you; that Happiness which ye pursue amongst them, your own Breast, and it only, can bestow: And as nothing that is not spiritual, can make your Spirit happy; so nothing can wound a Spirit, that is nothing it self but Breath and Air: And I assure you, that these detract too much from the Nobleness of Man's Soul, who imagine, that there is any thing else under the Sun, whereupon his Happiness or Unhappiness doth depend; for all exterior Enjoyments do no otherwise enrich or impoverish it, than these Rivulets which disgorge themselves into that Bason of the Ocean, do by their Access or Recess fill or empty its still equal Waters. How can Man be said to be Lord of all the Creation, if his Happiness does depend upon Riches, Territories, or any thing without him? And therefore it was nobly concluded by *Epictetus*, that what is without us, and does not depend upon our Choice, should not affect us.

And therefore, seeing Reports cannot reach us, they should not grieve us; unjust Calumnies fall no otherwise upon a wise Man, than Hail upon a strong House; whose Fall causeth greater Noise than Prejudice. It is true, that these may hinder us from being preferr'd; but a virtuous Person knows, that his Happiness lies not in Preferment, and so he values no more what can obstruct that, than a covetous Man does the Loss of what may promote his Knowledge; or the Amorous what cannot disappoint his Love. A virtuous Man may by Want of Preferment, be stopp'd from doing what Good the Diffusiveness of his noble Humour would stretch towards others: But his Country is only a Loser in this, and not he; for he pleases himself in the doing what

what good is within his present Reach; and in being willing to do more if Occasion offer'd.

I confess that Misreports do sometimes grieve our Spirits; but it is our Fancy, and not these, who have that Ascendant over us; as is clear from this, that the same Words spoke by a Friend or Fool, will not trouble us, which would enrage us if they slip from any other Person; and till we know what is spoke of us, what is spoken does not trouble us; which shews that not our Enemies, but we wound our selves: And seeing they never trouble us, but when, and at what Proportion we do value them; it is clear, that not these but our own Reflections do grieve us. For if these grieved us, the Measures of our Grief would be ruled by any thing in us; and all Affronts and Injuries should be to all equally disquieting; whereas now they yield to our Humours; nor is a jovial, serene Spirit troubl'd like a Melancholian, whose Humour gives much of that black Tincture to our Crosses which so affright us. The way then to assure our selves against Misreports, is, not by informing all that great Mass of our Acquaintances, or by shunning what displeases others: (for what will persuade them that they have a right to judge us) but the nearer Cut is to tame our own Affections; and bring them so under Rod to our Reason, that nothing may offend us, but what offends it; even as the way to preserve a Body from Diseases, is to purge away these noxious Humours which corrupt the best of Aliments.

Let us consider that Men are either just, or unjust; if just, we need not fear their Reproaches, for they never reproach Innocency; and we should not fear to have our Guilt reproach'd; if unjust we should not fret; because it is natural to

them to Reproach even the Innocent; and we have as just Reason to think our selves unhappy, because Dogs bark at us; or the Winds & Storms stop our Journeys. This requires Submission, but not Grief; and is a Misfortune to them, but not to us. And as we should conform our selves to the Laws of the Place where we live; so seeing the Decrees of Providence have appointed the wicked to persecute the just; it is Reason to obey, not only because we cannot help it, but because our Maker hath commanded it. Such as calumniate us, do, in so doing, shew either Ignorance or Malice; and that being the worst of Ills, they prejudice themselves more than us; and we have our Revenge in their Offence. Fear not that their Malice will be constant if it be vigorous; for it must want in Length what it grows to in Height; and some fresh Object will divert them from tooting upon you; or at least, their natural Inconstancy will make them stagger from what they are at; and they will sooner fix no where, than fix long any where; and like a Swing, they will probably run as far in the other Extreme of admiring you, as they did to that of speaking to your Prejudice; and as those upon whom the Plague breaks, need never fear a Relapse; so, your surmounting this Report will secure you against all future Invasions.

Men should do generous things, not for Esteem but for Virtue; and I may say they are then most generous, when they meet not with Applause; for then they make the World their Debtors, but when the World applauds them, they pay them: And whereas they use the World in the one Case, as a Prince does his Subjects; the World uses them in the other Case, as a Man doth his Merchant or Servant.

Nothing

Nothing that is not in our Power should grieve us ; and so it holds truer in Philosophy than Policy, that *quisquis est faber suæ fortunæ* ; a wise Man's Inclinations are his Stars ; and nothing can make him unhappy, but what can Pollute these. Seeing then we are not answerable for other Mens Follies, why should their Misreports (which are the cheifest of these) trouble us ? And if it be made Arbitrary to them to grieve us ; what a precarious Happiness is ours ; which is subject to the Caprice of such as are capricious, ignorant, and malicious ; to escape one of which three, is as impossible as to please them all. No Man is worsted in his Esteem, because another commits a Fault ; why then should I be grievèd as if I were guilty, because another Man is so Guilty, as to calumniate me ? And it is too much Compassion in me to be sorry for him who wrongs me.

There is no Man so foolish, as to pursue a Prize not worthy of his Pains ; or to grapple with one ; who is not worthy to be defeated. Consider then that your Adversaries acknowledge, that they fear your Worth when they endeavour to lessen it by Calumny ; knowing, that they dare not enter the Lists with you upon equal Terms ; and therefore they call the World by this *common Fame* to their Assistance ; which imports, that nothing less than a Multitude can overcome so Heroick a Spirit. No Place is undermined, but what is too strong for the Assailants open Force ; and no Man was ever painfully malign'd, but such as were of so noble an Humour, that nothing but Malice joyn'd with Pains could ruin. Levelling is the natural Effect of Mans Pride ; and as no great Soul will descend to consider his Inferiors ; so such as Fate hath plac'd below you,

do naturally design either to rise to your Height, or to pull you down to their own Stature: And hence it is, that your Endowments making the first unpracticable, Self-interest makes the second necessary: and the Liberty of Repining is a charitable Allowance, which should be indulg'd to those, to whom Providence having deny'd what we possess, we should, in Recompence of that Partage, suffer some Expressions from them; which when granted, does no ways make up that Loss. The Consideration whereof made that generous Prince, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, say, when he heard that his Subjects talk'd of him with more Liberty than Justice; That he could not but Pardon them, seeing they had nothing else to recompence their not being Kings of *France*. It were Injustice in you to desire both the Price, and the thing whereof you have the Price: So that seeing ye possess that Happiness which deserves publick *Envy*, it were unjust that ye should not suffer it, and unmerciful that ye should not suffer a Word to pass with the Losers.

Consider likewise, that all Mankind is born to Misery, that is a Law not a Punishment; and *Envy* is too common to be a Misfortune: Who escapes it in some Measure, but such as never attempt any thing that was worthy of Consideration? And who thinks Death a Misfortune, since all must submit to it? So that I may say to your Lordship, that nothing can cure this better, than to wear about your Arm the Names of three Persons, who have pass'd through this Valley of Tears, without being soil'd by some Drops of Calumny; and to find these three, will be as hard as to find the Philosopher's Stone. Men should not repine then, because they are pursued by some Trouble; but they should consider, whether their Trouble be greater than that of o-

ther

ther Men: And by this Rule we will find, that they escape easily to whose Share of this general Taxation, nothing falls but Misreports. For such as lye entomb'd in Prison, or are starv'd in Poverty, to be reliev'd; and which is less, the ambitious for Preferment, or the Vindictive for satisfying his Revenge, would allow the World to talk of them at their own Rates: So that your Torment is but their Choice; and ye do at the same Altars complain of what they would beg from them.

No Merchant esteems himself miserable, because he owes some Debt; but he compares his Debt and Credit, and is satisfied, if more be owing to him than he owes to others. Do then, my Lord, consider what Advantage ye possess; and think not that Providence deals churlishly with you, when ye find that even Malice must find more things to admire in you, than it can find to carp at; for to have but one Trouble is a Happiness, seeing if ye wanted all, ye would be a God; and it is sufficient Happiness to possess that Quiet, which differs but by one Remove from his. Number your Friends, and I am confident ye will find these to surpass the Number of such, as dare say they are your Enemies: But though they were fewer than your Enemies, yet be not so unjust to your Friends, as to think that one Friend is not worth a Thousand Enemies. Wise Men number not, but ponder Vices; but ye may securely do both. Will not a Courtier value the Opinion of his Prince, and a Lover the Esteem of his Mistress, above all the Suffrages of all the Remanent of Mankind? And should not a virtuous Person content himself with the Approbation of God Almighty? And which is next, with the Esteem of a Friend, whose

U 3

Know-

Knowledge and Virtue makes him all these to
such as rightly rate Friendship ;

-----*Sat, amico te mihi felix.*

His Friendship is a constant Purchase, but the
Multitude's Applause is uncertain and painful ;
and these should rather be laugh'd at who court
it, than they who want it.

Consider seriously, whether it be not more
easy and pleasant to be enjoying your selves with
a generous Friend, than be running up and
down the World, gaining such as serve for no-
thing, but to say, *You are a brave Gentleman* ;
which if it were a fine thing, they would not
have it to bestow : For it is not reasonable to
think that Providence would deposite fine things
in such Hands ; and it chuses its Servants ill, if
these be its Stewards.

I having then spoken formerly to you as a
Philosopher, let me use the Stile of a Gentle-
man ; and in that tell you, That the World hath
no Right to judge you ; you are a Peer, and
should not be judg'd by Commons : Laugh at
them when they usurp, and let not your Melan-
choly be the Executioner of their Sentence. It
is alledg'd, that no Beast dares pursue a Man, if
he hold his Face undauntedly to it : These pur-
sue not Men but Cowards ; and the Rabble
knows not when ye err, but because ye blush.
Do not then by your Anxiety wrong Innocen-
cy, and establish not a Preparative by your
yielding, whereby other virtuous Persons may be
oppress'd ; but be so charitable even to those un-
just Creatures who calumniate you, as to reclaim
them from that Humour, by laughing them out
of it. For I assure you, they will use you as
Men do Children, who continue to hold out
their

their Fingers to them, when they find it vexes them. No Man will lose his Pains; and upon this Account ye will find, that seeing Men calumniate you because they think to vex you, they will give themselves no longer that Trouble, than they find they are able to give it you.

The Example of these *Bethshemites*, who fell the Sacrifice of their own Sin, for prying into the Bosom of the Ark, forbids my Eyes to be so sacrilegious; as to look inwardly into the Designs of God Almighty; (whereof it was but a Type) in raising that Dust wherewith your Name seems to be at present somewhat sullied: And seeing it is unjust to judge of these Men's Actions, with whose Designs we are not too intimate, it were unmannerly to repine at God's Dispensations, whose Actions are fitted more for our Wonder than our Enquiry. But yet I may at a pious Distance judge, that Providence hath design'd these Reports rather for Trophies, than Trials to your Courage; intending in your Case to teach the World, that it is as easy for a generous Soul to conquer, as to complain of Calumnies: And so I hope your Repute shall rise more glorious after this Resurrection. Do then, my Lord, retire from under the Empire of *Fame*, to the Sanctuary of Friendship; where generous Souls, by mingling together, become themselves greater. And from that secure Post, consider, How the happy Angels admire to see us, who are design'd to be Sharers of their Happiness, so foolish as to be vain of *Fame*, or vex'd when we want it; seeing they possess these Joys for which we pray, and yet value not a far more noble *Fame* than that after which we pant. Ye are innocent, and may adore your Maker; which compleats the Pleasures of these Blessed Spirits: And what can be wanting to one who possesses

so much? Consider likewise, how these Hummings, and this Noise of us poor Mortals, outlive not the present Age: For who knows what was said of the Noblest Ladies who lived in Queen *Elizabeth's* Court; much less in the Country during her Reign? And History scorns to preserve such ridiculous Fopperies, as have no surer Foundations than Rumor or Malice: But tho' it did, yet a little Time shall consume us and them. And therefore I shall finish this Letter, as *Virgil* doth his Reflection upon the Battels, Toil, and Noise of the Bees;

*Hi motus animorum, atq; hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu, compressa quiescunt,*

THE

THE
MORAL HISTORY
OF
FRUGALITY,

With its opposite

V I C E S,

Covetousness, } and { *Prodigality,*
Niggardliness, } { *Luxury.*

By Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, K^t.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year MDCCXI.

THE

MORAL HISTORY

FRUGALITY

THE HISTORY OF

VICES

By the Author of the Moral History of the Vices and Virtues of the Ancients and Moderns.

By GEORGE WATKINSON.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXI.

T O T H E
U N I V E R S I T Y
O F
O X F O R D .

Finding such various Opinions concerning the first and fundamental Rules of Justice, urged with great Animosity; and that the Laws of Nations were alledged by all Sides; I resolved, after having studied the Roman Laws, and the Municipal Law of our own Nation Forty Years, to spend some Time in enquiring seriously into the Laws of Nations. For this End I retired into your Famous University, whose Library the Learned and Curious Selden has enrich'd with Books on these Subjects, beyond what is to be found in any other in Europe; nor could it be that any thing could have been added to his Excellent Collection, if your extraordinary Care, and this last Age, had not furnished you with many Books, which either had escaped him, or he could not know: But after I had with all the Diligence I could, instructed my self as far as I thought

thought was possible, I clearly found that these Debates were not so much occasioned by the Laws of Nations, as fed by Luxury and Avarice, which of late have given Authority to that which some Men think a more obliging Law, called Conveniency: And therefore I resolved to attack likewise this powerful Enemy of Law and Justice; and I now present my Undertaking to you, not only because it was first formed within your University, but because I know that you of all Men, with greatest Reason, think your selves rather Stewards than Proprietors of Benefits, being you reckon the Wants of those who are in Distress amongst your principal Debts, and because that to supply these is the greatest Convenience a self-doomed and illuminated Christian ought to study. And after I had calculated what you have of late bestowed upon the Exiled French Protestants, the Fugitive Irish, and the Starving Clergy of your own Profession in Scotland; besides the particular Briefs poured in daily upon you for Alms to your own Countrymen, whom Accidents have ruined; I could not but admire, how even Frugality it self could have made you live with that Neatness I observed among you. I am to lay up the other Marks of Esteem I have for your Learning, and that Elogy which is due to your Libraries, whereof each of your Colleges has one, which might almost supply the Want of a Bodleian any where else, until I compleat, by the Helps I found amongst you, the Observations I am now writing upon the Digests, and some illustrious Questions, which have in this last Age

employed

employed and divided the best Lawyers and Statesmen in Europe, but especially in Britain. And who, residing among you, could see in your Libraries the Fame of Learned Men of all Nations still so fresh, or could converse with many of your own now living, who have made profound Learning even useful and witty, without being forced by a noble Emulation to leave all other Pleasures, that he might retire into your Libraries, or his own Closet, there to purchase some Share of that Improvement, which every private Man's Breast concurs with the World to esteem? I am

Your most obliged,

and Humble Servant,

Geo. Mackenzie.

*The Copy of a Letter sent together with
the Dedication.*

Mr. Hindmarsh,

I Have sent you the Dedication to the University of *Oxford*, which the Author of the History of *Moral Frugality*, now deceased, designed for that Book. If there be any thing in it unworthy of that Society, or the Author, it must be imputed to the fatal Distemper of Body which he languished under, when he wrote it; and though it falls far below what that University might have justly expected from him, and he was inclined to have said of them; yet as it is, I allow you to Print it, because the World may thereby know the high and just Esteem, that Sir *George Mackenzie* retained; even to his dying Day, of that Famous Society.

London,

May 16.

1691.

S I R,

Your Servant,

Arch. Cockburn.

The Moral History of Frugality, with its opposite Vices, Covetousness, Niggardlines, Prodigality, and Luxury.

DISCOURSE I.

WHEN I consider how many have had their Affections warm'd by pious Sermons, how many Moral Philosophers have convinc'd those who have read them, and yet how few have been reform'd by either; I begin to think, that there must lie some strange hidden Engine in the Heart of Man, which is able to pull back even thinking Men from improving these Impressions: And that which seems to be one of the chief Occasions of this, is, that Men are become so poor, by the general *Avarice* and *Luxury* which now unreasonably tyrannize over the World, that they are tempted to be Wicked to satisfy their Imaginary fantastick Necessities. Thus we are uncharitable, because we want Money for our Imaginary Wants: We are disloyal to get it by Rebellion; for supplying these, Men betray their Country, King, Friends and Masters, to get Employments whereon to live, and then betray their Trust in these Employments,

that

SECT. I.
The Occasion of writing these Discourses.

that they may be able to live without them. And thus *Luxury* and *Avarice* offer not only the Temptations, but furnish the Excuses, when they persuade us to yield to them; they tell us that *Charity* must begin at Home, that we must prefer our Selves to our Friends, and that *Necessity* is exempted from Law. And whilst Preachers, Philosophers and Friends are arguing from the Principles of Religion, Reason and Honour, they by an Influence as latent, but stronger than that of the Stars, draw Mens Attention from considering the Force of these Arguments, to consider what Charms are in Riches, and the Ease which Riches procure; and so Men are not Profelytes, because they are not Hearers.

Therefore to secure us against this reigning Distraction, and those Temptations, let us embrace ancient *Frugality*, under whose Empire Vice was of old curbed with great Success, and which by freeing us from Poverty, secures us against all the Snares which it occasions. For if I can once bring my self to live on a little, and to enjoy that little with as great Pleasure as others follow their Recreations, why should I ruin my Soul or Mankind, that I may get what *Frugality* will persuade me to be superfluous? And if I once be convinced by this faithful Counsellor, that a great Estate is a great Snare, I will not pay down for it my Honour and Quiet, as a competent Price. I heard a *Dutch Ambassador* tell King *Charles the Second*, That he had spent only a hundred Guilders in Meat and Drink in *Holland* during a whole Year after he had been Ambassador in most Courts, nor had he ever been in better Health, or Company. And when the

King

King asked why he had done so unusual a thing; He answered, To let his Country-men see, that one needed not betray or injure their Native Country to get whereon to live; which, as it was the Design of this his Conduct, is now the Design of my Book.

This friendly, wise, and convenient Virtue of *Frugality* has two Capital Enemies, *Avarice*, and *Luxury*; the one whereof surfeits it, and the other starves it. The one cheats us by representing a great Estate as too little, and the other by representing a little Estate as too great. But if these Idols, *Avarice*, & *Luxury*, were once thrown down in the High Places, we should no more see Churchmen sacrificing to them their Religion, Judges the Laws, Statesmen their Honour, and most Men their Quiet and Tranquility. And since Interest has got such an Ascendant over Mankind, that it has brought Law and Virtue within its Power, and under its Dominion, nothing now seeming reasonable or legal, but what it recommends; 'tis fit by this Method I now propose, to make it consistent with Virtue; and I hope so to manage my Theme, as to render it subservient to that Virtue with which it has seemed to be so long at Variance.

Sect. II.
The Enemies of
Frugality.

It may seem that some Grains of *Avarice* and *Luxury*, are mixt oft-times by the great Physician with Virtue, as Poison is with the best Medicaments, to make them active and useful; and as some Pride heightens true Courage, and some Jealousie makes Prudence more cautious, so without *Avarice* Merchants would not toil to bring us Necessaries, nor Soldiers defend even the justest Quarrels; and a little *Luxury* is now requisite to diffuse Riches among the indigent: But when these Vices exceed their Allowance, and set up

for themselves, then is Virtue obliged to curb them, who having been call'd in as Auxiliaries, design to turn Conquerors: Yet I cannot allow my self this way of thinking; for beside that it does too much Honour to Vice, we cannot justly say that *Luxury* and *Avarice* are requisite to excite Virtue; for when they tend to what is good, they change their Nature with their Design. But to set this Thought in its true light, we may say that *Frugality* has all the Activity by which *Avarice* deceives us, and can give all the true Pleasure and Ease by which *Luxury* recommends it self; and it is not to be less esteemed than Prodigality, because it does not dazle us with a false Magnificence, as that does; no more than true Courage is to be less valued than Bragging, or Eloquence than bombast Floridness.

SECT. III.
God's design to
maintain
the World
by Fruga-
lity.

To enable us to understand the better how much *Frugality* is founded upon the Principles of Religion and Reason, and how weak Enemies *Avarice* and *Luxury* are upon due Examination, it is fit to trace them from the very Creation. And thus we will find that God Almighty having created the World, to the end Men might live, admiring his Providence, and tasting his Goodness; it was just that all whom he brought to it, should be supplied in it; and that Men being to him as our Families are to us, it was unjust for any of the Family to hoard, or to eat up the Portion of many others; and incredible, that he would suffer any of them to want. In order to the better maintaining this his great Design, he did limit our Natural Necessities within very narrow Bounds: We need little Meat, few Cloaths; and he made all our Generous Inclinations point outwards towards the sharing with our Neighbours, what should be convenient for them. Liberality was given Man, that he might supply the

the Want of Meat and Drink in his Neighbours; Courage, that he might thereby supply their Want of Power; Compassion, that he might in their Miseries afford them Consolation; Justice, that they might defend one another against the Oppression of those who desired too much, &c. His Divine Wisdom has for the same End imprinted an Abhorrence upon our Minds against *Avarice, Niggardliness, Prodigality,* and *Luxury*, as Pyrates, and the common Enemies of this just and equal Distribution; and has enamoured us of *Frugality*, as its Protector and Bulwark. For this same End also God at first made all things common, and they continued so, till Mankind multiplying upon the Earth, it was fit that Propriety should by a Division be introduced, to the end the Earth might be the better cultivated, and so made the more useful for many. But lest the Proprietor should think that by this Division all others were to be excluded from any Share in it, the same Divine Providence made him need the Help of very many others, to the end they might be also provided for; and made him see, by the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, that this Propriety was so ill secured, that it was necessary for him to accustom himself to live upon that little to which he might probably be reduced; and that it was fit to supply others, because he might need one Day to be supplied by others. And lest some should be unmindful of this Uncertainty, he made Glory, and even *Prodigality* and *Luxury* useful, to draw Superfluous Riches from those who would not otherways have parted with them, and he made it as a Duty upon Man to believe himself only a Steward.

To the end also that Man might be the more sensible, that this equal Distribution was his ge-

neral Design in all the Creation, he let him see Instances of it every where, and even in Brutes, who are guided merely by Instinct, and have not that luminous and generous Guide of right Reason. The *Lion* and *Vulture*, the most ravenous of all Beasts, have no Store-house; and tho' the *Ants* have, yet that proceeds from Inability to travel in Winter, and not from a Desire to leave any Remnant beyond the Year. Thus God has given to the Beasts of the Field that Moderation by Instinct, which Man, created to adore him, is to beg from him, in these words, *Give us this day our daily Bread*. So that *Frugality* is the true Mathematick of Christian Morality, and there can be nothing more against Nature, than *Avarice* and *Luxury*.

SECT. IV.
That Frugality was the Basis of all Virtue & Government amongst the Jews

Nothing can recommend this *Frugality* more, than that in the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, of which God Almighty was Contriver and Governor for many Years, *Frugality* seems to have been its chief Basis; and to this end God multiplied them to a vast Multitude, and pent them up in very narrow Bounds; They us'd no Taylors, Cooks, nor Pastry-men. *Abraham*, who had rather an Army than Family of Servants, makes his Wife bake Bread for his Guests, *Gen.* 18. 6. Each Family furnished it self all Sorts of Tradesmen; and in place of Lordships, each contain'd himself within his Field, in which the Judges, and even the first Kings, laboured. *Gideon* was threshing in his Barn, when the Angel call'd him to deliver the People, *Judg.* 6. 11. When *Saul* got the News of the Invasion on *Jabesh Gilead*, he (tho' a King) was leading two Oxen, *1 Sam.* 11. 5. Thus their Servants did not encourage their Laziness, but assist their Industry. The Simplicity of their Diet appears from *Esau's* being

ing tempted with a Dish of Pottage, *Abraham's* feasting the very Angels, by bringing himself a Kid from the Flock, *Gen* 18. 6. at one time; and a Calf at another, with Bread bak'd under the Ashes. *Boaz* treated his Mistress *Ruth* (who was gleaning) by allowing her to dip her Bread with the Servants in the Vinegar; and tho' *Rebecca* feasted *Isaac* with well-seasoned Venison, yet that was only one Dish, made for a Prince, on a great Design, and when his great Age required somewhat to recover rather a lost Appetite, than pamper a strong one. Their chief Pleasures were, that Innocence which grew from *Frugality*, and that Health which is the natural Effect of a simple Diet. Their Assiduity in Labouring excluded House-games, and well-laboured Fields allowed no Hunting, Hawking, or other Field Exercises. We read of no Feasts among them, save those that were rather Rewards of their Industry, than the Contrivances of their *Luxury*. Such as those which they had at their Reaping, Vintage, &c. And the only Feast we read of, made by *David's* Children, even after he was exalted to be King, was at their Sheep-shearing.

Nor did God, under the New Testament; leave off his great Design of instructing Men to live soberly; but on the contrary, *Luxury* and *Avarice* having grown up amongst the *Jews*, as Tares amongst the Wheat, after the *Almighty* himself had left off to cultivate them by his own immediate hand; He thought it again necessary to repress and root out these Weeds, and to sow amongst them new and fresh Seeds of Sobriety and Moderation. In order whereunto, he sent his Son to be Born in the House of a frugal Artisan, and to work with him at his Trade;

Sect. V.
Our Saviour made it a Standard and Bulwark in his Gospel.

until he thought fit himself to come abroad to work out the Work of our Salvation. That Idleness might want a Pattern in our great Master, he chose also for his Disciples and Courtiers, Men as poor as a Trade could suffer them to be. He commanded them, and all others, to pray only for their daily Bread; Excluding in the Word *Daily*, the covetous Wishes of those, who lengthen their Desires beyond those plain Necessities that are inconsistent with *Luxury*. And so great a Desire had he to secure Man against these Two great Tyrants, that he not only by his Example and Doctrine discredits and forbids them, but he descends from being a Legislator, to reason with Mankind against them. And he reasons upon no Subject more frequently, nor strongly, than against avaritious Anxiety. *If you be* (saith our Saviour) *the Children of God, will he not care for his own Children? since you who are wicked care for yours.* God cloaths the Lilies and Flowers of the Field, more glorious than Solomon, tho they are to be cut down the next day; and feeds the Fowls of the Air; adding, *Are you not better than they?* He shews in the Parable of the five Loaves and two Fishes, how easie it is for him to provide for his own Family: His Omnipotency being a sufficient Granary for those that depend upon him. By teaching us that we are Stewards, not Proprietors, He shews how miserable those are that lay up their Treasures where the Moth can eat, or the Thief break through and steal. And by that terrible Sentence, *O!*

Mat 6. 19, thou Fool, this night thy Soul shall be taken from thee;
20, 21. He has left a dreadful Impression of the Uncertainty of those Riches, which are too oft preferred to the Heaven that is lost for them. Stop here, O my Soul, and read with Astonishment, that dreadful Sentence pronounced by the infallible Judge;

Judge; and join to it another, wherein these who preferred their Riches to the distressed Members of Jesus Christ, are condemned to Torments which shall endure as long as they could have wished their Riches to have done: *When I was hungry, you did not feed me, &c.*

The Blessed Apostles sufficiently illuminated by the Divine Power and Goodness for so great a Work as the Conversion of the World, continued to preach this excellent Doctrine, calling *Avarice* Idolatry, and in that one word comprehending a greater Satyr against it, than all that ever the Philosophers taught; but very consequentially to the Doctrine of their great Master, who assured his Disciples, that they could not both serve God and Mammon. In them also we find that judicious Lesson, to use the World as if we used it not; not foolishly throwing away Riches as the Philosophers did, lest they might be thereby tempted; nor hoarding them up as Misers do; but suffering them to flow on gently, and in their natural Course, for the good of others; and keeping a loose Hand on them, lest our Hearts being too much united to them, should not be united by Love to God Almighty, who declares himself irreconcilable with Mammon: And to make this great Doctrine go the more easily down, and give it a more pleasant Relish, they assure us, that the chief Ornaments of reasonable Creatures are Mercifulness, Patience, Innocence, Charity; and not large Territories, swelling Treasures, splendid Titles, fine Cloaths, nor those other gaudy Trappings, which are no part of us, and consequently cannot be the Standard by which we are to be measured.

Sect. VI.
*This Do-
ctrine was
continued
by the A-
postles and
Primitive
Church.*

The World having been debauched by the *Roman* Luxury, as that was fed by their Spoils, Mankind was, under *Nero*, *Heliogabalus*, and some other of the *Roman* Emperors, depraved beyond what we can believe. And even at that time, when all their Philosophers could gain very few Profelytes to Virtue, the Apostles and their Disciples were able to make many Thousands to Christianity, and to refine them to a Degree of Moderation, Sobriety, and Innocence, which these Philosophers themselves admired far more than others did them; and certainly those numerous and entire Conversions, were infallible Proofs of the Verity of that Religion which they taught; and the Primitive Christians were as great Miracles themselves, as any that were wrought amongst them. If we propose then those admirable Patterns to our selves, we shall find, that most of the Rich among them did work with their own Hands, to avoid thereby that Idleness which brings on Luxury, Curiosity, Backbiting, and many other Vices, which are inconsistent with the Christian Religion; and all the Poor were commanded to work, that they might thereby have to pay their Debts, and do Works of Charity; they subdued their Bodies by Fasting, and their Spirits by Humility; nor would they have been Soldiers, but because the Severity of Military Discipline among the *Romans* at that time, did oblige them to the Sobriety and Activity, which overcame *Avarice* and *Luxury*, as well as their Enemies; they did seldom eat save once a Day, but then never fed upon what *Luxury* prepared, nor diverted themselves with what it invented; they valued not Health it self, but that they might serve God with it; nor Riches, but because they might be useful to the Poor.

Cass. de
Sp. Aced.
c. 7. Con-
stitut. A-
post. 1.4.
Tertul.
Apol. c.3.
7.

Never any Man wish'd more earnestly to be rich, than I to have liv'd in those glorious Times, and to have seen those great Triumphs over *Luxury* and *Avarice*. But we may correct the useles Wish, by the just Remedy of reading and meditating much upon what they have left for our Instruction in their Excellent Writings, and above all, by living as they did; for without doubt, the most pleasant, and most comfortable Prospect of Virtue, would be to see it in our Actions; and the most joyful Image of Innocency, would be to see it graven upon our Hearts.

Those Commonwealths, or Societies of Men, which grew up from Consent, and were not the Product of popular Faction and Fury, did found themselves upon Sobriety, as their true Basis; that being the kindly Nurse of Equality, and nothing contributing more to make the common Treasure rich for the publick Safety, than that private Citizens should satisfy themselves with what is necessary. They justly concluded, that as the Body Natural must perish, if the Blood does not circulate; so also the Riches of the Commonwealth become useles, or rather corrupted, when they stagnate by being hoarded in the buried Treasury of private Men. They made also many Laws against *Luxury*, and the Severity of their Military Discipline and Censures exceeded yet those Laws. *Cato* was more celebrated for his frugal Severity, than *Cæsar* or *Pompey* for their Conquests: The Roman Poets and Historians vie one another in their Expressions of Esteem of him; and *Lucan* gives this Character both of *Frugality* and him:

SECT. VI.
How the
other Com-
mon-
wealths
were
founded on
Frugality,
as Lace-
dæmon,
Rome,
Holland.

— *Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis*
Seçta fuit, servare modum, finemq; tenere,
Naturamq;

*Naturamq; sequi, patriæq; impendere vitam
 Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
 Huic epulæ vicisse famem, magniq; penates
 Summovisse hiemem tectò, pretiosaq; vestis
 Hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis
 Induxisse togam, Venerisq; huic maximus usus,
 Progenies: Urbi pater est, urbiq; maritus:
 Justitiæ cultor, rigidi servator honesti:
 In commune bonus, nullosq; Catonis in aëlus
 Subrepfit, patremq; tulit sibi nata voluptas.*

Which *May* has translated thus:

*These were his Manners, this sower Cato's Sect,
 To keep a Mean, hold fast the End, and make
 Nature his Guide, die for his Countrey's sake.
 For all the World, not him, his Life was lent,
 He thinks; his Feasts but Hunger's Banishment;
 His choicest Buildings were but Fence from Cold;
 His best Attire rough Gowns, such as of old
 Was Roman Wear; and nothing but Desire
 Of Progeny in him warm'd Venus Fire.
 Father and Husband both to Rome was he,
 Servant to Justice and strict Honesty:
 For th' publick Good; in none of Cato's Acts
 Creeps self-born Pleasure, or her Share exacts.*

But I read not of any Laws made against *Avarice*, since the Tenth Law in the Decalogue; of which the Reason may seem to be, that the great Irregularity of Covetousness arises from the inordinate Love to Riches, which being a latent Act of the Mind, can be known to none save God; and therefore it can be punishable by no Laws, but those which are made by him who is the Searcher of Hearts; and the Contempt which follows *Avarice*, is in it self a sufficient Temporal Punishment.

To understand the Progress of *Frugality*, and its opposite Vices, in the other unhallowed Nations, we must recur to the more ancient Histories of the World, where we'll find that Nature endeavoured to please those who were situated in desert Countries, such as the *Scythians*, with the Thoughts of their being secure by their *Frugality* against the Invasions of those who were tempted to Robberies by the Expectation of Spoil; and thus their Ambassadors diverted *Alexander* from the Hopes of conquering them, telling him, That he could gain nothing but Blows by invading them, who had no Pleasure in any thing but in defending their Native Country, and whose Courage had never been effeminated by *Luxury*, nor stained by Rapine. In other Nations, where Plenty was able to corrupt, their Lawgivers did most industriously turn all the Edge of their Laws against *Luxury*, making *Frugality* the Fundamental Law of their Government; as we see in *Lacedemon*, which *Rome* afterwards did imitate; and *Rome* has in this of late been imitated by *Holland*. But I find this Difference between the Frugality of *Lacedemon*, *Rome*, and *Holland*, that the great Design of *Lycurgus* in *Lacedemon*, was to wean his ambitious and factious Countrymen from too ardent a Desire of coming into the Government, that thereby they might enrich themselves: and therefore he did allow no Salary to Statesmen save Fame; and preferred none to be such, but they who shew'd a Contempt of Riches. The *Romans* recommended *Frugality* and the Contempt of Riches, because they found nothing was so necessary for a warlike Nation, as the Love of Glory; and nothing was so great a Rival, or rather an Enemy to Glory, as *Avarice*: They also consider'd justly, that *Frugality* harden'd Men into a Tem-

per

per of being Soldiers. The *Hollanders* practis'd at first *Frugality*, rather through Necessity than Choice; but finding thereafter, that it was probable they might enlarge their Territories by Commerce, as the *Romans* did by Conquest, they recommended *Frugality*, as that which could best enlarge their Trade; and thus they by sailing their Ships with fewer Men, and feeding these Men, and their Manufacturers too, less sumptuously than other Nations do, have been able to out-sell them; their Merchants and Tradesmen likewise living less prodigally than other Merchants, are able to lay out more of their Stock in Trade, and to sell at easier Rates: Nor do so many of them break as elsewhere; and the breaking of one Merchant, who hath lived sumptuously, endangers Twenty. By this *Frugality* likewise they are able to contribute, and do contribute more freely to the paying of Taxes, than any other Nation; for Men part freely with that without which they may live. So that *Frugality* is amongst them, not only a Nurse to their Trade, but a Bulwark to their Country: Yet I cannot but blame them for making *Frugality*, not only the chief of their Virtues, but a sharer in their Religion; they having few Merchants or Tradesmen, who do not sell and work freely on the *Sunday*; and one of them excus'd it to me, by telling, that he was worse than an Infidel who provides not for his Family; & from this Politick has arisen possibly that great Faction in *Holland*, who oppose the Morality of the *Sabbath*.

As to the Management of Publick Employment, *Holland* and *Venice* have always thought it unjust to defraud those who are able to serve the Publick, of necessary Subsistence: For sometimes the abler Statesmen have not whereupon to live; but on the other Hand, the greatest Men

among

among them have very mean Salaries, which are neither able to feed their Luxury, nor raise their Avarice. They laugh at Monarchies, and say, They bestow so large Salaries upon their Ministers, that they are generally diverted from the publick Affairs, by following those Pleasures with which vast Salaries do daily tempt them; and thus they use the Publick, as those Coachmen do, who otherwise skilful enough, yet if they have too much good Liquor, they overturn their Masters in the plainest ways.

Mahomet design'd to found a New Empire as well as Religion, and made his Religion subservient to his Empire, teaching his *Musselmenn* or Believers, that they should be sav'd accordingly as they shew'd Zeal for enlarging his Kingdom; and by an entire and blind Obedience to the Emperor's Command, they might save their Souls in sending their Heads. In Recompence of which severe Obedience he allow'd them Plurality of Wives here, and promis'd them new Scenes of carnal Pleasures for ever hereafter: so that he seem'd (contrary to all other Institutions) to found his upon *Luxury*; but yet no Society is oblig'd to study the contempt of Riches so much as they: For the end that their Treasury might only be rich, *Mahomet* oblig'd them to believe that all belong'd to the Emperor, and that no private Men had Property; persuading them, that when the Treasury was rich, all private Men werè secure; and that by extending the Limits of the Empire, every man who was vigorous and active in the Conquest, had the Opportunity thereby of making himself great and rich. Which hath made me very oft admire how human Nature could allow Men to believe a Point that was so stretch'd; but *Mahomet* ow'd his Success in this more to the Brutality of his

Fol-

Followers, than to the Solidity of his own Reason. And if we consider more narrowly his Principles, we will find that he did not chiefly design to gratifie their *Luxury*, but to teach what was useful to his own Interest: For he allow'd them Plurality of Wives only to compensate, and make them insensible by this impious Liberty, of the great Prejudice he had done them in robbing from them their Liberty, and Property; but he discharg'd them the Use of their delicious Wines, because it might disable them at any time from going about their publick Employments. It appears at first difficult to reconcile their being so avaritious with the Want of Property; for Reason teaches us to value little that of which we cannot be secure: But we must consider, that no Vice looks further than the present time; thus *Avarice* is every where unsecure of its Prey, as well as among the *Turks*; and this Instance of the *Turks* is enough to prove, how far *Avarice* makes us toil beyond what we ought to do; however it wants not its own colours there; for it persuades them; that it's good once to be in possession of Riches; that none can take them away save the Emperor; and that he can have no Temptation to take them from any, save such as are Factious, and Traitors.

To return to my former Design, I continue to observe, that Men having no Defence against these Vices, save the use of their Reason, as soon as this Reason was bribed by *Avarice*, or made drunk by *Luxury*, it ranged it self on the Side of those Vices, and then frail Man was soon overcome by his own Auxiliaries; which a more refined Sort of Men call'd the Philosophers perceiving, they run to the Assistance of Reason, and they gain'd indeed many Profelytes, though they

they could not gain entire Countries. And after others had made a great Progress in *Greece*, *Pythagoras* made one in *Italy*; and his Recommendation and Esteem of Frugality retains yet great Vigor amongst the *Brachmans* in *India*, as *Confucius's* has done amongst the *Chinese* for many Ages. And the same Doctrine was transmitted by them to the *Druids*, the joint Priests and Philosophers of our Northern Regions; who made Silence and Frugality the Nurses and Supports of all Virtue. *Lycurgus* discharg'd the Use of all Gold and Money, and made his Iron Coin so unpleasant and unportable, that (as he thought) no Man would be covetous of it. He ordered all Men to eat in common and publickly, that none might live more deliciously than others. The *Roman* sumptuary Laws set limits to Extravagancy, and their severe Censors were esteem'd in their Magistracy according as they punish'd the Transgressors of these Laws. Some of the Philosophers threw away their Riches lest they should be tempted by them; and others of them did in their Cynick way not only bark against Riches, but vainly glory in fordid and nasty Poverty. By which Laws and Philosophy the less attentive part of mankind may think themselves better guarded against these Vices, than by the Precepts of either the old or new Testament: But these Lawgivers not knowing the Heart of Man so well as he who made it, fram'd Laws that were inconsistent with true Natural Reason, or at least subdued Nature only for a time, but could not reform it. They gained few Profelytes but either by the Novelty of their Doctrine, or by a Love to Singularity, or from a hid design of making the People believe that if they were brought into the Government, they would not rob and squeeze the Riches of their Subjects.

The

Señ. VII.
The Ancient Heroes
and Philosophers
were admir'd for
this Virtue.

The Heroes who condemned *Avarice* and laugh'd at *Luxury*, never failed of being universally admired, and having their Memories celebrated, (the great and peculiar Reward of Virtue.) We find that *Epaminondas* the *Theban*, by being buried at the publick Expence (after he had been Master of all the Substance of the Commonwealth, and not having wherewith to bury himself) was more esteemed, than those who had all the Riches in the City. Nor does the *Roman* History remember with so much Applause the Triumph of any of their Generals, as it does the Generosity of *Fabritius*, who when he was tempted by *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to betray his native Country, overbalanc'd that King's Gold by his own more solid Virtue. I shall not contend much for the Sincerity of the Heathen Philosophers; bur sure I am, that their professing Enmity to Riches and Prodigality, does fully evince that the most Ambitious Mind can find nothing worthier of its Imitation; nor could Nature teach the Vulgar any Thing that they could more easily believe, than that he deserved most to be admired, who valued himself least upon his Riches. We have many Sects of those Philosophers, who put Virtue under the Tuition of Sobriety; such as the *Pythagoreans*, *Stoicks*, and even *Epicurus* himself taught, that he who could live upon Bread and Water, was equal to *Jupiter*; and he expressed so much Joy in his Sobriety, that it burst forth into Raptures. They do all in their Discourses against *Avarice* and *Luxury* overflow, as *Rivers* do, when they are swell'd with too great abundance. And in those *Passions*, expressed themselves with a natural force and zeal, which was thought imitable by Hypocrisie. And their refusing the

Employments

Employments and Riches which they cried out against, was concluded to be a very probable Argument of their Sincerity. They admir'd the wise Gallantry of one of the *Athenian* Philosophers, who when he was reproached as railing only at Riches, because he could not command them; left his Philosophy for some time, and turning Merchant, enhanced the whole Trade of the City: but then divided what he gained most Generously betwixt the Commonwealth and the Poor; designing to gain nothing by his Trade, but the Belief that he was in earnest a Philosopher. Nor can I forget *Phocion's* generous Answer to the *Ambassadors* of *Alexander* who having brought him a great Sum of Money, he ask'd, Why *Alexander* sent him that vast Sum of Money? And when they had answered, that he had sent it to shew his Esteem of his great Virtue; He replied, that he hoped *Alexander* would suffer him to enjoy that Virtue for which he esteemed him, and which he had never gain'd by *Riches*. And tho' the Philosophers were very excessive in their Contempt of Riches, and contradicted thereby Nature as well as the Multitude; (which made them in the End as Ridiculous, as the Vices truly were which they contemned: Yet certainly God did think fit to send these Philosophers into the World a little before his *Son*, to convince Men, that the Vices which he was to curb by his Gospel, were abhorr'd by those whom they Honoured with the Names of Wise Men, and Lovers of the Truth.

COVETOUSNESS.

DISCOURSE II.

See, 1.
The first
rise of Covetousness,
and how
Men were
tempted
to it by
the conveniency of
Property.

WHEN Nature began first to yield to Vice, and to be misled by blind Appetites, it yielded to Ambition in the *Angels*, to Vanity in *Eve*, and to Revenge in *Cain*: But it did cost Vice many Ages before it could prevail so far as to persuade Men to toil and sweat beyond Necessity, or to believe that to be necessary which was superfluous; so far were these contrary to Nature; nor had it ever been able to corrupt reasonable Men without disguising its Designs; and therefore it first represented to them that Men growing numerous and unjust, it was fit to divide that Land which they inhabited; pretending that the Earth which God had given them would be daily beautified by those to whom each Portion should fall, and every Man remaining content with his own Share should want all Pretext of oppressing his Neighbour. This Property became afterwards so charming, and Men were so pleas'd with what they had, that by a fatal Mistake they concluded the more they had, they would be the more pleas'd; and so that which was designed to bound our Appetites, did enlarge them.

Thus *Avarice* was the first of the two Extremes which attacked *Frugality*; and as the Number of Men increased upon the face of the Earth, it increased with them; for its Pretences grew thereby much stronger, because it was so much the abler to persuade Men that by how much
the

the Multitude of Sharers grew, the Shares must lessen by the same Measure: and that they would not be able to supply their Necessities without making laborious Provisions for them. And when Men grew very numerous, *Avarice* thought it time to suggest to them, that if they multiplied by the Proportions formerly observed, the Earth which was already scarce able to supply them, would shortly become absolutely insufficient. Tho' *Avarice* had thus got some Footing in the World, yet because Commerce was then only entertained by Exchange, it could make no considerable Progress, till men for their own Destruction had digged up Gold and Silver, those Metals which have destroyed more then Iron or Steel; & then it getting something that was durable, and might be hoarded up, toil'd to Excess; but even that Money it laid up, being thereby barren, was so much the less desirable, therefore it suggested to Men the taking Bonds and Obligations, with eating Usury. And thus *Avarice* grew up to its full Perfection.

Avarice in the next place borrowed New Forces from the Experience of Mankind; for as time ran on, 'twas easie to observe that Favour and Security were to be bought by Money; and from this it suggested that it was *inculcata Tutela*, and one of the wisest Duties of self defence to hoard up Riches as the means whereby Men could ransom themselves from all Dangers. It borrowed also Assistance from all the Passions, and when it found any Man too strong for it by his innate Reason, it transformed it self into the Likeness of his favourite Inclinations, and did like the Ivy with the Oak creep up to a Height to which it could not naturally have risen. And

Sect. II.
The disguise under which
Avarice insinuates
it self,
such as its promises
to gratify
mens Passions, and
supply
their Necessities.

thus when it found a Man incline to Ambition, it endeavoured to persuade him, that without Money all his generous Thoughts would turn Crimes; that it only could raise him Soldiers, because Men must venture their Lives for that without which they cannot support them. That this would hire them New Counsellors by making his Interest theirs, and that the making of Peace and War was more its Prerogative, than of *Kings* and *Princes*; who though they vainly founded their Power upon their Right of Blood and the Justice of their Laws, yet they owed it only to their Treasures; nor had the Faces of Emperors so much influence any where as upon their Coins. And thus *Avarice* like the Smoak which it truly resembles, raised it self amidst the towering Flames of Ambition.

We see Riches prove the most successful of all Gallantries: for let whining Lovers talk what they please of their Chains, the strongest ones are made of Gold; and *Jupiter* himself could not other ways win *Danae*, than by descending on her in a Golden Shower. What cannot be expected from the Force of *Gold*, when it not only becomes the best of all the Paints and Beauty Patches that Ladies can use, but is miraculously able in our Matches to make the Crooked Streight, and the Blind see? In vain is Blood pretended to, except this make it circulate; and Mens Parts are look'd on as Airy Notions when a Competitor appears, who hath such solid Advantages as Lands and Riches. I have with Contempt and Disdain consider'd the Omnipotency of *Mammon*, in commanding the most beautiful and haughty *Ladies* to humble themselves to the *Sons* of those who had got their Estates by Infamy, and had themselves Souls that were unworthy of any other Bodies, than those

defor-

deformed ones, which every one abhor'd, but the bought Bride, and her bribed Relations.

If any Man design to pursue his Revenge, *Money* will furnish him a Murtherer; or if he resolve to improve himself in Arts and Sciences, he must owe his Education, Travels, Books, and Instruments to his Riches; and possibly he may buy a Poem, Play, or other Book which may afterwards make the Stock of his Reputation. He who wants Children must adopt Riches in their Place, and after he has comforted himself against the miseries of Old Age by being courted by all who either expect Succession, or Legacies, He at last thinks he can perpetuate more his Name by leaving a great Estate, than by leaving a Son, though recommended by the best Parts and Education; having observed in the long Course of his Life, that a great Estate is more esteemed than generous Qualities. I have known *Avarice* insinuate it self with some, as 'twere only a pleasant Effect of the Love of Proportion and Harmony; and thus he who wants only two or three hundred Pounds of ten thousand a Year, or he who has a whole Barony, except some few Acres belonging to a poor Neighbour, can be as little at ease till he get these, as he whose fine Lodging wants some Rooms to compleat its Symmetry: Which false Colour did tempt King *Abab* to covet that Vineyard which he got to the Destruction of his *Queen* and *Kingdom*. It insinuates it self on Gamesters as an Innocent Love of Divertisement, and persuades them that their Anger for losing proceeds not from an Esteem of the Money they have lost, but from the Shame of being overcome. It persuades the Lazy, that if they come once to an Estate they not be afraid of losing any thing by

their Slothfulness. And thus it promises to be a Hedge to that soft and nice Humour. It persuades those who are in Debt, that any thing is lawful which may pay it. I was pleas'd once to hear a Lady say, that she abhor'd Privateering so much, as a kind of publick Robbery, that she would no way suffer the Money arising from the Prizes in which she had Interest, to enter into her Pack; that is to say, she would buy no Land with it for her Heir, but design'd with it only to clear her Debts. A nice way indeed of reconciling Covetousness with Honour, Law and Conscience. Yet I could not but regret to hear another Lady whom I esteem'd much more, say, Oh, that my Debts were paid; to the end I might have the great Pleasure of doing Works of Charity: To which my Answer was, Madam, Sell a little of the Land you lately bought, and pay those Debts, and yet ye shall have remaining thrice as much Land as ever you expected.

Sect. III.
It gets assistance
from
Mens
different
Temperaments.

Avarice borrows sometimes a Mask from a Man's Temperament; it persuades easily the Melancholy, that he may starve, and that in laying up Riches he only provides for Nature; without which he is as much a Self-murderer as if he should cut his own Throat; *Nam qui alimenta negat, Necat.* And for the same Reason we see the older Men grow they grow the more Covetous, because the more Malancholly; for not being able to gain as they did when they were Young, they think they should supply this by Niggardliness and Avarice, and resolve to gain Esteem by it, since they can by no way else. Upon which Considerations the *Eloquent Apostle, Heb. 12. 1.* designs *Avarice* by these words, *And the sin which doth so easily beset us;* for the Greek words, *ἡμῶν αὐαρία* may be better translated the well Circumstantiated Sin, or the Sin which hath

hath the fair Pretences; and in this *Avarice* is the most dangerous of all Sins, that others occasion Remorse by their Heinousness, but *Avarice* precludes it; for few or none are ever convinced that it is a Sin, and so cannot repent for it.

Though these be the Disguises under which it oft-times recommends it self to us, as the Product of Reason; yet it is too well known, that *Avarice* is sometimes so absurd that it seems to have more of a Disease than a Vice in it, and to be rather a total Want of Reason than a corruption of it. But alas! it is such a Disease as comes not by Fits, as other Vices do; for the Drunkard may be quenched, and the Leacher is soon drain'd, but the Miser and Covetous Man is always tortured. And in this it differs from other Diseases, that those who are sick of it, desire never to be Cured, and therefore it resembles more a Madness, which makes Men admire and value themselves, even in that wherein all Men else see they are distracted. For there are Men truly mad, who talk reasonably enough on all Subjects, save on that one, in which they are distempered; not unlike an Excellent Lute, having all its strings well tun'd, save one, but the least defect is sufficient to disconcert all the Harmony. Nor does *Bedlam* it self lodge greater Varieties of Madmen, than *Avarice* produces; for some will be so mad as to starve themselves, and the very Heir to whom they are to leave their plentiful Estate. And some have past by their starving Relations, to leave it to one who had no recommending Qualities, save that he would succeed him in his Humour, as well as his Estate, and keep together the beloved Treasure: And some who would not leave Six-pence to the Poor, have left their whole Estate to Per-

sons who have bribed them out of it, by considerable Presents (for Bribing is the only Flattery that can prevail on the Avaritious;) and though they would not give a Shilling for an Eloquent Panegyrick, have yet left it all to such insipid Flatterers, & have suffered their Estates to be taken away by Processes, or exposed to publick Enemies, rather than secure them by a timely and prudent Expence against either. I have also admired to find, that Men who are sure of no Property, as in *Turkey*, and it may be nearer, should of all Men be most Avaritious, though it is probable that they toil for their Tyrants, rather than Heirs, and yet the counterfeit Happiness of Gripping, is irresistible. So that *Avarice* seems only to sport it self with its Votaries, and to use them as the Devil does Witches.

SECT. 4.
It is propagated
by Imitation
and
Example.

Avarice having thus corrupted the Reason of Mankind, this Corruption propagates it self by Imitation and Example; for as *Avarice* arises often from a distempered Judgment, like to the Hemlock springing out of Mud; so it is sometimes copied by Imitation, as a Picture is drawn by a Face. And I must here observe, that Parents have a most special Obligation to be Virtuous beyond others; for Children whilst young, do easily like soft Wax, receive Impressions from their Example, because of the Respect they have to them, and their being constantly in their Company. So that Parents share in their Childrens Crimes without lessening the Childrens Guilt, by bearing this Share. The being likewise meanly bred, does oft-times by a fixed Habit draw over some Mens Inclinations to this Byass, and though they rescue themselves from Poverty, they are not able to recover from that vicious Habit.

There

There are likewise some Countries, in which by general Custom Vice seems to be authorized; as Drunkenness in *Germany*, Revenge and Jealousy in *Italy*: The Industry of *Holland* inclines Men somewhat to *Avarice*; the Pride of *Scotland* to Prodigality; and the Plenty of *England* to Luxury; in which Cases, Reason is rather prevented, than corrupted or persuaded. Nor durst either Prodigality or Avarice undertake to corrupt Nature and Reason so highly, if they had not the Assistance of General Example, to which Men, by a false Modesty, think they are in Reason obliged to submit: And oft-times a General Custom passes for Nature, in such as understand not, or have no mind to understand the Difference, and to examine wherein the Copy differs from the Original. I confess, that Rich and Trading Nations, such as *England*, may be allow'd greater Scope to Sumptuousness; as Men who have great Revenues, without the least Imputation of Luxury, do live proportionably to what they possess, without being censured by any Reasonable Man for so doing.

Sect. V.

*It is assisted
by the re-
spective
Countries
where Men
live.*

The *Church* hath also concurred to its Assistance; and Avarice having gained even some Churchmen to be its Chaplains, (who love Ease, and concluding Riches necessary for procuring it) that they might more easily convey them into their own Channel, have endeavoured to make Riches as necessary for other Men's Salvation, as they thought they were for their own Ease. And tho' we poor Mortals think them only Snares, yet they have of late become the best Antidote against Sin; and a Man may as well by them purchase a Place

Sect. VI.

*Its last Es-
say was to
tempt
Church-
men; and
how.*

in

in Heaven as in Earth, and as easily free himself from Purgatory as Poverty : Or , if any Man designs to ruin the State , by raising Factions and Rebellions, Money alone can furnish him, from the Altar , with the best Trumpeter of Sedition. It is no wonder we Laicks accuse Churchmen of *Avarice*, since they tax one another with this Vice. Those who separated from the Church of *Rome* , objected that *Avarice* had kindled the Fire of Purgatory, invented Masses to save Men by Money from its Flames, had wrought false Miracles, &c. Those who separated from the Episcopal Churches , pretended that Bishops had arrogated that Superiority , to make thereby great Benefices necessary. Those who subdivided from *Presbytery*, cried out against Soul-selling Stipends ; and all those Churches may probably conjecture , that those Dissenters cry down Stipends , out of a Design to excuse themselves from the Payment of them. Nor is Covetousness able to debauch private Churchmen , and set particular Sects at Variance with one another ; but 'tis subtil enough in some Collective and Reformed Meetings of the Clergy , to influence the Decision of General Cases of Conscience, tho' (I confess) with a Delicacy peculiar to it self. It will suggest , that the Clergy are to be rescued from Contempt, and ought to have wherewith to maintain, not only themselves, but Hospitality, and Foundations of Charity. From which humbler Thoughts, Cardinal *Palavicino*, in his History of the Council of *Trent* , rises by an insolent Flight to defend all the Magnificence of the Church of *Rome*, under pretence that Mankind is govern'd by Sense, as well as by Reason ; and therefore they must see in the Church , and its Ministers, what may draw Respect from the Outward , as

well

well as from the Inward Man. It passes for Pure Devotion in that Church, to hook into its Patrimony all they can, (tho' by as palpably forg'd Donations as *Constantine's* was;) and it would be judg'd Sacrilege, to quit what is once acquired. Nor shall you find in all your Travels any more Covetous, and thereby greater Oppressors, than some, who having left the World to retire to Religious Houses, are made by them their Procurators. But tho' these Considerations may sufficiently justify the Liberal, but Suitable Provisions, which have been bestow'd on the Church of *England*, for promoting Charity and Learning; yet they can never, with *Palavicino*, vindicate the Excessive Sums brought in by those Indulgences to the Treasures of the *Romish* Church, which occasion'd the dreadful Wars of *Germany*: And they extremely condemn those Impropiators, who have made not only the Preachers, but the Gospel it self contemptible, by denying a Competency to them who serve at the Altar.

At which Inconsistency of Designs, occasion'd by the natural Force of Covetousness (which can be disguised, but never mortified) I have frequently been astonish'd. In Secular Meetings also, it can persuade not only the Hearers, but the Speakers themselves, to go along with whatever it dictates: And it will insinuate it self at last so far, that a Man will really believe himself publick-spirited, when at the bottom his chief Inclinations arise from private Interest, which we now by a kind and gentle Word call *Convenience*; which is in effect a Combination of Luxury and Avarice, each whereof finding themselves too weak apart to encounter the Strength of Reason, have most remarkably in this Age join'd their Forces together

ther and assumed the insinuating common Name of *Convenience*. O, *Happy Orator* ! Teach me thy Art of Persuasion, and bestow thy Bags upon those who delight to trudge under them ; But if I could persuade as thou canst , I would endeavour to rescue Mankind from thy Tyranny ; for if thou, bewitching *Convenience*, be made the Standard, farewell for ever to the Glory of Martyrdom , to the Loyalty of Subjects, to the Dutifulness of Children, and to the Ties of Friendship.

Having thus seen *Avarice* condemned by Nature, by the great Author of it, by all the great and wise Societies of Mankind, and by that same general Agreement of Men, which hath taught us that our Souls are Immortal :

Having seen the Original and Progress of *Frugality* and *Avarice*, and the several Masks under which *Avarice* has cheated us : It will be fit to proceed to consider the Remedies and Arguments whereby we may secure our selves against its Influence.

SECT. VII.
Arguments
and Reme-
dies against
Avarice.

The true way to wean us from *Avarice*, is first to find out, what does in our Breast incline us to it. And if it be that we may be esteem'd, we shall easily find this but a Cheat, because none but the Avaritious themselves esteem other Men for being Rich ; and we may be as well in love with Cheating, because those who value that Craft and Subtilty are pleased with such as are Masters in it : But if we can once persuade our selves that Riches are not to be admired, and are rather given to Men for Ease than for Esteem , we shall be clearly convinced , that this is but a faint Colour to excuse it : And when Men in Trade or Employments die very Rich, the generality of Mankind concludes that they have

have taken a Latitude of gaining by any Means, or are Guilty of the Folly of having defrauded themselves of Necessaries, to lay up so much as might corrupt their Heirs by Luxury. It has been frequently observed, that the Children of Avaritious Men, have proved more Luxurious or Prodigal, than others; which proceeds either from their abhorring of Avarice, because they found themselves when they were young oppressed by it, or because finding their Parents much reproached with it, they thought themselves obliged in Honour to shun that Vice which occasioned this Reproach: Or else having conceived an Opinion when they were young, that their Parents were very Rich, as all Avaritious Men are thought to be, they concluded they might allow themselves to spend the more freely. But upon the whole Matter, I must conclude that *Indian* wife who laugh'd at the *Europeans*, who toil excessively to make their Children excessively Lazy.

I doubt not but some Men have been desirous to gain Money by their Employment, because the want of Practice is look'd upon as want of Parts: But I have observed few who deserving to be esteem'd for Parts, have missed it from the Wiser sort, because they wanted Practice: And those, and not the Multitude, are the true Judges. Nor is that Wit or Learning which gains Money the true Measure of Esteem; being rather the Mechanick Part of true Sense, given by Nature to us for maintaining our Bodies, than the sublime Part bestowed by Heaven for adorning our Souls. We have few Monuments at this Day of the rich Lawyers among the *Romans*, that gained great Estates, but we retain still great Esteem for those who contemned them. And have we not seen some rich Men among our selves, who
having

having gained even to Envy, died more neglected, and scorned, than they whom Poverty had starved, and who now are remembered for nothing but as Instances of Folly and Madness. That can never pass for Wit, nor deserve Esteem among reasonable Men, which naturally tends so far to debase our Reason: Nor did the illustrious *Turenne* (to instance likewise the Brave) want that Esteem which the greatest Misers in the World would have coveted, though he never valued that Money which they admire, having died without being Master of Fifty Pound, tho' he could have been Master of far more than those Misers durst have wished. Fame is the Heritage of the Virtuous, and Esteem is a Rent that all Men must pay them. Such as think that by Riches they can secure themselves against Danger, have certainly forgot how many Avarice has made a Prey; nor did ever any ravenous Creature chuse to devour the Lean. Men look on the Avaritious as Pyrates, against whom Interest arms all Mankind; and though Drunkards love Drunkards, yet the Avaritious hate all who are so, as Men do those Rivals who are prefer'd by their Mistress. Money may indeed supply the Want of Innocence, when Men are accused: But few Tyrants or Robbers are content with a Part when they may have the Whole: And when *Darius* offered to *Alexander*, all on this side of *Euphrates*, *Alexander* laughed at it, and desired him to offer something to him which he could not take. Tyrants also and Statesmen are invited to rob Avaritious Wretches, because they can commit this Crime with the Applause of the far greater Part of Mankind, who are glad to see those robbed, who robb'd them; or who at least hindred Riches to circulate for the Supply of the Poor and Needy. But the Knaves whom

Money

Money defends, are those only whom the love of it has made Knaves ; and it were better not to be tempted to the Crimes that Avarice occasions, than to be defended by the Treasure which it lays up ; since it may, and oft-times does fail to defend, and at best but secure some few against the many Evils which it occasions.

The best Plea that *Avarice* can make, is, that it provides against those Necessities which otherwise would have made us miserable ; but the Love of Money deserves not the Name of *Avarice*, whilst it proceeds no farther. And it is then only to be abhorr'd, when it cheats and abuses us, by making us believe that our Necessities are greater than they are. In which it treats us as Fools, and makes us Slaves ; but it is indeed most ridiculous in this, that oft-times after it has persuaded Men that a great Estate is necessary, it does not allow them to make use of any suitable Proportion of what they have gained ; and since nothing can be called Necessary but what we need to use, all that is laid up cannot be said to be laid up for Necessity. And so this Argument may have some weight when it is press'd by Luxury, but it is ridiculous when it is alledg'd by Avarice.

I have therefore oft-times admired, how a Person that thought it Luxury to spend two hundred Pound, toil'd as a Slave to get four hundred a Year for his Heir : Either he thought, an Honest and Virtuous Man should not exceed two hundred Pound in his Expence, or not ; if he thought he should not, why did he bribe his Heir to be Luxurious by leaving him more ? If he thought his Heir could not live upon so little, why should he who gain'd it, defraud himself of the true Use ?

I know

I know some who preserve themselves against *Avarice*, by arguing often with their own Heart, that they have twice as much as they expected ; and more than others who they think live very contentedly ; and who did bound their Designs in the beginning with moderate Hopes, and refuse obstinately to enlarge, lest they should thus launch out into an Ocean that has no Shoar.

To meditate much upon the Folly of others who are remarkable for this Vice, will help somewhat to limit it ; and to rally him who is Ridiculous for it, may influence him and others to Contemn it. I must here beg rich and avaritious Men's leave, to laugh as much at their Folly, as I could do at a Shepherd who would weep and grieve, because his Master would give him no more Beasts to herd : Or at a Steward , because his Lord gave him no more Servants to feed. Nor can I think a Man who having gain'd a great Estate is afraid to live comfortably upon it, less ridiculous than I would do him, who having built a convenient , or it may be a stately House, should chuse to walk in the Rain, or expose himself to Storms, lest he should defile and prophane the Floor of his almost Idolized Rooms. They who think that they are obliged to live as well as others of the same Rank , do not consider that every Man is only obliged to live according to his present Estate. And therefore this Necessity will also grow with our Estates ; and this Temptation rather makes our Necessities endless , than provides against them. And he , who having a Paternal Estate of an Hundred Pound a Year, will not be satisfied to live according to it , will meet with the same Difficulty when he comes to an Estate of Ten thousand Pound ; and, like the wounded Deer, he flees not from the Dart , but carries it along
with

with him. We are but Stewards, and the Steward should not be angry that he has not more to manage; but should be careful to bestow what he has; and if he do so, neither his Master nor the World can blame him.

The next Cure against Avarice, is, to consider what abominable and dreadful Effects it produceth in the World, how like the evil Spirit that possessed the poor wretch spoken of in the Gospel, it drags him up and down through Deserts and Mountains, throwing him sometimes into the Fire, and sometimes into the Water. No Climate so Hot, nor Cold, no Sea so Boisterous, nor Shoar so Rocky, but the Avaritious Man must venture upon it. And after he has gained something at the Price of so much Toil and Slavery, it barbarously starves, and tyrannously denies him the Use of his own. As if God designed to punish those Sinners so; That he will let all the World see them want the Use of that for which they have damn'd themselves. There can be nothing more Inhumane than Avarice, when it persuades men to enter into Plots and Factions, that they may augment their Estates; and yet will not allow them to bestow such a Portion of these upon their Designs, as may secure themselves by making the Villany successful. And we have seen of late Men of vast Fortunes; forfeit them, and their Lives too, rather than contribute what was inconsiderable, but absolutely necessary for the Success of their Enterprize. Many also are persuaded, as it were to Bury themselves alive in Mines, and Coal-pits, or to Sacrifice many of their Years, by living in such Places as *Scanderoon*, exchanging Life it self, which is most desirable, for Money, that tyrannous

SECT. VIII
The Cruelty of Covetousness.

nous Idol. Envy, that cruel Torturer of the Soul, deserves a Place amongst the Executioners which attend Avarice. For most Mens Avarice proceeding from comparing themselves with others; this must necessarily beget Envy; & Envy forces Men to toil till they be as rich as those they envy. I confess that Ambition raises also Envy, but in the ambitious it refines it self into a noble Emulation, and forces those who are possess'd with it; to do what may exalt them to an equal height with others. And this requires Liberality, Clemency, &c. But the Envy of the Avaricious; depresses the Spirit to that Earth, with which he is, by a Love to it, united; and makes him starve the Poor, bribe, cheat, and oppress; that he may be as rich as those who occasioned this Passion. The Envy that arises from Ambition, cannot always keep a Man on the Rack, for the Occasion fails, tho' the Inclination remain: But in this also, Avarice is the most disquieting of all Vices, and Passions, that every thing that it sees, or hears, both kindles and feeds its Flame.

In vain do we expect Justice, if Judges weigh Money against Arguments, or if Witnesses value Gain more than an Oath. In vain do Kings and Commonwealths fortify their Towns, if Avarice govern them. Nothing is secure that can be bought; nor is Religion it self secure at the Altar, if its Priests can be brib'd

Such as would shun Covetousness should shun the aspiring to great Dignities, which seems to make Avarice rather a Debt, than a Vice; And persuade Men, that the Robbing others to maintain their Grandeur, is a Duty, not a Sin; And that he who maintains not his Honour forfeits it. And thus men support Avarice by Pride, and varnish it with the deceiving Lustre of Generosity.

It contributes not a little to our being Avaritious, that, when Children, we are bred to an Esteem of Money, before we can understand any thing. And therefore this Impression lasts with them, even after their Understanding is gone. For we see, that Men in *Bedlam* are always asking Money; and that when Avaritious Men are on their Death-bed, past the Sense of every thing else, yet they still grasp at their Money and Bonds. Parents should likewise carefully consider in Breeding their Children, what their Genius or Temper is. For there are some Trades which incline more to one Vice than another. As for instance; the being a Lawyer, is thought to incline them to *Avarice*, because in that Employment Men are always Treating, and Contending about Riches; and are oft-times, by defending unjust Acquisitions, tempted to think the Guilt contracted by them very small; Familiarity lessening always Guilt on such Occasions. And therefore, if a Man find his Child inclined to love Money, he should breed him to no Trade that can inflame his Desires. And a Lawyer, engaged once in the Employment, should, and I am sure some do, balance this Inconveniency, by the high Esteem they have for Justice, whereby they can only secure Fame and Property, the Two most desirable of all Things: And the great Experience they have above others of the Uncertainty of Riches and Estates, should convince them, most of all Men, of the Folly as well as Guilt of this Vice. Soldiers are generally inclined to *Luxury*, because they are not frequently in Business relating to Estates and Commerce. And in the Interludes of their Dangers, they are inclined to recreate themselves even to Excess, to compensate the Toil they have suffer'd; and

the Risques they have run. On the other hand, a Child inclined to *Luxury* should rather be bred a Lawyer. And tho' this be not the proper Place of speaking against *Luxury*, yet the Contingency of the Matter obliges me to say, that Soldiers, of all Men, should shun most *Luxury*; for it softens too much, makes Men too Lazy, and succeeding Dangers the more intolerable. The proper Sanctuary against both these Vices, should be the Employment of Churchmen; and we should fly for Protection against these to the Horns of the Altar: Yet, as I have formerly observed, the World is much inclin'd to be jealous of their Avarice, tho' they, of all Men, should, and I hope do shun it most. For he who preaches against *Avarice*, and yet acts it, is no more a Preacher, but a Mountebank; nor can his Discourse convince, whose Example dissuades; most Men being more led by Sense than by Reason. By this Vice also, Churchmen fall under that Contempt, which overturns their Church, and in Consequence takes away their Benefice. And this Vice cannot but doubly augment their Torments to all Eternity.

Upon the whole Matter then; Men should consider most of all Things the Education of their Children, as the only way to make them happy, which is all the Avaritious design. And this is not to be done by Providing too much, but by making them to be content with every thing. One who is bred up in solid Virtue, will not probably speak, or do what may forfeit his Estate; as he will not endanger it, or his Health, by Women, and Drinking: He will think the little that is left him, enough; and his Frugality will make it so, if it do not find it so.

We need no Eloquence but solid Reason, to charge the Avaritious Man with Theft, in stealing from the Commonwealth the true Use of those Riches which are necessary for the Support of the Common Treasure, the Necessities of the Poor, and the Increase of Commerce; which made *Timandridas* the *Lacedemonian* chide his Son, who valued himself for having spent nothing, as having thereby defrauded his Country, his Neighbours, and the Poor. We may likewise charge him with Murther, (as I formerly instanced) for he takes away the Life of the Poor, who refuses the Means of Supporting it: And Men feel too much, not to find that *Avarice* tempts its Slaves to invade their Neighbours in Time of War, killing all those who intercept their Prey, and murdering in time of Peace, by Processes, those from whom they can expect any Estate. It makes Men at last Atheists, by persuading them that God is not able to supply their Necessities; and they are really so, when they trust it, and not him. Idolaters they also are, because they worship Riches as their only Deity.

To raise our Thoughts higher than those Moral Arguments: We may easily discern how much stronger Helps Christianity affords us, than we can expect from the Heathens, or those Thoughts which Nature suggests: For we have immediate Promises from an Omnipotent God, that those who depend on him shall never want. And to assure them the more of his Care, he calls the Poor his Children, his Family; and has wrought Miracles to relieve their Necessities; by which Advantage no Heathen Philosopher could have secured Men against the Fear of Want, which is a strong Temptation to *Ava-*

Sect. IX.
Devotion
affords the
strongest
and best
Remedies
against A-
varice.

rice. And against which the *Apostle* very wisely guards us, *Heb. 13. 5.* *Let your Conversation be without Covetousness, and be content with such things as you have; for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.* And because this immoderate Care stretches it self to our Posterity, that same God hath desir'd us to leave our Fatherless Children upon him, and declares himself the Father of the Fatherless, and Husband of the Widow.

Sect. X.
The Christian and Pagan Philosophy compared, as to their Remedies.

We may also see by Christianity the Purity that is required in its Believers, beyond what the most Spiritual Heathens could imagine. For they condemn'd only the outward Effects of *Covetousness*, when they prevail'd against a Man's Reason, and proceeded so far as to wrong the Society in which he lived, or the Neighbours whom he injur'd, by Theft, Robbery or Oppression. But Christianity designing to make the Heart a Temple for the Holy Ghost, and Man an Heir of Heaven, it did therefore command him to keep his Heart pure from that Concupiscence and Covetousness, which polluted or disorder'd the Inclination, without wronging any else, save the Persons in whom these Desires were rais'd. And thus, he who desires to have a great Estate, without desiring any other Man's; or who wishes that his Neighbour's Lands or Moveables were his, even for a Price, is condemn'd by Christianity, as guilty of Covetousness and Concupiscence, and as one who has not learned that noble Lesson, *To be content with his own Condition, whatever it be.* An Accomplishment, which the Great Judge of all Things requires in those whom he will own for his Servants. And for our better understanding the Heart of Man, it will

will be fit to distinguish Three Degrees in this Irregularity. The first is that, whereby the exterior and sensible Object, entering in by the Sense unto the Fancy, does so suddenly move the Appetite, that the Judgment has no Leisure to perceive, much less to make Reflections upon it. And there can be no Irregularity in this Degree, except we have fail'd to accustom our Judgment and Reason to be watchful, as it ought to be, over the very first Motions of our Appetite, and to observe continually (as a good Centinel) what enters in by the Ports of our external Senses.

The Second Degree is, when the Object makes its Impression upon the Appetite, and raises Commotions, whereby the Judgment takes a wrong View of the Object, tho' afterwards the Judgment overcomes; yet this Disorder deserves the Name of a Vicious, or Irregular Affection: Not unlike to that Disorder a Rider is put in, when his Horse boggles at any sudden Object with which the Beast is surprized, and which, tho' his Rider overcome without Difficulty, yet it shews, that he has not sufficiently managed the Horse he has taken in charge.

The Third is, When this Commotion in the Appetite lasts so long, and prevails so much, that it makes the Judgment doubt which Party it should take; and becomes like to a Rider, who keeps his Saddle, but with Difficulty. In this Degree, *St. Paul* represents Man's Reason and his Covetousness wrestling against one another. I confess, that *Aristotle* acknowledges that there are some Appetites in a Man repugnant to Reason, which indeed he blames: And that *Plato* (before him) taught in his eloquent way, that the Chariot of Reason was drawn by two

Horses, whereof one was black and resty, disobeying the Reins of him who govern'd them. *Seneca* also numbers those Appetites which oppose our Reason, among the Culpable Passions: But none of them discover'd the Irregularity of the first Two Degrees; and the best of them saw only the Irregularity of the Third with so dim an Eye, and thro' so thick Clouds, that *St. Paul* had Reason to assert, that if the Law (meaning the Moral Law of God) had not said, *thou shalt not Covet*, Man had not perceived the Sin that lies in Simple Concupiscence. And whereas the Heathens did only forbid these immoderate Cares as inconvenient, our Holy Religion goes higher, not only in its Purity, but in its Penalty. For all Anxiety, as to our selves; or Covetousness, either relating to our selves or Neighbours, are forbid upon pain of displeasing a kind Father, and an Infinite God, and becomes uneasy, by the cutting and severe Reproach of a Terrified Conscience. Whereas, among most Heathens, the Conscience did take no notice, nor thunder out its Terrors upon such spiritual and inward Delinquencies.

P A R S I M O N Y

A N D

N I G G A R D L I N E S S

DISCOURSE III.

THERE is I confess a difference betwixt *Avarice*, and excessive *Parfimony* or *Niggardlines*? that wrings from others what is theirs; this only exceeds in sparing too much what is ones own; the one rises purely from a fear of Want, and therefore in the first Ages of the World it was scarce known; the other from a desire to heap up, tho uselessly; the one is a kind of Self-defence, the other an Invasion; and therefore the one is the worst, the other amongst the best of Neighbours; for as the Miser checks us when we exceed in our Expence, so he is most unwilling to wrong us, lest he thereby encourage others to wrong him. The Niggard is, generally speaking, a better Subject than the Avaritious, for he is afraid to lose what he has, whereas the Avaritious loving more what he wants than what he has, hazards the present in expectation of a greater advantage.

Sect. I.
The Ori-
gine and
Progress of
Parfimony
or Nig-
gardli-
ness.

Niggardlines oft-times grows up rather from Education than any vicious Inclination, and I have seen some become Parsimonious by living near Prodigals, having occasion daily to abhor their Extravagancies, and to be terrified at

at

at the Miseries to which they have seen them reduced by these Extravagancies. Men express their abhorrence of this Vice in calling such as are mastered by it, Misers; as if they were the most miserable of all Men: but yet they must have some Pleasure in it, else they would not be so assiduous and diligent about it; certainly they think to spare, is to gain; and therefore they wonder why others who take such pains to gain, should laugh at them for taking pains to spare. Nor do they see that they want any of these things, for providing of which others take pains to heap up Money, or that they should toil to get Money to entertain others; and upon these grounds it is that we find the Parsimonious to be generally proud, thinking they shall never need to depend upon any. But yet Parsimony is to be pitied, since it exceeds, for it must proceed from a too high value of Riches, and so argues a blindness in our Reason. And it employs too much of that Time which might be better bestowed, starving both Charity and Friendship, the greater Duties, as well Comforts of our Life. Yet it may seem a more excusable Vice than *Avarice*; for *Avarice* still promises to employ the Money that it tempts us anxiously to seek, in the service of Charity and Generosity; but after we have got the Money, Parsimony will not allow Men to employ it, no not on their own Necessities, though the Niggard (God knows) is himself a great Object of Charity; which made *Horace* account it a Madness rather than a Vice.

*Parcus ob haredis curam nimiumque severus
Assidet insano* ———

The Scripture assures us that Riches take the wings

wings of the morning and fly away. They do not wait till others come and take them from us, but they naturally tend to fly about, and therefore they run away with so much hast, as deserves to be called taking of Wings, and they leave us so soon, that this hast is called the Wings of the Morning; and when they have taken wings, I imagine I see them looking back with contempt, and laughing at those who thought to have secured them and kept them Prisoners. Let us then endeavour, with the wise Apostle to learn to be content in all conditions, expecting more permanent Riches and Treasures: Imitated in this by *Horace* who reflecting on the Instability of Fortune, had the same Thought from his Fountain, as most of the Heathens borrow from the Scripture;

Sect. II.
Some expressions of Scripture compared with the Poets upon this Subject.

*Fortuna sævo lata negotio, &
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alio benigna,
Laudo manentem: si cleses quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit; & meâ
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.*

I must remark by the way, the different Genius of *Virgil* and *Horace*, which, appears in this, as well as with relation to all Morality: *Virgil* loves Virtue as a part of Devotion,

*Aude hospes contemner opes, & te quoquo
dignum,
Finge Deo. ———*

Horace loves it as conducing to his Ease, as we see in this and many other passages in his Satyrs
Condemn

condemn it easily. *Juvenal* in his, rails at it bitterly, and troubles himself almost as much in writing against it, as *Covetousness* could have vexed him; like *Seneca* who grows angry in writing against Anger.

The Scripture speaking against *Covetousness* compares it to an evil Eye, which makes the Body dark, *Matth. 6.* And *Horace* tells us that an honest Man,

Oculo irretorto spectat acer vos.

The Scripture calls *Avarice* Idolatry. And the Poets alluding to this, say

Præsentemque semper possidet arca Deum.

Se&t. III.
That the
Special Hu-
mours in
Morality,
and their
various
Mixture,
are not yet
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One of the chief Pleasures and Arts of Moral Philosophy lies in considering the various Mixture of Passions and Vices with one another; as to which *Plutarch* himself has not been special enough, contenting himself with observing who were Covetous, who Prodigal, &c. but to give some Glances of this, upon which I will possibly bestow an Essay apart: It is observable that many in the late Civil Wars who were known Niggards, bestowed frankly their Estates in the Service of King *Charles I.* Many who would not bestow a hundred Pound in the Education of their Heir, do bestow with Delight many Thousands in building the House they are to leave him; and that beautiful young Lady who allowed a Favour to a rich old niggardly Excise-man in *France* to get Money to preserve her Father's Life, has left it dubious what Name this Transgression deserved. The different and contrary Effects produced by the same Vice or Passion are Proofs of this; As for Instance, a
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meer Niggard starves his Cause; for he dares not bestow so much as one Shilling upon Hope it self; whereas if Niggardliness be quickened by some degrees of Avarice, no Man is a franker Client than the Niggard; for he knows Money is a better Fee, than the good Dinner the Luxurious thinks a sufficient Reward. It is ordinarily observed that a Niggard's Feast is the greatest; and the Reason seems to be, that they design thereby to convince the World that their Parsimony proceeds not from their over-valuing Money. But in my Opinion they as Painters not used to paint, mistake Proportions more than others do, or it may be they seldom Treat without design of Gain, and so their Entertainments are Bribes and not Feasts.

L U X U R Y.

DISCOURSE IV.

ONE might reasonably have thought, that as the World grew older, Luxury would have been more shunned. For the more Men multiplied, and the greater their Dangers grew, they should have been the more easily induced to shun all Expence, that they might the more successfully provide against those Inconveniences. But yet it proved otherwise, and Luxury was the last of all Vices that prevailed over Mankind; for after Riches had been hoarded up, they rotted as it were unto Luxury; and after that Tyranny and Ambition had robbed many poor

*Sect. I.
The Rise
and Pro-
gress of
Luxury.*

poor Innocents, Luxury more cruel than they, was made use of by Providence, to revenge their Quarrel: And so triumphed over the Conquerors. Thus when *Rome* had by Wit and Courage subdued the World, it was drowned in that Inundation of Riches, which these brought upon it.

Sect. II.
The Dis-
guises un-
der which
Luxury
insinuates
it self.

This Vice has its own Masks and Disguises too, for it transforms itself into Virtue, whilst like that it runs faster from Avarice, and laughs more loudly at it than Liberality it self does, and to that height that it seems to be angry at Liberality, as being only a kind of Niggardliness. It pretends to keep open Table to those who starve, and to have an open Purse always for Men of Merit. Beauty and Learning are its Pensioners, and all manner of Divertisements are still in his Retinue. It obliges the peaceable to favour it, as an Enemy to every thing that is uneasy: And it engages Men of Parts to speak for it, because whilst it lavishes the Treasures others have hoarded up, it feeds the Hope and Expectations of such as were provided by Nature of nothing, but a Stock of Wit. And there being seldom other matches betwixt Liberality and Prodigality, but such as are to be measured by exact Reflexions upon the Estates of the Spenders, it sometimes praises that as Liberality, which ought to be condemned as Luxury. And even where the Transgression may be discerned, the bribed and interested Multitude will not acknowledge, that Liberality by exceeding its Bounds has lost its Name. Some also from the same Principle authorize this Vice, by the pretext of Law, crying out that every Man should have Liberty to dispose of his own, as he pleases, and by the good of Commerce, saying with a serious Face, that Frugality would
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ruin all Trade, and if no Man spend beyond his Measure, Riches should not circulate; nor should virtuous, laborious, or witty Men find in this Circulation, occasions to excite or reward their Industry. And from this probably flows the Law of *England's* not interdicting Prodigals, denying him the Administration of his own Estate, as the Laws of all other Nations do.

I know also some very devout Men, who would persuade us, that it is not fit to decry Luxury too much in this Age, because it entertains and feeds so many poor Artisans, and others who would starve without its Assistance, having no other Trade, but the making Perfumes, Laces, Embroideries, and such things which Frugality contemns as Baubles, or abhors as Poisons. And though when Charity had in the Youth of Christianity, Vigor enough to persuade Men to entertain the Poor as Members of the same Body with them: Yet God seems now to permit Luxury to throw away that Money amongst the Poor, which Charity cannot persuade them to give. Others again recommend Luxury as that which occasions the sharpening of Wit, and the beautifying of the Universe; for those who have Wit, study Painting, Architecture, Sculpture; and by these the Rich adorn the World, and make it a more glorious Instance of his excellent Skill, who first formed it, and bestowed those excellent Talents on Men for improving it. That same God also has made Jewels, Perfumes, and many other Things which he must allow to be used by Luxury, since Frugality knows no use for them. But the great Advocate for Luxury, is Self-Love, that Orator which never fails to persuade. And it suggests to us, that the greatest of our Concerns should be for our selves, and that a reasonable Man should think all

Sect. III.
Some devout and virtuous People think Luxury now necessary to supply the decay of Charity.

thrown

thrown away, which he spends not to please himself. And which he can no way do so well as by gratifying all his own Appetites and Inclinations with the full Enjoyment of all they can desire; the Publick Good, and Charity, being meer Notions invented by Philosophers and Divines, to make us share with them that Money, which when they have once got, they laugh at us for parting with.

I confess, that all the Arguments that plead for Avarice seem to conclude at last in Favour of Luxury; for to what purpose should a Man lay up Money, except he use it? And Nature would not allow one to toil much for it, if it were not, that he promised to himself to live one Day softly and pleasantly, on the Fruits of these Labours: And on the other hand, Luxury never approves any Argument or Design that Avarice can bring; for it is so much taken up with the present Pleasure of using what it has, that it will allow it self no time to foresee, or toil for what it may want.

Many who have been very Prodigal and Luxurious, have afterwards turned very Avaritious; whereas they never gained one Profelyte from Avarice. And I have known some who have spent a very prodigal and luxurious Youth, throwing away the little they had, who so soon as they grew rich, became so fond of it, that they could not part with what was sufficient to supply their Necessity. And when I asked them why they run from one Extreme to another, in spight both of Reason and Custom: They answered, that what formerly they had was not worth their care; and therefore they spent it in Hopes thereby to gain more. In which we may see a new and different View of the genius of
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Avarice and Luxury, and the Motives whence they rise.

As Avarice differs from Parsimony, so does Prodigality from Luxury; for Prodigality is a profuse spending on others, but Luxury upon ones self. In Prodigality a Man seems to value every Man more than himself, because he prefers them, defrauding himself of Necessaries, to bestow upon them. In Luxury a Man prefers himself to all others, robbing and cheating them by all Arts and Devices, to get thereby Superfluities, to feed himself and his Lusts. For which Reason, and since also the Scripture speaks so much against Luxury, and not against Prodigality, it may seem strange, why the Laws are so severe to Prodighals in interdicting and forbidding them the Administration of their own Estates, without putting any restraint upon the Luxurious: Whereas it seems that the Prodighal is less an Enemy to the Commonwealth than the Luxurious; seeing he is ready to prefer his Fellow-Citizens to himself; and generally they who get the Prodighals Means have more Wit than he, and can make better Use of what they get from him; and so should by the Laws be preferred to him. But I think the Reason of this is, that the Law fears, that after he hath dissipated his own, he may fall a Burden on the Society: And therefore it considers him as a generous kind of Idiot, and so puts him under Tuition as it does an Idiot. And thus it cares for him more than for the Luxurious; and it were to be wished that by the same Compassion it provided also Tutors for the Niggard, who is in greater Danger to be ruined by himself, than the Prodighal by others. To which nothing can be answered, but that the Law thinks this Churl unworthy of its Care; and that the Common-

Sect. IV.
The difference between Prodighality and Luxury.

wealth would lose little, though he should starve himself.

Since Self-love is Man's chief Counsellor, it seems that Men are more naturally inclined to Luxury than Prodigality; as they are inclined to love themselves better than their Neighbours. But yet on a more serious Reflexion it will appear, that even Prodigality has Self-love to plead for it, because Ambition, which is a more violent Passion than Sensuality, drives a Man to Prodigality, as that whereby he may raise his Reputation by buying that Fame, of which only he is greedy.

*Sect. V.
Arguments
against
Luxury,
as first,
That it is
inconsistent
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whereby
God sup-
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The great Arguments that weigh with me against Luxury, are first, That Luxury disorders, confounds, and is inconsistent with that just and equal Oeconomy, whereby God governs the World as his own Family, in which all Men are but Children, or Servants; for as the Avaritious hoards up for one, that which should be distributed among many; so in Luxury one vicious Man spends upon himself what should maintain many hundreds; and he surfeits to make them starve. This is not to be a Steward but Master. Nor can we think that the wise and just Judge of all Things, will suffer in his beautiful World, what the most negligent and imprudent amongst us, could not suffer in his private Family.

The second Argument is, That Nature should be Man's chief Rule in things relating to this World; and Reason his great Director under God in making use of that Rule, and the Eyes (as it were) by which we are to see how to follow it. By this Nature teaches us how to proportion the Means to the End, and not to employ all the Instruments whereby such an End may

may be procured, but only such as are necessary, and suitable for the procuring of it ; which Proportion Luxury neither understands nor follows ; and therefore we must conclude it unnatural and unreasonable ; and that Frugality is the true Mathematicks of Moral Philosophy : And by this we may condemn not only such as *Senecio* was in the *Roman* History , who delighted to have his Cloaths, and his Shooes, twice as large as were fit for his Body and Feet ; which the Luxurious laughed at, with others ; but even such as keep twice as great Tables, build twice as great Houses, pay twice as many Servants as are fit for them , are as mad as he. For though that Disproportion be not so very perceptible as the other, because the Bulk of a Man's Estate is not so easily measured and known as that of his Person ; and because there are twice as many Fools of this kind , as there are of the other, so that Reason is out-voted , though it cannot be answered ; yet the Folly is the same every where ; and in this it is more dangerous, that *Senecio* wronged only himself, whilst they oft-times wrong and ruin both their Posterity and Neighbours. To convince us that Luxury is a great defect in our Reason, we shall ordinarily find that young Men, Fools, and Women, are most given to it. Thus I have seen a Man, otherwise judicious enough, much surprized, when it was represented, that his Building (though it seemed to him and many others to carry no great Disproportion to his Estate) yet would in Forty four Years (which is but a short time) equal his Estate, allowing the Interest of his Money to equal the Capital Sum in the space of Eleven Years and an half , which it did by Law ; for 100 *l.* forborn for Forty eight Years , at 6 *per Cent.* compound Interest,

amounts to 1734 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 *d.* And how many may forbear 100 *l.*? and this Sum in Ten Years, which is but a very short time, will amount to 2774 *l.* 12 *d.* by simple Multiplication without Compound Interest. And very few consider the Extravagancy of this Age, in which Houses and Furniture go out of Fashion, as Hats or Shoes do. Nor does the Expence of Building contain it self within the Walls; for it obliges a Man to a suitable way of living, there being nothing more ridiculous, than to see one who lived in a Palace at Home, travel and lodge Abroad with such Equipage, and in such Inns, as Men who live in ordinary Houses do. We should therefore be very proportionable in our Expence, for that which widens a Man's Fancy in any one thing, makes it Extravagant in all things. As they who use their Stomachs to too much of any one Meat, will make it craving as to all others. Whereas on the other Hand, that which should enamour Men of Frugality, is, that it accustoms us to Reasoning, and Proportion; observing exactly the least perceptible Proportions, and the smallest Consequences. Which makes me call to mind the remarkable Story of the *Holland* Merchant, who having married his Daughter to a Luxurious rich Citizen, to the great Dissatisfaction of his Wife, she came the next Day to the Bride and Bridegroom, and offered them the Egg of a Turkey Hen, and desired her Daughter to use herself in exactly looking to the Product of that Egg, to consider the great Things which Frugality can do in other Matters. But her Husband and she having laughed at the Lesson, the Mother improved so far the Egg, that within Twenty Years the Advantage of it, and the Luxury of that married Couple grew so fast, that

For that Egg might produce a Turkey, which might multiply into many: And the Price of these might purchase Swine, Cows, &c.

that they needed the meanest Assistance, and the Product of the Egg afforded a comfortable one; for with the considerable Sum that was gathered by it, they stocked themselves anew, and by the help of the (formerly slighted) Lesson of not despising the meanest Things, raised themselves again to a very considerable Estate. And if any Man will but consider Yearly, what he superfluously spends, and how much that would multiply in process of time, he will easily perceive that what he spends in the Consequence is vastly greater than appears to him in the first Calculation: As for Instance, if a Man who may spend 500 *l. per Annum* does spend 600, this small Error of 100 *l.* a Year will amount in 44 Years at 6 *per Cent.* to the Sum of 1373 *l.* 6 *s.* and odd Pence. And though a Man thinks it scarce worth his Pains, to manage so as to preserve 100 *l.* he must be very Luxurious, who thinks it not worth his Pains to gain the Sum of 1373 *l.* And it is a great Defect in our Reason, that those Ills which follow by necessary Consequence are despised as mean, because the Consequences themselves are remote. And as that is the best Eye, so that is likewise the best Reason, which sees clearly at a great Distance. Another great Error that Luxury tempts us to, by not reasoning exactly, is, that it makes us calculate our Estates without deducing what is payable out of them to the Poor, to the King and to Creditors, before we proportion our Expence; whereas we should spend only what is truly our own; and the Law to prevent Luxury tells us that, *id tantum nostrum est quod deductis debitis, apud nos remanet*: That is only ours which remains with us, after our Debts are deduced. Nor will a proportional Part of our Estates answer the Equivalent of our Debts. For if I owe

100 l. a Year, no part of my Estate that pays me 100 l. a Year will pay it; for many Accidents may hinder me to get my own Rent, but no Accident will procure an Abatement of my Debt. And this leads me to consider that Frugality numbers always the Accidents that may intervene, amongst other Creditors; and the wise *Hollander* observes, that a Man should divide his Estate in three Parts, upon one third he should live, another third he should lay up for his Children, and the last he should lay by for Accidents. There are few Men who do not in their Experience find, that their whole Life being ballanced together, they have lost a third part always of their Revenue by Accidents. And most Families are destroyed by having the Childrens Provision left as a Debt upon them. So that a Man should at least endeavour to live upon the one half; and leave the other half for his Children.

Sect. VI.
The other Argument is, that Luxury is most inconvenient for the Luxurious Man himself, and the Society wherein he lives.

The next Argument that discredits Luxury with me, is, That it occasions many and great Inconveniencies, both to him who labours under it, and to the Commonwealth under which he lives.

The Luxurious Man oppresses that Nature which should be the Foundation of his Joy; and, by false Reasoning, he is made by this Vice to believe, that because some Ease and Aliments are pleasant, therefore the more he takes of them, the more he will be pleased. And the first Proofs by which he is convinced that he is cheated in this, are those Gouts, Gravels, and other Diseases, into which those Vices, when they are swell'd, overflow, and destroy that Ground, which a gentle Watering would have refresh'd. Then he begins to understand that

Medio-

Mediocrity is the Golden Rule, and that Proportion is to be observ'd in all the Course of our Life.

Luxury also makes a Man so soft, that it is hard to please him, and easy to trouble him: So that his Pleasures at last become his Burden. Luxury is a nice Master, hard to be pleas'd: *Res est severa Voluptas*, said he who knew it best. Whereas the Frugal and Temperate Man can, by Fasting till a convenient time, make any Food pleasant; and is by Travelling, when it is convenient, harden'd sufficiently, not to be troubled by any ordinary Accidents. The Luxurious must at last owe to this Temperance, that Health and Ease which his false Pleasures have robb'd him of; he must abstain from his Wines, Feastings and Fruits, until Temperance has cured him. And I have known many, who after they have been tortur'd by the Tyranny of Luxury, whilst they had Riches in abundance to feed it, became very healthful and strong when they fell into that Poverty which they had so abhorr'd: Some whereof have confess'd to me, that they never thought themselves so happy, and that they were never so well pleas'd, as since they had escap'd the Temptations of that dangerous Vice. Luxury does not more ruin a Man's Body, than it debases his Mind; for it makes him servilely drudge under those who support his Luxury; In pimping to all their Vices, flattering all their Extravagancies, and executing the most dreadful of their Commands. I have oft-times remark'd with great pleasure, that in Commonwealths, where to be Free was accounted the greatest Glory, nothing reigned save Frugality, and nothing was rich save the Common Treasure. But under those Monarchies which have degenerated into Ty-

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ranny, Care is taken to have those who get the Publick Pay spend it luxuriously, to the end, that those they employ may still want, and so may be oblig'd to that Contemptible Slavery, to which none would bow if they could otherwise live. It is also very observable, that those who dwell in the Richest Countries, which incline Men to Luxury, such as *Greece* and *Italy*, are poor, and Slaves; whereas the hard Rocks of *Switzerland* breed Men who think themselves rich and happy. I heard, that a Churchman call'd that the best Religion, which was able to entertain a Coach and Six Horses; but I am sure, that if the Master who was in it knew that he had made himself a Rascal to get the Coach, he could not be so easy in it, as if he walk'd on foot with his Innocence. I like well his Reply, who, being tempted to comply with what his Conscience could not digest, said to him who tempted him, I can contentedly walk on foot, but you cannot live without a Coach: I will be advis'd by my Innocency; consult you with your Grandeur. Rulers can bestow Treasures, but Virtue only can bestow Esteem; and all the Respect that is bestow'd upon a Vicious Man, is no more to be valued, and is as ridiculous as a Copy of Verses (writ for Money) in Praise of a Coward. Nor can either fine Houses or Gardens, large Territories, or pleasant Fields delight him, who when he walks in them, must remember that they were purchased at the Rate of the Curse of God, and his own Infamy.

From all which we may easily see, that the Luxurious are not only useless, but Enemies to the Commonwealth wherein they live: Useless, because they become effeminate and soft, unable to defend and improve their Native Country;

try ; Enemies, because they debauch the Innocent, and assist the Guilty. Whereas the Frugal Man takes more Pleasure in being a good Example to the Youth, and in opposing the Lusts of Tyrants, than the Luxurious can do in feeding upon what their Cooks prepare, or in dallying with the Prostitute whom his Money can buy. *The Pleasure of Sin lasts but for a moment ; but a good Conscience is a continual Feast.* The one pleases only those Corrupted Flatterers, whom the Luxurious himself contemns ; whilst the other pleases the Heroick, the Wise, and the Virtuous, whom the Vicious must admire in spite of his Corruption : And even many Thousands, who tho' they are not Virtuous themselves, yet are by Conviction, or Interest, forced to appear as such.

I shall close these few Arguments against Luxury, in observing, that it appears from all that hath been said, how unsatiable both Avarice and Luxury are ; both of them are acted by Imagination, which can never be satisfied nor bounded : The one seeks Money only, that he may have the Pleasure to have it lying by him ; and the other, that he may please his Fancy in spending it. And yet, I think, that Avarice is a more severe Master than Luxury. For the Luxurious Man proposes only what he may spend, but the Avaritious Man covets every thing : The one is satisfied sometimes in Enjoying what is got ; but the other gets no sooner any one thing, than he presently runs after another ; and when he has reaped the Fruit of his Pains, he is made poor again by Possession.

Sect. VII.
*Remedies
 against
 Luxury.*

From these Reflections also may arise Remedies against Luxury to any thinking Man: For tho' when we consider the Luxurious as they shine at Courts, live in Sumptuous Palaces, saluted in the Streets, adorned with Panegyrics; it is probable, that most Men will think, that Philosophers and Divines have only writ against Luxury, because they could not attain to the Riches that are necessary for maintaining it: Yet, to balance this, let us consider the vast Numbers of those whom it has drowned in Pleasures, others whom it has sent to starve in Prisons, and drag'd to Scaffolds by its Temptations. I have oft-times seen the Luxurious rail'd at with much Malice by those they sumptuously entertained, who envied the Entertainer for being able to treat them so highly, and for Living so far above their own Condition: Concluding, that they were rather called to be Witnesses of the Entertainer's Abundance, than Sharers in his Bounty. And tho' some think to make an Atonement for their Oppression, by Living sumptuously upon its Spoils; yet no Wise Man will pardon a Robber, because he gives back a small Share of the great Riches he has taken.

Some think Riches necessary for keeping great Tables, and excuse this by the Hopes they have of Good Company. And a Great Man told me, he wished such a Man's Estate, that he might keep us all about him. But my Answer was, That the Luxurious gather'd about them ordinarily the worst of Company; and worthy Men valued more Virtuous Conversation than Sumptuous Diet, which they rather shunn'd than follow'd. I believe there are few so Prodigal of their Money, but that they have
 oft

oft some Regrets for having ſpent it : From which the Frugal Man is exempted , by the Assurance he has from his Virtue that he can live happily upon the little he has, and can with Pleaſure find, that he is neither oppreſſed by the Weight of Riches , nor terrified by the Fear of Want ; breeding up his Poſterity not to need theſe great Patrimonyes, which he cannot give. I know , that ſome think they are never to be charged with prodigal and uſeleſs Spending , if they take exact Account of their Servants of what they ſpend : But our Inclinations may cheat us as much as our Servants ; and therefore I am very well pleaſed with the Answer of that Father , tho' Miſer , who having ſeen his Son very buſy in taking in his Accounts , told him , Son, Son, ſpend nothing you can ſpare ; but after it is once ſpent , think not you can make it up, by keeping an exact Account your ſelf, or taking in ſuch Accounts from your Servants.

I am ſo far from thinking that Luxury is uſeful, becauſe it ſuſtains many poor Artizans, that I think there would be no Poor , were it not for Luxury and Avarice ; for all would have ſomewhat , and none would have too much. The Commonwealth of the *Jews* , inſtituted by God Almighty , proves moſt Artiſans to be unneceſſary ; and tho' a preſent Innovation in this Point may ſtarve ſome , yet it would not ſtarve ſo many , as might be eaſily entertained upon what the Luxurious and Avaritious poſſeſs beyond a due Meaſure : And in a little time, all theſe Artiſans. who now drudge to pleaſe Luxury, would follow other Trades , wherry they might pleaſe God Almighty much bette ; whoſe Service is the chief End of Man, and to pleaſe whom is his chief Happineſs, And theſe Arts
neither

neither provide Meat nor Drink, as the Husbandman does: from which it follows clearly, that Husbandry, and not these Trades sustains the World. And there would be need of no such Arts to draw Money from the Rich for the supply of the Poor, sincethis would bring Men to a greater Equality as to Riches & Poverty. It is very observable, that many of these Tradesmen starve, whereas few Husbandmen do ; and it is also observable that Prodigality and Luxury entertain always the worst of Men, for they are ordinarily such who Trade in things that please the Vicious : Men being either by Force, or Custom, easily induced to imitate the Masters on whom they depend, and to esteem those whom they serve ; whereas the Frugal Man not only chuses fit occasions on which to spend his Mony, but Persons worthy of his Employment. And yet if Men do bestow their Mony upon Perfumes, Pictures and such other Baubles, with design to let it fall into Hands which needed it, their sincerity in this design will certainly rescue them from the severity of a Censure which they would otherwise deserve.

Se&t. VIII.
This Discourse is not design'd against true, but immoderate Pleasures.

This Discourse tends not to forbid the use of all Pleasure, nor even the pleasing our Senses ; for it is not to be imagined, that God Almighty brought Man into the World, to admire his Greatness, and taste his Goodness, without allowing him to rejoyce in these things which he sees and receives. The best way to admire an Artist, is to be highly pleas'd with what he has made ; and a Benefactor is ill rewarded, when the Receiver is not pleas'd with what is bestow'd: his Joy being the justest Measure, and Standard of his Esteem. We find that in *Eden* the tasting of all the sweet and delicious Fruits was
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allowed, save only that of the Tree of Knowledge: and why should all these Fruits have been made so pleasant to the Eye, and so delicious to the Taste, if it had not been to make Man, his beloved Guest happy there? And I really think that the Eye has got the quality of not being satisfied long with any Object, nor the Ear with hearing any Sound, to the end that they might by this Curiosity, be obliged to seek after that Variety in which they may every Moment discover new Proofs of their Master's Greatness, and Goodness. But I condemn the pleasing of the Senses only, where more pains is taken, and more time is spent in gratifying them, than is due to those inferior or less noble Parts of the Reasonable Creature. The Soul being the Nobler and more Sublime part, our chief Care should be laid out in Pleasing it, as a wise Subject should take more Care in Pleasing the King, than his Ministers, and the Masters than his Servants. The true and allowable Luxury of the Soul consists in Contemplation, and Thinking, or else in the Practice of Virtue, whereby we may employ our Time in being useful to others: albeit when our Senses, and other inferior Faculties have served the Soul in these great Employments, they ought to be gratified as good Servants: but not so as to make them wild Masters, as Luxury does, when it rather oppresses than refreshes them. I do also think that our chief Pleasure should not be expected from the Senses; because they are too dull, and unactive to please a thinking Man; they are only capable to enjoy little, and are soon blunted by enjoyment: whereas Religion, and Virtue, do by the ravishing hopes of what we are to Expect, or the Pleasant remembering of what we have done, afford constantly new Scenes
of

of Joy, and which are justly augmented by the concurring Testimonies of the best of Mankind, who applaud our Virtuous Actions, and decry the Vicious. So that the Virtuous Man is by as many degrees pleased beyond the Vicious, as the past and future exceed the single Moment of the present time, or as many Suffrages exceed one. Nor doubt I, but these who have relieved a starving Family by their Charity, have feasted upon the little which they have bestowed with more Joy, than ever *Lucullus*, or *Apicius* did, in all the Delicacies their Cooks could invent. I am convinced, that any generous Gentleman would be much more troubled to think, that his poor Tenants who toil for him, are scrued up to some degrees that look too like Oppression, than he could be pleased with any Delicacies which that superplus of Rent could buy for him: & that he who has rescued a poor innocent Creature from the Jaws of a ravenous Oppressor, finds a greater Joy irradiated on his Spirit, by the great and just Judge; than any General does in that Night, wherein he has defeated his Enemies merely for his Glory. We remember to this day with veneration and esteem, *John* the Baptist's Locusts and Wild Honey; but the deliciousness of *Herod's* Feasts lasted no longer than the Taste: And even the Pleasure of the present Moment, which the Luxurious only enjoy, is much lessened, by the Prevailing Conviction, which arises from that small remaining force, which is still left in the reasonable Faculty of the most Corrupted Men: and which can never be so blinded, as not to have some glimmerings, whereby it can discover the ugliness and deformity of Vice. It may surprize a serious Man, to see that Men immediatly after being at the Sacrament of Baptism, or about the Celebration

brations of Marriage (which all acknowledge to be of Divine Institution, and which many own to be a Sacrament also) they should run out immediately into such Luxurious Extravagancies, as may make Lookers-on rather conclude, that they acknowledge no God, than that they are obliged to him for those great Mercies, or that they hope by their Gratitude, to improve them into Blessings.

Whether Avarice, Prodigality, or Luxury be the more dangerous and polluting Vice, is less worth our Care than the avoiding of all three. But however, it seems that Avarice lies under more Disadvantages, than any of the Two. For Prodigality and Luxury are useful to many, Avarice to none. These are ordinarily the Extravagancies of Youth, and are cured by Age; but the other grows stronger by it. Interest and Self-Preservation may contribute much to cure these, but both do argue most frequently to the Advantage of Avarice. These have a great deal of Liberality in their Composition, and Prodigality has all that Liberality has, except its Moderation; whereas Avarice has nothing of Virtue in it. Luxury wants many Things, but Avarice all Things. Luxury may seem the more desirable Quality in a Governor, because they who love to please themselves, are observed to desire all may be pleased about them; or at least they are so busy in pleasing themselves, that they are not employed about those new Projects, which avaritious Rulers are ever inventing. The Luxurious also are more easily influenced, and more exorable, because they will not endure the Torture of opposing the Importunity of the Miserable. But I have heard it asserted, that the Luxurious make the worst Soldiers, because that Vice effeminates and softens; whereas Avarice

Se&t. IX.
*Whether
Avarice,
Prodigality,
or Luxury
be the
more Dangerous.*

rice makes Men hardy and laborious : And the Love of Pay and Preferment will make the very Noise of Canons become Melodious. However, *Agur* thought it worthy, not only of his Wish, but of his Prayer, *that God would give him neither Poverty nor Riches, but would feed him with Food convenient for him.* And as the Life is compared to a Lamp, so like a Lamp it burns longest and clearest, when it is neither oppress'd with too much Oil, nor starv'd for want of it : And in this likewise we have occasion of admiring the Wisdom and Goodness of God, who when we break all Squares, forces us even by our Vices to ballance one another : And makes things return to that just Proportion, which he at first designed. Thus he not only opens every wise Man's Eyes, to see that it is his Interest to hold the Scales equal, betwixt Riches and Poverty : But when any vicious Man runs to an Extreme in any of the two, all others, though as vicious as he, find it their Interest to lie heavy upon the other Scale. If any affect an universal Monarchy, all Princes who are not Fools, or guided by Fools or Knaves, combine against him ; if a private Neighbour do avaritiously incline to oppress, he will joyn even those who were Enemies before, in a firm design of boarding his Violence : And the Avaritious and Luxurious are in a constant Enmity against one another. So that while each endeavours to draw that which is contended for to his own side, it must necessarily remain in the middle : And whilst the Frugal and Virtuous Man, is going about his Affairs, he is secured by vicious Men's being Spies upon one another ; and the very seeing them run to an Excess, is a new Obligation on such as are wise, to pray with *Agur*, that God would give them neither Poverty nor Riches. Every
single

single Man also has the same Balance within himself; and thus though the excessive Love of Money incline a Man to oppress, yet the fear of being oppressed, stops his Career: And many would pollute themselves and others by Adultery, Gluttony, &c. if Avarice would allow them to go to the Price: He who is fondest of Pleasure, is forced by the fear of Law, and the love of Health, and Self-Preservation, to imitate that Moderation, which he would otherwise neglect: For if he have enjoyed too much at any time, he is cloyed with his own Excess, and is forced to commend the Temperate whom he formerly scorned.

The chief thing that can recommend Frugality to all Men, but especially to Magistrates, is that it employs every thing to the Use for which it was ordained. If Men were enamoured with it, and made it their chief Care, we should shortly see bloody Wars cease every where, since (let Men talk now what they please of Glory) the great design of the War, is rather to gain Land, than Reputation; of which this is a convincing Proof, that those who talk of Glory, take more pains to gain Towns and Countries by Bribes and Cheats, than by exposing their own Persons to Danger, or observing Capitulations. Nor should we see Monarchs betrayed by their Ministers, nor Commonwealths by their Rulers as now most frequently they are; Statesmen would not ruin their Native Country, and consequently their own Posterity, that they might get superfluous Riches; nor would such as are under their Care be tempted to rebel against their Sovereign, to be free from their Oppression, and to enter into Combinations against those Rulers; but Reason would make all our Laws, and Duty would make us obey them.

A pleasant view of what Effects Frugality would produce in the World.

Sect. X.
How happy the World would be if Men would be Moderate in their Expence and Pleasures.

If Frugality prevailed, it would open the Store-Houses of Charity, the Poor would be fed, the Sick would be taken care for, and the Prisoner would be relieved. This would restore Men to their Sleep, which is now oftentimes broke by the Fear of Want, or the Oppression of Abundance. This would prevent the Melancholy caused by the one, and the many Diseases occasioned by the other. And we should have a satisfied Mind in a sound Body: A frugal Woman's staying within Doors, would prevent the Jealousies of her Husband; and the Husband by minding his Business, would thereby secure her against the infecting Diseases which he contracts in his Idleness: And Parents living thus regularly, would not have Children who will prove rather Crosses than Comforts, wishing either their Parents dead through Avarice; or making them Beggars during their Life by Luxury.

Frugality would enable every Man to live so well, that the Servant needed not cheat his Master, nor the Tenant the Landlord; but on the contrary, every Man would take as great Pleasure to help his Neighbour, when he needed his Assistance, as Men do now in Hunting and Hawking; and certainly there must be more Delight in helping a reasonable Creature, bearing the Image of God, that is in distress; than in rising early, and sitting up late, and giving our selves far more Toil and Vexation than Frugality requires, merely to kill poor innocent Creatures that never offended us. I know that it is hard to reform a World, wherein that which *is wanting cannot be numbered, and that which is crooked cannot be made streight.* And it seems that such Devils as Avarice and Luxury, cannot be cast

out

out without Fasting and Prayer; but yet the opposing of these, is so much every Man's Interest, and is so suitable to Nature (from which Men will get all possible Assistance) that if Kings and Governors would concur with God and Nature, the Task would be Easy, as the Effects would be pleasant. I cannot but commend most cordially the Quakers, who have let us clearly see that if Men please, they may emancipate themselves from the Tyranny of Custom in this particular; and this one excellent Endeavour does not only give them much Tranquillity, and enables them to help all those of their Persuasion to a degree that is to be admired and commended, but it really makes them acceptable in the Neighbourhood: And atones very much for the other Irregularities with which they are charged; and they may convince us, at least in this one Point, that if such as have much Power and Reason should concur together, they would easily make Mankind Happy, by making them Frugal.

The first part of the report is devoted to a general
 description of the country and its resources. It
 is found that the country is well adapted for
 agriculture and stock raising. The soil is fertile
 and the climate is healthy. There are many
 rivers and streams which afford excellent
 water for the purposes of agriculture. The
 country is well watered and the crops are
 abundant. The stock raising is also
 successful. The sheep and cattle are
 well bred and the wool and hides are
 of good quality. The country is well
 adapted for the purposes of agriculture
 and stock raising. The soil is fertile
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 The stock raising is also successful.
 The sheep and cattle are well bred
 and the wool and hides are of good
 quality. The country is well adapted
 for the purposes of agriculture and
 stock raising.

The second part of the report is devoted to a
 description of the minerals and fossils
 which are found in the country. It is found
 that there are many minerals and fossils
 which are of great value. The minerals
 are of various kinds and are found in
 various parts of the country. The fossils
 are of various kinds and are found in
 various parts of the country. The
 minerals and fossils are of great value
 and are well adapted for the purposes
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 The sheep and cattle are well bred
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 stock raising.

REASON.
AN
ESSAY.

BY
Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, K^t.



LONDON:
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REASON

ESSAYS

BY
DANIEL WATSON



LONDON
PRINTED BY...

For the Honourable

ROBERT BOTLE, Esq;

I Know nothing (Sir,) more inconsistent with Right Reason, or which deserves more to be reform'd amongst Learned Men, than their Way of Dedicating Books. And, that we may the better understand what ought to be done in this Age, let us look back into what was done by the Ancients.

The Poets did indeed in-voke their Gods, or the Muses, in the Beginning of their Works; but that was rather to obtain their Assistance, than to bestow upon them Panegyricks: But their Praising the Gods, was a safe Subject, in which they could not exceed. And therefore, tho' these Invocations were the first Occasion of writing Dedications to Mortals, yet Flattery in this made them mistake their Model so far, that at last some of the Poets did likewise in-voke the Assistance of their Emperors, as if they had been Gods as well as Patrons.

Others of the Poets did very anciently Dedicate their Works to Men also: As Hesiod, who was older than Homer, dedicates, or rather addresses his First Poem to Perseus. But 'tis very observable, that he and others, in such like Addresses, rather excite the Persons (to whom they address) to Virtue and Glory; than magnify them for having attain'd to the Perfecti-

on of either, or both. Yet some of these Poets have left us Dedications so excellent, that they are as little to be imitated as censur'd; such as,

Hor. Epist. 1. Lib. 2.

Cum tot sustineas & tanta Negocia solus :
Res Italas Armis tuteris : moribus ornes :
Legibus emendes : in publica Commoda peccem,
Si longo Sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.

And others of them, such as Virgil, end their Poems with very decent and delicate Compliments; as that which closes the Fourth Book of his Georgicks,

Hæc super arvorum cultu pecorumq; canebam,
Et super arboribus : Cæsar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphratem bello, Victorq; volentes
Per populos dat Jura, viamq; affectat Olympo.

which exceed, in my humble Opinion, the fam'd and large Dedications of Grotius and Caufabon.

It was usual amongst the modest Ancients, to address their Books to such as they thought able to correct them, seeking rather Advice than Patronage. And thus Plutarch tells us in the Life of Lucullus, That Scylla having wrote an History, sent it to Lucullus to be corrected; and the Greek Word used there, seems to me to import only Adlocutio. And I think that the Ancients have found Protection and Patronage, even in those Addresses wherein Advice was sought for. Who durst have censur'd, as Tully observes, what Brutus or Pomponius Atticus approved?

Some also prefix'd modest Prefaces; wherein they acknowledged the Favours done them, and told the Occasion of their Writing; as Vitruvius to Augustus. Others did thereafter, in Imitation of the Writers of Tragedies and Comedies, address themselves

selves in a Prologue ; as Valerius Maximus to Tiberius : And this I think he did to give his Fancy Scope, as a Poet, to praise with the Latitude that Poets take. For that is the first Debauch I find committed of this kind ; for he could not have said greater Things to a worse Man.

To shun which Excess, some gave to their Books the Names of the Muses, as Herodotus ; or of Men of great Merit, as Plato did in his Socrates, or Tully in Lælius, &c. or else omitted all Addresses, as Thucidides, Livy, Salust ; or at most extended not their Addresses beyond a mere Compellation, such as that in St. Luke to Theophilus ; by which possibly may be meant any Christian under this Appellative Name, rather than a particular Patron or Friend : As some Books are now addressed to the Christian Reader, in Imitation, it may be, of him. For, 'tis observable, that the Churchmen imitate this Κερίπτε Θεόφιλε of St. Luke. And thus Origen dedicates his Book against Celsus, with this Compellation, φιλέεις Ἀμβρόσιε ; and Eusebius names his Patron Θεόδοτε φίλεθεῦ.

At last the Word Dedication was brought in by Flattery ; and Books were dedicated to Men in Imitation of their Dedicating Temples, Statues, and other Things to the Gods. Nor did this extravagant way of Excessive Praising ever appear, till the World was (under Tiberius) corrupted in all its Morals. This depraved Custom was also much heightened by the Pannegyrics made by Pliny to Trajan, and by Eusebius to the Great Constantine ; who thought that they might more justly praise the Good ; than others might Impious Emperors ; tho' I am afraid, the Eloquence which charms us in those Two Discourses, shall never be able to account for the ill Example they have given.

My Design in all this is to shew, That we can as little justify our Flattery by the Practice of the Ancients, as by the Principles of Reason, by which they always regulated their Eloquence. And therefore it seems to me, that Dedications should be brought back to the ancient Model, either of a naked Compellation, which satisfies abundantly Friendship, or of acknowledging Favours which satisfies Gratitude, or of Exciting the Persons to whom we write, to deserve those Praises which are now most unjustly bestow'd upon them, which is a Christian Duty. And I cannot but observe Three very ill Consequences which arise naturally and necessarily from our late Dedications. The first is, That they learn Men to lye and flatter; and Custom hath almost legitimated this Crime, and made it a Duty. Secondly, They have poison'd the very Fountains of Truth so far, that Posterity can hardly distinguish betwixt those who have deseru'd well or ill; Flattery thinking always fit to supply, by its excessive Praises, what is wanting in due Merit: And therefore, by how much their Patrons deserve ill, they praise so much the more; and the only Mark of Virtue in an Author, or Merit in a Patron now is, that there is no extraordinary thing said in any Address to the one by the other. For who can believe an Author speaks Truth in his Book, who lies and flatters in its very beginning; or that a Patron has any Modesty or common Sense, who suffers himself to be so impos'd upon? If the Patron believe what the Author says, he must be a Fool; and if he believes him not, he must think the Author one; and since they who lie improbably, are thought Fools in all Things else, why not in this too, in which they exceed the most Romantick Travellers, for they only would impose on us in things which we know not, but these in things wherein we cannot but discover them? And I wonder why they do not as well praise the French King for having found out America, or for having vanquish't Alexander
the

the Great, as for those things which they of late ascribe to him in their Dedications. Thirdly, our late Dedications have really corrupted the Eloquence of the Age; for whereas the true Ornaments of Eloquence are to be natural and decent in expressing our Thoughts, these Dedications have blown our Stile into a Tympany, and have ruined its natural Beauty by fulsome and ill-placed daubing Paints: † Which made Chrysi-

† Δοκῆι δὲ
ὑπερβόησι
τῆς γερνέ-
ναι τοσαύ-
τα γέν-
σειλῖα
γέρλας,
ἔδενι τῶ
βασιλέων
αερωσφά-
νισε.

I design, Sir, nothing in this Essay, but to hold out a Lanthorn to those who are ready to split on a Rock; and I wish rather that this may be one of the Works that may follow me, than one of those that may bring me Reputation: And I send this to you as Lucullus did to Scylla for Correction; or as Cicero did to Atticus, as a Token of our Friendship, and of my just Esteem of your Piety and Learning.

G. M.

PART

PART I.

How weakly Men reason in matters of greatest Importance.

IT may seem a bold Undertaking in any man to own right Reason in this Age, it being the declared Enemy of our Interests and Inclinations; for it may possibly excite Man to reflect upon what the World and himself does; and so inspire him with Thoughts contrary to those which are generally received, and that is the only unpardonable Error. It may likewise seem ridiculous to think, that there is any common Standard of Reason amongst Men, since that charms in one Country, which is abhorred in others; and the very imaginary Lines which divide Kingdoms, seem likewise to divide their way of thinking, and to make a different Geography in the Reason which they adore, as well as in the Earth on which they trample. Every Age of the World has almost had a different way of reasoning, and every Age in Man suggests to him contrary Thoughts: In the present he condemns what himself formerly admir'd: So little Influence has it upon the best refin'd Judicatures, and Assemblies, that the most infallible Churchmen, the

the most Learned Judges, and the most Zealous Patriots, must trust to Voting, because they cannot to Reasoning; and they are by this likewise so often misled, that it may be expected Men will one day agree to decide Matters by the fewest Votes; as the wiser have always told us, that Votes are rather to be weighed, than numbred. It has often grieved me, that Men could guess the Decision and Determination of any Point to be debated, before they had the Reasons to be produced upon either side; and to hear them laugh at such as trusted to the Solidity of the Reasons they were to produce; being fully convinced that the Point would be determined by Interest, and not by Reason. The *Inka* of *Peru* was much in the right, when he regretted, that his Predecessors had not obliged him to worship a Reasonable Man; yet his Choice in this had been unsuccessful; for it would have been as hard to have found him, except he had believed his Priest, who had undoubtedly told him he was the Man. And tho' I believe not that *French* Physician who assures us, he found in his Travels a Nation that differed altogether from us in our way of reasoning, as if God design'd to shew Mankind that his Omnipotency is not tyed in this to any known Measures; yet I see, even amongst our selves, that Conveniency (the gentler Name of Avarice) Pride, Revenge, Bigotry, Education, and every thing else, pass for Reason, except Reason it self; which makes me oft-times cry out, *Is this that nobler Creature formed after the Image of God, for whom Christ dyed, and who is to be Co-heir with him of his everlasting Kingdoms?* All which notwithstanding, it is undeniably true, that there is something in Man more sublime than can be ascrib'd to Flesh and Blood; that dull Matter could never inspire
him

him with these penetrating, subtile, comprehensive, generous, and elevated Thoughts, which made the Pagans believe, that his Soul was *particula Divinae Naturæ*, a parcel of that same Divine Substance of which the Gods were formed; and that Men so qualified were demi-Gods. And God Almighty himself has by a surer Revelation revealed to us, that this noble Soul was formed after his Image; and it was most consequential that God who is infinite, being to communicate himself to some of his Creatures, to the end his Greatness and Goodness might be known to them, he should in order to this breathe into them somewhat that might comprehend, at least; some Ideas of that infinite Perfection; and therefore it was necessary that the Soul should be an Image of what was infinite. And that we might understand this from some exterior and sensible Representations and Things, he has formed his very body (the Casket wherein that Noble Jewel is kept) after a very wonderful Manner; thus by small and interceptible Rays darted into his Eye, the Representations of the vast Hemisphere are imprinted so on that little Tablet, that it seems as great and distinct there, as in the Original; all he ever heard is laid up in his Memory, as distinctly as Papers in a Cabinet. And almost by the same Motion of the Tongue, or at least, without any studied variation, vast Numbers of delicate Words, or harmonious Sounds, do, in a way unknown, and unperceptible by Flesh and Blood, fall out in mighty Swarms and Armies, which passing thus undiscovered, through the Air, enter at many thousand Ears in the same Figure, Ranks, and Files, wherein they were at first spoke; and there, in a Spiritual way, they charm some, and enrage others; they animate some, and discour-

rage others ; working almost as great Varieties as they bring.

Divine Wisdom also foreseeing that Interest would persuade Men to pull all to Pieces, whilst each drew all to himself, he imprest upon this Soul common Principles, which even those must reverence who neglect them ; and therefore they err, not in the Rule, but in the Application, and cheat themselves by Subterfuges ; the recurring to which infers necessarily, that these Principles are submitted to by the most stubborn, and somewhat respected by the wildest in sublunary Matters ; and yet in what concerns our immortal Souls, and Eternal State, we are more negligent ; as will appear too clearly by these following Particulars, which I have classed according to their different Inferences.

I have oft-times admir'd to see Men busied about nothing, save external and sensual Objects ; but it is yet stranger to find, that amongst such as are convinc'd that Knowledge is as much to be preferr'd to all other things, as the Soul is to the Body, there are yet some so sensual, even in this Point, that the knowledge they seek after is but a more delicate Sensuality. Mathematicians consider chiefly how to measure Bodies ; Physicians how to know and cure Men, as Soldiers do how to destroy them. But the Study of Christian Morality (which has for its Object the Soul of Man heighten'd by the Christian Religion, teaching him how to understand the Duty of that Soul to God) is too much neglected, as a thing obvious and easy. Whereas when our Saviour came into the World, he neither taught Mathematicks, Medicine, nor Physiology, tho all these were much consider'd in that Age wherein he assum'd our Nature ; and he could have made himself as much admir'd by
clear-

clearing mysterious Doubts in these, as by working Miracles : But he passing by all these as less useful Notions, and such as too frequently divert and distract, rather than inform, he declares he was come to make Man happy ; and begins his Ministry by an admirable Sermon on the Mount, whereby in order to the making him happy, he teaches him to reason rightly upon his Duty to God and Men. And it is strange, that we should think dull Matter is able to afford more noble Contemplations, than that subtle, that sublime, that vast, and that nimble Soul, which retains so far the Image of its Maker, as to be inscrutable in all its Faculties. And O ! what wonderful Springs and Motions, what various Windings and Flights, what boundless and new Spheres and Worlds are there in his Reflections ? And what Things are daily said, and Volumes written on the Love to Women, which is but the Excursion of one of them ? Our Diseases cannot conceal themselves, being tied to Matter ; but the Diseases of our Immortal Souls are so concealed by Self-Love, which loves to cover its own Imperfections, and to hide its own Retreats, that they are past finding out. And if a little Microscope can discover to the Eye new and strange things in Objects that have been daily seen, without being consider'd for many Ages ; what wonderful Discoveries may serious thinking Men make in so immense an Object, that has been so much neglected ? Especially, since the Thoughts of Men do change and vary themselves into as many Shapes, & give themselves as many Colours as they please : And every Duty or Error is really a different Object, as they are in Conjunction with, or in Opposition to one another ; whereas all other Objects are incapable

ble of such Variations either from themselves or others : And tho' God has design'd to be known in his Works, yet he seems on purpose to have made the Knowledge of them so unsearchable to Natural Philosophers, and the Success so little able to reward or honour their Endeavours, to the end they might the more relish Moral Philosophy, which is then only uncertain when like the other it grows more a Science than a Duty.

In my Reasoning I will use the Forms prescrib'd by God himself in his Holy Scriptures ; wherein when he would convince Man of his Folly, Sin, or Ingratitude, he argues with him from his own Concessions in these Cases ; or his own Practice on all other occasions : As for Instance, when he sends *Nathan* to *David*, he asks him what the Man deserv'd, who having great Herds and Flocks of his own, took a poor Man's Lamb out of his Bosom ? And *David*, having in great Anger sworn that he should die, *Nathan* then tells him, it was his Case, and condemns him from his own Mouth. And God says to his People, who acknowledg'd him to be their Lord and Father, but walk'd not suitably to their Acknowledgment ; *If I be a Father, where is mine Honour ; and if I be a Master, where is my Fear ? Malach. i. 6.* He calls to them, *Isai. i. 18.* *Come, let us reason together ;* and admiring the Unreasonableness of unthinking Man, he appeals to the Heavens and Earth, *Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth, for the Lord hath spoken ! I have nourished and brought up Children, and they have rebelled against me ! The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib ; but Israel doth not know, my People do not consider !* And in the several Gospels we find our blessed Saviour, after the same manner, confuting the *Jews*, and convincing all

his Hearers. Nor do I find so much delicate reasoning in any of those Books, highly esteem'd by our Men of Sense, who slight too much that admirable one, which God himself owns as his Sacred Word: And I admire our Saviour, as much for his Reasonings as for his Miracles. Thus when he would convince Men of the Folly of caring immoderately for the Things of this World, he asks them, What Profit shall it be to gain all the World, that soon perishes, if they lose their own Soul, which is Immortal? *And which of you, (says our Lord) by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature?* And urges them, not to fear Want, because, if they who are sinful know how to provide for their own Families, how much more shall your Father, which is in Heaven, know how to provide for you, if ye be his Children? *Behold, (says our Blessed Maker) the Fowls of the Air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them; are not you much better than they?*

For establishing this my Position, it is fit to consider, that such as are reasonable, endeavour to shew it in the greatest Concerns; and it implies a want, or weakness of Reason, to be exact and delicate in inconsiderable and silly Things, and yet to err and be careless in Matters of greatest Consequence: And who would not laugh at an Ambassador or a General, who would value himself upon his dancing or playing upon the Lute, bestowing upon these Exercises the time due to his King, Country, and Negotiations? Which makes me admire, why in this foolish Age, we call these Men of good Senses, and strong Spirits, who can criticise *Virgil, Juvenal, Livy, Tacitus*, or it may be, understand the Mathematicks, or Conversation; whilst we are convinc'd, that albeit they believe there is a God,
yet

yet they mind him not, and care less for their Souls than they do for any of their ordinary Recreations, though they are forc'd to tremble at its ill Condition, when they begin to consider it.

One of the things which prompted me to write this Book, was the reading of a *French* Treatise, *De la Justesse*, wherein tho' he made me expect great Matters, by promising to learn us to think justly; yet it only taught how to chuse true Epithets, or understand Criticisms, and such trivial Knacks: But, alas, it is more to be regretted, that Men should have the Sense to laugh at others, for not having considered the Plot and Design of their Plays; whilst many who pass for refin'd Wits, want one in their whole Life; and where the want of it is not only a greater Shame, but is of greater Danger, since a Man cannot err here without being ruined to all Eternity: And one of these great Wits, without a solid Design in his Life, appears to me, like a glorious first-rate Ship, magnificently equipp'd, richly gilded, and abundantly provided of all Necessaries; but because it wants a Rudder, and a skilful Pilot, fluctuating in a great Storm, and near a dangerous Shore, on which it is driven with Violence, threaten'd by the Wind, and overflown by the Billows; sometimes shatter'd by one Rock, and sometimes by another, till at last it sinks down irrecoverably into an unfathomable and dreadful Abyss. Whether then is the Owner of this Ship, who looks on unconcernedly, and perhaps, would not leave his Whore, Game, or Supper; or that Poet, who wrote his Play without a Plot, most to be contemn'd? Yet he who has no design to save his immortal Soul from endless Torments, is a much greater Fool than either; which recom-

mends to me the Sense of a Wiser, tho' a Hea-then Poet, on this Subject ; and which I wish the whole Tribe would seriously consider.

*Discite, o miseri, & causas cognoscite rerum,
Quid sumus, & quidnam victuri gignimur, ordo.
Quis datus, aut metæ quam mollis flexus & unde.
Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid asper.
Utile nummus habet : patriæ carisque propinquit
Quantum elargiri deceat : quem te Deus esse
Fussit & humana qua parte locatus es in re.*

It is a pleasant thing to hear us admire Men, for considering exactly the Anatomy, Specialities, and Natures of Fishes, Fowls, Flies, and other Insects; and yet never consider whence themselves came, whither they are going, or what is their Duty whilst they remain here. And I wonder why we should think it just, to look upon Men in *Bedlam*, though they be very Reasonable in many Things, if they be very distracted in any one; as I know one, who seem'd a discreet Person, and could converse most pertinently in every thing, till they spoke of the Moon; but upon hearing that nam'd, fell instantly a staring, and into great Extravagancies, believing himself to be Secretary to the Moon. And others will be discreet enough, till you mention the Name of such a Man or Woman; and yet we do not conclude such Mad and Distracted, who, though they understand to measure Heaven, never design to enter into it; and who can eloquently convince Men of eternal Torments, and fright them from the wicked Course which lead to these, and yet ruin themselves on the Precipices against which they guard others. And who would not think a Physician mad, for all his Skill, if after he had made a learn-

learned Discourse, to prove a Liquor to be Poyson, he should drink it off himself; and yet more, if he would not take an Antidote, though ready, and which he knew would secure him.

I shall but lightly touch that ridiculous and impudent Extravagance of some, who rather pretending to Reason, than having it, take pains to persuade themselves and others, that there is not a God; whilst even the Subtilty which they use, when they are endeavouring to prove this their Assertion, does necessarily prove his Being: It being impossible, that Matter and Chance, (their great Idols) could forge and polish such subtile Notions: And how can they imagine, that since their own little Affairs could not be managed without Foresight and Conduct, that yet this great and glorious Universe, which comprehends so many Millions such as they, should be so exactly and justly governed by blind Chance? If there were no Men but the silly and humourous Asserters of this Opinion, I should be asham'd to bring Man as an Instance of the Power and Wisdom of God: Let us then consider this Creature, form'd of I know not what, fed, breathing, and growing in the Womb, we know not how; but from those despicable Beginnings, one rises in a short time, to measure the Heavens, to calculate their Motions, and to imitate their Lightning and Thunder; another does for his own Glory, form such Models of Religion as seduces, and draws after him Millions of Men, contrary to their former Interests, as well as former Inclinations: A Third, by his Skill, Conduct, and Courage, makes even the remotest Countries of the World to tremble, overturning, and confounding that World, whereof he is so small a part: And a Fourth, by drawing sweetly and gently toge-

ther very distant and different Reflexions , and Thoughts which come readily, as it were upon his Call, from their several Repositories , forms an Harangue, or a Poem, which pleases or torments the Hearers irresistibly , as they have Commission from their Author ; it being harder to resist them than to make them: Can so regular Things be ascribed to wild Chance , or such subtle Things to dull Matter , which by its Nature moves necessarily and without Choice ? The best contriv'd Machine can only repeat ; but Man chuses his own Thoughts , and varies or changes them as he pleases.

I desire our Wits to consider , that every thing which they see, or know, is so marvellously fitted to some Use, that as they could not be wanted, so they cannot be contrived better: And it is ridiculous to answer with *Epicurus*, (who, tho' he denied Providence, yet denied not a Deity) that these Things were not made for these Uses, as we pretend, but were, in process of time, made use of to these ends by Wit or Necessity : For even Brutes do immediately after they are brought forth ; run to those Things which they need; with greater exactness than Man could teach them. And how could Men , by Reason, make every thing useful, if so infinite a Being did not direct and supervise their almost infinitely various Necessities and Designs , and instruct them, by the use of Thinking, (that wonderful Engine) to accommodate every thing to its true Use. The next thing I recommend to them, is to consider that all the Principles of Justice and Government , without which the World could not subsist, depend upon the Belief of this infinite Being ; for how could I convince a Man without this , that it were not fit to poyson his Brother for an Estate ; or his Prince , when he
thought

thought that by that he might step into his Throne; which oft-times might be done covertly enough, to escape the Punishment of Laws, if they could that of Conscience. Nor is it of any Force to tell us, that Politicians have only invented this for their own Conveniency, since even this Answer presupposes that there was a Pre-disposition on the Spirits of Men, to receive and submit to this Impression, which is an unanswerable Proof of its Truth; and this Trick had not been long believ'd, had it been only such; nor could their Inventions secure us against private Treachery, tho' it could against open Force; nor can I omit to observe from this Answer, how unfit these Men would be to govern others, and how unsufferable they are under all Governments, who thus expose to Contempt that which they confess to be the great Engine of Government. I might likewise urge the Consent of all Nations; which, by how much they became the more polish'd and civiliz'd, do so much the more rest on this Belief. The Certainty that has arisen from Predictions which are above Nature, and the wonderful Effects wrought by Miracles, even against it, are confirm'd to us, by the unerring Testimony of those Senses which our Atheists make the only and sure Test of Knowledge. And do not we perceive, that that Light of Reason, which by constant and penetrating Reflexions, in time, discover'd, overcame, and baffled every Cheat and Error; has notwithstanding, more fully fix'd, ascertain'd, and clear'd the Being of a God, whose Power affords us such Protection; and whose Providence affords us such beautiful and pleasant Contemplations, that to love that Life, without believing his Being, is to be without that Sense and Wit which these wild

Scepticks pretend to ; who whilst they shun to be miserable, make themselves so , and whilst they pretend to pass for Wits, demonstrate themselves to be Fools and Brutish. I purposely avoid the Proof of this by Metaphysical Arguments, because God's own way of proving it, is , by desiring us to consider the Sun , Moon, and Stars, and the other Objects, which are obvious to all Men ; for it was fit , that what was to be universally believ'd, should be inferr'd from what was universally seen : And such as understand not those Metaphysical Notions , are apt to believe that there is a Design to impose upon them.

But since our Curiosity must be always somewhat satisfied with Arguments raised above Sense, I shall offer this one : It cannot be deny'd, but that there is something in Man that can compare two or more different things ; such as, Whether the Pain of the Head or the Leg be greatest ? And that this cannot be done by any thing that is material, is very clear : For if so, it must be done by something that touches at once both the things to be compared ; and no material thing can do that in the same Points : And if it be in different Points, then it cannot judge of the difference betwixt the two ; for they must be touch'd in one common Point , else there can be no Application of the material Judge to both at the same time. And if this Judgment must be made by something in Man that is immaterial, and so is able to extend its indivisible Self to both the Things to be compared ; then it necessarily follows , that this must be a Spirit ; for there can be nothing immaterial but a Spirit : And if we can once comprehend a Spirit , we can never deny there is a God. For the hardest Things that are objected against his Being , are those
which

which strike against the Being of Spirits in general.

Because few or none are really distracted by this kind of Madness, tho' they could wish they were, by smothering their Reason with Illusions, that they may cover their Crimes to themselves, with the Hopes of Impunity; I hasten to another kind of Unreasonable Men, who, tho' they acknowledge there is a God, do yet, by a deplorable Negligence, little mind how to please and obey him. And that I may enforce upon my Reader the Weakness of their Reasonings, I wish any of us would think, that if a Society of Men were shipwreck'd upon, or sent Prisoners to an unknown Isle; were it not most unreasonable for them to sit Reading, Discoursing, or Gaming, and not to think who were Masters of that Isle, and how they might live in it? And if they learn'd that it belong'd to a great Prince, who had absolute Power of Life and Death, were it not unreasonable, not to desire to obtain his Friendship? But much more to reject it, if he offer'd it with Riches and Preferment, upon no other Condition, save that they would attend at his Court, love him, and not wrong one another? But this is our Condition in a much stronger Case: For we are here in a World created by God Almighty, in which he can kill and preserve, not the Body only, but the Soul too; nor for some time only, but for ever: Nor requires he any harder Condition of us, than that we would love the Lord our God with all our Hearts, and our Neighbours as our selves; which are so far from being hard Lessons, that one would think we could not but take great Delight in them, if they were not prescrib'd to us as our Duty. For if a Man be admir'd once for his great Courage, Conduct, or Learning; who
would

would not be pleas'd with being allow'd to converse with him? Who amongst us would not have taken pains to have been lov'd by *Cæsar*, as his Friend, but more, as his Son? But if *Cæsar* had been as expert a Mathematician as he was a Soldier, and could have burnt his Enemies Ships, like *Archimedes*; if he had invented Gunpowder for his Magazines, and found out the whole New World, as well as conquer'd a considerable Part of the Old: How much more would we yet have esteem'd him? And to proceed further; if this *Cæsar* could either have sav'd his own Life, by knowing the Secrets of, or by killing alone all his Assassins, or prolong'd for many Hundreds of Years that of his Servants; we should yet more have rejoic'd in his Service and Adoption. But what is all this to the Infinite Perfection of the Great King of Kings, whose Servants, Friends, nay, and adopted Sons we may be? He it is who govern'd *Cæsar*, as he does the Flies or Ants; who, with one Word made *Cæsar* and all the World, whereof he conquer'd only a Part which he was not able to retain. By whose Skill the Heavens were stretch'd out, in which vain *Cæsar's* greatest Ambition was, to be a little Star: Who not only knows, but in one Moment governs all the various, and almost infinite Thoughts and Designs of Angels, Men, and Devils; and who forces them all, how contrary soever to one another, to agree in the great Designs he has in Governing the World.

Who would not rejoice to serve a Master, that knew when he were innocent, and who, as he is exactly just to his Servants, so could not be impos'd upon by others, to their prejudice; and tho' even Swarms of Witnesses combined against them, could see thro' the Mists that they threw

up; which no Earthly Master, how just soever, can do? But such is our Heavenly Master, who can also not only enrich us when we are poor, and cure us when we are sick; but can tame our Passions, illuminate our Ignorance, strengthen our Inclinations, sweeten our Tempers, and make all these Joys compleat, by the Removal of all Fears or Jealousies that can end or lessen them. Can we give any reasonable Account, why we should be careful to keep the Road exactly, if we knew there were great Precipices on every hand, into which whoever fell were irrecoverable; and yet knowing, that in our Voyage to Eternity, there are Precipices that lead to dreadful Pits of Fire and Brimstone, kindled by the Wrath of an angry God; we notwithstanding, go on carelessly, laughing at such as admonish us, and minding little Trifles, which we are convinc'd will please no longer than we possess them.

How fallily do we reason, in reflecting on our selves and others? For we think them mad, who endeavour not to get themselves cur'd, when they find they are tormented with Gout and Gravel; yet who amongst us is at any Pains, so much as to seek Remedies for his Passions and Vices, which of all other Diseases torment us most. And if we heard a Fellow in Livery value himself upon the Richness of his Suit; would we not esteem him an airy and foolish Creature? But if we saw a Man who were condemned, and going to the Scaffold, admire himself, and talk of his Power and Glory, would we not conclude him distracted? And yet this is the true State of a Vain and Glorious Monarch, who has nothing but what he has receiv'd from an Infinite God, who can recal it when he pleases; and who, whilst he talks of his Glory and Greatness,

ness, is by that God condemn'd to die as irredeemably, as must the meanest Slave over whom he insults. And since we would laugh at a vain Coxcomb, who whilst he were entertaining his Friends in his Master's House, as if it were his own, were taken out of it by the Ears, and forc'd to tremble under the Lash; How ridiculous must we conclude *Belshazzar*, (and which is the Case of too many other Great Men) who, whilst he was Feasting all his Nobles, and persuading them of his Independence, was seized by an irresistible Horror, which shak'd him all to pieces.

I doubt not for all this, but Learned Men will think they may justly value themselves on their own great Parts and Skill; and you may read long Lectures made by them on this Subject: But how unreasonable are they in this? since these Endowments are given them as External Things are given to others; and a School-Boy may more justly admire himself, because he can repeat excellent Lines made by another; or a Man, because the borrowed Furniture, that he would make us believe to be his own, were within, and not without door, or were finer than that borrow'd Stuff which another had, whom he despis'd. If Two poor Men should borrow, the one Ten, and the other a Thousand Pounds, the Difference of the borrowed Sums should not cease to leave both of them equally poor. But he is really a wise and reasonable Man, who knowing that what he has is borrow'd, endeavours not to boast of it as his own, but to repay (as much as he can) the Interest to the true Owner for the Loan. Let us then conclude this Period with the Apostle's just Reasoning, 1 Cor. 4. 7. *For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive?*

ceive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?

Being once in Company with a great Wit, who seeing Two poor Chairmen sweat in carrying a gross, corpulent, vain Fellow; he cry'd out, that he had rather be hang'd, than serve so meanly such a Rogue. Whereupon I told him he was doing a meaner thing, in bearing the Extravagancies of a violent and tyrannous Statesman; to please whose extravagant Humour, I had seen him sweat more than these poor Men did; who had also in this the Advantage of him, that they did so to get Bread for their Family; whereas he did the other to feed that Ambition and Avarice, which tended to destroy himself.

Man's Unreasonableness appears also in the Unsuitableness of the Means he uses, to the Ends he proposes to himself. Who would not think him a Fool, who would endeavour to cure a mad Dog, by putting a Golden Collar about his Neck? Or who would think to cure a Fever in a Man, by bestowing a great Office on him? But are not Men such Fools, when they think they can quiet their Passions by Riches, or their Minds by Advancement? Spiritual Distempers are to be cur'd by Spiritual Means; and as the finest Thoughts cannot feed the Body, so neither can the greatest Riches, or any other external thing satisfy the immaterial Soul!

If I were desirous to get Preferment, would not I endeavour to please him from whom I were to expect it, and not his Enemies? But tho' we say that we expect, or at least wish to be Favourites to God Almighty, and to be by him happy for ever; yet we spend not our time in obeying him, but in serving openly and
affi-

assiduously the World, the Devil, and our own Lusts, which are his declar'd Enemies; and that too so resolutely, that any reasonable Man cannot (upon considering our Actions) but conclude, That either we car'd not for what he could give, or else that we were subtle enough to cheat him, or strong enough to over-power him.

If a Man were going to live in another Country, would he not endeavour to accustom himself to the Customs of it, and to carry with him Things that were useful in that Country? And would we not laugh at him, if he spent his Time in Building and Adorning that Inn, which he were to leave? But this is our Condition, who bestow all our Thoughts on the Things of this World, from which we should expect to remove every moment, and in which we cannot stay long.

It is most strange that Men, to secure themselves against Fortune, should put themselves more and more into its Power. For the Remedies we use are to grow richer and greater; and nothing subjects us more to Accidents than these do; for it is for these that Men are pursu'd and destroy'd, and they are oftner Crimes than Defences.

God has promised, that *if we seek we shall find, if we knock it shall be open'd*; so that Prayer is the true way to attain to what is desirable: And Men may pray securely at their own Bedside, or in walking about their own Field. But yet Men will leave this sure, safe, and easy way, and sail to the *Indies* amidst Storms, and travel thro' the Desarts of *Arabia* amongst Thieves, to get unnecessary Riches; expose themselves to Cannons, and watch in Camps, to get Honours; trusting the Seas, Winds and Cannons, more than

than their own kind and merciful Father, who made and governs all these.

When we have Children, we are very desirous to leave them well secur'd, and consequently provide them Estates: But tho' we take pains to breed our Colts and Hawks, we take no pains in teaching our Children their Duty to their Master, as we do those Beasts; and probably by not being bred to a just way of Reasoning, they may lose by one Extravagance all that we have left them, or at least live unhappily, in not knowing how to use it aright. And the same Parents which would bestow their Estates to free their Children from burning for a Month in a Fever, will, to get them a little Addition to that same State, breed them so, as may occasion their Burning to all Eternity.

If any Man were guilty of Crimes, and so needed the King's Pardon; would we not think him a mere Brute, if he should, instead of seeking it earnestly and sincerely, run up and down railing at him, and reviling his Laws? Yet most of our Wits, who have indeed more Guilt than Wit, and are not sure what Moment they shall be damn'd for ever, make it their Business rather than Sport, to treat in Ridicule his Divine Majesty and Laws.

Let us a little examine the unreasonableness of Mens arguing in Matters of Honour, wherein they pretend to be so exact, and delicate, and we shall be convinc'd how weak their Reason is.

And in the first Place, would not right Reason dictate to us, that those things are fittest for Men of honour, which are most approv'd and recommended by that Judge whom all acknowledge to understand best what is great, glorious, and just? Who would believe any thing to be

Honourable

honourable for a Soldier, which *Cæsar* or *Mareschal Turenne* had condemned as unjust and mean? And if this Rule hold, we must conclude, That it is the Almighty God, the Glorious Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of the heart of Man; and not the insolent Courtier, the huffing Hector, or the unstable and ignorant Rabble, who must give the Rules to just Honour and true Grandeur. Nor should the best of mortal men be able to persuade us, that any thing is honourable, but according as it agrees with the reveal'd Will of the Omnipotent and Infallible Judge; for if he be Infallible, it is ridiculous that his Judgment should not be acquiesc'd in; and if we think him not Infallible, we cannot think he is God.

If any Man should call one perjur'd, especially if he were a Person of Quality, he would resent it irreconcilably; and yet are not all such as are guilty of Adultery, guilty of Perjury; and to aggravate this Perjury, it is Perjury against a Lady, to injure whom, and to whom the breach of an ordinary Promise, would be thought a shameful Crime; but yet much more, when it is considered, that upon that Oath the Lady had deliver'd herself up, and by the like Oath had forsaken all the rest of Mankind: So then, if Perjury be a Villany, when committed in the most trivial things, and to a Person who never obliged us; what can it then be, when committed in the greatest Concern; and when the Oath was given in the most considerate Manner, and under the greatest Obligation to the most deserving Person, and to one of that delicate Sex, which the most unworthy are unwilling to injure or cheat?

I doubt not, but all who pretend to Reason, will acknowledge, that Ingratitude is the most abominable

abominable of all Vices; and most inconsistent with true Honour. And if a Prince had obliged one of his Subjects, behaving himself as a kind Father to him, would he not be a very Rogue if he were ungrateful; but yet more, if he refused to obey him, after many Promises and Vows, nay, and after many Pardons, having several times relapsed again and again into those Crimes, and even employed the Forces with which the King had trusted him, against himself? And yet the King of Kings, and our Heavenly Father, having heaped hourly such Favours on us, that it needs a Man's whole time to repeat them, because every Moment of our time makes a part of them, we ungrateful Miscreants employ all the strength of our Spirits and Bodies in offending him daily, to that height, that tho' we our selves tremble when we think with confusion upon them, and vow against, and mourn for them; yet we, unreasonable Men, return with the Dog to the Vomit, and with the Sow to the Puddle, and add the Breach of our new Vows to our old Sins.

I know that Pride has form'd for its own Defence a Body of Law call'd Point of Honour; as one instance whereof, amongst others, I urge how unreasonably Men repair their Honour, in endeavouring to take a Man's Life for a word, damning both themselves and him, and by way of Compliment drawing innocent Men (and such ordinarily as have the greatest Kindness for them) into the same Hazard and Condemnation; which in spite of all the Gallantry imaginable, does prove how little use of true Reason Men have, tho' they value themselves very much as if they were the sole Masters of it. For this is not only contrary to the Law of God, the

true Fountain of Honour, as of all Good, but to the Laws of our Country : And what can be more absurd, than that some private, young, and ranting Hectors should be able to make that pass for generous and gallant, which whole Nations assembled, have after much Reasoning and Deliberation condemned as a Crime in all Ages and Countries. And even the same Men, who brag of this when enrag'd, and in the Field, condemn it in Parlaiment and in cold Blood. But nothing discredits this Heroism more, than that those, who would not yield up their Revenge to God, nor their Conscience, have been frighted from it by the *French King* and the Gallows.

If one Man give another the Lye, he must pay down his Life, because a Man of Honour would rather chuse to dye than to be a Lyar, or rather thought one ; but this Man of Honour will flatter, till all Men laugh at him for lying so grossly ; & this Eloquence of Knaves must likewise make his Patron a Fool for being capable to believe what none believes, save himself ; so that this Flatterer, who yet passes for a Man of true Honour, makes himself a Lyar, and his Patron a Fool. How oftentimes also have we seen these Men of Honour lye and flatter, to promote Faction, and to please the Multitude, which they were thereby designing to Cheat ; as if the addition of a Cheat could make a Lie honourable. Rebellion and Pimping are Noble Flights of Glory and Kindness, to which fashionable Men, and Men of Honour can only pretend, and a Prerogative deny'd to those Men who are truly virtuous. If Men, who are tender of their Reputation, were reasonable, would they not consider, that all these their Crimes and Vices are known

to that Great God, who is the Fountain of Truth, and the Rule of Purity, and shall at the Great Day be known to Men and Angels? If a Lady considered, that all her unchast Thoughts, and a Person who passes for an Honest Man, that all his Secrets and Cheats would be discover'd to their Neighbours, though as guilty as they, it would confound them: How then will all Men look, when the Sins they are endeavouring to cover, shall be laid open in that Illustrious Assembly, where Innocence and Knowledge shall be in such high Perfection? How can we then be judg'd Reasonable Creatures, when we dare do that before the Almighty God, who is of purer Eyes than that he can behold Iniquity, which we durst not attempt before our own Servants, who depend on us, and are as frail as our selves? And if we cannot abide the Accusation of our own Conscience, how shall we be able to hold up our Faces in so glorious a Judicature? And can Men be Reasonable Creatures, and yet not mind so great a Concern?

Fame, that tacit Acknowledgment of Immortality, even in those who believe it not, is pursued so extravagantly, that Idolatry it self is not more inexcusable. For to gain the opinion of a brutal Multitude, we sacrifice to them our Duty, our Quiet and our Security; and what Design can we have, or return can we expect for all this? For if we be not Immortal, what signifies our being esteem'd, when we are to have no Being? And why should we give our selves real Trouble for an imaginary Good? And if we believe the Christian Religion, it teaches us that either we must be sav'd or damn'd; if sav'd, Fame from Men will signify

nify nothing, when we discover how foolish we were to adore such Worms ; if damn'd, that which made a great part of our Crime, cannot be an alleviation of its Punishment. But if a Man, believing there is a God, did argue justly, he would value highly the being esteem'd by that Wisdom that cannot err, and whose Suffrage will last to all Eternity. Men can only raise our Character, without being able to raise our Merit, but our great Master can really make us merit, and open others Eyes of the to understand it, when true ; which no Man can do ; and his Esteem brings Rewards suitable to its Greatness ; and therefore is only worthy of our Pains, especially, if we bestowed that Pains in serving him, which we do in gaining Fame ; we might expect from his Goodness what can never be valuable when obtain'd from Men, because of their Meanness ; or secure, because of their Injustice or Caprice. If we saw any of our Acquaintance running up and down among mean and ignorant People, to persuade them to praise and admire him, we would laugh at his Folly, as well as Vanity ; but this is the Condition of us poor blind Sinners, who are sick and dejected, if our silly, blind Fellow-Mortals do not admire us, and praise our Actions.

I have remark'd in my own time, that some by taking too much care to be esteem'd and admir'd, have by that course mis'd their aim ; whil'st others of them, who shunn'd it, did meet with it, as if it had fallen on them, whil'st it was flying from the others ; which proceeded from the unfit means these able and reasonable Men took to establish their Reputation. It is very strange to hear Men value themselves upon their Honour, and their being Men of their Word in Trifles, when yet that same

Honour

Honour cannot tie them to pay the Debts they have contracted upon solemn Promise of secure and speedy Repayment; starving poor Widows and Orphans, to feed their Lusts; and adding thus, Robbery and Oppression to the dishonourable Breach of Trust. And how can we think them Men of Honour, who, when a Potent and Foreign Monarch is oppressing his Weaker Neighbours, hazard their very Lives to assist him, tho' they would rail at any of their Acquaintance; that meeting a strong Man fighting with a weaker, should assist the stronger in his Oppression.

The surest and most pleasant Path to universal Esteem, and true Popularity, is to be just; for all men esteem him most who secures most their private Interest, and protects best their Innocence. And all who have any Notion of a Deity, believe that Justice is one of his chief Attributes; and that therefore, whoever is just, is next in Nature to him, and the best Picture of him; and to be reverenc'd and lov'd: But yet, how few trace this Path? most Men chusing rather to toil and vex themselves, in seeking Popular Applause, by living high, and in profuse Prodigalities, which are entertain'd by Injustice and Oppression, as if rational Men would pardon Robbers, because they feasted them upon a part of their own Spoils; or did let them see fine and glorious Shows, made for the honour of the Giver upon the Expence of the robb'd Spectators. But when a virtuous Person appears Great by his Merit, and obey'd only by the charming Force of his Reason, all Men think him descended from that Heaven which he serves, and to him they gladly pay the Noble Tribute of deserved Praises.

Another great Class of Arguments, to prove how ill Men reason in Matters of greatest Im-

portance, may be brought from the Contradictions we are guilty of in our Conduct. As for Instance, Life is the thing in the World most valu'd; for without it we can enjoy nothing; and yet so unreasonable are we, that for a Complement, we will hazard it so far, as may be rather call'd a losing of it. Whentime is going, we cry out against Providence, for having made it so short; and when it is gone, we would give all the World to redeem it; and yet we are weary of it so far as to bestow Money upon any thing that will help to spend it; and give it away in Visits, to such to whom we would not give any thing else. We would for no Money quit one Year of our Life; and yet for the same Money which we so undervalued in the express Exchange, most Men do really give away very many of their best Years, since they are spent in gaining Money.

We exclaim against Tyranny, Usurpation and Oppression, and in this we are much in the right: But why then do we admire, and cry up such as have been great Oppressors and Usurpers, as *Alexander, Caesar*? For in this, we are not only unjust upon the Matter, but Enemies to our selves; for that Esteem we put upon them who have been such, invites others to make us the Prey of our own Errors.

Most Men do admire, and prefer themselves to all others, which is a great Proof of our unreasonableness; but yet, even these cannot stay with themselves, and by being afraid to look into their own hearts, contradict the Esteem which yet at all times they have for themselves; to an unsufferable Excess. All Men desire to prefer the best Company; and when Men prefer any Company to the being alone, they demonstrate that themselves are not the best.

Most Men, when they are young, contemn Riches, and love them when they are old ; and though our Wits scorn to think or say with the Vulgar, yet even these are swayed as much and as strongly by vulgar Vices, as those who never exclaim'd against the unthinking Crowd. All Creatures stand in awe of others, according to the Esteem they have of them ; and tho' we admire our own Perfections, and value our selves far above our proportion, yet stand we not in awe to commit Wickedness when alone, which we durst not commit if others were present ; and thus we are so unreasonable, that we want a due reverence and esteem for our selves, where we ought to have it, and have it excessively where we ought to want it totally.

Self-love, the falsest tho' the subtlest of all Reasoners, endeavours to perswade us, that in Revenge, we shall, by seeing our Enemies ruined, remain our selves the excellent Creatures, our Rivals being thus depress'd : And this is that hid Reason which justifies to us that Passion which is truly most inhumane. But what an improper Argument is this ? For we are not one whit the more excellent, that another is ruined by an Accident. Another Argument brought by Revenge, is, that thus we shall secure our selves against our Enemies, and so Revenge would pass with us under the disguise of Self-defence ; but because this would seem cowardly, and be in effect, a tacit acknowledgment of Fear ; we rather say, that in Revenge, we will teach others not to attack us. But all these are false reasonings ; for no Man secures his true Quiet by Revenge, for it raises an Enemy within, which is always present, and able to disquiet : And all Men conclude themselves obliged to de-

stroy the Revengeful Man, by the same Argument that he pursues his Revenge; and thus a Man is tortured by it after he has prevail'd.

Most Men desire to be in Employment, from a secret Desire to be admir'd; whereas when they are in Employments, they do not those Just and Virtuous Things, for which they would be truly admir'd: And albeit Self-love makes them believe, that the being fear'd is a Mark of true Dominion; yet they consider not, that even Dominion is only at the Bottom desireable, because it is a Sign of Merit and innate Excellency; and does please, because it makes us believe, by the Suffrage of others, that we are Noble and Excellent Persons, of which, even the least reasonable cannot seriously be perswaded, except they believe they have done virtuous things. And thus it were more reasonable to do what is really virtuous, than to cheat our selves, with thinking that others admire us. And it is very unreasonable not to do things rather for Virtue it self, than for the Applause which follows it, since that Applause derives its desireableness from Virtue, and so Virtue it self should be much more desired: And which shews yet more the Weakness of our Reason, tho' in this we contradict the undeniable Sentiments of Mankind, yet we are cheated into it by a Mistake, as if it were easier to attain to the Applause of Virtue; than to Virtue it self; whereas quite contrary, it must be more difficult to attain Applause, since it depends upon many Thousands of Rivals and capricious Fools; whereas Virtue springs from a Man's own Breast, and we may have it, and keep it in sight of all Mankind.

Every Man also may, in his private Station and Employment, find Thousands of Instances to confirm this Truth. And thus a Courtier should

should consider, that when he sees his Prince bow and pray to a Superior, before whom he acknowledges himself to be a Worm and a Vapour, that certainly it is fit to do nothing to displease that Superior Power, for gaining the Favour of that Prince who adores him; and who would not think him mad, who would scorn to depend on a Monarch, but would take pains to flatter his Footman? When a Lawyer observes, that Men take such pains to secure in Law an Interest that cannot be secur'd against Accidents, he should in Reason conclude, that it is brutish not to take more pains to secure that which shall never fail: And when he observes, how zealously the Eldest Men defend a Life, that Accidents, nay, and Nature probably will end with the Process, should he not consider what pains should be taken to secure a Life that continues for ever, free too from that Care, and those Sickneses, that even before Death make this Life miserable?

If a Soldier, who was besieg'd by his Enemies, should abandon his Watch, and spend his time in Gaming and Drinking, or should lose the glorious Opportunity of defeating them, for a Feast; or as *Mark Antony*, for a Mistress: Especially if they be such Enemies, whom we know would not only kill, but torment us to Death; Were he not to be accounted a Fool? But that is our Case; for being surrounded with Temptations and Devils, we spend our Time in Toys and Trifles; and whilst we hear that others have receiv'd an Immortal Crown, for having overcome their Spiritual Enemies, we, who value Fame and Glory so much, spend our time in pleasing Two or Three silly Courtiers, whom we despise whilst we attend them, and laugh at the Actions which we seem to admire. A Merchant were ridiculous, if he should spend his
Stock

Stock and his Time in buying up Wares that were unfashionable in that Country where he has his Abode ; and yet most Men employ themselves wholly in gathering Riches, and getting that Knowledge, which can neither be carried to Heaven with them, nor can comfort them when they are in Hell. And I have oft applauded the Remark of a Gentlewoman, who hearing a whole Society admire one of her Acquaintance for a great Wit, told them, That his Father had left him a great Estate, which he had spent amongst Whores, that he had himself married a Whore, and had chang'd the Orthodox Religion, in which he was bred up, for a worse, and was not devout in that neither ; and desir'd them to consider, if that Man deserv'd to be call'd a Wit ?

Nor are we only unreasonable in pursuing our Pleasures and Vices, but the very Measures we take in being Virtuous, shew how weak our Reason is, and how ill we use it. For our Friendship is, for the most part, but the preferring those for whom we have a Kindness, to those who deserve better both our Kindness and those Employments ; and thus we rob the Commonwealth, to repay the Debt our Gratitude owes. The Courage of many is but a hypocritical disguising of their Fear, or a dull Ignorance of their Danger. For when a Man goes to Battel, he fears to die ; but to disguise this Fear, he considers the Shame of flying ; and knowing certainly that his Reputation would be ruined, he fears more this certain Loss, than the Hazard of being kill'd : But if he cannot attain to that, he at least braves it out, and endeavours to cheat others, when he cannot satisfy himself.

Liberality and Charity are oft-times but the disguised Effects of Vanity, wherein Men tacitly

ly design rather their own Perpetuity, than the Advantage of those on whom they bestow what is given; in which they act very unreasonably: For if they lent it to God, he would restore it with a very enriching Interest; but in bestowing it on Fame, they bestow it on a Cheat, which has oft deceived both them and others. And it still seems strange, that we will bestow it on that Multitude (for Fame and the Multitude are the same thing) to preserve any one of whom from starving, we would not bestow one Farthing. And yet the World esteem those who do such things, more than they do reasonable and judicious Persons.

It is one of the chief and Fundamental Dictates of Reason, that we should do to others as we would wish them to do to us. But tho' we exclaim against our Equals, poor Mortals, if they refuse us this Measure, yet we allow it not to our great King and Sovereign. If we heard that any, who pretended to be our Friend, did sit tamely and hear us rail'd at, and contemn'd, we would conclude them base and treacherous; and a King would for this treat his Subjects as Rebels: But yet we sit not only to hear impious Creatures rail at Religion, and oft-times at Providence it self, with so little Resentment, that we comply and even admire the Miscreant. I remember that I suggested once to a Person of Quality, who was busy about his Accounts, to consider if our Steward should spend our Rents upon his own Affairs, or upon maintaining his own Family in Luxury, and much more if he should riot it away with our Enemies, would we not hate him as a Rogue, and at least recal the Trust we gave him. But the Great Master of the Family of the Faithful, having appointed us only to be Stewards, not to appropriate, but to bestow

bestow the Estates he gave us, for the Use of his poor Children and Servants, preferring us kindly to as much as may satisfy our Convenience ; for so the Scripture, and even Reason it self, teaches us ; (for why should the wise God have bestowed so much upon some, whilst others want, if he had not design'd to level all by this Necessity of Distribution ;) yet we see his Children starve, whilst we employ the Portions due to them upon the Wicked, who are his Enemies. And thus we use the Almighty God at the rate we would not suffer from the meanest of our Servants. And so unreasonable are even such as are convinc'd of the Reasonableness of Charity, that by doing their charitable Actions in Publick, they lose the Reward, by not preserving the true Design of it ; for as our Saviour argues, *Mat. 6. 4. It is very just, that since they bestow their Charity to gain the Applause of Men, they should be rewarded with the Applause for which they bestowed it :* And how can they expect a Reward from God, to please whom it was not given ; and he is not obliged to repay what was not lent him : And they cannot expect double Payment ; for being paid by Men, the Obligation is fully satisfied.

I shall conclude these Observations with what ordinarily we conclude our unreasonable Lives, and that is Death-bed Repentance, which of all Things is the most unreasonable. For if we believe the Rewards and Torments which attend our future State, and make the Delay so dangerous, why delay we ? And if we believe neither of these, why repent we ? The one cannot but make our present Pleasures very bitter, by the Fear that must thereupon haunt us ; and the other cannot but needlessly cut off the Pleasures, which we exclude as inconsistent with true Repentance. But which of us being condemn'd to horrible
Torments,

Torments, would delay to seek a Remission till the last Hour? Or being invited to leave our Cottage to receive a plentiful Estate, would delay to undertake his Journey? And yet we easily delay our Repentance, which can only preserve us, condemn'd Sinners, from Eternal Torments; and which would certainly bring us, poor Wretches, to that Inheritance of immortal Glory. And tho' we condemn our selves for leaving the Dispatch of our little Concerns till the last Hour; yet we delay that great and necessary Work, on which a long Eternity hangs, for every Trifle. And that which aggravates much this Neglect, is, that the Reasons which encourage us to it are as weak, as the thing it self is absurd and dangerous. For the Hope we may live, has for its Foundation a frail Body, that every Accident can destroy; and it is a Wonder, that when we hear of so many unexpected Deaths, we should not tremble to think, what if I had died? And tho' the Mercy of God be as infinite as his Justice, yet it is insupportable Insolence in us to think, that we can be sav'd when we please: This is not only to undervalue him as the last thing to be chosen, which implies that our infinitely glorious Maker is of all things least worthy of our Choice; but in this we exalt our selves above him, as if we might command him to bestow upon us Heaven and Happiness, whenever we thought fit to call for it. And which of us would bestow the meanest Favour upon him, who would resolve to oppose, or but neglect us as long as he pleas'd. The delaying makes us the unfitter, not only to crave, but even to receive Mercy; and since all our Life, albeit as piously spent as Human Frailty can allow, is short enough for so great a Work, What can we expect from a few sickly Hours distracted by new Pains,

Pains, and amazed at so many old Sins? And the Scripture having commanded us to repent, and bring forth good Works, it has every where made good Works, and a subsequent Amendment of our Lives, the Mark as well as Fruit of sincere Repentance: And therefore since a Death-bed Repentance must want this Proof, it cannot but be by so much the more uncomfortable to us and our Friends. Nor is there any generous Soul, who having receiv'd so great and undeserved a Pardon, would not desire to be able to live, that he might magnify that Infinite God to whom he ow'd it. I know that the Thief on the Cross has been a Stumbling-block to many others; but we reason very weakly from this Instance of God's Mercy: For he by believing the Divinity of our Saviour amidst all that could have been said against it, when even the *Jews* were desiring him to come down from the Cross, and they would believe in him; and the other Thief was reviling him; did evidence as much Faith in that contracted Span when dying, as the best of us can do in a prolong'd Life. And it being fit for the Saviour of the World to shew his Power and Mercy when he was leading Captivity Captive, that happy Thief can be no Precedent for us, who remain unconverted after so many Miracles, that no reasonable Man can now doubt of, especially if he never heard, as it's probable, of that Gospel which we have so oft undervalued; and if he has not neglected former Offers of Mercy, which we have so oft contemn'd. And shall we presume on God's Goodness, because one Man was sav'd, and but one, to preserve Mankind from Despair; not remembering, that as the Thief obtain'd a Pardon when he sought it, so *Esau* found no Place for Repentance, tho' he sought it earnestly, *Heb. 12. 17.* And

tho' those who came in at the last Hour, got as much as those who had wrought at the first; yet it is remarkable, that it is said; they came not sooner, because no Man had desired them. But let me conjure any Noble Soul to consider, that if God be worthy of the Adoration of Angels through all Eternity; and that we confess, that to walk like *Enoch* with him, will be so amiable and glorious; why should we delay it for Pleasures that are unworthy of a reasonable Soul, and which last but for a Moment? For at least we lose so much unexpressible Joy and Pleasure; and in delaying our Repentance we continue to be sick when we may be whole, to be blind when we may see, to be poor when we may be rich, to lie in Prison when we may live at Liberty, and to be Slaves to our Enemies, when we may be Heirs to a Kingdom: All which induces me to believe, that they who delay Repentance, design not to repent, but flatter themselves with a false Conceit of it; for to repent is to be grieved, and no Man who is grieved, can put it off at his Pleasure, no more than a Man can be griev'd, or not, as he pleases. As also if a Man resolv'd sincerely to repent, 'tis necessary that he were convinc'd of the Greatness of his Danger, and were actually asham'd as well as afraid thereof; and if he were truly touch'd with these Convictions, he would not continue in the Courses which occasion'd them. And to finish all, is it not the Height of Unreasonableness for a Man to continue to do these things, of which he knows he must be asham'd, and for which he resolves to be exceedingly troubled and afflicted? And if we were coming into a Room where a Man was wounding himself, would we not conclude him yet madder, if he told us, that he would give himself more and more, because
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such a Man got so many Wounds, and yet was cured.

Let me therefore conclude this Discourse with the noble and just Reasoning us'd by St. Peter; 2 Epist. 3. 10, 11. *But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens will pass away with great noise; and the elements shall melt with a fervent heat, and the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up: Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy Conversation and Godliness?*

And what a frightened Creature will the greatest Hero be, when he finds himself in the midst of a burning World, having greater Terrors within his Breast than these rais'd by an Omnipotent God, and which will force him to cry to the Hills and Mountains to fall upon him, and cover him from the Face of this angry Judge?

But these great and sad Truths need (alas) to be preach'd by an Angel, to Hearers standing upon the Brink of their Grave, and having Heaven and Hell open'd before them.

P A R T II.

Whence proceeds it that Man is so unreasonable, and how to improve our Reason.

IT is indeed very strange, that Man, who improves daily so much in all Arts and Sciences, that are neither so necessary, so easie, nor so advantageous to us, should still decrease in this excellent Study, this Noble and Useful Knowledge: Let us then enquire a little into the occasions of these Errors in his Reasonings, and we shall find them so silly, that they also discover to us new Weaknesses in his Reason.

I know that we generally charge this on Man's Atheism, imagining he would reason Justly, if he believ'd the Principles I have laid down; but this is a Mistake, for Atheists reason most weakly, as well as others, and most inconsequentially to their own Principles; for even Atheists disquiet themselves for Fame and Money, and by Whoring and Drinking destroy their Bodies, which is all they dote upon, and should preserve, and which shews their Unreasonable-ness, according to their own Principles; and that Infidelity is not the cause of false Reasoning, appears clearly, because such as are not Atheists, reason falsely; and we may observe, that such as believe that by the ill Diets they use, their terrible Pains will be renew'd, do yet adventure on them. Oh, that they only of all Man-

kind were the unreasonable Men! But how unreasonable are they, who believing there is a Crown of Glory reserv'd for those that will run that Heavenly Race, chuse rather to sit Tipling and Gaming; that believe the Son of God stands stretching out his Arms, ready to preserve them, and yet will rather sink down into that fearful Pit from which there is no Redemption; who will rather starve than seek that Heavenly Manna, and languish of their Wounds, than seek the Balm of *Gilead*, from the hand of a loving Father; whom no Judgments on others can awaken, nor Mercies to themselves can oblige; Sick, amidst so many Cures; Poor, amidst such Plenty; Blind, notwithstanding so much Light; and Insensible, spight of so many Convictions.

But how can Men reason well, since they neither understand the true use of Reason, nor what Man is? And these are the two first and great Occasions of our Errors.

As to Reason, let us examinè our selves narrowly, and we shall find that Men think they need not Reason in the great and considerable designs of Life; as if these were matters to be taken upon trust; and as if Reason were to be us'd only in Matters of State, or in Debate or Trade. And I desire to know, who sits down to reason with himself, why he lives so, or to know, if what he does, is according to the Rules given him, for regulating his Actions. I have my self spent Twenty Years in reasoning eagerly to secure other Mens Estates; but I have spent very little time to consider, by a nobler Reasoning, why do I spend so much time reasoning for other Men, and yet so little for my self; tho' in the mean time, I do but too much prefer my self to all others? You will find some

some Divines very busie in arguing, whether God from all Eternity could have made Creatures, and yet these Men will never consider what shall become of them in Eternity. The Cure then of this, is to consider Reason, not as a Tool, useful for Gain or Fame only, but as a Square, put in our Hands by our kind God, to instruct us how to make our Actions straight and even; and as a Workman does first mind to have all regulated by his Square, and after his Work is finished, applies the Square to what he has made; so ought we; when any thing is design'd by us, resolve to do all in it by the Rules of Reason, and when the Action is ended, examine if it be so: And to invite us to this, God has not oblig'd us to seek for this any foreign or remote Remedy; no, nor to owe our Remedy to any other; but has plac'd his Candle in our Breasts, and honour'd us with the being our own Governors and Directors. Let us then think, and think on Matters of Importance, and of Matters that import us; let us think as much of Heaven, which cannot be taken from us, when once we are possess'd of it, as we do of temporal Estates; in the possession of which we cannot be secur'd. Let us think as much upon our selves, whom we value too much, as upon others, whom we value too little.

We use oft-times our Reason to argue falsely for Interest, or by Pre-engagement; and this debauches our Reason, after which it continues easily in this Error: For this takes off that Reverence and Esteem we ought to have for just reasoning. Thus Lawyers favouring still, and being oblig'd to maintain the Cause of those who have retain'd them, force their Reason to find Arguments for their own side; Divines thinking themselves oblig'd to defend the Positions of

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that Church wherein they were born, reason still in its defence: States-Men, to fortifie their Party, endeavour to perswade all Men to embrace it; and Orators, not excepting the Philosophers amongst them, to beautifie their Discourses, urge things that are meer Flourishes, having much Lustre, but no Strength; great Instances whereof are to be seen in *Seneca*, and generally in all the Heathens, who as I shall shew expressly elsewhere, were forc'd, by not knowing the true Principles whereupon Reason was to be built, to maintain by false Reasonings the true Principles that they design'd to recommend. We do likewise form our Morality by our Interest, and guide not our Interest by our Morals; and after we have form'd any Design, we find out Reasons to perswade us that it is just: And thus we oft-times mistake Interest, Imaginations, and Prejudices, for solid Reason; the true Cure whereof lies in being painful and curious in our first Reasonings; and as careful not to commit Errors by false and careless Arguings, in Matters of eternal Happiness, as Mathematicians are in their Demonstrations about Figures and Conclusions, which cannot secure them against one Misfortune, nor add one day to their Lives

Bigotry, and false Conceptions of Religion, do also darken much our Reason; for sometimes, by implicit Faith and Infallibility, (those great Tyrants over Reason) we accustom our selves to Laziness, wherein we lose the habit of Reasoning; and sometimes by imposing upon us things inconsistent with it, and by teaching us that it is a dangerous Guide, we lessen our own Esteem for it, and create insensibly in our selves a Jealousie that it is an Imposture; and we
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battle it so on these occasions that at other times it dares not try its own strength. I confess, that it ought in a just submission yield to his Commands who made it, nor should we hear the Servant when the Master speaks; but except when the Will of God does expressly ordain ones Reason to submit, we ought not to deny our selves the true exercise of it, to please Men, who understand not its true strength, or do upon designs impose on us the abandoning of it. And this has infected us so far, that by it all other Sciences did fall very low. And if some bold Defender, such as *Cartes* and others, had not interpos'd, we had been led by implicit Faith, in all the Objects of Knowledge as well as in all the Objects of Faith; and every Schoolman would have exacted as much absolute Submission to his own Dictates as we should pay to the unerring Commands of our infallible Creator. And oft-times Self-love passing for Religion, blinds us whilst it promises Illumination: As a clear Instance whereof I shall desire any wise Man to consider, that if this were true Zeal which led Men to hazard all they have for the ridiculous difference about indifferent Ceremonies or Tenets, why do they not hazard all they possess for the defence of the Christian Religion against the *Turks*; since in sound Reason, and by a Mathematical Certainty, the whole is to be preferred to a part. And to prove that this is the effect of Self-love, and not of true Devotion, it is very observable, that the less the Differences be in such Cases, we are ordinarily the more passionate in them, being inclin'd rather to have our Sentiments sustain'd, than the Commands of God obey'd; most Men being to themselves their own only God, and being asham'd that they

should err even in the meanest Circumstance.

Men may think me insolent when I tell them that they understand not themselves; but they should bear this from me, who would willingly wish that they could justly tax me of a Lye in it. But for my Security I must put them in mind, that Monsieur *Paschal* told them before me, that he had laid aside the Study of the Mathematicks, because few understood to converse with him in it, and betook himself to consider Man; as thinking that a Subject so near, and of such Concern to every one, that all could not but understand it; and yet he found this less understood than the other. But that I may contribute my mean Endeavours for clearing them in this, I must desire them to consider, that Man being created to love and admire God, it must follow by a necessary Consequence, that God was to be the Center of all his Knowledge; and right Reason was a drawing of all his Conclusions as so many Lines, to rest upon God as that Center. But Man designing to exalt himself, does by a woful Mistake make himself the Center; and Self-love, as another Reason, draws all into this Design. And thus, whereas we should study to understand the excellent Works of the Creation, that in them we may understand the Infiniteness of that wonderful Creator; we study them only thereby to adorn our own Spirits, and thus to raise an Esteem in others for us; and crook in all the Conclusions we make to our selves and our Conveniency, as the Center of all our Designs. And thus we have invented new Sciences, Arts and Recreations, such as Criticisms, Raillery, Comedies, Tragedies, &c. merely that our Works may be admir'd as much as his. And therefore it is impossible we can ever reason justly, since all the

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Lines of our Reasoning tend to a wrong Center : But if we return to our Duty , in resolving to love and admire him, and not our selves, every Conclusion, being drawn from true Principles and Positions, would recover its Original Streightness. And thus, if we ador'd God more than Kings and Princes, we would not displease God to please them, that we might be enrich'd or advanc'd by them. If we studied only to know him in his Creatures, and not to raise our own Fame by them, we would not toil and vex our selves to acquire Fame, nor forget Serving and Adoring him, that we might get time to know those Sciences, and be esteem'd for, and delighted in that Learning. Self-love, amongst its other Cheats, hinders us to study Christian Morality, because that would let us see how vile and frail we are ; and therefore, as a Diversion, it carries us impetuously to study other Sciences, wherein we may admire our own Wit and Sagacity. But that which seems to me the true Notion of Learning, is, that it should be a Design to know and admire God in his Works ; for which Natural Philosophy and Mathematicks are to be studied ; in his Providence, which we may know by History ; in his Justice, to be known by Law ; and in his Governing the Soul of Man, which is the Object of Moral Philosophy ; but above all, in himself, and the Mysteries of our Salvation, taught by Divinity when well directed.

A Proof of which, as well as a new Cause of our Errors in Reasoning is, That the first Rule by which our Reasons are squared and directed, are the Writings of those Illustrious Heathens, who in our Youth are recommended to us as the only Guides and Patterns : The best of which, such as *Plato*, *Epictetus*, *Seneca* and others,

thers, being absolutely ignorant of Man's great Disease, which is Original Sin, could not but mistake the Remedies of his Actual Transgressions ; and knowing nothing more excellent than their own Reason, they concluded it was sufficient. And having, from their Poets and Traditions, learned mean low Thoughts of their Gods, who were in those Days made the chief Actors of the Sins they should have punished ; and describ'd as more employ'd in satisfying their own Passions, than in Governing of the World ; those misled Philosophers did not only equal themselves to, but raised themselves above the Gods whom they taught others and themselves to adore. And to that Height did this Mistake in their Reasoning fly, that *Seneca* concludes his Wise-man much preferable to the Gods, because the Good they did, arose from the Necessity of their own Nature ; whereas Man, being left to a Freedom in his Actions, made them good by his own wise Choice. *Epictetus* founds his Philosophy upon that only Principle ; *That the Things within us are in our own Power, but the Things without us are not.* Whereas *St. Paul* from Heaven assures us, *That of our selves, as of our selves, we can do no good :* And our own Experience doth most convincingly agree with *St. Paul*, against *Epictetus*. And whereas a Principle in any Science should be an uncontroverted Truth ; we find daily, that this Principle is an absolute Lye. For that Man, who thinks that he can with an unerring Hand govern his Passions, has never undertaken the Subduing of them. And *video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor*, agrees much better with our own Experience, as well as with *St. Paul* ; who, tho' among the greatest of Saints, complains justly, *Rom. 7. 15. That which I would, that do I*

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not; but what I hate, that do I; and therefore is forced to cry out, *Who shall deliver me from this body of death?* Cicero's Discourse concerning the Nature of Gods, and Plato's Dialogues of the Immortality of the Soul, may convince us how weakly those great Patterns of Philosophy do reason, even upon those Subjects where Reason was not altogether mistaken. And from those, and all the Writings of the Ancient Pagans, I do more justly conclude, That those great Ideas which our Masters have given us of them, and the Eloquence which shines every where in their Writings, have misled us from the Ways that lead to the New *Jerusalem*; and from admiring the Beauty of Holiness which shines in those Scriptures, which have God Almighty and the Holy One of *Israel* for their Author and Subject; and in which we are taught to expect more Help from Heaven, than from our selves, against our Innate and Original Corruption; which is more to be overcome by Praying than Thinking, and can never be overcome without that Humility and Self-denial, which was absolutely unknown to the Heathens; as I hope to prove in another Discourse, where these Thoughts shall have their full Scope.

I am far from designing in this to root out Self-love, but rather to direct and improve it. For certainly God has grafted Self-love in every Man's Heart, to the end Man might thereby be the more oblig'd to love him, to whom he owes all those Excellencies which he loves in himself; and that he may be thereby oblig'd to preserve himself as a Part of the Universe, and which is in general preserv'd by every Man's Loving himself: And so far has God allow'd this Self-love, that he punishes Man when he destroys himself. But that Self-love which I here inveigh

veigh against, is a false and Imposture-Passion, whereby Man makes himself the Spring, from which all his Designs follow the Mark at which they aim, and the Rule by which they are to be squared, than which nothing can be more unreasonable. For how can we justify our selves, in requiring absolute Deference from all that is ours, if we yield it not to that Infinite Being to whom we owe all? And as he brought us out of nothing, so we should still remember that we are nothing before him. If every Man made himself the Rule, and drew all to himself, what a distracted thing would this World be? And how impossible would it be for any Man to live comfortably in it? And as a private Man would be esteem'd mad, who in a Court would think that all Things should be design'd there for his Glory and Pleasure; so, much more is Man a distracted Creature, when he makes himself the chief Aim of all his Actions. Whereas, if a Courtier take great Care to please the Monarch, and to design his Glory and Advantage, he will thereby raise himself in a securer, as well as a juster way. And therefore, because Self-love is so strong an Orator, and is still at the bottom of all Perswasion, we should examine cautiously what is urged upon us under the Disguise of Self-love; and whether we do really love our selves, when we yield to those Things to which we are tempted. I shall conclude this Period with a sad Assertion; That in spite of all that Men profess, yet too many really, at the bottom, mistake themselves so far, as to think that they have no Original Frailties, and therefore that they are able to command their Passions; and that they need no Divine Assistance; that they are nothing else, save that Body which we see; that they are not to die
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so soon ; and that the Things they are doing now, are the only Things to be car'd for , and will remain with them for ever. And if most Men have this *Idea* of themselves , I desire to know how they can draw just Conclusions from such mistaken Principles.

Another Cause of our Reasoning so weakly, is, That the Things of another World are too remote to seem great to us , and too spiritual to be discerned by carnal Eyes. The least thing, when plac'd immediately before our Eyes , will intercept, and exclude all further Prospect ; and even the least conspicuous Objects, and Sensual Things do , by a constant Tide of Emanations, flow in continually upon us, so as to fill our Thoughts , and leave little Room for any thing else. But as a Remedy to this , let us consider, that since even Corporal and Sensual Pleasures charm us only when we think much upon them, it follows, that Thinking is the Source and Origin of Esteem: Tho' we see not the Riches of a golden Mine, yet our Belief will make us toil for it; and the Hope of succeeding to an Estate will oblige us to follow eagerly what that Hope suggests. And since *Faith is the Evidence of things not seen*, it does represent Things to come with a Certainty that makes them present ; and albeit it may be objected , that we have seen some such Things as these Mines, and worldly Successions, and therefore it is that we believe and love them more ; yet that is of no Moment. For the Miracles that Men have heard of , and the wonderful Works of Providence which we daily see, especially when born in upon us by the Conviction of our own Consciences, seem as strong Motives as any that Sense can afford. Conscience, that luminous Sense of the Soul , being stronger , and more persua-

persuasive to any that will hear it; than any of our dull and outward Senses, which have only Assistance from stupid Flesh and Blood: Conversation also about Things Spiritual and Divine, will be in place of Sensual Emanations to us, and will represent a future Life, and the World to come, to a hearkning Soul, as if it were present; nor will the Almighty fail to assist that Eloquence which has him for its only and ultimate Scope.

The Soul certainly being a Spiritual Substance, can more easily unite it self to immaterial Objects, such as a future State of Happiness, than to the terrestrial Objects, with which we fill it; and the only Fault is in us, who do not apply our selves to the thinking on these. Do we not find that such as aspire to Fame, are more taken with it than any Man is with Meat or Drink, yea, and Life it self, for the Conquest whereof all these are contemn'd: And yet Fame is a meer immaterial Object, that has nothing affecting the Senses, otherwise than by thinking nothing Present, nothing Corporeal; and generally, the Spirit of Man is more pleas'd with Expectation than with any present Possession whatsoever; so far, that if we expect any little Accident, it will busy more our Thoughts, and fasten them more to it than a thousand Things of greater Value already possess'd. This then can be no such hard Task as our Laziness persuades it to be.

Tho' we be convinc'd of the Truths on which I have founded my Observations, yet we advert not to them, nor heed them. Thus tho' an Object were most conspicuous, yet if we dote so upon any other, as never to turn our Eyes that way, we shall not be taken with either its Value or Beauty. We are bred up in a great Esteem for

for the Things of this World, and so are rather pre-engag'd than blind, and buy not that Pearl of Price, because we have laid out our Stock on other Trifles; which is a great Defect in our Reason, and for which we would contemn other Merchants: And this is to be cur'd by having a true Value for Things, and by rectifying all our *Ideas*; and therefore he who resolves to Reason justly, should begin first to consider, when any thing occurs, of what Use it may be, and of what Value it is. As for Instance, Is this Land, for which I am sinfully providing Money, worth Heaven? Or this Man, whom I am to please, abler to make me Happy than God Almighty, to whom in this I prefer him? And so, like a skilful Chymist, resolve every Thing into its true Principles, and then try its Value; and like a Merchant, who has been often cheated, resolve at last to consider what such Things are worth, whether they will be fashionable where we are going, and whether they will return us the Stock we lay out upon them.

For improving this Thought, we should consider, that though we discover Truths, yet we do not take time to ponder them sufficiently: And thus, though we be convinc'd, yet we improve not sufficiently our Convictions. Self-love, and the Love of Ease has us'd us to a partial and superficial Way of Enquiry; and from this also proceed these Wanderings which weaken those pious Meditations, and disturb that Earnestness in Prayer, by which we can only procure a just Illumination in our Reasoning: Desultoriness of Thought grows daily when it is not lessen'd, and the next Days Wanderings are the Punishment of those which we suffered to prevail Yesterday. But should we not be ashamed, that we cannot think our Salvation

worthy of some serious Hours, since it is that which God Almighty has constantly design'd, and follow'd from all Eternity, though we are far more concerned in it. And that we can spend many entire Hours upon a Question of Law or Mathematicks, and yet cannot fix our Thoughts upon that infinite Being, in whom there are far more infinite Perfections; an Object that can never be exhausted, where every Thought would open a new Scene of Thoughts, yet more delightful; by which Angels have been for many Thousands of Years detain'd in constant Raptures, contemplating those admirable Mysteries, which the Scripture tells us the Angels desire to pry into, finding by a constant Enquiry, new Matter of Holy Learning and Blessed Curiosity; and are said by God himself to have learn'd this from those happy Christians to whom those Mysteries were first reveal'd, *Eph.* 3. 8. Learn then, O Christian, to manage thy Spirit, try first by what means thou usest to fix it on other Occasions, and improving these from the obvious Advantages that pious Fixation will yield above all others, beg humbly, by Prayer, a new Supply to thy native Forces, acknowledge to God that thou hast taught thy own Thoughts this Seditiousness and Tumultuairiness of which thou complain'st; and hope, that as by frequent Yieldings thou seddest that Vice into a Habit, so that by frequent and resolute Oppositions thou may'st destroy that obstinate and dangerous Habit, and introduce a contrary one, which will make thy Fixedness easy and pleasant. Frequent Reasonings do also not only make us argue more strongly and easily, but do warm us into a Conviction first, and then into a Love for that for which we contend; And thus Lawyers are oft-times convinc'd, even

in the ill Causes they plead ; and Hereticks fix themselves in their Errors, by frequent Contests for them. Why then should we not argue more frequently both against our selves, and with others, upon these excellent Truths, by which also we should be engag'd in Honour to walk suitably to these Truths, of which we profess to others that we are convinc'd? And who could be so absurd, as after he has been debating against another for his Drinking, yet would invite him to a Debauch? But, alas, every Man loves to debate in his own Calling, except the Christian: And it is become as much a Shame to talk of Devotion as it ought to be our Glory and Delight; and Men seem afraid to debate, lest by being too much convinc'd of what they ought to do, they should be too much terrified for what they have done; and so these Convictions beget an uneasiness to them, when to gratifie their Humour they are tempted to renew their sins.

Hypocrisie affords us a clear Proof of this Partiality, as well as of Man's contradicting himself; for to confess there is a God who is Omniscient, who knows the secrets of Hearts, and before whom there is nothing hid in Heaven or Earth, and yet to think that we can conceal our Thoughts from his all-seeing Eye, implies a flat Contradiction; as it also does to care for nothing but what may cause an esteem in our selves for our selves. We really value other Mens approbation, because it confirms us in our own: nor would the vainest Man alive value all the Flatteries imaginable, if he thought he could not deserve them. Yet in Hypocrisie we must know, that we deserve not the Applause to which we pretend; and it is worthy of our thoughts, to enquire impartially, how Men can reconcile these

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in themselves ; for the most debauched Reason will not adventure upon any Contradiction without some seeming Reconciliation. And tho' at the first, it may seem that Want of Consideration is the Cause of this, yet this cannot be ; for if we know not that we are masquing, it is no Hypocrisy ; and on the contrary, Hypocrisy requires great Reflection, because it needs much Precaution. The Reason then of the first must be, that as to God we trust our Repentance, and to his Mercy ; as if forsooth, we did him little Wrong, by making his Creature appear more Excellent than it is ; and as if it might prejudice his Service, to let others see, that we are many times more wicked than they ; or that we did God good Service, in encouraging others to be pious by our good Example ; and that we by Hypocrisy, do only raise an Esteem, or come to an Employment by which we may be truly serviceable to God in our other Actions. But I really think, that the Heart of Man is so narrow, that it can hold only one Scherne of Thoughts at once ; and therefore this little Soul being fill'd with a Desire of Applause, and with the Shame of being silly and undeserving, it reflects indeed, but all its Reflections look that way. The Man is full of this, and intent upon it, and so he sees not the Contradiction, how palpable soever it be ; but yet it is so notorious and discernable, that I may justly conclude his Reason weak, if not blind, who does not discern it. The Cure then of this subtle Cheat, must be by pursuing this Imposture into its secret Recess ; by seeing this Player before he put on his fine Cloaths and Diiguises ; by turning all our Thoughts to God, and from our selves ; adverting seriously and impartially to every little Circumstance in the Design that is to be considered.

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I have oft-times admir'd the prevalency of Custom above Reason ; and tho' Brutes, who want Reason, or Children, in whom it is yet scarce ripened, be led by it ; yet what a strange thing is it, that in men who have Reason in maturity, Custom becomes not only a second Nature, but overcomes Nature ; and is a second Nature, because it almost extripates Reason, which was our first Nature ? For tho' the older we grow, our Reason should grow the stronger, yet it falls still weaker, and melts so before Custom, that even the virtuous and dutiful Actions we do, seem rather the effects of Custom than of Reason. For if they proceeded from Reason, the same Reason which prompted us to do them, would oblige us to act virtuously on all other Occasions. And we see that we alter our Vertues as the Fashions and Customs of our Country change. But to conclude this Expostulation, I cannot but wonder that a Man should be call'd reasonable, after he has trusted the making Laws and Moulds for living happily and dutifully, to the Multitude or Crowd, the worst of all Judges ; and which we our selves contemn as an ignorant, giddy, and capricious Rabble.

Of which Influence of Custom over Reason, many different Causes occur to me ; for sometimes I think that Customs establish and fix themselves in us whilst we are yet young, that Reason can neither defend it self nor us, especially as to unusual Pleasures, which are the proper and natural objects of our first years : and like Weeds that have over-grown the Ground, tho' never so fertile, they hinder the better Plants from growing up. To prevent

which, it is necessary that we teach young ones to reason very early, and accustom them to a Christian Logick, that is better than what they can learn in the Schools. Thus we may make Custom it self useful rather than hurtful to Reason, and teach it to serve, whereas now it governs. And I know one who cur'd his habitual Swearing, by arguing with himself, That since even the King's Enemies were able to restrain themselves from speaking Treason, by reflecting on its dangerous Consequences, it was strange, that he who was convinc'd that Swearing did draw more dangerous consequences, could not abstain from a Custom that was altogether hateful, without the least allay of Pleasure or Advantage, to which the others might pretend.

Sometimes I think, that Custom having the force of the Multitude which supports it, they all concur to pull back a well resolved Man from his virtuous Resolutions; and Custom prevails rather by numbers than by strength: And to prevent this, it is necessary for a man who resolves to Reason justly, to withdraw for some time from the Crowd: *Prov. 18. 1. A man, says Solomon, having separated himself, meddletb with all Wisdom.* And *Seneca* tells us, That *sanabimur modo à cætu separemur.* Jesus Christ also, who has triumphed over the World, is by strong Intercessions to be called in against this potent Enemy, who has shewn us, that he can throw out and dispossess that Devil whose Name is Legion: But the Multitude, is never so corrupt, but that still some are to be found who can assist us in reasoning justly upon things; and we should also remember, that we value so little the
 Multitude,

Multitude, that we stand not in awe of what they say of us, when we are gaining Money; or satisfying our Pleasures: why then should we still spend all we have, and deny our selves all Pleasures in following Custom, or courting Fame; since Custom and Fame are but the Dictates of the Multitude, an Homage which unthinking men are forced to pay the Rabble, because they dare not seriously reflect on what they do? Or which designing Men pay them in hopes to make them first Tools to their Ambition, and thereafter Slaves to their Tyranny.

But at other times the strength of Custom flows from our Laziness, who love the way that is chalked out to us, and think it safer to follow, rather than lead the Crowd; cheated to this by a cowardly Humility, which proves our never having considered the Nobleness of our own Origine; Which is to be cured by a generous Resolution of despising difficulties; and of being Slaves, as all Persons are who love better to obey, than to Examine the Dictates of others. And we are most unreasonable, when we have so strong desires to lead the Multitude to our Ruin, as in seditious Tumults and Factions; and yet will be content to be tamely led by them in what is much nobler and of great consequence. How much more do we praise those great Legislators, who govern'd the Multitude by their Virtues, than those Sycophants who adored them by Submissions? There is Light in Virtue and Religion, and there is none dares resist it; it is able to astonish as well as convince: nor are men so wicked as not to desire to be assisted by some happy Genius, in what they are convinced is best. And every Man almost stands only in awe of another, ex-

pecting and wishing some *Moses* to undertake their delivery.

Generally Self-love seems to lead into these Sentiments, as thinking the Multitude will cry up their own Inclinations, and is unwilling to check that Multitude from which it expects applause; and whose many Suffrages it needs to maintain it, against that inward sense it has of its own weakness and silliness. And this is to be cured by a noble reflection upon the Dignity of our first Creation; and a desire to be again like to that God whose Image at first we were, and whose Sons we may yet be, if we can raise our hopes above those lower Spheres of sensual Joys and Pleasures which poyson us when they seem sweet, and cheat us when they appear great.

One of the dreadful effects of our following the Example of others, is, that we think it is sufficient to be as reasonable as they: And thus we foolish and unreasonable Mortals, stint and bound one anothers goodness. Now this we shall easily perceive to be most unreasonable, when we consider that no Man will satisfy himself in being as powerful or rich as his Neighbours; tho' these be much less desirable for a Soul and Spirit, which is the Image of an Infinite God, and is after all its best Endeavours here very far from attaining to that degree of Perfection which is even requisite to the Life of a Christian. Devotion is a Race, and who is it that when he runs with many Rivals, will content himself to be in the Throng, especially if the Prize be considerable: And therefore the Apostle exhorts us to *forget those things which are behind, and to reach forth to those things that are before,*

before, pressing towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus, Phil. 3. 14. We are not only obliged to press on to obtain the Crown, but being pursued by our spiritual Enemies, we are concerned to use all the speed that is possible. And would not we conclude him mad, who if he were pursu'd for his Life, would not desire to be past all danger, but content himself that he were not the last amongst those who endeavoured to escape?

It is strange, that notwithstanding that Custom does so lead us when we go, not where we ought to go, but where others have gone before us, yet we oft-times err to a contrary Extreme, and by a contrary Reason, which is as false and more dangerous than the other; reasoning weakly and falsely from a design and desire to be singular, and consequently to be admir'd. Thus even whilst in this we oppose the multitude, we design to please them too; for no Man admires what does not delight him; and probably, these same Contradictors would have chosen rather to have gone to Fame in the beaten Path, by a direct pleasing and following of them; but finding a Crowd before them in it, which they could not pass by, they, by a long and a dangerous circuit, run before, and endeavour to keep the Pass on their Rivals, and hinder them from coming up at Fame; & tho' they want the Multitude at present, yet they hope to make them follow, else they would not differ from them; for few would care to continue alone till the last, tho' they love to be singular at first; yet this humour is a very great Enemy to true Reasoning, for it introduces a habit of arguing falsely; and it is difficult in this dark estate to

recover our Road if we once quit our Light; one Error emboldens us to commit another, and it is the punishment of it when committed; even those who care not to oppose Truth, love to be consequential in their opposition; for to do likewise, were to be guilty of a double and more palpable Vice in reasoning.

Another great hindrance to right Reasoning, is Sensuality: For though I am far from being of their opinion, who think the Soul nothing but the Animal Spirits; since we cannot conceive how Matter can think so delicately and subtly; yet there is no doubt but the Temper of the Body has great influence on the Mind; and that Sobriety does purifie the Blood, and make these animal Spirits fitter Organs for the Soul; as on the other hand, Drunkenness drowns it, Gluttony stupifies it; and even after that time has dissipated those loads which oppress the Soul, there remains a stock of dregs which are easily inflam'd into Lust, Rage, and other brutal Passions, which in a more lasting manner enslave it. Therefore Pagans have recommended Sobriety as a Diet for the Soul as well as the Body; and the Scripture Fasting, as a Religious Duty. And since there is none of us so Brutal, but if we were about to Preach, Plead, or assist in a publick Judicature, we would be careful to avoid all these Excesses, lest thereby our Reason might be disturbed or clouded; we ought much more to shun them, with an Eye to the Service of an Infinite God, and the preservation of our immortal Souls; minding in this the observation of the Prophet, *Wine, and new wine take away the heart:* And the advice of our Saviour, *See that you be not overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness.*

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There remain yet two vigorous Enemies to our Reason to be subdued, Bigotry and Raillery; which tho they be contrary to one another, Bigotry treating things that are ridiculous as Sacred, and Raillery treating things Sacred as ridiculous, yet they both conspire against our Reason, and are the favourite Extravagancies of the Times, which obliges me to insist the more upon them.

I define Bigotry to be a laying too much stress upon any circumstantial Point of Religion or Worship, and the making all other essential Duties subservient thereto; and got its name from an occasion extravagant like it self.

Rolland first Duke of *Normandy*, being obliged to do homage to *Charles* King of *France*, for that Dutchy,

Du Lange
verb. *Bigot*.

refus'd to kiss his Foot, except the King would raise it himself to his Mouth; and when it was told him that the Solemnity consisted in his taking up the King's Foot and kissing it, he answer'd, *Ne se begot*, that is to say in old *Norman*, Not so, by God; Whereupon the King and Court derided him, and the *Normans* were from that occasion called Bigots, as they who adhered pertinaciously to Ridiculous Extravagancies. These latter Ages having in this dotage of the World produc'd multitudes, who mistaking Reformation for Humour, and seeing some Devout Men admired for separating from Idolatrous and superstitious Churches, because they would not reform great and fundamental Errors, imagined that every thing was to be struck at with the same zeal which these shewed in Matters of greatest consequence; and by a farther effect of the same zeal, they proceeded to force others to concur with them

in their extravagancies; which surprizing distraction forced Men to bestow on them the Name of Bigots. Superstition could not so well agree to them, that being only an excessive Worship paid to a Deity, true or false, from an ill-grounded fear of mischief from it: nor could dogmatizing serve, that being only a positiveness in any Opinion, joyned to the Vanity of thinking that the Dogmatizer had right to dictate to others: nor Opiniatry, because that consists only in adhering too stiffly to any Opinion in spite of the best Reasons; nor Schism, because it is an unnecessary Separation: nor Heresie, for tho' it is an obstinate Error in some important Point, yet it is always in matters of Faith; whereas Bigotry rests only in matters of small importance. But tho' Bigotry properly relates to matters Ecclesiastical in our late acceptation, yet it is by an easie stretch used to express opiniatrities of all kinds; and if we consider its original, we must conclude, that it has been drawn to matters Ecclesiastick, and is appropriated now to them, because they are the most remarkable and frequent instances or effects of this mischeievous Principle. For we may justly say, that Bigotry is the Hypochondriacism of Reason, the Bedlam of Religion, and the Ape of Infallibility.

Instances of this Bigotry, as they are very frequent, so they are very ancient. The Apostles themselves were forc'd very early to inveigh against Zeal that was not according to Knowledge; and the chief of their Scholars, who had been so happy as to hear them preach, did yet rend the Church by a dreadful Schism, which soon after grew to that height, that the Western Church excommunicated the Eastern

stern, for differing from them in the observati-
on of *Easter*.

The best way to deter Men from spending
their Time and Zeal in the service of Bigotry,
either as its Chaplains, or as its Emissaries or
Executioners, will be to consider the great De-
fects under which it labours, and the sad effects
which it produçeth.

The first pernicious effect of Bigotry, is that
it obrüdes on us things of no moment as mat-
ters of the greatest importance. Now, as it
would be a great defect in a Man's Sense to
take a Star for the Sun; or in an Orator to
insist tenaciously on a point which deserved no
consideration; so it must be a much greater
error in a Christian to prefer, or even to e-
qual a meer Circumstance to the solid Points of
Religion.

But these mistakes become more dangerous,
by inducing their Votaries to believe, that be-
cause they are Orthodox in these matters, they
are the only People of God, and all who joyn
not are Aliens to the Commonwealth of *Israel*:
And from this springs first, that they, as
Friends of God, may be familiar with him,
and as Friends do one to another, may speak to
him without distance or premeditation; thence
it is that we hear dreadful Nonsense insolently
vented in extemporary Prayers, such as would
induce one to think that they do not believe
him to be a God to whom they shew so little
respect; for who can think that Infinite Wis-
dom can consider them as Friends, who dare
address to him so unsuitably? Bigotry having
thus corrupted our reasoning in Matters of
Religion, it easily depraves it in the whole
course of our Morals and Politicks.

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The Bigots in the Second place, proceed to fancy, that they who differ from them are Enemies to God, because they differ from God's People; and then the Old Testament is consulted for expressions denouncing Vengeance against them: All Murders become Sacrifices by the Example of *Phineas* and *Ehud*; all Rapines are hallowed by the *Israelites* borrowing the Ear-rings of the *Egyptians*; and Rebellions have an hundred forc'd Texts of Scripture brought to patronize them. But I oftentimes wonder where they find Precedents in the Old Testament for Murdering and Robbing Mens Reputation, or for lying so Impudently for what they think the good Old Cause; which God foreseeing, has commanded us not to lie, even for his sake.

The Third Link of this Chain, is, That they fancying themselves to be the only *Israel*, conclude that God sees no Sin in them, all is allowable to them; and (as one of themselves said) *They will be as good to God another way.*

The Fourth is, That such as differ from them are Bastards, and not the true Sons of God, and therefore they ought to have no share of this Earth, or its Government; hence flow these holy and useful Maxims, Dominion is founded in Grace; and the Saints have the only Right to govern the Earth. Which being once upon an occasion earnestly press'd in *Cromwel's* little Parliament, it was answered by the President of his Council, That the Saints deserved all things; but that Publick Employment was such a drudgery, that it would be unjust to condemn the Saints to it; and that the securest way to make the Commonwealth happy, was to leave them in a pi-
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ous Retirement, interceding for the Nation at the Throne of Grace.

The Fifth Error in their reasoning, is, That seeing their Opinions flow immediately from Heaven, no earthly Government can condemn any thing they do, in prosecution of these their Opinions ; thence it is that they raise Seditions and Rebellions without any scruple of Conscience and believing themselves the Darlings and Friends of God, they think themselves above Kings, who are only their Servants and Executioners.

It may seem strange, that such Principles as Bigotry suggests, should be able to produce so strange effects ; and many fanciful Persons pretend it to be from God, because it prevails so. But this wonder will be much lessen'd if we consider first, That the greatest part of Mankind are weak or dishonest, and both these support Bigotry with all their Might. Many virtuous Men also promote its Interest, from a mistaken good Nature, and vain Men from a design of gaining Popularity. These who are disoblig'd by the Government joyn their Forces with it to make to themselves a Party ; and those who are naturally unquiet or factious, find in it a pleasant divertisement ; whereas on the other side, few are so concern'd for Moderation and Truth, as the Bigots are for their belov'd Conceits.

There is also a tinsel Devotion in it which dazzles the Eyes of unthinking People ; and this arises either from the new Zeal, that like Youth, is still vigorous, and has not as yet spent it self so as that it needs to languish ; or else, from the Bigot's being conscious that his Opinions need to be disguis'd under this Hypocritical Mask.

Severity

Severity also increases the Number and Zeal of Bigots. Human Nature inclines us wisely to that Pity which we may one day need ; and few pardon the Severity of a Magistrate, because they know not where it may stop. I have known also some very serious Men, who have concluded, that since Magistrates, have not oftentimes in other things a great concern for Devotion, their forwardness against these Errors must arise either from the Cruelty of their Temper, or from some hid design of carrying on a particular Interest, very different from, and oft-times inconsistent with the Religious Zeal they pretend. And generally, the Vulgar believe that all Superiors are inclin'd to triumph over those who are subject-ed to them ; many have also a secret Perswasion that the Magistrates are still in League with the National Church, and its Hierachy, which they suspect to be supported by them, because it maintains their Interest, and they are apt to consider Churchmen but as Pensioners, and so as Partizans to the Civil Magistrate.

Many are drawn into the esteem of such Opinions as they see Men suffer difficulties for. But this mistake was foreseen by the Primitive Church, who therefore declared that *non Pana sed Causa facit Martyrem*. Christian Prudence does not allow a Man to sell his precious Life for an incompetent Price ; Forwardness that way does not always recommend an Opinion : Men of all Perswasions have died with firmness ; Pagans, yea, Women, for their Country or Husbands have shewed a Courage beyond any of these Bigots or Euthusiasts. The History of *China* relates a notable Instance of
fantastical

fantastical Bigotry; an Hundred Thousand *Chineses*, who had born Tamely the Nation's being enslav'd by the *Tartars*, without making any Effort to recover their Liberty, chose rather to dye than conform to the *Tartars*, in turning up their Mustachers after their Mode. Vanity well disguis'd can flatter Men with the Glory of Martyrdom; and it's observable that this Firmness faints often where Executions are Private; however, this should prevail with a Wise Magistrate, never to make Religious Opinions Criminal.

The true Cures then of this Disease seem to be, First, to endeavour to plant Reason early and carefully in the Hearts of Young ones, or to recover it in those of more advanced Years; for this is a more solid and effectual way, than the immediate opposing, or offering to cure this Imperfection it self, will prove; Men love their old and familiar Acquaintance. Travelling abroad conduces much to this Cure; for such as converse only with those of their own Perswasion, are daily warm'd into new degrees of Zeal; whereas, when we see that Men of true Sense differ from us, we will be inclin'd from a Christian Modesty and Humility; first to doubt our own Opinions, & then to hear Instruction. The Orthodox Clergy should by their Pious Lives conduce to this Cure; and even Laicks should, by their serious and Devout Conversation, convince them that Sincerity and Piety are not inseparable from such humorous Conceits. These poor deluded People should consider what Mischiefs and Desolations those *Vulcano's* of Zeal have brought upon this Island by their dreadful Eruptions; there
being

being but very few Families, in which some of their Children have not been sacrificed to this *Moloch*: Nor can our Navies or Armies secure us while this Enemy lodgeth within us, and is cherished by us. They should also consider, That Religious Reason left to it self will at last overcome those Prejudices, which, like Meteors, may shine for a time, but will at last vanish into the common and undistinguish'd Air.

But the best of all Remedies, is, to consider seriously the Doctrine and Practice of our Blessed Saviour (to form our Reason by which, is the great design of this Essay) and therefore they should remember, that our Saviour foreseeing the inconsequentialness of their Actions, did observe, that they did start at Straws, and swallow Camels; that they tithed the Mint and Annise, but forgot the great things of the Law. Our Saviour's reasoning in the Parable of the *Publican* and *Pharisee*, should humble all spiritual Pride; and his humble and submissive Form of Prayer should bridle the indiscretion of all rude Addressers. He suffered not the Sons of *Zebedee* to call for Fire from Heaven; that he might thereby Instruct the World how unsuitable their Zeal was to his Gospel; he reasoned against fighting *Peter*, that if his Kingdom were of this Earth, his Servants would fight for him; and if he needed any Assistance, he might call for Legions of Angels: Nor can I think, after this Instance, our Saviour would have trusted *Peter*, in his absence, with two Swords, since he was so forward in his own presence, when he had but one: But if others will be so blind as not to follow our Saviour's way of reasoning, let us

at least follow it, in praying for them, because they know not what they are doing. Yet I wish both they and we would consider, that we resemble too much at this time the unhappy *Jews*, who, by fighting amongst themselves for small Matters, relating to their Religious Rites occasioned their being totally destroyed, and extirpated by the *Romans* who besieged them.

I know no greater Enemy to just Thought or Reasoning, than Raillery and Satyrs, and the new way of reasoning, ridiculous Smiles. Most Men are so famous for this kind of arguing, and do by it confute and baffle so much all who oppose it, that it passes for the stronger way of Reasoning; Victory being still accounted the Effect as well as the Reward of Strength: But this way looks so silly to Men when they retire and are alone, that they begin to wonder what it was that pleas'd them so before they left the Conversation. And therefore I think it worth my pains to search a little into the causes of this vulgar Error, Why Men are so much pleas'd with Raillery, and why it prevails so in the World at this day.

The first cause of this, in my opinion, is, that Men naturally love Truth, as the Eyes do Light, or Brutes Food; for Truth is indeed the Light and Food of the Soul; yet missing it, after much enquiry, and a passionate search, they do either conclude there is none, and so laugh at all others who seek it; or in revenge, contemn it as a Cheat; and this breeds at first Raillery and Satyrs; even as we see, that when Gallants are rebuked by a severe Mistress, they please or revenge themselves in railing at her, or treating her in ridicule. As Statesmen and Courtiers seldom fail, when
 thrown

thrown off, to use the Court and Employments from which they are fall'n, after the same manner. And since too few seek after Truth it self, naked and unrewarded; others again, weary of the toils and severity required in true reasoning, rest on this as the easiest; even as Men content themselves with gilded Plate, when they cannot attain to true Gold; and Raillery has become by this as ordinary as the false Jewels, with which so many now please themselves instead of true ones; and at a distance, and on the publick Theatre, even of Business, the one appears brisker than the other.

Raillery pleases also Mens Selflove better than Truth; for Truth is too honest to serve our Revenge; whereas Raillery does tempt the Jester to flatter himself, and is an ordinary occasion for others to flatter him as a formidable Wit: Nor can the World find so fit a Tool for Revenge as Raillery; since few durst even for fear of checks of Conscience stab their Neighbour, or for Honour wound him when his back is turn'd, if it were not in a pleasant Jest, which makes Malice pass for Wit; and cheats the Satyrists into a belief that they design not to wrong him, but to please the Company: The Hearers also would hate such Enemies to Mankind, if they were not so ravish'd with the way, that they had not time to think on the Malice. This Misfortune also attends it, that it tempts men to do or say many things on which they would not otherwise adventure, presuming that their Wit, which is so much admir'd, will also fright or bribe others from accusing or punishing them.

Truth is a sober and equal Pleasure, free from all transports, and hating them; and so
seems

seems dull and flat to young and warm Spirits ; whereas that Passion which accompanies Railery, either in Joy or Revenge, is more vigorous and elevated ; and it is indeed a Wonder to think what Force and Energy there is in the Soul, when the Sails of its Imagination are filled with the prosperous Gale of Applause, and by what secret Springs the Fancy is able to raise it to such Heights when it is warmly pleas'd ; or what infinite Numbers of ravishing Images appear to a strong Fancy : And how it creates so many pleasant Notions out of other Men's Infirmities : And what great Variety and Newness it constantly produces, forming always various Scenes of Joy, to the Wonder even of sober Men : I deny not, but some do from Good Nature, and to please the Conversation, scoff and jest, and, as I said formerly, some seeing it so much admir'd, think it is truly Good, it being a kind of Modesty, to believe that Good which pleases others ; and some seeing Victory attend it, think it is the strongest Way of arguing ; and, thus this Weed rises and spreads, and we sit with delight under the refreshing Shades ; and with these Raptures of Malice or Pleasure, Scoffers are so much taken, that they have not the leisure to think on what they ought to do, or even on what they are doing ; and thus they forget frequently the Duty they owe to Great Men, to whom they have Access, and can hardly keep themselves within that Moderation in Conversation, Eating, Drinking, and other Exercises that are requisite for preserving Health and Quiet, or for observing the Rules of Decency and Discretion. I conclude, that Jestings and Satyrs are so far from being a Relaxation of Spirit to those who are wearied with serious Employments, as is pretended, that they are oft-times rather a

new and studied Toil, and most of these Extravagancies could scarce be pardoned; like bitter and sowre Fruits, which can hardly be eaten, except when confected with great Care and Expence. But if we look further into the Matter, we shall find that nothing wrongs more both Reason and Piety, and is more destructive to true Friendship, or more inconsistent with Sincerity.

For clearing whereof we may observe, that every Faculty of the Soul contributes a peculiar Way to our Reasoning: The Judgment does bring solid Arguments, the Memory Instances, Examples, and Citations, the Fancy or Imagination beautifies rather than illuminates its Objects with Similies, Metaphors, and other Rhetorical Figures; so that Raillery neglecting the other two, sports it self lightly amidst those Flowers, without minding the great Business; and I have observed, that few who have been once bewitched with this way, ever minded any other. This suffers them not to penetrate further than the outside of Things, and so it is impossible, that they who use it as their constant divertisement, can have any deep Thoughts, or can search into the Bottom of Affairs.

I have also observed, that Raillery arises oft-times from an undervaluing of all Persons and Things; and nothing can be more contrary to Religion or Government than this is. To Religion, because, when a Man contemns all that God has created, he undervalues what the Almighty himself was pleased with, and rejoiced in, and scorns those great Exemplars of Piety and Devotion, whom God has called his Friends, and Men after his own Heart; and so in effect he concludes, that God (blessed be his holy Name) made not good Choice, and knew not how to value

lue Men a-right. And therefore I stand astonish'd to hear Ballads againſt *Moses* and *David*, ſo much admir'd by ſuch as confeſs there is a God, that the Scriptures are his Dictates, and they the Penmen of theſe Scriptures, and ſo Secretaries to God: Nor do ſuch Scoffers make good Statesmen; for none are ſuch, ſave they who from a Principle of a Conviction and Perſuaſion, manage publick Affairs to the Advantage of thoſe who employ them: Whereas they who believe that nothing is worth their Pains, can never do any thing with Affection and Vigor; and ſince they care not for the Things themſelves, and ſcorn ſuch as employ them, they muſt never care for what Events attend them. Have we not ſeen ſome of theſe great Wits prove the worſt of all Statesmen in our own Days? and as far below the Meanest in Management, as they were above the Wiſeſt in Wit and Sharpneſs. What Friends alſo theſe prove, is ſufficiently underſtood to thoſe whom they have loſt for a Jeſt, after all the Services they could have done them: And it is very obſervable, that if Three or Four of them be in a Room, they who remain after ſuch Conſervations will fall on him who is gone, with all the Malice imaginable; and we very ſeldom ſee Two ſuch Wits true Friends.

I ſhall end theſe Reflections with this Addition, that generally Satyrs are made up of Impiety, Malice or Bawdry; the Firſt, unworthy of a Chriſtian; the Second, of a Gentleman; and the laſt, of a Sober Man; and in which Railers have Atheiſts for their Maſters, Satyrical Waſps for their Comrades, and oft-times Fools and Mad-men for their Superiors. Unhappy Men, who do Things that they muſt be aſham'd of; and whereof the Pleaſure is leſſen'd in the preſent Time by Checks of Conſcience; and grows bitter afterwards by

Fear of Torments ; a quality our Saviour never countenanc'd, which his Favourites have ever zealously decry'd, in which Buffoons and Players have exceeded the greatest Kings, the most Renowned Heroes, and the Wisest Men ; a cowardly Extravagancy, which ever attacks the Weak ; and a merciless Humour, which triumphs over the Unfortunate : Upon which accounts all Men make it their Interest to expose the Scoffer, as finding in his Ruin their own Self-defence ; and because they know he cannot be pleased, except they be miserable ; therefore they conclude, that they cannot be secured till he be humbled.

I design not by this to lessen the Esteem due to true Wit, and that Pleasantness in Conversation which arises from it as Flowers from the Root. The Almighty certainly design'd to make all Men happy, and there is no Happiness without Pleasure ; and as he rejoiced, when he saw that all that he had made was Good, so he was desirous that Man might find out this Good, both for making himself thereby Happy, and for inviting him the more to magnify the Creator ; and therefore to sweeten the Miseries which naturally imbitter Human Life : God has illuminated some with a Pleasantness of Humour, which rejoices the Society into which they come, as the Sun illuminates the Room into which it enters : these are they who having Peace of Conscience at home, are thereby allowed to be glad ; and who having Wit, employ it in turning the right side of Things to them, understanding as well to find out what is pleasant in any Object, as Artists do to find a Mine of Gold in a barren Mountain. This is the true Use of Wit ; and if at any time they use it to treat Vice or Extravagancy in ridicule, it is not from Malice to the Person, but from
Desire

Desire to reform him, and Mankind by him. There is a Justice in Scourging, Defaming, and Banishing Vice ; and this Jurisdiction is given by Heaven immediately to such as have Sense ; of whom, upon that account, the greatest Rulers stand in awe ; and so much Reverence is due to them, that the rest of Mankind bestow Applause according to their Inclinations : Bitterness then, and sullen Moroseness in Wit, is the Tyranny of this Jurisdiction : If it be insolent, it is the wrong side of this delicate Picture, a flashing Light, which at first dazles, but thereafter blinds ; a delicious Fruit corrupted into Bitterness, and a beautiful Face wrinkled by fretting Humours.

The Ancients term'd Wit a Salt ; and that is not fit for Food, but for Seasoning ; it may be us'd plentifully in Conversation, moderately in Business, but never in Religion.

They who enter into a Faction, do not properly Reason weakly : but desert Reason altogether, as one does who leaves his own to go into another Country, whereof the Laws, Customs and Language are different. The Design and Center of Faction is to drive on such a Project, and adhere to those who prosecute it. And therefore nothing must be allow'd or argu'd but with respect to these. Hence it is, that in vain you Reason with them ; for one may Transubstantiate as soon as Convert them ; all that their Friends say is unanswerable, and they contemn and scorn what is said by their Adversaries when they cannot answer it ; there is no Crime they dare not commit, for the Guilt seems but small when divided amongst so many Bearers ; they warm themselves by clubbing into a kind of Belief, and they vote themselves into a shadow of Infallibility ; whilst they cry out against others

as Slaves to the Government, they become really Slaves to the Faction, their Liveries and Chains being seen by all, except themselves: But the great Salary with which their Bondage is to be rewarded, is Applause from their Friends, or it may be the Mob, to whom naturally their Appeal lies, and the getting into the Government, where they will be abhorred for practising every thing they formerly decry'd, and so have that Reputation for which they toil'd, blasted by their own old Arguments: This Extravagancy is in it self so unacceptable to all devout and reasonable Men, that it is forc'd to use Railery to baffle Religion by Bigotry, and Reason by Railery; and I believe that Faction was the first Introducer of the one into the Church, and of the other into the State.

My chiefest Wish then shall be, that God who has ennobled me with right Reason, may make me happy in the right Use of it; that I may neither sell it for Money, nor barter it for Fame; and that it may never be dazled by the shining Brightness of Favour, nor clouded by the black Shadows of Fear; and tho' the Portion bestowed upon me be very small, that yet I may employ that one precious Talent so, as that I may have from my Glorious Master that only desirable Character, *Well done, good and faithful Servant; thou hast been faithful in a few things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord,* Matth. 25. 23.

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