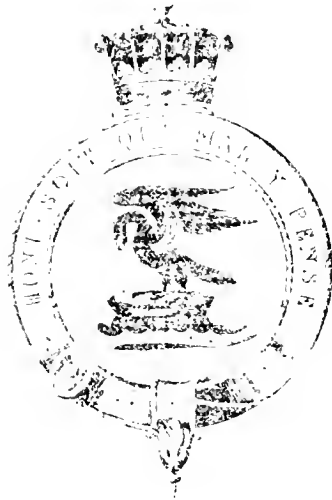


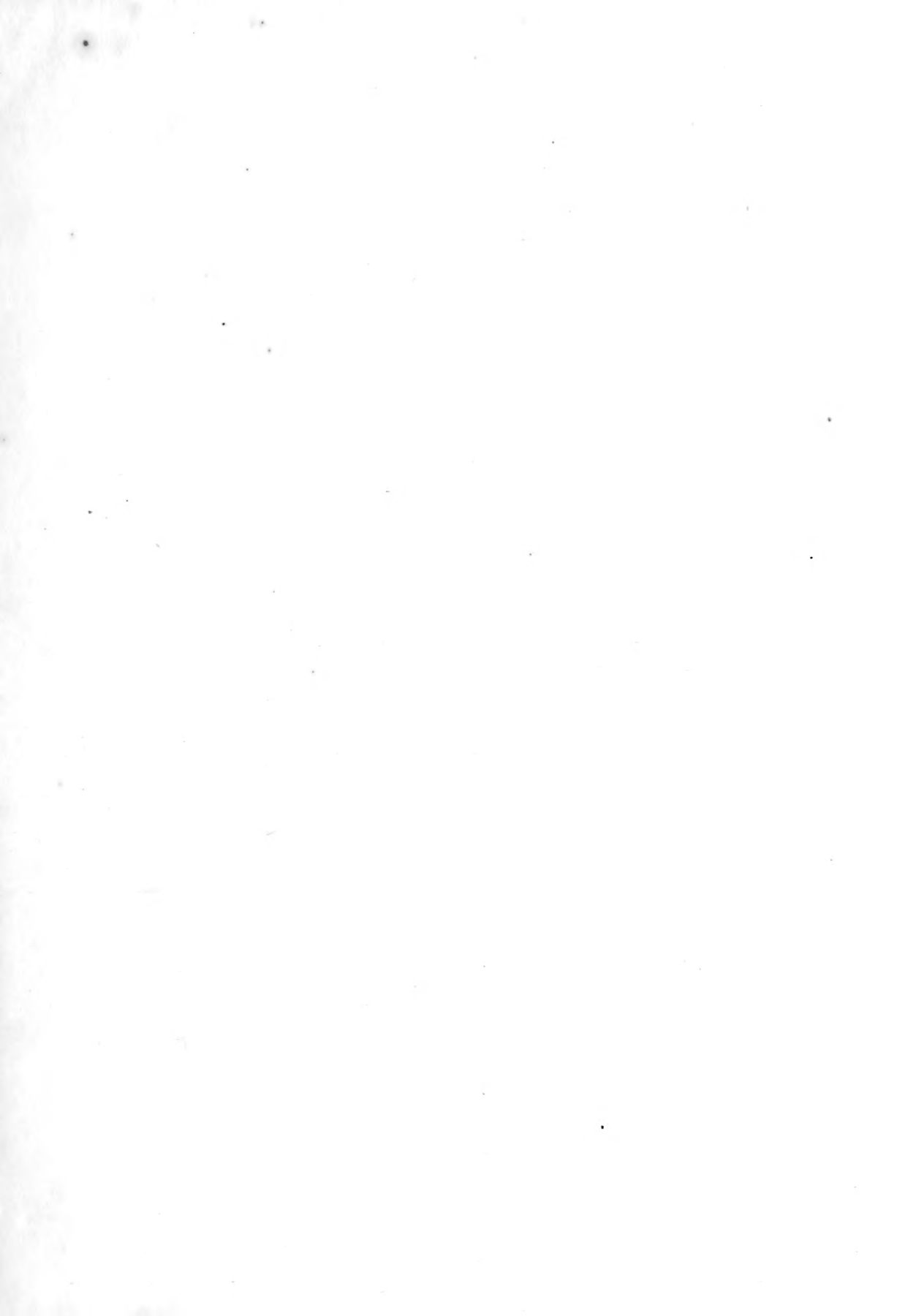




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THE
PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS
OF
FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of VERULAM, Viscount ST. ALBANS,

AND

Lord High-Chancellor of *England*;

Methodized, and made *English*, from the ORIGINALS.

WITH

OCCASIONAL NOTES,

To explain what is obscure; and shew how far the several PLANS
of the AUTHOR, for the Advancement of all the Parts of Know-
ledge, have been executed to the Present Time.

In THREE VOLUMES.

By *PETER SHAW*, M. D.

VOL. I.

Moniti Meliora.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. J. and P. KNAPTON; D. MIDWINTER and A. WARD;
A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH; J. PEMBERTON; J. OSBORN and
T. LONGMAN; C. RIVINGTON; F. CLAY; J. BATLEY; R. HETT;
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T O

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HORATIO WALPOLE *Esq;*

One of his M A J E S T Y ' S Most
Honourable Privy-Council, &c.

S I R,

THE Philosophical Works of the
Lord *Bacon*, here laid before You,
contain the noblest Scheme that, possi-
bly, was ever advanced for the Good
of Mankind: tho' it has the misfortune
to remain unexecuted in most of its Ar-
ticles.

[*A 2]

Whether

Whether this proceeds from any Fault in the Thing itself; or rather from a Want of being sufficiently understood and regarded; must be left to Persons of your approved Capacity and Judgment.

To render the whole Plan more easily intelligible, is the Design of the present *Edition*; and to procure it a proper Regard, the End of the present Address.

The Labour I have bestowed upon the Work, is humbly submitted to your Censure. And, if I might speak for my Author; he likewise wou'd be pleas'd with a Judge, who resembles him so much in extensive Knowledge, and great Application to Business.

Might I also speak for the wiser and better Part of the Nation; they wou'd
unani-

DEDICATION.

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unanimously wish this great Scheme under the Consideration of so able a Person; who has already improved and executed very important Designs for the Publick Good. I am

S I R,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

P E T E R S H A W.

GENERAL PREFACE.

THE Lord Bacon's *Philosophical Works* were, by the Author, all intended to be in Latin: accordingly he wrote most of them originally in that Language^a; and others, first wrote in English, he afterwards put into Latin^b; as he designed to have done the rest^c; with considerable Improvements and Corrections. So that those *Philosophical Pieces* of his, which he left only in English, are not to be looked upon as perfect; or as having received the degree of Perfection he purposed to give them.

This Observation may help to remove a light Prejudice in those, who, from having read the Lord Bacon's English Pieces, conceive that he was not the Philosopher he is represented by the Learned; and especially by Foreigners, who appear to extol him in a superlative manner. For, such a difference in Opinion seems principally owing to this, that one side has read only the English, and the other, only the Latin Works of the Author.

It is true indeed, that some of his best Pieces have been translated into English, by other hands. Dr. Wats has given a Translation of the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*^d; an anonymous Gentleman has given an Extract out of the *Novum Organum*^e; another

A 2

Gentle-

^a Viz. the *Novum Organum*, the *History of Winds*, the *History of Life and Death*, the *History of Condensation and Ravification*, the *Piece de Sapientia Veterum*, the *Animated Astronomy*, the *Censure of Authors*, &c.

^b As the *Advancement of Learning*, and the *Essays*.

^c Such as the *New Atlantis*, *Sylva Sylvarum*, &c.

^d The *Advancement and Proficiency of Learning*: or the *Partitions of Sciences*. Nine Books. Written in Latin by the Lord Viscount *St. Albans*, &c. Interpreted by *Gilbert Wats*; London, 1674.

^e The *Novum Organum* of the Lord Viscount *St. Albans* epitomized, for the clearer understanding of his *Natural History*. Translated, and taken out of the Latin, by *M. D. B. D.* London, 1676.

GENERAL PREFACE.

Gentleman has given a Translation of the History of Winds^a; another, with the Assistance of Dr. Rawley, a Translation of the History of Life and Death^b, after a much worse had been given before; Sir Arthur Gorges gave a Translation of the *Piece de Sapientia Veterum*^c; and Dr. Willymott a Translation of the *Essays*^d: and hence it might be hoped, that English Readers, as well as the Learned, and Natives, as well as Foreigners, should have formed a true Judgment of the Lord Bacon's Philosophical Works. But here the Fate of the Author, and the English Reader, may deserve to be pitied; for among the several Translations above enumerated, there are but few that tolerably express the Sense and Meaning of the Author; and none, that acquaint the Reader with the whole of his Designs. Dr. Wats's Translation of the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, is by the Learned accounted low, flat, and incongruous; so as no way to give the Spirit, Vivacity, and Mind of the Author; or shew his Views in a tolerable Light. Whence, it were not easy to imagine that the Original should be so excellent, whilst the Copy was so wretched. The Defects of this Performance having been observed long since, Dr. Rawley, the Author's Chaplain; was importuned to give a better English Version of that noble Work, and rescue the Honour of his Patron^e.

The English *Extract*, or *Epitome*, of the *Novum Organum*, affords but a very faint, imperfect, and disadvantageous Idea of the Plan, Design, and Discoveries, of that extraordinary Piece; yet the *Epitomizer* seems, by his Preface, acquainted with the Author's general Views in that Work; and has given a short Account

^a The *Natural and Experimental History of Winds, &c.* Translated into English by R. G. Gent. London, 1671.

^b *History, Natural and Experimental, of Life and Death: or of the Prolongation of Life.* Written by the Lord Viscount St. Albans. London, 1677.

^c The *Wisdom of the Ancients, &c.* Done into English by Sir Arthur Gorges, Knt. London, 1680.

^d Lord Bacon's *Essays: or Counsels Moral and Civil.* Translated from the Latin by William Willymott, LL.D. Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and Master of a private School at Isleworth in Middlesex. In two Volumes 8vo. London, 1720.

^e "It is our humble Suit to you, and we do earnestly solicit you, to give yourself the trouble to correct the too much defective Translation of the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, which Dr. Wats hath set forth. It is a thousand pities, that so worthy a Piece should lose its Grace and Credit by an ill Expositor; since those Persons who read that Translation, taking it for genuine, and upon that Presumption not regarding the Latin Edition, are thereby robbed of the Benefit, which (if you would please to undertake the Business) they might receive. This tendeth to the Dishonour of that Noble Lord, and the Hindrance of the Advancement of Learning." Dr. Tenison's Account of the Lord Bacon's Works; p. 26, 27.

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count of them^a: but when he comes to translate and epitomize, he strangely mangles the sense, and defaces the whole; so that it cannot easily be known, or tolerably understood. Indeed the Design was imperfect; for the Novum Organum being entirely aphoristical, its Nature will not admit of epitomizing to any advantage; but, as the Epitomizer himself observed, rather requires a Comment.

These

^a “ I need not recommend this useful Treatise, seeing that it proceeds from such a Genius, whose most trivial Conceptions have obtained the Esteem of his Age; not inferior in Learning to any of the former. He was a Person of a sound Judgment, sharp Wit, vast Comprehension, and of extraordinary Abilities, both natural and acquired. But I need not run over the Praises of a Person so well known amongst us, to gain a kind Reception and favourable Interpretation of this obscure, but useful Book: for the things therein contained are so excellent in themselves, and so well designed, that we may be inclinable of our own accord to embrace and peruse them.

“ The Author’s Purpose is, to censure the Limitations of Sciences to the Bounds prescribed to us by the shallow Pates of some of former Ages; to discover the Mistakes of our Understandings; to point at the Sources from whence they proceed; to rectify the common Errors of Men, back’d by ill-grounded Axioms; to direct us to a right Interpretation of Nature’s Mysteries; and to oblige us to settle our Judgments upon better and surer Principles than ordinary: his Purpose is to open us a Gate to a greater Proficiency and Improvement in all kinds of Learning; to pull down the Walls of Partition, and remove the *non plus ultra*; that we might sail to those *Indies* full of Gold and Jewels; I mean, the Sciences not yet discover’d to our World; and fetch from thence all the Rarities, the Knowledge, and Inventions, that may pleasure and benefit our human Life. For that purpose, he adviseth us not to take Things and Notions too much upon trust; but to ground our Belief upon Practice, and well-order’d Experience. He lays down several Principles, which may seem strange and new; but if they be rightly examined, we shall find them naturally proceeding from the Nature of Things.

“ I confess, the most excellent Conceptions are wrapped up in obscure Terms; and in such new-contrived Expressions, that King *James*, at the first perusal, judged this *Novum Organum* to be past all Mens Understanding. But we may consider, that a new Method, and new Things and Principles, deserve new Expressions; and that our learned Author speaks not to the Vulgar, but the Learned; to whom he discovers other Lands never found out before; and adviseth them to adventure to seek, and to proceed on, without minding the Discouragements and Prohibitions of our Predecessors in Learning.

“ This Treatise, therefore, was look’d upon as a seasonable Addition to his *Natural History*; but because the whole would have made it too voluminous, I have been desir’d to gather out such Observations and Directions, as might be answerable to that Subject. I must needs confess, after a serious Perusal, I did scarce know what was to be set aside: for all the Things therein contained, are so material and seasonable, that I have wonder’d that our *English Curiosi* have not had the desire to study and understand the Directions that are there given, to undeceive their mistaken Judgments. In such a case, that this *Novum Organum* might be the better intelligible, a meer Interpretation is not sufficient, in regard of the Author’s difficult and new-found Expressions; a *Comment* would be required: which if it were well and judiciously compos’d, according to the Author’s true Meaning and Intent, I am persuad’d every one would be of my Judgment; that it is the best and most useful Treatise of our Days, for the Purpose designed. I am persuad’d it might be of singular use to such *Virtuosi* amongst us, as

“ are.

GENERAL PREFACE.

These two Pieces, therefore, being fundamental, and leading to all the rest; if they have not hitherto been tolerably translated, the English Reader could have no tolerable notion of what the Author designed, and executed, in the rest of his Philosophical Works, which entirely depend upon these: and thus, tho' the History of Winds, the History of Life and Death, &c. had been better translated than they are; yet the Readers thereof, having never been let into the Scheme of the GRAND INSTAURATION, or the general Design of the Author's Philosophical Works, these subsequent Pieces could not be seen in their true light; nor indeed be rightly understood: whence it is certain, that they have to many appeared strange and disorderly Things.

It may here be added, that the Latin Works themselves were not originally published in their true Order; but in Parts, at different times, according as they happened to be wrote; or as the Author judged them suitable to promote his general End, procure Assistance, or the like; but chiefly to prevent Accident, or Disaster, and put at least some Portions of his general Scheme out of the danger of perishing. And hence, the natural Order of his Works being often inverted, it was not easy to form a true Judgment of the Whole; or to perceive the Connection and Dependance of the several Parts.

The Author had several Reasons for publishing his Works in Latin. For as his Designs were extensive, and regarded the Benefit of Mankind in general; he thought it best to deliver them in the most general Language, that they might be read by the Men of all Nations. Again, they have a more particular regard to Posterity; and Latin seems the most suitable Language for conveying things safe and unalter'd to After-Ages. This also is the Language of the Learned; and the Author's Desire was to have the Learned for his first Readers; as supposing their Minds already open'd, and prepared to receive, and improve, what he delivers. But he was more particularly desirous of having the learned Men of foreign Countries amongst his early Readers; that he might by this means anticipate, or have some fore-taste of the Judgment of Posterity. For Distance of Place has here a similar Effect with Distance of Time. And lastly, he was desirous of being read, after some Years were

passed,

“ are not perfectly acquainted with the *Latin* Tongue; and yet employ their Time and
 “ Studies in the Improvement of their Abilities, and finding out Inventions useful to the
 “ Life of Man: for it would supply them with such Principles, as their Leisure and Con-
 “ trivance might wonderfully improve in new Discoveries, &c.” Pref. to the Epit. of the
Nov. Organ.

passed, by the Body of his own Countrymen. How prudently this Scheme was laid, and how far he put it in the way of execution, the thing itself must speak.

The Design of these Volumes, is to give a Methodical English Edition of his Philosophical Works, fitted for a commodious and ready Perusal; somewhat in the same manner as the Philosophical Works of Mr. Boyle were, a few Years since, fitted, in three Quarto Volumes^a.

All the Author's Pieces that were originally written in Latin, or by himself translated into Latin, are here new done from those Originals; with care all along to collate his own English with the Latin, where the Pieces were extant in both Languages.

The Method observed in thus rendring them into English, is not that of a direct Translation; (which might have left them more obscure than they are; and no way suited this Design;) but a kind of open Version, which endeavours to express, in modern English, the Sense of the Author, clear, full, and strong; tho' without deviating from him, and, if possible, without losing of his Spirit, Force, or Energy. And tho' this Attempt may seem vain, or bold, it was doubtless better to have had the View, than willingly to have aimed at second Prizes.

The Liberty sometimes taken, not of abridging, (for just and perfect Writings are incapable of Abridgment;) but of dropping, or leaving out, some Parts of the Author's Writings, may require greater Excuse. But this was done in order to shorten the Works, whose Length has proved one Discouragement to their being read. And regard has been had to omit none of the Philosophical Matter; but only certain personal Addresses, Compliments, Exordiums, and the like: for as the Reasons and Ends, for which these were originally made, subsist no longer; it was thought superfluous to continue such Particularities, in a Work of this general nature.

The philosophical Matter thus separated, is disposed into that which appear'd to be the most natural Order; or such as is indicated by the Author; and would, perhaps, have been, in great measure, observed by himself, had he given an Edition of all his Works. No Merit, therefore, can be claimed in this, since the Order was pointed out by the Author; who not only had the right to marshal his own Works; but was concerned to place them in such a manner, as best suited the Design.

After

^a Printed at London, Ann. 1725.

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After the general Disposal of the separate Pieces, so as to follow one another in the justest Order; the proper Divisions, or Sections of each particular Piece, come to be consider'd. And here, the Method observed has been such, as might preserve an Uniformity in the Whole; and fit these Writings for general Use. Accordingly the several Pieces are divided, and broke, into distinct Sections, and Paragraphs; this Contrivance having been found to help the Understanding, assist the Memory, and ease the Reader.

To render the Work still more familiar, and to put it in the way of being farther improved; particular Prefaces, and Notes, are added to explain, or illustrate, the more obscure Pieces, Passages, and Expressions; shew where the Author's Schemes have been executed; and refer the Reader from one part of the Work to another, where the same Subject is treated; so as in some measure, to make the whole a Comment upon itself. And the better to secure this End, there is added, at the beginning of the first Volume, a small Glossary, or Explanation, of the more uncommon Philosophical Terms, made use of by the Author; large explicit Tables of Contents to each Volume; Appendixes to imperfect Works; and an Alphabetical Index to the Whole.

This Edition was not undertaken of a sudden; but intended many Years since. The principal Inducement to it was, the Service it might possibly be of in promoting Knowledge, and exciting Philosophers to endeavour the farther Discovery and Improvement of Arts. For there scarce seems to be any natural Means more powerful to promote this End, than a general spreading of the Lord Bacon's Philosophical Writings. The Design was delay'd, for some time, in expectation of a compleat Edition of all the Author's original Pieces; which was lately published, from Dr. Mead's Collection, in four Folio Volumes, by Mr. Blackbourn: of which Edition, considerable Use has here been made. And if too little Time, and too slender Abilities, have not been employ'd in methodizing, translating, and illustrating these Writings; some farther Improvement of the Sciences might be justly expected from the present Labour. At least, something of the kind was thought necessary; and the Whole is propos'd but as an Attempt towards a more serviceable English of the Lord Bacon's Philosophical Works.

What these Works are, is not easy to express; and their real Character, tho' not sufficiently known, need not be here dwelt on, as they now lie open to an easy Perusal. The principal Obstacle
to

to their Currency appears to be this, that some modern Philosophers, and Men of Letters, tho' they allow the Lord Bacon to have been a Great Man, for his Time; yet imagine that his Philosophy is now almost superseded by later Improvements, and Discoveries.

This, upon a careful Examination, will perhaps be found a fatal Mistake, that keeps some of the most serviceable Philosophical Writings hitherto extant, from being duly studied and improved. For it appears impossible that the Lord Bacon's Discoveries should grow out of date, unless the Frame of Things was to alter: since he constantly endeavours to copy Nature, which is always the same; so that his distinguishing Merit lies in this, and in having every where open'd the Springs of Knowledge and Practice.

As to the modern Discoveries and Improvements, however great and numerous they may be; yet they are, in general, no more than a part of what this Author foresaw in his Mind; and taught the ways of bringing to light: adding withal such farther Directions, that if Men are not wanting to themselves, they may obtain still greater Things. For he has shewn us the Art of inventing Arts; which many of the Ancients seem'd to despair of; and which the Moderns, perhaps, are not hitherto sufficiently versed in. So that till no more Discoveries remain to be made in Nature, it should seem that this Author's Philosophical Writings cannot be superseded.

If there are any other Objections lying against the Author, in his Philosophical Capacity, it is probable they may arise from a want of thoroughly understanding his Works; and will therefore vanish, upon becoming better acquainted with him: For his best Defence is that of being well understood.

And in order thereto, he may, in some places, require a careful Reader; or one that has been a little broke, and practis'd in a scientific doubting of himself; and a prudent Suspension of the Judgment: otherwise we shall be sometimes apt, through Haste, Inadvertence, or an Opinion of the common Methods of Thinking, and Reasoning, to attribute those Faults to the Author, that might be more justly placed.

Perhaps, a sure Rule to know whether his Works are rightly understood is this; that he who understands them, will usually find them the Result of deep Thought, and well weigh'd Experience; so as to prove not only strong and just, but, in an extraordinary manner,

GENERAL PREFACE.

useful; teaching more than they directly express; and leading both the Mind and Hand to new Arts, and farther Discoveries. This certainly is the Purport of his Writings; and unless the Reader, by conversing with them, shall be instructed, some way or other, to improve Philosophy, or the general State of Knowledge; he may be assured that he does not fully understand the Author, who professes himself to have done nothing, unless he has taught Posterity to do more.



CON-

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E .

The ARRANGEMENT and GENERAL SURVEY of KNOWLEDGE, &c.

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A

GENERAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

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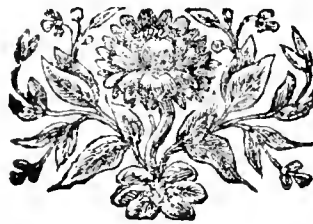
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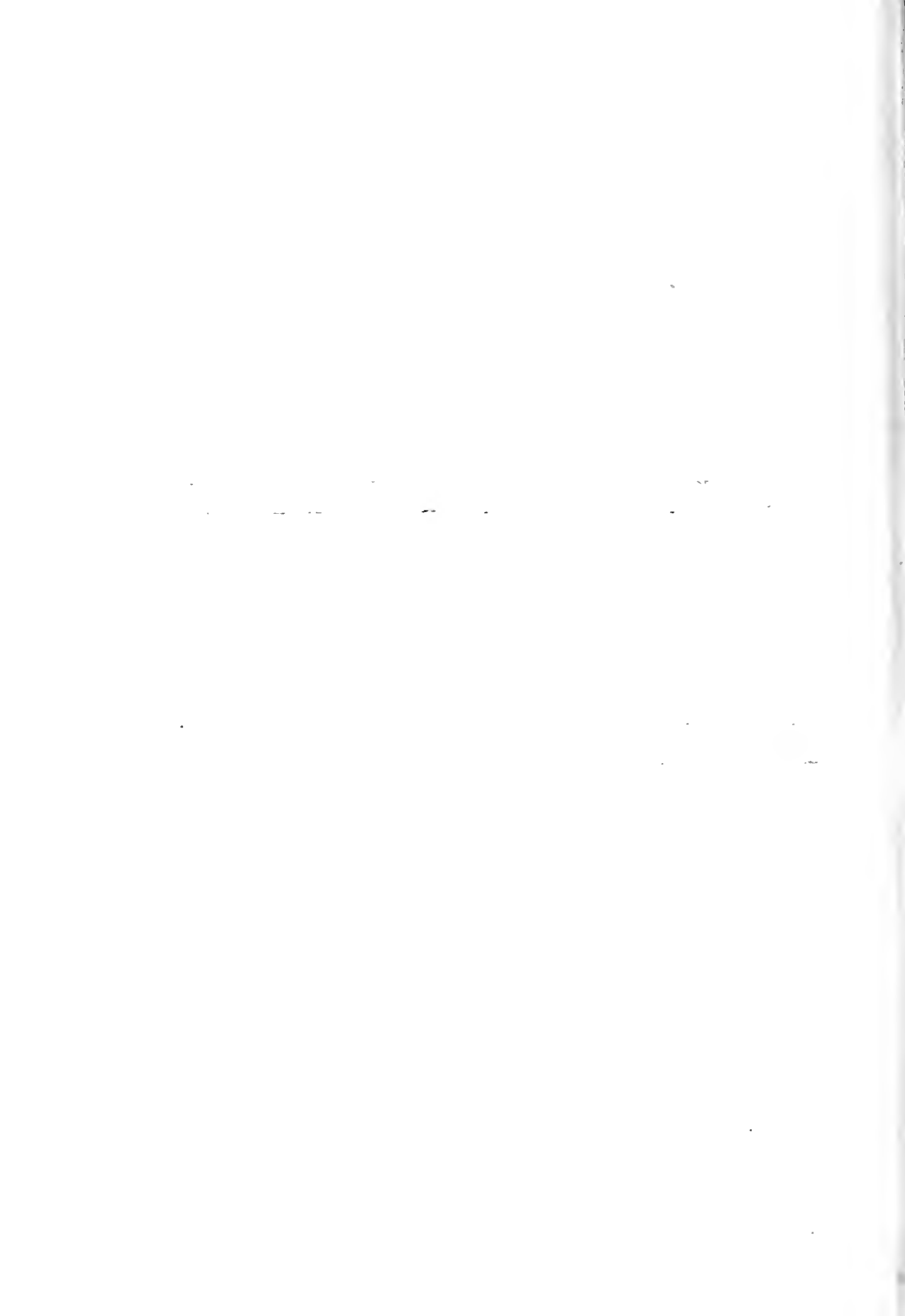
End of the Contents.



ERRATA in VOL. I.

- In the General Preface, pag. viii. lin. 38. after *English* insert *Edition*.
- Pag. 15. lin. penult. for *Fourth* read *Fifth*.
 18. lin. ult. for Sect. XVII. read Sect. XVIII.
 31. lin. 10. for *non-appearance* read *appearance*.
 35. lin. 34. for *Aexander* read *Alexander*.
 65. lin. 16. in the Margin, for *sensible* read *feasible*.
 70. lin. 22. for *Acausticks* read *Aousticks*.
 72. lin. 45. for *Newynsir* read *Nieuentyr*.
 75. lin. 7. for *Accedents* read *Accidents*.
 87. lin. 9. after *Metaphysicks* insert *or*.
 158. lin. 39. after *would* dele *only*.
 175. lin. 21. for *to Secrets*, read *to the Secret*.
 193. lin. 6. for *case* read *cases*.
 199. lin. 17. instead of *so are the four latter*, read *so the four latter are*.
 ibid. lin. 38. for *Wesenfelds* read *Wesenfeld*.
 200. lin. 3. dele the first *to*.
 259. lin. 35. for *turning* read *tuning*.
 295. lin. 34. for *Insolations* read *Insolations*.
 303. lin. ult. for *Supplement V. Sect. I.* read *Supplement V. Sect. II.*
 331. lin. 11. read *studied, full, strong, and definitive*.
 424. lin. ult. for *eighteen*, read *sixteen*.
 509. lin. 35. for *Jesuit*, read *Friar*.
 563. lin. 2. for V. read IV. and alter the following Numbers accordingly.
 586. lin. 30. for VIII. read VII.
 600. lin. ult. dele *that*.

A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
AUTHOR'S LIFE.



A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
AUTHOR'S LIFE.

FRANCIS BACON was born at *London*, in *York-house* in the *Strand*; *January 22, 1560*. His Father was Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, a Counsellor of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*: and his Mother, a Daughter of Sir *Anthony Cook*, of *Giddy-Hall* in *Essex*, who had been Governor to King *Edward VI*^a.

Being thus descended, he was early initiated in a Court Life; and, as himself expresses it^b, both by Family and Education, tinged with Civil Affairs; and bias'd by Opinions. During his Childhood, he was taken notice of at Court for a more than ordinary Capacity; whence the Queen delighted to talk with him; and would often, for his Gravity, term him the *Young Lord-Keeper*.

He was early^c sent to *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, where he studied under Dr. *Whitgift*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. His Genius shew'd itself at the University, by the uncommon Progress he made in the Arts and Sciences: so that, what seems almost incredible, he not only understood *Aristotle's* Philosophy at about the Age
of

^a Dr. *Rawley's* Life of the Author, p. 1. and *Dugdale's* Baronage, p. 437.

^b See the *Scripta*, published by *Gruter*; de *Interpretatione Naturæ*, Proœmium, in init.

^c He was matriculated, *June 10. An. 1573*.

of Sixteen; but was even then come to a Dislike thereof, upon finding it rather contentious than useful^a.

His Father called him from the University, at this early Age, to attend the Ambassador, Sir *Amyas Pawlet*, into *France*; who soon after charged him with some particular Commission from thence to the Queen: in which Commission, he acquitted himself with great Approbation; and returned to *France* again, in order to continue there for some time^b.

During his Stay in *France* his Father died^c, without making any separate Provision, as he had intended, for him: so that being the younger Brother of Five, he received no more than a fifth Share of a small personal Estate; and therefore struggled with Difficulties, in point of Fortune, for some Part of his Life.

Upon returning from abroad, he applied himself to the Study of the *Common Law*, in the way of a Profession; and for that purpose seated himself in *Gray's-Inn*; where he soon became so eminent, as at the age of Twenty-eight, to be chose by that honourable Society for their Lent-Reader^d; and afterwards for their double Reader.

And having always thought himself peculiarly indebted to his Country; he now bent his Endeavours to obtain some honourable Post in the Government; with a View, as himself declares^e, to procure the greater assistance to his Capacity and Industry, in perfecting his philosophical Designs. And being already acquainted with the *Civil Arts*, he recommended himself to such Friends, as he knew were able to serve him^f.

But his Advancement in the Queen's Time was slow, and not very considerable: for he had some potent Enemies at Court, who did their utmost to keep him under^g. He was, however, made one of the Clerks of the Council; and sworn of the Council learned, extraordinary, to her Majesty: but could not in her Reign obtain the Place of Solicitor-General, for which he earnestly strove; even by the Intercession of his noble Patron the Earl of *Essex*^h.

Being now arrived at full maturity, whilst, as himself observesⁱ, his Thoughts were bent upon Ambition; an ill State of Health admonished

^a See *Rawley's Life of the Author*, p. 5. See also *Tenison's Baconiana*, p. 10.

^b It should seem that during his Continuance abroad he made the Tour of *Italy*, and visited *Rome*. See *Vol. II.* p. 127.

^c See *Vol. III.* p. 232.

^d Dr. *Rawley's Life of the Author*, p. 5, 6. and *Dugdale's Baronage*, p. 437, 438.

^e See the *Scripta* in *Prœm. de Interpretatione Naturæ*.

^f See his Letters, *Vol. I.* p. 413—459.

^g See *Vol. I.* p. 418, 424.

^h See *Vol. I.* 432.

ⁱ In *Prœm. de Interpret. Naturæ*.

nished him that his Endeavours were unprosperous: whence frequently considering that he was not performing his Duty, whilst he left those Studies unprofecuted by which he might do service to Mankind; and followed those that depended upon the Will of others; he, for a time, broke off all further Thoughts of rising in Life; and more vigorously profecuted the Design of his *Instauration* ^a.

But upon the Dearth of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the coming in of King *James*, his former Views return'd; and he now made great Advances in Dignity and Preferment: being first knighted, then created Baron of *Verulam*, and lastly Viscount *St. Albans*. His Places were, Council learned extraordinary to the King, as he had before been to the Queen; Solicitor-General; Attorney-General; Counsellor of State; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and Lord High Chancellor of *England*.

He was knighted by the King in person at *Whitehall*, in the Year 1603; he was sworn Solicitor-General in 1607; made Attorney-General in 1613; appointed Lord Keeper, and chose of the Privy-Council in 1716; made Lord High Chancellor in 1618; created Baron of *Verulam* the same Year; and Viscount *St. Albans* in 1620.

Towards the beginning of these Promotions he married a Daughter of *Benedict Barnham*, Alderman of *London*; but died without Issue.

He did not obtain his Posts of Honour and Preferment without labour: they were generally the effect of his own Schemes, contrived and executed with great Application and Address ^b.

His Behaviour in the several Posts he passed through, was such, as (notwithstanding the Efforts of some powerful Enemies) procured him an almost universal Esteem for Learning, Parts, and Probity; till at length he was accused of Bribery and Corruption in the Execution of his highest Office, that of Lord Chancellor.

Instead of defending himself against this Accusation, he made a full and ingenuous Confession ^c to the House of Peers; who, upon the 3d of *May*, 1621, gave Judgment against him; "That he should be fined 40,000 *l.* and remain Prisoner in the Tower during the King's Pleasure; that he should for ever be incapable of any Office, Place, or Employment, in the State or Commonwealth; and that he should never sit in Parliament, or come within the Verge of the Court." After

^a See the Place last cited.

^b See his Letters, *Seç. I. passim. Vol. I. p. 413, &c.*

^c See *Vol. I.* This Confession has been construed a Weakness by some, who did not reflect, that it is noble in an Offender to confess; and that generous Minds are the aptest to accuse themselves.

After this, he retired from Civil Affairs, and for five Years gave himself wholly up to Philosophy and Writing; so that, during this Time, he executed several Portions of his grand *Instauration*: but did not live to finish the whole, so far as he had hoped to do.

He died *April 9, 1626.* at the Earl of *Arundel's* House at *Highgate*, of a Fever, attended with a Defluxion upon his Breast.

He lies buried in *St. Michael's* Church at *St. Albans*; a Monument being there erected for him, (with his full Portrait, in the posture of studying;) by Sir *Thomas Meautys*, once his Secretary, and afterwards Clerk of the Council; with a *Latin* Inscription, by Sir *Henry Wotton*, to this effect.

FRANCIS BACON, *Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans;*
or, in more eminent Titles,

The Light of the Sciences, and the Law of Eloquence,
sate thus:

Who, when he had explained all the Secrets of civil and natural Knowledge, fulfilled that Decree of Nature; let Compounds be Separated; in the Year of our Lord 1626.

Aged 66.

This Monument was erected, to the Memory of so great a Man, by Thomas Meautys; who revered him when alive, and admires him now dead.

To give a full Character of the Lord *Bacon*, requires a more than ordinary Skill; the following are but some faint Touches.

The Faculties of his Mind were great, and happily united: for his Imagination, Memory, and Reason were all extraordinary. He knew what was in Books; but had a Knowledge superior to them. He was indefatigable in Study, and found himself better turned for that, than for any thing else; as having a Mind quick and ready to perceive the Correspondencies of things; fix'd and intent to discover their nicer Differences; and this joined with a Love of Enquiry; a Patience of Doubting; a Pleasure in Contemplation; a Backwardness in Asserting; a Readiness in acknowledging an Error; and a scrupulous Exactness in Disposing and Methodizing: at the same time neither affecting Novelty, nor adoring Antiquity; but hating all kinds of Imposture and Delusion^a.

To consider him in his Philosophical Capacity, History scarce affords us a fit Philosopher wherewith to compare him. *Plato* and *Aristotle* were

^a See *Proöm. de Interpret. Nat.* See also *Vol. II. p. 332—335.*

were Men of a different Cast: they paid not so great a regard to Truth and Utility; nor instructed Mankind so justly; nor open'd the hidden Veins of Science so successfully; nor taught the Art of philosophical Invention, so happily as the Lord *Bacon*.

He excelled no less in particular Sciences than in general Philosophy. The Law was his Profession; whereof he was so great a Master, as to stand in competition with the celebrated Lord *Coke*: tho' some good Judges are of opinion, that the Comparison does too much honour to the latter ^a.

He was a great Master in all matters relating to the State ^b; and as acceptable in the House of Commons, as in the Council ^c.

His Failings were chiefly of the moral or oeconomic kind; and seem owing to an Excess of certain Virtues; *viz.* Generosity bordering upon Profuseness, and Good-nature approaching to Facility. For in his Posts of Profit, he laid up nothing; but was over-indulgent to his Servants; and suffer'd them to make their own Advantages. And from no fouler an Origin seems to have proceeded the Bribery and Corruption of which he was guilty ^d: The Gifts he took being commonly by the Hands of his Servants, for interlocutory Orders; whilst all his Decrees were so equitable, that not one of them was ever reversed as unjust ^e. More might be said to extenuate his Crime; if a Crime of such a nature could be extenuated: The Corruption of the Times; the Inveteracy of his Enemies; and the King's withdrawing of his Favour, all conspired to make him a Sacrifice ^f.

Some have thought that he was reduced to extreme Poverty, and shew'd an abject Spirit, after his Fall; particularly in the supplicating Letters he wrote to the King: but let his whole Behaviour, his Pensions, his Estate, and those Letters be well consider'd; and the Case will appear much otherwise ^g. 'Tis certain, that he had his Errors and his Frailties; and without them would have appear'd more than human: but to take him as he was; we must acknowledge him one of the greatest Men that the World has known.

^a See Mr. *Locker's* Character of the Lord *Bacon*; in Mr. *Blackbourn's* Edition Vol. I p. 178.

^b See his Speeches, Letters, &c. See also *Osborn's* Advice to a Son, page 150.

^c See *Rawley's* Life, p. 12. and Vol. I. p.

^d See *Rushworth's* Collections, Vol. I. and *Tenison's Baconiana*, p. 254.

^e See *Baconiana*, p. 255.

^f See *Buſhel's* Extract, p. 19. and *Tenison's Baconiana*, p. 16.

^g See *Tenison's Baconiana*, pag. 254, 255. See also *Rawley's* Life, pag. 6, 7.



A SMALL
G L O S S A R Y,
O R
E X P L A N A T I O N,

O F

Certain PHILOSOPHICAL TERMS, either
Invented, or Used in a New Sense, by the AUTHOR.

ABSTRACTION.

THIS Word the Author frequently uses, to express the manner of *forming Notions*; that is, not simple Ideas, or Sensations, which require no Action or Operation of the Mind besides bare Perception; but the Manner of deducing, taking, or *abstracting* just Notions from Things, after a due consideration of all the Particulars that should go to constitute such Notions.

Thus *Notions hastily abstracted from Things* are faulty, slight, superficial and imperfect Notions, derived from considering only a few obvious Particulars; as the common Notion of *Moisture* is hastily abstracted or taken from considering only Water: whereas such a *Philosophical Notion* of Moisture should be formed, and introduced,

as might agree with all *Instances*; viz. to Quicksilver, which is moist in respect of Gold; to Oil, which is moist, in respect of Leather; &c.

The due Ab-
straction of
Notions.

The *due Abstraction*, therefore, or *Formation of Notions*, is a particular Operation, or Work, of the Understanding; that requires the use of *Induction*, in the Author's Sense thereof; which see, under the Word *Induction*. And in this Operation of the Mind, the Perfection of Thought, Language, and all Philosophy principally consists.

ADVENTITIOUS.

ADVENTI-
TIOUS, Con-
ditions.

By *Adventitious*, or *Transcendental Conditions of Things*, the Author understands the Existence of Things in a determinate, or certain Quantity, under certain invariable Differences; or, to express it otherwise, the Laws, or necessary Causes in Nature, whereby some Things exist, and others do not; why there are such large Quantities of some Things, and less of others; why some Things are possible, others impossible; and the like. Thus to enquire into the physical, (not final) Causes, why there is more Iron than Gold in the World; more Marble than Diamond; why it is impossible for Men to preserve their own Bodies in a sound State for ever; and the like; is enquiring into the Adventitious, or Transcendental Conditions of Things; and a neglected part of *Primary Philosophy*: which see.

ANTICIPATION.

ANTICIPA-
TION.

By *Anticipation*, the Author, in a particular Sense, understands the common Method of Reasoning, and judging of Things with a kind of natural Impatience, Precipitancy, blind Fury, and head-strong Appetite; without a due regard to the real Merits of the Case; or without a proper Regulation and Government of the Mind, by the use of his new Machine, or Logick. So that the Method of Anticipation is directly opposite to his Method of Induction, or *Interpretation of Nature*; which see.

APHORISMS.

APHORISMS,
a Kind of
Writing.

The Author takes *Aphorisms* in a somewhat stricter sense than the common; and means by them, not loose and scatter'd Observations thrown together in a Heap; but matter of well-weigh'd Observation and Experience, thoroughly digested in the Mind, and afterwards clearly and methodically set down in Writing; with a steady View to some useful End: without admitting any foreign Ornament, Superfluity, or Exaggeration; but keeping close to the Truth of Nature, and Reality.

A P.

APPROXIMATIONS.

By *Approximations* the Author understands such Particulars as approach, or, in some degree, come up to *Optatives*, or the *Desiderata* in Arts and Sciences: so as, when those *Optatives*, or *Desiderata*, are, for the present, impossible to be obtained; we may still have something of the same kind, within our power, tho' of an inferior degree. See *Optatives*.

APPROXIMATIONS.

ART OF INVENTING.

By *the Art of Inventing Arts* is meant the Use of a well-regulated and perfect *Induction*, applied to Physicks; being an Art, or actual *Demonstration*, as justly suited to this purpose, as *Algebra* in Mathematicks: and may discover Arts with as much Certainty, as that can form Equations. See *Induction*, *Interpretation of Nature*, and *Investigation of Forms*. See also *Inductive History*, and *Learned Experience*.

ART OF INVENTING ARTS: or the Art of Enquiry, Indication, or Direction

ASSEMBLAGES.

By *greater Assemblages*, or *Colleges*, of *Matter* are understood the *four Elements*, as they are commonly called; *viz.* Fire, Air, Water, and Earth: and by the *smaller Assemblages*, all the other natural Bodies; as Animals; Plants and Fossils.

ASSEMBLAGES of Matter.

ATTRACTION. See *Sympathy*.

AXIOMS.

By *Axioms* the Author does not mean *Mathematical Axioms*, or self-evident Propositions; but a very different Thing: *viz.* solid Portions of Truth, duly raised from Enquiries conducted in the inductive Method; or drawn, as rich Corollarics, from particular Histories of Nature and Art; so as to be pregnant with the Matter of a just Theory, and sure Directions for Practice. And these *Axioms* can be no otherwise formed, than by a careful and accurate *Induction*. In other Words, a perfect *Axiom* is a summary Expression of the *Form*, *Law*, *Nature*, or *Essence* of a Thing discover'd after a due Exclusion and Rejection of every Nature, or Property, that is not essential; so that the *Discovery of Forms*, and the raising of perfect *Axioms* are reciprocal, or one and the same thing. See *Forms*. But besides these perfect *Axioms*, there are others of an inferior Nature, tending to raise up the more perfect by degrees.

AXIOMS, how formed.

CANONS.

CANONS.

Canons, in the Author's particular Sense of the Word, are the same as *Axioms*; unless we except that they more particularly regard Practice; as *Axioms*, if we make the difference, regard Theory. The Word *Canons* is also sometimes used for useful Observations of a general nature, or large extent.

CIVIL HISTORY.

CIVIL HISTORY.

By *Civil History* is meant an Account of the Works and Acts of Men; as *Natural History* is an Account of the Works and Acts of Nature.

CONFUTATION.

CONFUTATION, of Demonstrations, Philosophies, and the Natural Reason.

This Word is used, not so much in a new Sense, as applied in a new Manner, or to a new Purpose; viz. the *Confutation of Demonstrations*; the *Confutation of Philosophies*; and the *Confutation of the natural Reason*; which may seem harsh and strange Expressions: but, as Sophisms are confuted in the vulgar Logic; so the Author confutes the vulgar Demonstrations, the vulgar Philosophies, and the common method of Reasoning, by shewing them all to be unfit for promoting the Sciences; which requires the use of perfect *Induction*.

COSMICAL.

COSMICAL, Motions and Qualities.

Cosmical Motions, and *Cosmical Qualities*, are those Motions and Qualities which Things have, as they are Parts of the Universe, or general System of Nature; and would not have the same, if they were not Parts of one great Whole.

ELECTIONS.

ELECTIONS, in Astrology.

By *Elections*, with regard to a sound and serviceable *Astrology*, is meant the choice of proper Times, or Seasons, for performing certain Actions or Operations; so as to procure the assistance of the Celestial Influences, when these may be serviceable. *Elections*, therefore, are one principal Use of Astrology, and *Predictions* another.

EXCLUSION.

EXCLUSION, and Rejection.

By the Method of *Exclusion*, or *Rejection*, is meant the throwing out of an Enquiry all the Subjects that have not the Nature sought; and belongs particularly to genuine *Induction*, or the Art of *Investigating Forms*; where it constantly makes a *Table* by itself, called
the

the *Table of Declination, Absence in Approach, Exclusion, or Rejection.*

The Expression has also a lower, or more obvious Signification, denoting the refusal, or non-admittance, of dubious and uncertain Particulars, or Matters of slight Observation and Experience, into an Enquiry, or any particular History of Nature or Art; as also the weeding of such Historics, and throwing out such Particulars.

FORMS.

By *Forms*, the Author understands *those real Appetites; Powers, FORMS philo-*
Motions, or active Laws of Nature, by which all Things exist, and^{sophical.}
have their Effects. And to the Discovery of these Laws, his principal Endeavours are directed; as to a Thing that alone will constitute a just and universal Theory, and direct to an extensive Practice. So that his *Instauration*, or Scheme for rebuilding Arts and Sciences, and bringing them to their Perfection, depends upon the *Discovery of Forms*; or the finding of Natures convertible with any Natures assigned, that shall limit, and restrain, and constitute the former. Thus by discovering the *Form of Gold*, we should learn what constitutes that Metal, or gives it the specific Differences which distinguish it from all other Things; and, at the same time, obtain a Rule for introducing that *Form*, or the Nature of Gold, into Silver, or any other Body susceptible thereof. But these *Forms* are not yet discover'd; and can be investigat'd no other way than by the Use and Application of the Art of *Induction*; which, itself is not hitherto extant in all its Parts. See *Induction*.

Besides this eminent Sense of the Word, it is also used, in a *Forms* ^{more} common Acceptation, for the Figure, Shape, Fashion, or Man-^{mon.}ner of Things.

GENERATIONS.

Generations are the ordinary Productions of Nature, as distin-^{GENERA-}
guished from the extraordinary, or monstrous; which the Author ^{TIONS.}
calls *Pretergenerations*.

GEORGICKS.

This Expression of *Georgicks* is transferr'd from Agriculture into ^{GEORGICKS, of}
Ethicks; so as to denote the Art of cultivating, or improving the ^{the Mind.}
Mind in Moral Virtue.

HISTORY.

By pure *History*, the Author means a Collection, or faithful and ^{HISTORY.}
exact Description of the Works, Facts, or Appearances of Nature,
without meddling with their Causes; which is a Province that belongs
to the *Interpreter of Nature.* Nar-

Narrative
History.

Narrative History is distinguished from *Inductive History*; the former containing Descriptions, or relating the Facts and Works of Nature, with no view to the founding a just Philosophy; which is the Design of *Inductive History*. See *Inductive* and *Natural History*.

IDOLS.

IDOLS, of the
Mind.

By *Idols of the Mind* are denoted the various kinds of false Representations, Imaginations, Figments, and wrong Notions, which Men receive from Education, Party, particular Studies, &c. so as to distinguish these from true Notions, which are duly abstracted, and represent Things as they are. See *Abstraction*.

INDUCTION.

INDUCTION.

This Word is used, not in the common, but a much more noble Sense, by the Author, to signify an *Art*, of which he was the Inventor. This Art has a great resemblance with Algebra; and is to the Investigation of Forms, what that is with regard to the forming of Equations. It consists of several Parts, and is extremely well suited to natural Enquiries, and the Discovery of new Arts, and Works: so that it may well be called a *Philosophical Algebra*, or the Art of Inventing Arts; a considerable Branch whereof, is deliver'd in the Author's Piece called *Novum Organum*. See *Art of Inventing Arts*.

INDUCTIVE HISTORY.

INDUCTIVE
HISTORY.

Inductive, Primary, or Mother-History, is a Natural and Experimental History, collected, not in the ordinary way of Natural Histories, for Amusement, Delight, or the sake of the direct Matters themselves; but with a View to the building up a solid and serviceable Philosophy. *Inductive History*, therefore, was a Thing entirely wanting, till the Author set some Examples of it in his History of *Winds, Life and Death*, &c. wherein he uses his own *Art of Induction*. See *Induction*.

INDUCTIVE METHOD.

INDUCTIVE
METHOD.

Inductive Method, is the Method laid down by the *Art of Induction*. See *Induction*, and *Forms*.

INSTANCES.

INSTANCES.

By *Instances*, the Author understands Particulars, Facts, Observations, Experiments, Natural Bodies, Instruments, or any thing fitted to afford Light and Information in Enquiries. But as it were endless

to pursue the Infinity of Things in particular Enquiries, the Author, under the Doctrine of Instances, has shewn which are *Prerogative*; Prerogative Instances. that is, which are of such a nature as that a few of them may do the Office of many; and thus greatly shorten the Business of Enquiry.

INSTAURATION.

The *Instauration* is the Author's general Scheme or Plan, which he lays down for the improvement of Knowledge. This Scheme consists of six Parts; *viz.* (1.) A Survey of the present Stock of Knowledge; with an account of its Deficiencies, and the ways of supplying them. (2.) A new Art of Induction, Philosophical Algebra, Machine, or particular Logick, for discovering Arts, and interpreting Nature. (3.) The Materials for Inductive History. (4.) The Inductive History itself. (5.) The best Philosophy that the Author could raise without the assistance of *Induction*. And (6.) a genuine and sound Philosophy raised by the *Art of Induction*. INSTAURATION.

INTERPRETATION.

What the Author properly means by the *Interpretation of Nature*, is the Exercise of the last Part of his Art of *Induction*; when the *Interpreter* having all his *Tables*, and the requisite Materials and Helps before him, examines what is the Result of any particular Enquiry; so as at length to discover the *Form* of the Nature sought; find the Causes of Effects; and draw out the *Axioms* that direct new Experiments and Works. It is therefore the Business of the *Natural* or rather *Inductive Historian*, to collect the Matter or *Instances* of an Enquiry; range them into regular *Tables*, &c. and the Business of the *Interpreter of Nature* to examine and compare the whole, with a View to the Investigation of *Forms*, the Discovery of *Causes*, and the raising of *Axioms*. INTERPRETATION of Nature Interpreter of Nature.

But besides this limited Sense of the Term *Interpretation* of Nature, it has another, more general, and denotes the sober, artificial, just and regular Procedure of the Mind in the Discovery of Truth, according to the patient and laborious Method of *Induction*: in which light it is opposed to the vulgar *Method of Anticipation*: which, when soberly consider'd, appears a kind of frantick, deform'd and unruly Thing.

LEARNED EXPERIENCE.

By *Learned Experience* the Author understands the *Art of Experimenting*, or the proper Method of making and conducting Experiments. LEARNED EXPERIENCE.

riments, so as that they shall afford Light, or lead to some certain Discoveries; and not remain casual, fluctuating Things, tried in the way of Amusement, or fruitless Curiosity.

LITERARY HISTORY.

LITERARY HISTORY.

By *Literary History* is meant the History of Matters any way relating to Learning, thro' all the Ages and over all the Countries of the World.

MACHINE.

MACHINE for the Mind.

What this is, see explained under the Term *Novum Organum*.

MAGICK.

MAGICK.

The Word *Magick* is used by the Author in its ancient honourable Sense; or rather in one still more sublime and noble, for that practical Doctrine, or Science, which, from a *Discovery of Forms*, may produce very great Works and Effects, in the way of over-ruling, or commanding the general Laws of Nature. But as *Forms* are not hitherto discovered, *Natural Magick*, which depends thereon, has at present no place among the Sciences. Otherwise, as Mechanicks is to Physicks, so is Magick to Metaphysicks, or the Discovery of Forms.

Persian Magick.

The *Persian Magick* is a sublime kind of Wisdom, or Science, depending upon the Discovery of the natural Relations betwixt the Parts of the Universe; and more particularly as applied to find out what Relations and Conformities Civil States, or the Art of Government, should bear to the Regulation and Government of the World!

MATHEMATICKS.

MATHEMATICKS.

Mathematicks, in the strict Sense, is that part of *Metaphysicks* (in the Author's acceptation) which considers Quantity; but is more advantageously made an Appendage, or auxiliary Branch of Science, subservient to *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, *Mechanicks*, and *Magick*.

MECHANICKS.

MECHANICKS.

Mechanicks is of two kinds, *empirical* and *rational*. By *empirical Mechanicks* the Author understands that general Method of operating in Arts, which has no Dependance upon *Physicks*; and proceeds without any Knowledge of Causes. And by *rational Mechanicks* he understands that Method of operating, which is accompanied with a Knowledge of physical Causes.

METAPHYSICKS.

This Word is used in a particular Sense by the Author, to denote that contemplative Part of Natural Philosophy, which discovers *Forms, and final Causes*; so as to shorten the Way to Knowledge; set the human Power at liberty; and find out the true ultimate Causes of Things. See *Physicks*.

NATURAL HISTORY.

By *Natural History* the Author understands a Description of Generations, Prætergenerations, and Arts; or all the Productions of Nature, as well the ordinary as extraordinary and monstrous; and also of Experience, or human Arts, and Inventions. See *History*.

NATURAL THEOLOGY. See *Divine Philosophy*, under *Philosophy*.

NATURES.

The Author makes frequent use of the word *Nature* or *Natures*, to express what we often mean by Properties; but the Term is still of greater extent, and more generally useful. Thus (1.) *Natures* are the same as Things; (2.) the *Nature enquired into*, is the Subject sought, or the Object of Enquiry; but (3.) to *introduce a given Nature*, is to introduce the *Form, or essential Properties*, of one thing into another; so as to convert the one into the other. And (4.) *Nature united, or summed up*, is the Discovery of the general Law, Uniformity, or Unity of Action, employ'd by Nature, or rather, the Author of Nature, in the production of all natural Works and Effects.

NOVUM ORGANUM.

Novum Organum is not only the Title of that Piece wherein the Author describes his *New Logick, Art of Induction, Philosophical Algebra, or new Machine* for working with the Understanding upon all Subjects, to the greatest Advantage; but also denotes the Art itself, whereby, as by an *Engine or artificial Help for the Mind*, Men may perform incomparably more than by their own natural Powers; and ordinary Capacities be thus enabled to prosecute Enquiries, and promote general Knowledge, as effectually as Men of Genius: the Method of working with this Help being like the Method of working with *Algebra*; or rather with a general Engine, or Instrument, proportion'd to the Strength, and fitted to the Use of all Men.

OPTATIVES.

OPTATIVES. By *Optatives* the Author understands *Desiderata*, or such Particulars as might be wished for, in order to the Accommodation of Life, and the Enlargement of Arts; as for Example, Power over the Weather; the Longitude at Sea; new mechanical Motions, &c.

PERCEPTION.

PERCEPTION. By *Perception*, applied to inanimate Bodies, we are to understand the same Passion, or Suffering, as happens in animate Bodies; excepting only the Difference that depends upon the Spirit in Animals, or a want of the Senses.

PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHY *in general.* By *Philosophy* in general, the Author understands all Knowledge, except Revelation, or inspired Theology; so that Arts and Sciences are but other Words for *Philosophy*.

Primary Philosophy. *Primary Philosophy*, in the general Sense, denotes a kind of *common Science*, or Collection of neutral *Axioms*, belonging indifferently to all the Sciences; together with the Doctrine of *Adventitious* or *Transcendental* Conditions. See *Adventitious Conditions*.

Natural Philosophy. By *Natural Philosophy* the Author understands Philosophy applied to the Things of Nature (as distinguished from the Doctrine of the Deity, and the Doctrine of Man) so as to discover Causes, and produce Effects. See *Physicks* and *Metaphysicks*.

Divine Philosophy. *Divine Philosophy*, or *Natural Theology*, is a Science formed in the Mind of Man, by means of the Light of Nature, and the Contemplation of the Works of God, and tends to confute Atheism, and determine the Laws of Nature; but not to establish any Religion.

Philosophia prima. *Philosophia Prima*, has the same signification with *Primary Philosophy*; but in a more particular Sense, denotes the Author's intended *imperfect Philosophy*, to be raised in the best manner possible, without the Assistance of the *Art of Induction*; as his *Philosophia Secunda* was to have been a pure and perfect axiomatical or universal Philosophy, raised by the *Art of Induction*.

PHYSICKS.

PHYSICKS, *in general.* By *Physicks* the Author understands that contemplative Part of *Natural Philosophy*, which discovers the efficient Causes, and the Composition, Matter, and Structure of Things; as *Metaphysicks* discover

cover their *Forms* and *Ends*. *Physicks* therefore, and *Metaphysicks*, are the two contemplative, or theoretical Parts of Natural Philosophy; to which answer the two practical ones of *Mechanicks* and *Magick*.

By *Physicks of Creatures*, or *Concrete Physicks*, we are to understand that Part of *Physicks*, which exhibits the Varieties and lesser Assemblages, or Collections of Things, pursued in the Concretes or Bodies themselves. And this Part borders upon Natural History.

Physicks of Natures, or *abstract Physicks*, is the same Part pursued, not in Concretes, or Individuals, but in their Accidents or Qualities; so as to approach the Nature of *Metaphysicks*.

PNEUMATICAL BODIES.

By *Pneumatical Bodies* the Author means such as make no sensible Resistance to the Touch, or are not perceived, or found ponderous upon the Balance in the open Air.

PRÆTERGENERATIONS.

For the Meaning of this Word, see *Generations*.

PRÆTERGENERATIONS.

PRIMARY HISTORY. See *Inductive History*.

PRIMARY PHILOSOPHY. See *Philosophy*.

PROFESSORIAL.

By *Professorial Learning*, and *Professorial Arts and Sciences*, the Author understands the Arts and Sciences, as taught in the common Schools, and Universities; where he judges the Arts are not much improved, but only retailed out in a sophistical manner, or dressed, adorned, and fashioned into Systems, that are apt to deceive by their beautiful Appearance.

PROMPTUARY.

By *Promptuary Method* is meant the procuring a Fund of Matter for Discourse, by laying up, for use, Arguments ready composed, with regard to such Subjects as frequently occur.

REASON.

By *Reason* the Author frequently understands the rash, and imprudent, use of the rational Faculty, in philosophical Subjects, so as presently to come at some erroneous Conclusion, and proceed upon it as if it were true; without inuring this Faculty to the same laborious Search,

Search, Suspension, and Scrupulousness in Philosophy; as is practised in Mathematical Demonstrations. See *Confutation*.

REDUCTION.

REDUCTION.

By *Reduction* the Author understands a proper Contrivance, or artificial Means, for bringing those Things under the Judgment of the Senses which naturally escape them: or Means of strengthening, assisting, and improving the Senses; as by Telescopes, Microscopes, Speaking-Trumpets, Ear-Trumpets, &c.

REJECTION. See *Exclusion*.

SCALA INTELLECTUS.

SCALA INTELLECTUS.

By *Scala Intellectus* the Author understands the proper Application of the Art of *Induction*, to the more interesting and important Subjects of Philosophy; so as duly to prosecute a Set of capital Enquiries, that shall lead, by degrees, to the most sublime, noble, and general Axioms, pregnant with Doctrine and Directions for forming a just Theory of Nature, and the perfecting of Arts.

SPIRIT.

SPIRIT.

By the Spirit in Bodies the Author means a more subtile and rarified Matter, of the same Nature with the Bodies themselves, residing in all their tangible Parts, multiplying itself, or, as it were, feeding upon them; but, unless hindered, continually flying off into the Air; so as in time to waste, exhaust, and consume the Bodies.

SUBSTITUTION.

SUBSTITUTION.

By *Substitution* we are to understand the Means of substituting, or using, one Object for another, where the Senses fail us; and where Instruments for helping, or improving the Senses, are of no service. Thus, tho' we cannot directly examine Flame, we may sometimes advantageously substitute its *Pabulum*, or the Matter whereof it consists; viz. Oil, or Spirit of Wine; &c.

SYLVA SYLVARUM.

SYLVA SYLVARUM.

By *Sylva Sylvarum*, is understood, as its Name implies, a *Wood* of Experiments and Observations; or a Collection of Materials, ready procured, and laid up for forming particular Histories of Nature and Art, in the Author's inductive manner.

SYM-

SYMPATHY.

By *Sympathy, Consent, Attraction, &c.* we are to understand, SYMPATHY. not any imaginary Powers; but real Appetites, or Laws of Motion, or Nature, found in certain Things, whereby they have a Tendency towards, or operate upon, one another at a distance.

TABLES.

By *Tables* we are to understand Sets of Papers, containing each TABLES. its separate Matter, or particular *Instances*, Experiments, Observations, &c. for filling up the Heads of any Enquiry; and working upon any Subject, in the Method of Induction; so as no way to trust or burthen the Memory, or confound the Understanding; but proceed as in Algebraical Operations; or as with a certain Machine, or well-adapted mechanical Contrivance for the purpose. See the Article *Novum Organum*.

TOPICAL INVENTION.

By *Topical Invention* we are to understand a new Method, de- TOPICAL IN- pending upon a Mixture of Logic and Philosophy, of setting down VENTION. the principal Heads, or leading Particulars, of an Enquiry; so as that the whole may be prosecuted to the best Advantage; both with regard to the Operation of the Mind, and the Discovery of the Thing sought.

TRADITIVE.

By *Traditive Doctrine*, we are to understand all the Arts re- TRADITIVE lating to Words and Discourse; as Grammar, Hieroglyphicks, Wri- DOCTRINE. ting, Cypher, &c.

By *Traditive Lamp*, the Author denotes a new Method of Teach- TRADITIVE ing; or a scientific, initiative, leading, and improveable manner LAMP. of delivering down the Sciences to Posterity; instead of the Doctrinal or Dogmatical Method in use.

By *Traditive Prudence*, the Author understands the Doctrines of TRADITIVE Method in Speech. PRUDENCE.

TRANSCENDENTAL. See *Adventitious Conditions*.

UNION AND UNITY OF NATURE. See *Nature*.

WORKS.

By *Works* the Author understands considerable Acts of the Human WORKS. Power, or Masteries over Nature; so as by solid, and rational Means,

to subdue and bend her to the more useful Purposes; as in lengthening the common Period of Life; making the Wind do the Office of animal Strength; governing the Weather: with all other Things of the like useful kind, in respect to the Accommodation of Life.

N.B. The Design of this *Glossary* is not to give exact Definitions of the Author's Philosophical Terms, but only some general Notions of them; to prevent any Misconstruction, and facilitate the understanding of his Works. In which View, it might not be amiss for those unacquainted with the Author, to go over the *Glossary* once or twice, before the whole Work is begun to be read: For as he had different Views, with regard to the Improvement of Philosophy, from any of his Predecessors; he was under a necessity of coining new Terms, where none were extant to express his Meaning. But when Words had already been applied, in a Sense approaching to that he intended, he uses them in a guarded manner, so as to express no other than Actions, Facts, Phænomena, or Realities, as they are found in Nature. And under this Restriction we are to understand the Words *Antipathy*, *Attraction*, *Fuga Vacui*, *Motion of Connexion*, *Sympathy*, &c.

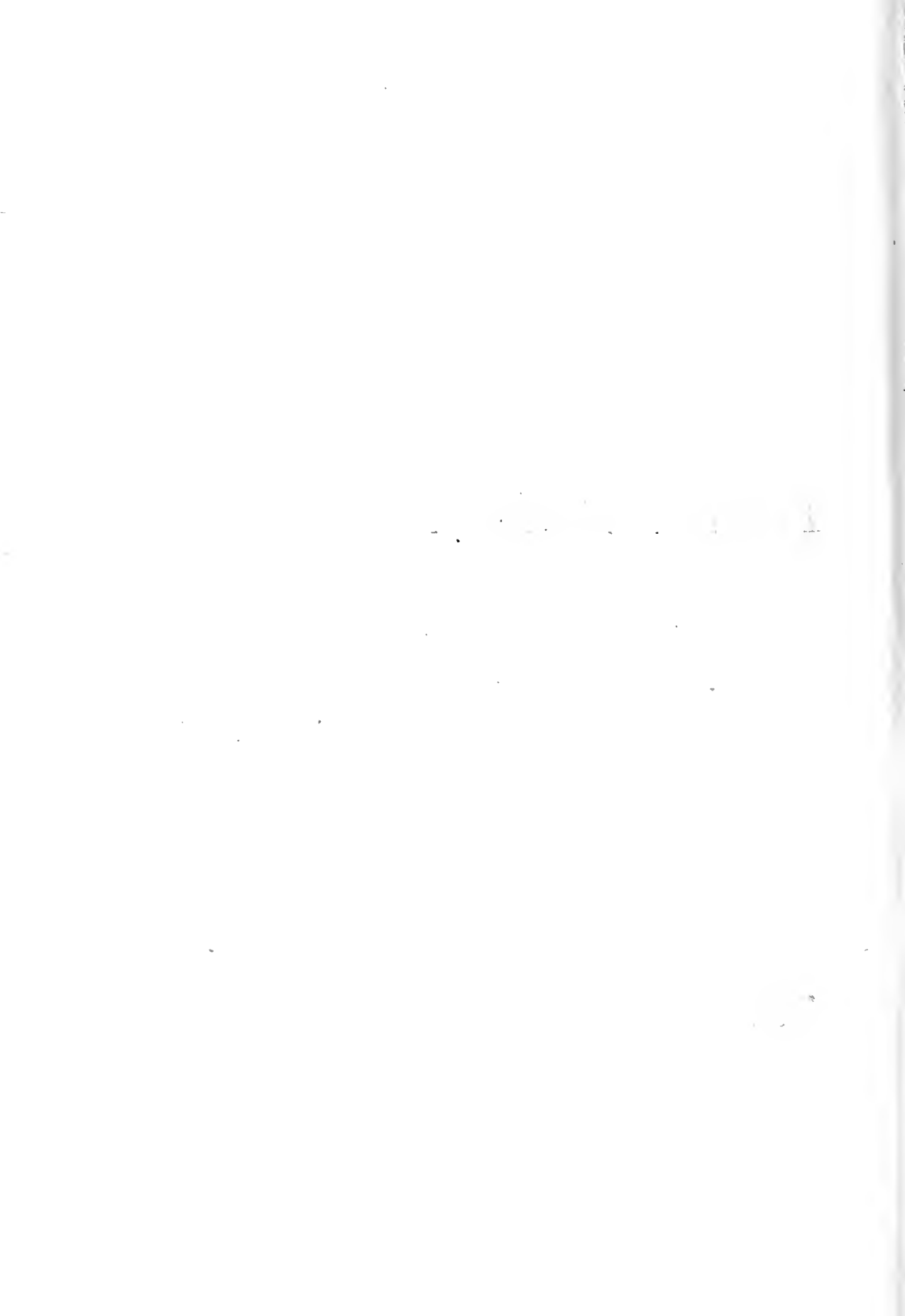


INSTAURATION

PART I.

VOL. I.

h



P R E F A C E.

THE Design of this first Part of the INSTAURATION, is to give a summary Account of that Stock of Knowledge whereof Mankind are possessed; to lay this Knowledge down under such natural Branches, or scientifical Divisions, as may most commodiously admit of its farther Improvement; to point out its Deficiencies, or Desiderata; and, lastly, to shew, by Examples, the direct Ways of supplying these Deficiencies.

In the Execution of this Plan, the Author ranges all human Knowledge under the several Arts and Sciences, in the order of Nature; so as to shew how these are formed from the general Mass; and how they may be improved. Whence he is often obliged to depart from the received Divisions of the Sciences; tho' without absolutely disapproving the Use of those Divisions on other Occasions. For the Nature of his Design laid him under a double necessity of altering them; first, because to class and sort Matters as they are related in Nature, is a quite different End and Intention from that of throwing them together in a Heap for use. Thus, a Secretary of State sorts and distributes his Papers in his general Office, so as to lay those of like kind together; viz. Treaties along with Treaties, Instructions along with Instructions, Foreign Letters, Domestic Letters, &c. each in their separate Cells; tho' in some particular Cabinet he may lay such together, as, however different in kind, are likely to be used together. After the same manner the Author, in this general Repository of Learning, was necessitated to make his Divisions according to the Natures, not according to the common Uses of Things: whereas, had he been to treat any particular Science, he would perhaps have followed the Divisions that are better accommodated to Use and Practice.

His second Reason for altering the received Divisions is, that as he every where sets down the Desiderata in the Sciences; and works up these Desiderata into one Body with the rest; he was, on this account also, obliged to alter, and enlarge the former Divisions, to make room for new Arts, and new Branches of Science.

With regard to the Matter, or Things delivered in the following Piece, the Author foresaw that the principal Objections would lie against those set down as deficient; those he proposes to be effected; and those of an inferior, or secondary Consideration.

For, the Deficiencies here pointed out, may be imagined already supplied by some one or other of the Ancients or Moderns. But in this Particular, great Diligence and Attention are required, to perceive, in a strong and pure Light, the several Designs and Schemes of the Author, in their full Latitude, Scope, and Tendency: and, on the other hand, a sober Examination of such supposed Ancients and Moderns must be undertaken, to shew whether this be more than a light Suspicion; or whether they have, in reality, had any such Views for the perfecting of Arts and Sciences^a.

As to the several great Things pointed out to be performed; if they appear too difficult, or unsuitable to human Abilities, the Author desires to be understood in this Light; that all those Things are to be esteemed possible, and performable, which may be effected, (1.) by certain Persons, tho' not by every one; (2.) by many in conjunction, tho' not by any sole Hand; (3.) by a Succession of Ages, tho' not in a single Age; and (4.) by publick Care, and a publick Expence, tho' not by private Industry, and a private Purse.

But for those who had rather abide by that Saying of Solomon, there is a Lion in the Way; than that of Virgil, possunt quia posse videntur^b; the Author is content they should esteem his Labours only as Wishes; provided they be Wishes of the better sort: because, as it requires some Skill to ask a proper Question; so it requires some Knowledge to make a reasonable Wish.

But as there are some Particulars in the following Work, which may appear too great; there are others, that may be thought too minute and trivial. To this the Author answers, that his Design was to make a general Map of the Sciences; without omitting the lesser, or more remote Islands: yet, not so as to exhibit an ostentatious Muster-Roll of Arts and Sciences; but to give, in a concise, and lively

^a See the first Part of the *Novum Organum*, passim.

^b To think Things possible, will make them so.

lively manner, the Marrow, or Kernels of the Sciences, selected from a large Mass of Matter. For tho' it be a common Practice with those who seek a Character for general Learning, to deal in Terms, and make a specious Shew of the Outsides of Arts; thus raising the Wonder of the Ignorant, but rendring themselves ridiculous to the Masters in Science; the Author hopes, on the contrary, that chiefly the Persons best skilled in the several Arts and Sciences he endeavours to improve, will here find the most Exercise for their Judgments; and those not so well versed therein, less proportionably.

Again, he would have it remembred, that as many private Gentlemen are eminent, and distinguished at their Country-Seats; but appear less considerable, when they come to the Metropolis: so the secondary, or smaller Arts, lose of their Dignity, when placed in the same Work among the nobler; tho' they still appear great, and excellent, to such as have bestowed their principal Time and Pains upon them. We are also required to remember, that the Author every where prefers Utility, and Advantage, to Beauty, Elegance, and Grandeur.

This leads us to observe his general manner of Procedure, as it differs from that of ordinary Writers. For, instead of practising the common Artifices of Writing; so as to raise a Reputation by answering, or confuting, the Doctrines and Opinions of others; and setting his own in the strongest Blaze, by borrowed Ornaments: he is content to use the less pompous Arts, and deliver sound and serviceable Matter in a clear Method, and easy Expression. He no way affects to differ from others; nor innovates without necessity; or for the sake of some considerable Advantage; being firmly persuaded, that if what he delivers be just and useful, the Voice of Nature will answer to it, tho' the Voice of Men should cry it down. And, in this Sense, he applies to himself that Verse in Virgil, Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia Sylva^a.

In the same manner, he often compares his own Procedure in intellectual Matters, to that Expedition of the French against Naples; whereof Alexander Borgia used to say, that they came not with Sword, but Chalk, in hand; to mark out their Lodgings, rather than to fight: for so the Author's Design is to gain a peaceable Entrance for Truth, into those Minds that are capable of lodging so great a Guest; by singling, and marking out such Minds, as it were with Chalk; and not forcing a Way for Truth by Controversy, Consultation, and Contention.

To

^a Our Lays are heard; the Woods approve them all.

To the same purpose he adds, that he should be considered as a Herald, whose Office is not to fight, but to be, as Homer expresses it, a Messenger of Gods and Men; and therefore, that it is against the Law of Arms, to attack or wound such a Herald; especially as he sounds not the Alarm to Battle, or Altercation; but rather a Surcease: that Men being at Peace among themselves, may turn their united Forces against Nature, break down her strong Holds, and, as far as the Author of Nature allows, enlarge the Empire of Man.

In this gentle manner of Procedure, therefore, the principal Arts employed by the Author are Order, Metaphor, and, where the Subject would allow it, Perspicuity of Style. For when much new Matter is to be delivered, new Expressions, or a new use of the old ones must be introduced. And this latter Expedient, to avoid Opposition and too sudden an Innovation, is frequently practised by the Author.

There was a particular Reason for the use of Metaphor, and a figurative Style, in the following Piece; being written at a Time when Men's Minds were under a strong Prejudice, from the Doctrine of Aristotle and the Schools. For it must be carefully observed, that the only effectual way of conquering Prejudices, and delivering new Doctrines to advantage, is artfully to steal into the Mind under the Cover of Metaphor and Allusion. And hence it is, that the Style of the following Piece is designedly more figurative than in other Parts of the Instauration.

Upon the whole, it appears that the Original of this Work has been greatly laboured; not only with regard to the Matter, but also to the Method, and the Style: so that it may admit of a Question, whether a more useful, more exact, and perfect Philosophical Writing can be any where found. This is mentioned the rather, that the Errors, and Insufficiency of the Translator, may not be laid at the door of the Author.

And as so much pains has been taken on the side of the Author; some also is doubtless required on the side of the Reader; in order fully to enter into the Sense and Energy of the Piece: so that, at length, it may be generally understood, as it deserves; the Directions it delivers be more effectually pursued; and Arts and Sciences no longer remain those imperfect Things they are.

We must particularly remember, that the Examples of Works, here left us by the Author, are but Examples, that shew the way of improving the Sciences; and should, by no means, be esteemed just Treatises: the utmost he intended them for, being to serve as Specimens,

^a See hereafter pag. 148. and *Novum Organum*, Part I. passim.

mens, Patterns, or Sketches, from which some Judgment might be formed, or a just Expectation conceived, of the respective Pieces when they should be finished.

To sum up all, the Reader has here a Work fundamental to the Improvement of the Sciences; that strongly endeavours to enlarge the present Stock of human Knowledge; and raise it to the highest Pitch whereof it is capable. What a Pitch that is, must not be judged of from the mere natural Abilities of Men; but as they may be assisted by Art; or by a new Method of Working with the Mind, which is delivered in the Novum Organum, or second Part of the
INSTAURATION.



A N
ANALYTICAL VIEW
O F T H E
S C H E M E
O F T H E
DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM;

O R,

The Division of KNOWLEDGE into proper Branches;
in order to its farther Improvement.

PRELIMINARIES.

I.

The Discredits of Learning.

THE Objections to Learning consider'd, under (1) the Objections of *Divines*; (2) the Objections of *Politicians*; and (3) the Objections to the Fortune, Behaviour, and Studies of *Learned Men*.

1. *Divines* alledge, (1) that the Desire of Knowledge was the Original Sin; (2) that it is infinite and anxious; and (3) that it causes Heresies and Atheism.

2. *Politicians* alledge, (1) that Learning unfits Men for Arms; (2) incapacitates them for Civil Affairs; and (3) proves dangerous to States.

3. *Learned Men* objected to, (1) as apt to neglect their private Affairs, and impoverish themselves; (2) as not properly applying to Persons in Power; (3) as failing in point of Behaviour; and (4) sometimes, as giving into gross Flattery.

II.

The Diseases of Learning.

viz.

1. A Fondness for Style, or Words, rather than Matter.
2. Idle Disputes, and Cavils.
3. Credulity and Imposture.

III.

The Peccant Humours of Learning.

viz.

1. Affectation of Antiquity, or Novelty.
2. Diffidence of the Possibility of new Discoveries.
3. Strong Prepossession that the best Opinions and Philosophies have always prevailed.
4. An unseasonable and hasty Reducing of Knowledge to Methods and Systems.
5. The Neglect of general Philosophy; as a thing superior to the common Arts and Sciences.
6. Admiration of the contemplative Powers of the Understanding; and an untimely Desertion of Observation and Experience.
7. The tinging, infecting, or corrupting of *General Philosophy* with particular Arts and Studies.
8. Impatience of Doubting; or the want of a proper Suspension of the Judgment.
9. A dogmatical and imperious manner of Teaching and Delivering the Sciences.
10. Narrow Views in Learned Men; regarding not the Advancement of the Sciences, but inferior Considerations.
11. A Mistaking of the true End of Knowledge, and turning aside to Curiosity, Amusement, Lucre, Promotion, &c.

IV.

The Dignity of Learning argued from Divine Authority.

(1) The Wisdom, or Knowledge of the Creator. (2) The Knowledge of Angels. (3) The Production of Light. (4) The Employment in Paradise. (5) The Life of *Cain* and *Abel*. (6) Inventors before the Flood. (7) The Confusion of Tongues. (8) The Learning of *Moses*. (9) *Job*. (10) *Solomon*. (11) The Procedure of *Christ*, in subduing Ignorance, working Miracles, and sending the Gift of Tongues. (12) The Learning of *St. Paul*. (13) The Learning of many Fathers of the Church. (14) Learning raises the Mind to glorify God. And, (15) is the Preservative against Error and Infidelity.

V.

The Dignity of Learning shewn from Human Testimony.

(1) Inventors of Arts deified among the Heathens. (2) Civil Policy regulated, and States advanced, by Learning. (3) Learned Princes the best Governours. (4) Learning has a great Influence upon military Virtue.

VI.

The Dignity of Learning argued from the Influence it has upon Moral Virtue.

(1) That Learning is sovereign in curing the Disorders of the Mind. (2) Has a greater Dominion than any Temporal Power; as ruling over Reason and Belief. (3) Advances Private Men. (4) Affords great Delight to the Mind. (5) Gives Perpetuity and Fame; and may remain after Death.

VII.

The Public Means of promoting Learning.

viz.

In general; (1) Ample Rewards; (2) Prudent Direction; and, (3) United Labours.

In particular; (1) Select Places for Study; (2) Proper Books; and, (3) Suitable Teachers.

The Places must have four Requisites; viz. (1) Convenient Buildings; (2) Answerable Endowments; (3) Certain Privileges; and, (4) Laws of Discipline.

Books must have two Requisites; viz. Libraries; and good Editions.

Teachers to be of two sorts; viz. Readers in the present Arts and Sciences; and Enquirers after new ones.

Under these Acts for advancing the Sciences, are found six Defects; viz. (1) The Want of a Foundation for Arts, and Philosophy at large. (2) The Want of competent Salaries for Readers and Professors. (3) The Want of a Stock to defray the Charge of Experiments. (4) A Want of Inspecting the Universities, to see what Customs, Readings, and Exercises should be repealed or alter'd; as Time alters, or Learning improves. (5) Want of mutual Correspondence, and Intelligence, among the different Universities of Europe. And, (6) the Want of a public Institution for enquiring into the Arts hitherto undiscover'd.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWLEDGE.

KNOWLEDGE divided, with regard to the intellectual Faculties of (1) the Memory, (2) the Imagination, and (3) the Reason; into I. *History*, II. *Poetry*, and III. *Philosophy*.

I.

HISTORY divided into (1) *Natural*, and (2) *Civil*.

(1)

(1) *Natural History* divided, with regard to the Subject, into three Parts; treating (1) of Generations; (2) of Prætergenerations; and (3) of Arts.

Natural History again divided, with regard to its Uses, into *Narrative* and *Inductive*.

(2) *Civil History*, in the general, divided into three particular kinds; viz. (1) *Literary*, (2) *Civil*, and (3) *Sacred*.

1. *Literary History* relates (1) what kinds of Learning and Arts flourished in what Ages, and Parts of the World; (2) their Antiquities and Progress on the Globe, &c.

2. *Particular Civil History* divided into three kinds; viz. the *unfinished*, the *finished*, and *defaced*; and accordingly found in *Memoirs*, *just History*, and *Antiquities*.

Just Civil History divided into three kinds, with regard to its three Objects; viz. a Portion of Time, a memorable Person, or an illustrious Action; and accordingly found under the Form of *Annals*, or *Chronicles*, *Lives*, and *Narratives*, or *Relations*.

History of Times divided into general and particular; or as it relates the Transactions of the whole World, or only of a particular Nation.

History of Times is likewise divided into *Annals* and *Journals*; the former to contain the Matters of greater, and the other the Matters of lesser consequence to a State.

Particular Civil History is also divisible into *pure* and *mixed*: and of this *mixed History* there are two eminent kinds; the one principally *civil*, the other principally *natural*.

Cosmographical History is also a *mixt History*.

3. *Sacred or Ecclesiastical History* in general, divided into (1) the general History of the Church; (2) the History of Prophecy; and (3) the History of Providence.

The general History of the Church has three Parts; and describes (1) the Persecution, (2) the Migration, and (3) the Peace of the Church.

The History of Prophecy has two Parts; viz. (1) the Prophecies themselves, and (2) their Accomplishments.

The History of Providence regards, (1) the revealed, and (2) the secret Will of God; so as to shew the Agreement there sometimes is betwixt them.

History has three *Appendages*; viz. *Speeches*, *Letters*, and *Apophthegms*.

II.

POETRY divided into (1) *Narrative*, or *Heroical*; (2) *Dramatical*; and (3) *Allegorical*.

III.

PHILOSOPHY divided into three Branches; viz. (1) *Divine*, (2) *Natural*, and (3) *Human*.

But the *Trunk* is a *Primary* or *General Science*, containing (1) the Axioms of all Sciences, capable of supplying the Branches; and, (2) the Adventitious or Transcendental Conditions of Things.

(1) *Divine Philosophy*, or Natural Theology, has two Parts; the one relating to the Being and Attributes of God; the other, to the Nature of Spirits and Angels.

(2) *Natural Philosophy* divided into *Speculative* and *Practical*.

Speculative Philosophy divided into *Physicks* and *Metaphysicks*.

Physicks divided into (1) *The Doctrine of Principles*; (2) *The Doctrine of the Structure of the Universe*; and, (3) *The Doctrine of the Variety of Things*.

The Doctrine of the Variety of Things divided into *Concrete Physicks*, and *Abstract Physicks*; or *Physicks of Creatures*, and *Physicks of Natures*.

Concrete Physicks divided as *Natural History*.

Abstract Physicks divided into (1) the *Doctrine of the Schemes of Matter*; and (2) the *Doctrine of Appetites and Motions*.

To *Physicks* belong three *Appendages*; viz. (1) the *Measure of Motions*; (2) *Natural Problems*; and, (3) the *Opinions of the ancient Philosophers*.

Metaphysicks divided into (1) the *Investigation of Forms*; and (2) the *Enquiry after Final Causes*.

Practical Philosophy divided conformably to the *Theoretical*; viz. into *Mechanicks* and *Magick*.

To *Practical Philosophy* belong two *Appendages*; viz. (1) an *Inventory of human Knowledge*; and, (2) a *Calendar of Leading Experiments*.

Mathematicks makes an *Appendage* to *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, *Mechanicks*, and *Magicks*; and is divided into *pure* and *mixed*.

Pure Mathematicks divided into *Geometry* and *Aritbmethick*.

Mixed Mathematicks divided into *Perspective*, *Musick*, *Astronomy*, *Cosmography*, *Architecture*, *Mechanicks*, &c.

(3) *Human Philosophy* has two general Parts; viz. *Human*, and *Civil Doctrine*.

Human Doctrine divided into the *Doctrine of the human Body*, and of the *human Soul*.

But here is interposed a *general Science* of the Nature and State of Man, wherein both *Body* and *Soul* participate.

This *general Science* is divided (1) into the *Doctrine of the human Person*; and (2) the *Doctrine of Union*.

(1) *The Doctrine of the human Person* has two Parts; and considers (1) the *Miseries*, and (2) the *Prerogatives*, or *Excellencies* of Mankind.

(2) *The Doctrine of Union* has two Parts, relating how the *Soul* and *Body* mutually act upon each other, (1) by *Notices*, or *Indication*; and, (2) by *Impression*.

The Doctrine of Notices regards *Physiognomy*, and the *Interpretation of Dreams*.

The Doctrine of Impression considers (1) how far the *Body* may affect the *Soul*; and (2) how, and to what degree, the *Passions* of the *Soul* may affect the *Body*.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HUMAN BODY divided into four Parts; viz. (1) *Medicine*; (2) *Cosmeticks*; (3) *Gymnasticks*; and, (4) the *Art of Elegance*.

1. *Medicine* divided into three Parts; viz. (1) the Preservation of Health; (2) the Cure of Diseases; and, (3) the Prolongation of Life.

2. The *Art of Cosmeticks* divided into *civil* and *effeminate*.

3. *Gymnasticks* divided into the *Arts of Activity*, and the *Arts of Endurance or Suffering*.

4. The *Art of Elegance* divided with regard to the *Eye* and the *Ear*; or into *Painting*, *Musick*, &c.

The DOCTRINE OF THE HUMAN SOUL divided into (1) the *Doctrine of the inspired Substance*; and (2) the *Doctrine of the sensitive Soul*.

Two *Appendages* to this *Doctrine of the Soul*; viz. *Divination* and *Fascination*.

The *Doctrine of the sensitive Soul* divided into (1) the *Doctrine of voluntary Motion*; and (2) the *Doctrine of Sense and Sensibility*.

The DOCTRINE OF THE MENTAL FACULTIES divided into (1) LOGICKS, and (2) ETHICKS.

The *Logical, or Rational, Arts*, are four; viz. (1) the *Art of Enquiry or Invention*; (2) the *Art of Examination, or Judging*; (3) the *Art of Custody, or Memory*; and (4) the *Art of Elocution, or Delivery*.

[1] The *Art of Enquiry, or Invention*, relates either to the discovery of *Arts, or Arguments*;

The *Art of Discovery* divided into two Parts; as it proceeds (1) from Experiment to Experiment, which is *Learned Experience*; or (2) from Experiments to Axioms, which is the *Art of Induction*.

The *Art of discovering Arguments* divided into (1) the *Topical*; and (2) the *Promptuary Method*.

Topical Invention divided into *general* and *particular*.

[2] The *Art of Examination, or Judging*, divided into *corrupt* and *genuine*; or *Syllogism* and *Induction*.

The *Art of Judging* again divided into *Analyticks*, and the *Doctrine of Confutations*.

The *Doctrine of Confutations* divided (1) into the *Confutation of Sophisms*; (2) the *Confutation of Interpretation*; and (3) the *Confutation of Idols, or false Notions*.

The *Doctrine of Idols* divided (1) into *Idols of the Tribe*; (2) *Idols of the Den*; and (3) *Idols of the Market*.

Appendix to the Art of Judging, shewing what kind of *Demonstration* should be applied to each Subject.

[3] The *Art of Custody, or Memory*, divided (1) into the *Doctrine of Helps for the Memory*; and (2) the *Doctrine of the Memory itself*.

Artificial Memory, or the Doctrine of Helps for the Memory, has two Parts; viz. *Praenotión* and *Emblem*.

[4] The *Art of Elocution, or Doctrine of Delivery*, divided into (1) *Grammar*, (2) *Method*, and (3) *Ornament of Speech*.

1. *Grammar*, divided into (1) the *Art of Speaking*; and (2) the *Art of Writing*.

A *Traditive Doctrine* has more Descendants besides *Words* and *Letters*; and may be divided into (1) *Hieroglyphicks* and *Gestures*; and (2) *Real Characters*.
Grammar

Grammar again divided into *Literary* and *Philosophical* ; or with regard to Words and Things.

The *Art of Speaking* regards the Accidents of Words ; viz. (1) Sound, (2) Measure, and (3) Accent.

The *Art of Writing* has two Parts, with regard (1) to *Alphabet*, and (2) *Cypher*.

The *Art of Cypher* has two Parts ; viz. *Cyphering* and *Decyphering*.

2. The *Method of Speech*, or *Doctrine of Traditive Prudence*, distinguish'd (1) into *Doctrinal* and *Initiative* ; (2) into *open* and *concealed* ; (3) into *Aphoristical* and *Regular* ; (4) into *Question* and *Answer* ; and (5) the *Method of conquering Prejudice*.

The two Parts of *Method* ; viz. *general* and *particular* : the one regarding a Whole ; the other its Parts.

3. The *Doctrine of Ornament in Speech* ; under which comes *Rhetorick*, or *Oratory*.

Three *Appendages* to this *Doctrine* ; viz. (1) a *Collection of Sophisms* ; (2) a *Collection of Studied Antithets* ; and (3) a *Collection of lesser Forms of Speech*.

Two general *Appendages to the Doctrine of Delivery* ; viz. (1) the *Art of Criticism* ; and (2) *School-Learning*.

Criticism divided with regard (1) to the giving *Editions of Authors* ; (2) the *illustrating of Authors* by Notes, &c. and (3) the *Judging or Censuring of Authors*.

School-Learning consider'd under the Heads of (1) publick *Schools* and *Colleges* ; (2) of preparing the *Genius* ; (3) of *suiting the Study to the Genius* ; (4) the Use of *Academical Exercises* ; and (5) the *Action of the Stage*, consider'd as a Part of *Discipline in Schools*.

ETHICKS, or *Morality*, divided into (1) the *Doctrine of the Image of Good* ; and (2) the *Cultivation, or Georgicks, of the Mind*.

The *Doctrine of the Image of Good* divided into *Simple* and *Compound*.

Good divided (1) into *Individual* or *Self-Good* ; and (2) *Good of Communion*.

Individual Good divided into *Active* and *Passive*.

Passive Good divided into *Perfective* and *Conservative*.

The *Good of Communion, or Duties*, with regard to *Society*, divided (1) into the *Duties of Man in common* ; (2) *Respective Duties* ; and (3) the *Doctrine of Frauds*.

The *Cultivation of the Mind* divided into (1) the *Improvement of the Mind* ; and, (2) the *Cure of its Diseases* ; which regard (1) different *Dispositions* ; (2) *Affections* ; and, 3) *Remedies* : as the *Art of Physick* regards the *Constitution, the Distemper, and the Cure*.

Appendix to the *Cultivation of the Mind* ; viz. the *Relation betwixt the Good of the Mind, and the Good of the Body*.

CIVIL KNOWLEDGE divided into three kinds of *Doctrine, or Prudence* ; viz. (1) *Prudence in Conversation* ; (2) *Prudence in Business* ; and, (3) *Prudence in Government*.

The

The *Doctrine of Business* divided into (1) the *Doctrine of various Occasions*; and, (2) the *Doctrine of rising in Life*.

The *Doctrine of Government* divided as it regards (1) the Preservation, (2) the Happiness, and (3) the Enlargement of a State.

The *Doctrine of universal Justice*, or Laws, divided (1) as to the Certainty of their Sense; (2) Justness of Command; (3) Commodiousness of Execution; (4) Agreement to the Form of Government; and, (5) as they are productive of Virtue in the Subject.

The *Division of Inspired Theology*, or *Divinity*, left to Divines.

Its three *Appendages*; viz. (1) The Moderator, or the true Use of Human Reason in Theology; (2) a Discourse upon the Degrees of Unity in the City of God; and, (3) the first Flowings of the Scriptures: or a short, sound, and judicious Collection of Notes, and Observations, upon particular Texts of sacred Writ.





DE
AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM:
OR, THE
Arrangement, and General Survey,
OF
KNOWLEDGE;
WITH
*Its particular DEFECTS; and the Ways of supplying
them, for the Advancement of ARTS and SCIENCES.*

VOL. I.

B

THE
ARRANGEMENT,
AND
GENERAL SURVEY,
OF
KNOWLEDGE, &c.

PRELIMINARIES.

SECT. I.

*Containing a Plan for the Rectification, and Promotion, of
Knowledge in general.*

1. **B**Eing convinced, by a careful Observation, that the *human Under-*^{The general}*standing* perplexes it self; or makes not a sober and advantageous ^{Design.} Use of the real *Helps* within its reach; whence manifold ignorance and inconveniences arise; we are determin'd to employ our utmost Endeavours towards restoring, or cultivating, a just and legitimate Familiarity betwixt the *Mind* and *Things*^a.

2. But as the *Mind*, hastily, and without choice, imbibes and treasures up the first Notices of Things, from whence all the rest proceed; Errors ^{Imperfection of} must for ever prevail, and remain uncorrected, either by the natural Powers ^{the human} of the Understanding, or the Assistance of *Logic*: for the original Notions being vitiated, confus'd, and inconsiderately taken from Things; and the secondary ones form'd no less rashly; *human Knowledge* it self, the Thing employ'd in all our Researches, is not well put together, nor justly formed; but like a magnificent Structure on a bad Foundation^b.

B 2

3.

^a That is, as will appear hereafter, the raising a *new Art*, by joining *Reason* and *Experiment* together, for the improvement of *Philosophy*. See below, 18, 22, and 25.

^b *Human Knowledge* is here consider'd in its common imperfect state; not according to what it may be brought to, with the proper Conduct, and Regulation. See *Self*. II. 14.

*Philosophy to
be begun a-
new.*

3. And whilst Men agree to admire and magnify the *false Powers of the Mind*^a, and neglect or destroy those that might be rendered *true*; there is no other course left, but with better assistances to begin the *Work* a-new; and raise or rebuild the *Sciences, Arts,* and all *human Knowledge* from a firm and solid basis^b.

4. This may at first seem an *infinite Scheme*, unequal to human Abilities; yet 'twill be found more sound and sober than the Schemes we have already; as tending to some issue: whereas all hitherto done with regard to the *Sciences*, is vertiginous, or in the way of perpetual rotation.

*The Poverty
of human
Knowledge.*

5. To say the truth, Men do not appear to know their own stock and abilities, but fancy their Possessions greater, and their Faculties less, than they are; whence either valuing the *receiv'd Arts* above measure, they look out no farther; or else despising themselves too much, they exercise their talents upon lighter matters; without attempting the *capital things* of all^c. And hence the *Sciences* seem to have their *Hercules's Pillars*, which bound the desires and hopes of mankind.

*The Greek
Philosophy.*

6. But as a false imagination of Plenty comes among the principal causes of Want; and as too great a confidence in things present leads to a neglect of future assistance; 'tis necessary we should here admonish Mankind that they do not too highly value and extol either the number or usefulness of the Things hitherto discovered. For, by closely inspecting the multiplicity of *Books* upon *Arts* and *Sciences*, we find them to contain numberless repetitions of the same things in point of invention; but differing indeed as to the manner of treatment: so that the real *Discoveries*, tho' at first blush they might appear numerous, prove upon examination, but few^d. And as to the point of usefulness, the *Philosophy* we principally receiv'd from the *Greeks*, must be acknowledged puerile, or rather talkative, than generative; as being fruitful in controversies, but barren of works^e.

7. And had this not been a lifeless kind of *Philosophy*, 'twere scarce possible it should have made so little progress in so many ages; insomuch that not only *Positions* now frequently remain *Positions* still, but *Questions* remain *Questions*; rather rivetted and cherish'd, than determin'd, by Disputes: *Philosophy* thus coming down to us in the persons of *Master* and *Scholar*, instead of *Inventor* and *Improver*.

8.

^a For instance, *theoretical Reasoning*, without a sufficient Ground-work of Fact, and Observation; those being here called *false Powers of the Mind* which lead to Error, and *false Conclusions*. See Sect. III. 42. & *Novum Organum*, Sect. I. 9.

^b Of the necessity for this, every one is to be convinc'd from his own observation and experience: but the Reasons for the Undertaking are fully open'd hereafter; especially in the entrance of the *Novum Organum*. See also below, 18. & Sect. II. 14.

^c Such, for instance, as in moral *Philosophy*, a command of the Passions; and in natural *Philosophy*, a command of the Winds, the Weather, &c.

^d Nor are the Discoveries and Improvements made since this Author wrote, perhaps so numerous or so weighty as some imagine: at best they execute but a small part of his general Scheme for the promotion of Knowledge.

^e An intimate knowledge both of the *Greek Philosophy*, and of the subtilities of *Nature*, seems requisite, in order to form this judgment. We are generally so prepossess'd in favour of that *Philosophy*, as seldom to see its empancels. The way of being satisfied is to try its strength in conquering the difficulties of Nature, and producing *Effects*.

8. In the *Mechanic Arts* the case is otherwise; these commonly advancing towards perfection, in a course of daily improvement, from a rough unpolish'd state, sometimes prejudicial to the first Inventors; whilst *Philosophy* and the *intellectual Sciences* are, like Statues, celebrated and adored, but never promoted: nay they sometimes appear most perfect in the original Author, and afterwards degenerate^a. For when once men take up with the opinions of others, they no longer improve the *Sciences*; but fervently bestow their talents in adorning and defending some particular authors.

Mechanic Arts.

9. 'Tis a fatal mistake to suppose that the *Sciences* have gradually arrived at a state of perfection, and then been recorded by some one Writer or other; and that as nothing better can afterwards be invented, men need but cultivate and set off what is thus discovered and compleated: whereas, in reality, this registering of the *Sciences* proceeds only from the assurance of a few, and the sloth and ignorance of many. For after the *Sciences*, might thus perhaps, in several parts, be carefully cultivated; a man of an undertaking genius rising up, who by the conciseness of his method renders himself acceptable and famous, he, in appearance, erects an *Art*, but in reality corrupts the labours of his Predecessors^b.

The Sciences not recorded perfect.

10. This however is usually well received by Posterity; as readily gratifying their curiosity, and indulging their indolence. But he that rests upon establish'd Consent, as the judgment approved by Time, trusts to a very fallacious and weak foundation: for we have but an imperfect knowledge of the discoveries in *Arts* and *Sciences*, made public in different ages and countries; and still less of what has been done by particular persons, and transacted in private. Whence neither the *Births* nor *Miscarriages of Time*^c are to be found in our Records.

11. Nor is *Consent*, or the continuance thereof, a thing of any great account: for however Governments may vary, there is but *one state of the Sciences*; and that will for ever be Democratical or popular. But the Doctrines of greatest vogue among the people, are either the contentious and quarrelsome, or the shewy and empty; that is, such as may either entrap the assent, or lull the mind to rest: whence, of course, the greatest Genius's in all ages, have suffer'd violence; whilst out of regard to their own character, they submitted to the *judgment of the Times*, and the Populace^d. And thus when any more sublime Speculations happen'd to appear, they were commonly toss'd and extinguish'd by the breath of popular opinion. Whence Time, like a River, has brought down to us what is light and tumid; but sunk what was ponderous and solid^e.

General Consent of little weight in Philosophies.

12.

^a As from the time of *Aristotle* till the revival of Mathematical and Experimental Philosophy in *Europe*, particularly by our Author, *Galileo*, *Gassendi*, &c.

^b By wresting them, suppose, and fashioning them into Methods and Systems before the time. See hereafter Sect. III. 40.

^c That is, neither the Inventions, nor a History of the Attempts and Failures, of Antiquity.

^d *Viz.* in their assent, and public behaviour; tho' not in their private judgment. The Address of our Author in this particular may deserve to be observed thro' the whole Work.

^e For instance, Time has thus brought down the Philosophies of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, but sunk that of *Democritus*, &c. See *Pancirollus de Rebus deperditis; cum Not. Henric. Salmuth, & Supplement. Mich. Watson.*

The Procedure of those who teach the Sciences.

12. As to those who have set up for *Teachers of the Sciences*; when they drop their Characters, and at intervals speak their sentiments, they complain of the subtilty of Nature, the concealment of Truth, the obscurity of Things, the entanglement of Causes, and the imperfection of the human Understanding: thus rather chusing to accuse the common State of Men and Things, than make confession of themselves. 'Tis also frequent with them to adjudge that impossible in an Art, which they find that Art does not effect; by which means they skreen indolence and ignorance from the reproach they merit^a.

The experimental Philosophers.

13. And even those who by experience propose to enlarge the bounds of the *Sciences*, scarce ever entirely quit the receiv'd opinions, and go to the fountain-head; but think it enough to add somewhat of their own: as prudentially considering, that at the time they shew their modesty in *assenting*, they may have a liberty of *adding*. But whilst this regard is shewn to *Opinions* and *moral Considerations*, the *Sciences* are greatly hurt by such a languid procedure; for 'tis scarce possible at once to admire and excel an author: as Water rises no higher than the Reservoir it falls from. Such men therefore, tho' they improve some things, yet advance the *Sciences* but little; or rather amend than enlarge them.

The subverters of ancient Philosophies.

14. There have been also bolder Spirits, and greater Genius's, who thought themselves at liberty to overturn and destroy the *ancient Doctrine*, and make way for themselves and their *own Opinions*: but without any great advantage from the disturbance; as they did not effectively enlarge *Philosophy* and *Arts* by practical Works^b; but only endeavour'd to alter men's Notions, and set themselves at the Head of *Opinions*^c.

The success of the free Philosophers.

15. As for those who, neither wedded to their own nor others Opinions, but continuing friends to liberty, made use of *assistance* in their Enquiries, the success they met with did not answer to expectation; the attempt, tho' laudable, being but feeble: for pursuing only the *probable Reasons of things*, they were carried about in a *Circle of Arguments*; and taking a promiscuous liberty, preserv'd not the Rigour of true *Enquirers*; whilst none of them duly conversed with experience and things themselves.

The Mechanical Philosophers.

16. Others again, who commit themselves to *mechanical experience*, yet make their experiments at random, without any *method of Enquiry*. And the greatest part of these have no considerable Views; but esteem it a great matter if they can make a single Discovery: which is both a trifling and unskilful Procedure; as no one can justly, or successfully, discover the nature of any one thing in that thing itself; or without numerous experiments which lead to farther *Enquiries*^d.

17.

^a Nothing is more common than for men to repute Things impossible, or impracticable, for want of a sufficient compass of knowledge to judge of them; and hence several of this Author's Plans have been reputed impracticable: particularly that of the *new Atlantis*, for founding a *Philosophical College*; tho' the *Royal Society of London* seems form'd upon that model. See *Morbhof. Polyhist.* Tom. II. pag. 134. and *Sprat's History of the Royal Society*.

^b See the word *Works* explained in the GLOSSARY.

^c *M. des Cartes* is an eminent Instance of this procedure among the Moderns; tho' the intelligent in *Philosophical History* find the traces of all his *Doctrine* among the Ancients.

^d For the proper or *Geometrical Method of enquiring* into Nature, and all *Philosophical Subjects*, see the *Novum Organum*.

17. Lastly, those who recommend *Logic* as the best and surest Instrument The Logicians: for improving the *Sciences*, very justly observe, that the *Understanding*, left to itself, ought always to be suspected. But here the Remedy is neither equal to the Disease, nor approved; for tho' the *Logic* in use may be properly applied in civil affairs, and the *Arts* that are founded in *Discourse* and *Opinion*; yet it by no means reaches the *subtilty of Nature*: and by catching at what it cannot hold, rather serves to establish Errors, and fix them deeper, than open the *Way to Truth*^a.

18. Upon the whole, Men do not hitherto appear to be happily turned and fitted for the *Sciences*, either by their own industry, or the authority of Authors; especially as there is little dependance to be had upon the common *Demonstrations* and *Experiments*: whilst the Structure of the *Universe* renders it a *Labyrinth* to the *Understanding*; where the *Paths* are not only every where doubtful, but the appearances of things and their signs deceitful; and the *Wreathes* and *Knots* of Nature intricately turn'd and twisted^b: thro' all which we are only to be conducted by the uncertain Light of the Senses, that sometimes shines, and sometimes hides its head; and by *Collections* of *Experiments* and *particular Facts*; in which no Guides can be trusted; as wanting direction themselves, and adding to the Errors of the rest. In this melancholy state of things, one might be apt to despair both of the *Understanding* left to itself, and of all fortuitous Helps; as of a state irremediable by the utmost efforts of the human Genius; or the often-repeated chance of Trial. The only Clue and Method is to begin all a-new; and direct our steps in a certain order, from the very first perceptions of the Senses^c.

19. This, however, is not to be understood as if nothing had been effected by the immense Labours of so many past Ages: the *Antients* have perform'd surprizingly in Subjects that required abstract Meditation, and force of Genius. But as Navigation was imperfect before the use of the *Compass*; so will many Secrets of Nature and Art remain undiscovered, without a more perfect knowledge of the *Understanding*, its uses, and ways of working^d.

20. For our own part, from an earnest desire of Truth, we have committed ourselves to doubtful, difficult, and solitary ways; and relying on the Divine Assistance, have supported our Mind against the vehemence of *Opinions*, our own internal *Doubts* and *Scruples*; and the Darknes, and *fantastic Images* of the Mind: that at length we might make more sure and certain Discoveries for the benefit of Posterity. And if we shall have effected any thing to the purpose; what led us to it was a true and genuine humiliation of Mind. Those who before us applied themselves to the discovery of *Arts*, having just glanced upon Things, Examples, and Experiments, immediately, as if Invention was but a kind of Contemplation, raised up their own *Spirits* to

^a Those who would see this History of Philosophy more particularly deduced, may consult *Morhof's Polyhistor*. and the other Writers upon *Polymathy* and *Literary History*.

^b By *Wreathes* and *Knots*. understand the apparent *complication of Causes*, and the superaddition of Properties not essential to Things; as Light to Heat, Yellowness to Gold, Pellucidity to Glass, &c.

^c See above, Sect. I. 3. and the entrance of the *Novum Organum*.

^d These last particulars are the Subject of the *Novum Organum*.

to deliver Oracles^a; whereas our method is continually to dwell among things soberly; without abstracting or setting the Understanding farther from them than makes their Images meet: which leaves but little work for Genius and mental Abilities^b.

21. And the same humility that we practise in learning, the same we also observe in teaching; without endeavouring to stamp a dignity on any of our Inventions, by the triumphs of Confutation, the citation of Antiquity, the producing of Authorities, or the mask of Obscurity: as any one might do, who had rather give lustre to his own Name, than light to the Minds of others. We offer no violence, and spread no nets for the judgments of Men; but lead them on to things themselves, and their relations: that they may view their own stores, what they have to reason about, and what they may add, or procure, for the common good.

22. And if at any time ourselves have erred, mistook, or broke off too soon, yet as we only propose to exhibit things naked, and open, as they are, our Errors may be the readier observed, and separated, before they considerably infect the *Mass of Knowledge*; and our labours be the easier continued. And thus we hope to establish a true and legitimate Union between the *experimental* and *rational Faculty*, for ever: the undue separation whereof, has caused the greatest disturbances in the family of Mankind^c.

23. But as these things are not at our disposal, we here, at the entrance of our *Work*, with the utmost Humility and Fervency, pour forth our Prayers to *God*, that remembering the Miseries of Mankind, and the Pilgrimage of this Life, where we pass but few days and sorrowful, he would vouchsafe, through our hands, and the hands of others, to whom he has given the like Mind, to relieve the human race by a new act of his Bounty. We, likewise, humbly beseech him, that what is human may not clash with what is divine; and that when the *ways of the Senses* are open'd, and a greater *natural Light* set up in the mind, nothing of incredulity and blindness towards *divine Mysteries* may arise: but rather that the Understanding, now clear'd up, and purged of all vanity and superstition, may remain entirely subject to the *divine Oracles*, and yield to *Faith*, the things that are *Faith's*: and lastly, that expelling the *poisonous Knowledge*^d, infused by the Serpent, which puffs up and swells the human Mind; we may neither be wise above measure, nor go beyond the bounds of sobriety; but pursue the Truth in charity.

*Admonitions
to Mankind.*

24. We now turn ourselves to *Men*, with a few wholesome Admonitions and just Requests. And first, we admonish them to continue in a sense of their Duty, as to divine Matters; for the Senses are like the Sun, which displays the face of the Earth, but shuts up that of the Heavens: and again, that they run not into the contrary extreme; which they certainly will do, if

^a That is, run into what we vulgarly call *Theories* and *Speculations*, instead of keeping to *Observations* and *Experiments*. See Sect. III. 42.

^b *Abstraction*, and what we commonly call *Metaphysical Reasoning*, any farther than it conduces to Action in Life is what this Author guards against, as the Bane of Philosophy; or a kind of Infatuation and Delusion. See above, *Sect. I. 3.* and *Nov. Org. Sect. I. 9, 10.*

^c See above, *Sect. I. 1.*

^d See hereafter, *Sect. III. 3, 4.*

if they think an *Enquiry into Nature* any way forbid them by Religion ^a. It was not that pure and unspotted *natural Knowledge*, whereby *Adam* gave names to things, agreeable to their natures, which caused his fall; 'tis an ambitious and authoritative Desire of *moral Knowledge*, to judge of *Good* and *Evil*, that makes men revolt from *God*, and obey no laws but those of their own will ^b. But for the *Sciences*, which contemplate Nature, the sacred Philosopher declares, " 'tis the Glory of *God* to conceal a thing; but the " Glory of the *King* to find it out." As if the *Divine Being* thus indulgently condescended to exercise the human Mind by philosophical Enquiries.

25. In the next place, we advise all Mankind to think of the true *Ends of Knowledge*; and that they endeavour not after it for curiosity, contention, or the sake of despising others; nor yet for profit, reputation, power, or any such inferior consideration; but solely for the occasions and uses of Life: all along conducting and perfecting it in the *Spirit of Benevolence*.

26. Our Requests are, (1.) That Men would not conceive we here deliver an *Opinion*, but a *Work*; and assure themselves we attempt not to found any *Señ*, or particular Doctrine; but to fix an extensive Basis for the service of human Nature. (2.) That, for their own sakes, they would lay aside the *Zeal* and *Prejudices of Opinions*, and endeavour the common Good; and that being, by our assistance, freed and kept clear from the Errors and Hindrances of the way, they would themselves also take part of the Task. (3.) That they would not despair, as imagining our Project for a *grand Restoration*, or *Promotion of all kinds of Knowledge*, infinitely beyond the power of Mortals to execute; whilst in reality, it is the genuine Stop and Prevention of infinite Error. Indeed, as our state is mortal, and human, a full accomplishment cannot be expected in a single age; and must therefore be recommended to posterity. Nor could we hope to succeed, if we arrogantly search'd for the *Sciences* in the narrow cells of the human Understanding, and not submitively in the wider World. (4.) In the last place, to prevent ill effects from contention, we desire Mankind would consider how far they have a right of judging our Performance; upon the foundations here laid down: for we reject all that Knowledge which is too hastily abstracted from things, as vague, disorderly, and ill-form'd: and we cannot be expected to abide by a judgement which is itself called in question ^c.

^a See *Glanvil's Philosophia pia*, printed at London, in 1671.

^b See hereafter, Sect. III. 3, + &c.

^c The Author has guarded against any Misinterpretation of this last Passage, which might otherwise seem shocking; as if *common Sense* and *Knowledge* could not judge of his Scheme; whilst itself is no more than *Knowledge* and *common Sense* at the bottom, though *Knowledge* rectified, and *common Sense* improved. See above, 18, 20, 22. and Sect. II. 7, 8, 9. &c. After what manner the whole is proposed to be effected, appears in the following Section.



S E C T. II.

Exhibiting a short View of the Design and Scope of the
INSTAURATION.

*The Scope of
the de Aug-
mentis Scien-
tiarum.*

I. 1. **W**E divide the whole of the INSTAURATION into *six Parts*: The *first* whereof gives the *Substance*, or *general Description* of the *Knowledge* which Mankind at present possess; as chusing to dwell a little upon things already received, that we may the easier perfect the old, and lead on to new: being equally inclin'd to cultivate the Discoveries of Antiquity, as to strike out fresh Paths of Science.

2. In *classing the Sciences*, we comprehend not only the Things already invented and known, but also those omitted and wanted: for the *intellectual Globe*, as well as the *terrestrial*, has both its Forests and Deserts. 'Tis therefore no wonder if we sometimes depart from the common Divisions: For an addition, whilst it alters the Whole, must necessarily alter the Parts, and their Sections; whereas the received Divisions are only fitted to the received *Sum of the Sciences*, as it now stands.

3. With regard to the *Things* we shall note as *defective*; 'twill be our Method to give more than the bare *Titles*, or short *Heads* of what we wou'd have done; with particular care, where the Dignity or Difficulty of the Subject requires it, either to lay down the *Rules* for effecting the Work, or make an Attempt of our own, by way of Example, or Pattern, of the whole.

*The Design of
the Novum
Organum.*

II. 4. When we have gone thro' the *antient Arts*, we shall instruct the *human Understanding* to discover *new ones*; by a more perfect use of Reason, and the *true Helps of the intellectual Faculties*; so as to raise and enlarge the Powers of the Mind; and as far as the condition of humanity allows, fit it to conquer the difficulties and obscurities of Nature. The thing we mean, is a kind of *Logic*, by us call'd *The Art of interpreting Nature*^a: as differing widely from the common *Logic*; which however pretends to assist and direct the Understanding; and in that they agree: But the difference betwixt them consists in three things; *viz.* the *End*, the *Order* of demonstrating, and the *Grounds* of Enquiry.

Its End.

5. The *End* of our *new Logic* is to find, not *Arguments*, but *Arts*; not what agrees with Principles, but *Principles* themselves; not probable *Reasons*, but *Plans* and *Designs of Works*: a different intention producing a different effect. In one the *Adversary* is conquer'd by *Dispute*; and in the other

^a The Art of *Interpreting Nature* depends on this Foundation; that Nature has a meaning in all she does: whence, as the *moral Philosopher*, who converses familiarly with Mankind, can interpret their Designs from his Observations; so the *natural Philosopher* interprets the Designs of Nature by the steps he observes her to take.

other *Nature* by *Works*. And suitable to this difference of design, is the nature and order of the Demonstrations. In the *common Logic*, the labour is principally bestowed upon *Syllogism*: whilst the *Logician* scarce thinks of *Induction*; but touching it slightly, passes on to the *Forms of Disputation*: whereas we reject the *Demonstration by Syllogism*, as confused, and letting Nature slip thro' the fingers; whilst we take *Induction* for that *form of Demonstration* which guards the Senses, presses Nature close, and rules over Works. Whence the common *order of Demonstrating* is absolutely inverted: for instead of flying immediately from the senses, and particulars, to generals, as to certain *fix'd Poles*, about which *Disputes* always turn'd; and deriving others from these, by intermediates; in a short indeed, but precipitate manner, fit for controversy, but unfit to close with nature; we continually raise up *Propositions* by degrees, and in the last place, come to the most *general Axioms*^a: which are not notional, but well defined, and what Nature allows of, as entering the very *essence of things*^b.

6. But the more difficult part of our Task consists in the *Form of Induction*, and the *Judgment* to be made by it; for that *form* of the *Logicians* which proceeds by simple enumeration, is a childish thing, concludes unsafely, lies open to *contradictory Instances*, and regards only common matters; yet determines nothing: whilst the *Sciences* require such a *form of Induction*, as can separate, adjust and verify *Experience*; and come to a necessary Determination by proper exclusions and rejections^c.

7. Nor is this all: for we likewise lay the foundations of the *Sciences* stronger, and closer; and begin our *Enquiries* deeper, than men have hitherto done; bringing those things to the test, which the *common Logic* has taken upon trust. The *Logicians* borrow the *Principles of the Sciences* from the *Sciences* themselves, venerate the *first Notions* of the Mind, and acquiesce in the immediate *Informations of the Senses*, when rightly disposed: but we judge, that every province of the Sciences should enter a *real Logic*, with a greater authority than their own principles can give; and that such *supposed Principles* should be examin'd, till they become absolutely clear and certain. As for *first notions* of the mind, we suspect all those that the understanding, left to itself, procures; nor ever allow them till approved and authorized by a second judgment. And as to the *Informations of the Senses*, we have many ways of examining them: for the Senses are fallacious; though they discover their own Errors: but these lie near, whilst the means of Discovery are remote.

8. The *Senses* are faulty in two respects; as they either *fail* or *deceive* us. Endeavours to For there are many things that escape the Senses, tho' ever so rightly discovered; as by the subtilty of the whole body, or the minuteness of its parts; the distance of place; the slowness or velocity of motion; the commonness of the

C 2

the

^a See the *Word* explained in the GLOSSARY.

^b This alludes to the Discovery of *Forms*, or the real and essential natures of Things; a subject largely prosecuted in the *Notum Organum*. But for fuller Information in this Point, see below, 23: the raising of a perfect set of general Axioms in this way, being the completion of the *Philosophia Secunda*.

^c This cannot well be explained in few Words; but is made clear to an attentive Reader of the *Notum Organum*; where the business of *Experiment* is, by the assistance of Reason, reduced to an *Art*; and not left to accident and casual trial.

the object, &c. Neither do the Senses, when they lay hold of a thing, retain it strongly: for evidence, and the informations of *Sense*, are in proportion to Man, and not in proportion to the Universe^a. And 'tis a grand Error to assert that Sense is the measure of Things^b.

9. To remedy this, we have from all quarters brought together, and fitted *Helps for the Senses*; and that rather by *Experiments* than by *Instruments*: apt Experiments being much more subtle^c than the Senses themselves, tho' assisted with the most finished Instruments. We, therefore, lay no great stress upon the immediate and natural perceptions of the Senses; but would have the Senses to judge only of *Experiments*; and *Experiments* to judge of *Things*^d. On which foundation, we hope to be patrons of the *Senses*, and interpreters of their oracles.

10. And thus we mean to procure the things relating to the *Light of Nature*, and the setting it up in the Mind: which things might of themselves suffice, if the Mind were as white paper. But since the minds of men are so strangely disposed, as not to receive the *true images of things*, 'tis necessary also that a Remedy be found for this Evil.

And to subdue
the Idols of the
Mind.

11. The *Idols*, or false Notions^e which possess the Mind, are either *acquired* or *innate*. The *acquired* arise either from the Opinions and Sects of Philosophers, or from preposterous Laws of Demonstration: but the *innate* cleave to the nature of the *Understanding*, which is found much more prone to error than the *Senses*. For however men may amuse themselves, and admire, or almost adore the Mind^f; 'tis certain, that like an irregular Glass, it alters the rays of things, by its figure, and different interfections^g.

12. The two former kinds of *Idols* may be extirpated, tho' with difficulty; but this third is insuperable. All that can be done, is to point them out, and

^a This Position requires an attentive regard, as leading to a Knowledge of the Scantiness of our own Understanding, compared to that displayed in the Universe.

^b The Doctrine of the two last Paragraphs may appear contradictory to the Opinion of some Philosophers; who maintain the infallibility of the Senses, as well as of Reason: but the Dispute perhaps turns rather upon Words than Things. Thus Father Malbranche is express, that *the Senses never deceive us*, yet as express that *they should never be trusted*, without being verified: charging the Errors arising in this case, upon *human Liberty*, which makes a wrong choice. See *Recherche de la Verité*; Livr. I. Chap. 5. 6, 7. 8. The Difference may arise only from considering the Senses in two different Lights, *viz. Physically*, or according to common use; and *metaphysically*, or *abstractedly*. The *Novum Organum* clears the whole. See also *Martin. Mersennus de la Verité des Sciences*.

^c That is going deeper into the nature of Things, and manifesting their true State to the Senses; which, unassisted by Experiments, could make very little progress in *natural Philosophy*. For *Experiments* are the *medium* by which we come to a knowledge of Nature's Works, so as to imitate, alter, or improve them by Art.

^d Thus, for example, the unassisted Senses could never discover the Principles, Contents, and Virtues of *mineral Waters*; but proper *chemical* and *philosophical Experiments*, exhibit their Principles and Contents to the Senses: whence Experiments determine of the Thing, and the Senses of the Experiments. And on this footing all *experimental Philosophy* proceeds.

^e The Doctrine of *Idols* is farther touched in the *De Augustis*; but fully prosecuted and explained in the *Novum Organum*.

^f That is, set up *Reason, Speculation*, and the *mental Powers*, far above *Experience*, and the conversing with Nature in her Works. See hereafter Sect. III. 42, 43, 44, &c.

^g That is, does not from within itself represent the Works of Nature, as they are in the external World; but imposes on itself false Imaginations for Facts; as is usual in *Theories* and *Speculations*, where Nature and Experience are not consulted.

and mark, and convict that treacherous faculty of the Mind; lest when the ancient errors are destroy'd, new ones should sprout out from the rankness of the soil: and, on the other hand, to establish this for ever, that the Understanding can make no judgment but by *Induction*, and the just form thereof. Whence *the Doctrine of purging the Understanding* requires three kinds of *Confutations*, to fit it for the investigation of Truth; viz. the *Confutation of Philosophies*, the *Confutation of Demonstrations*, and the *Confutation of the natural Reason*^a. And when this is explain'd, and the real nature of Things, and of the Mind set forth, we shall then, by the divine assistance, have prepared and deck'd the *nuptial Chamber of the Mind and the Universe*^b.

III. 13. But as we propose not only to pave and shew the way, but also to tread in it ourselves, we shall next exhibit the *Phænomena of the Universe*; that is, such *Experience* of all kinds, and such a *Natural History*^c, as may afford a Foundation to Philosophy. For as no fine method of Demonstration, or form of explaining Nature, can preserve the mind from error, and support it from falling; so neither can it hence receive any matter of Science. Those, therefore, who determine not to conjecture and guess, but to find out and know; not to invent *Fables and Romances of Worlds*, but to look into, and dissect the nature of this *real World*, must consult only things themselves. Nor can any force of Genius, Thought, or Argument, be substituted for this labour, search and inspection; not even tho' all the wits of men were united: this therefore must either be had, or the business be deserted for ever.

14. But the conduct of mankind has hitherto been such, that 'tis no wonder Nature has not open'd herself to them. For the *information of the Senses* is treacherous and deceitful; *Observation* careless, irregular, and accidental; *Tradition* idle, rumorously, and vain; *Practice* narrow, and servile; *Experience* blind, stupid, vague and broken; and *natural History* extremely light and empty: wretched materials for the Understanding to fashion into Philosophy and Sciences! Then comes in a preposterous subtilty of argumentation, and sifting, as a last remedy, that mends not the matter one jot; nor separates the errors^d. Whence there are absolutely no hopes of enlarging and promoting the Sciences, without rebuilding them.

15. The *first Materials* for this purpose must be taken from a new kind of *Natural History*; that the Understanding may have fit subjects to *work upon*, as well as real Helps to *work with*. But our *History*, no less than our *Logic*, differs from the common in many respects; particularly, (1.) in its *end*, or *office*,

^a See these Terms explained in the GLOSSARY, under *Confutation*.

^b That is, have brought mankind to an intimate acquaintance with Nature; or to a state of discovering new Manufactures, Works, and Effects. But all this is hereafter more fully and familiarly explained, in the *Short analytical View of the Plan of the Novum Organum*, prefix'd to that Work.

^c Or rather History of Nature; to distinguish it from the common acceptance of *Natural History*.

^d Unless the Reader be versed in the ways of the *human Mind*, he may be apt to think this naked Description a severe Censure. It must, however, be remembered, that this Representation regards the Philosophical state of Things a hundred years ago; and not as it is at present improved, upon the Scheme laid down by the Author.

office, (2.) its *collection*, (3.) its *subtility*, (4.) its *choice*, and (5.) its *appointment* for what is to follow.

tes Office.

16. (1.) Our *natural History* is not design'd so much to please by its variety, or benefit by gainful Experiments, as to give light in the *discovery of Causes*; and hold out the *Breast to Philosophy*^a: for tho' we principally regard *Works*, and the *active parts of the Sciences*; yet we wait for the time of Harvest; and would not reap the Blade for the Ear. We are well aware that *Axioms*, rightly fram'd^b, will draw after them whole sheaves of Works: But for that untimely and childish Desire of seeing fruits of new Works before the season; we absolutely condemn and reject it, as the *golden Apple* that hinders the progress.

Collection.

17. (2.) With regard to its *collection*; we propose to shew *Nature* not only in a *free state*, as in the History of *Meteors*, *Minerals*, *Plants*, and *Animals*; but more particularly as she is bound, and tortur'd, press'd, form'd, and turn'd out of her course by *Art* and *human Industry*. Hence we would set down all apposite Experiments of the mechanic and liberal Arts; with many others not yet form'd into Arts: for the nature of things is better discover'd by the torturings of Art, than when they are left to themselves. Nor is it only a History of Bodies that we would give; but also of their *cardinal Virtues*, or fundamental Qualities, as *Density*, *Rarity*, *Heat*, *Cold*, &c. which should be compriz'd in particular Histories^c.

Subtility.

18. (3.) The *kind of Experiments* to be procur'd for our *History*, are much more *subtile* and *simple* than the common: abundance of them must be recover'd from darkness, and are such as no one would have enquired after, that was not led by a constant and certain track to the discovery of Causes; as being themselves of no great use, and consequently not fought for their own sake; but with regard to Works: like the Letters of the Alphabet with regard to Discourse^d.

Choice.

19. (4.) In the *Choice* of our *Narratives* and *Experiments* we hope to have shewn more care than the other Writers of *Natural History*; as receiving nothing but upon ocular Demonstration, or the strictest scrutiny of Examination: and not heightening what is deliver'd, to increase its miraculoufness, but thoroughly purging it of superstition and fable. Besides this, we reject, with a particular mark, all those boasted and received falsehoods, which by a strange neglect have prevailed for so many ages; that they may no longer molest the *Sciences*. For as the idle tales of nurses do really corrupt the minds of children, we cannot too carefully guard the infancy of Philosophy from all vanity and superstition. And when any new or more curious Experiment is offer'd, tho' it may seem to us certain and well founded, yet we expressly add the manner wherein it was made; that, after it shall be understood how things appear to us, men may beware of any error adhering to them, and search after more infallible Proofs. We, likewise, all along interpose

^a That is, afford the first matter to it.

^b See below, 23.

^c The Author's particular Histories of *Life* and *Death*, *Winds*, &c. are *Instances* hereof.

^d The want of attending to this Design of the *Sylva Sylvarum*, has occasion'd it to be much undervalued; to the disadvantage of *Experimental Philosophy*.

pose our Directions, Scruples and Cautions; and religiously guard against Phantoms and Illusions ^a.

20. (5.) *Lastly*, having well observed how far *Experiments* and *History* distract the mind; and how difficult it is, especially for tender or prejudiced persons, to converse with *Nature* from the beginning, we are continually ^{its appointment.}subjoining our Observations, as so many first Glances of *Natural History* at *Philosophy*: and this to give mankind some Earnest, that they shall not be kept perpetually floating upon the waves of *History*; and that when they come to the *Work of the Understanding*, and the Explanation of Nature, they may find all things in greater readines ^b.

IV. 21. And thus we shall be prepared to enter upon *Philosophy* itself. But in so difficult a Task, there are certain things to be observed, as well for instruction as for present use. The *first* is to propose *Examples of Enquiry and Investigation*, according to our own method, in certain Subjects of the noblest kind; but greatly differing from each other, that a Specimen may be had of every sort. By these Examples we mean not illustrations of Rules and Precepts, but perfect *Models*, representing, as it were to the eye, the whole progress of the Mind, and the continued structure and order of Invention, in the most chosen subjects: after the same manner as Globes and Machines facilitate the more abstruse and subtile Demonstrations in Mathematicks. Such a Set of *Examples* will, therefore, be a particular application and explanation of the *second part* of our Work ^c.

V. 22. The *fifth Part* is only *temporary*, or of use but till the rest are finished; whence we look upon it as Interest till the Principal be paid: for we do not propose to travel hood-winked, so as to take no notice of what may occur of use in the way. This part, therefore, will consist of such things as we have invented, experienced, or added, by the same common use of the Understanding that others employ. For as we have greater hopes from our constant conversation with Nature, than from our force of Genius; the discoveries we shall thus make may serve as Inns on the road, for the Mind to repose in, during its progress to greater certainties. But this, without being at all disposed to abide by any thing that is not discovered, or proved, by the *true form* of Induction. Nor need any one be shock'd at this suspension of the judgment, in a Doctrine which does not assert that nothing is knowable; but only that things cannot be known except in a certain order and method: whilst it allows particular degrees of certainty, for the sake of commodiousness and use, 'till the Mind shall be enter'd into the *explanation of Causes*.

VI.

^a The Author mentions in other places the uncommon degree of Pains and Care he bestow'd in collecting this History; assuring us, that the rejection he made of Experiments laid before him was infinite: so that tho' it may have its Errors and Imperfections; especially as being published after the Author's death; it must be allowed a wonderful Performance for a single hand, before the Ice of Experience was broken.

^b See the Nature and Design of this *History* more fully open'd in the *Introduction* to the *Sylva Sylvarum* itself.

^c This Part is what the Author elsewhere terms *Scala Intellectus*; or the *Progress of the Understanding*, and was intended to be supplied by him in the way of *monthly Productions*. See his Dedication of the *History of the Winds* to Prince Charles, in the FOURTH SUPPLEMENT to the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*.

Nature of the
Philosophia
fecunda.

VI. 23. The *last* Part of our Work, to which all the rest are subservient, is to lay down that *Philosophy* which shall flow from the just, pure, and strict *Enquiry* hitherto proposed. But to perfect this, is beyond both our abilities and our hopes: yet we shall give the Foundations of it; and recommend the finishing to posterity. And what a Work it would then be, is not perhaps easy for men, in the present state of minds and things, to conceive^a. The Point in View is not only the contemplative Happiness, but the whole Fortunes, and Affairs, and Powers, and Works of Men. For Man being the Minister and Interpreter of Nature, acts and understands so far as he has observed of the order, the works and mind of Nature; and can proceed no farther: for no Power is able to loose or break the Chain of Causes; nor is Nature to be conquer'd but by submission^b: whence those twin Intentions, human Knowledge and human Power, are really coincident; and the greatest hindrance to Works is the ignorance of Causes^c.

24. The capital Precept for the whole conduct is this, that the eye of the mind be never taken off from things themselves; but receive their images truly as they are. And God forbid that ever we should offer the *Dreams of Fancy* for a *model of the World*; but rather, thro' the divine favour, write a *Revelation*, and real View of the Stamps and Signatures of the *Creator* upon the *Creatures*^d.

S E C T. III.

The Objections against LEARNING considered.

I. 1. **B**Efore we come to class and range the *Sciences*, 'tis proper we should sift the *merits of Knowledge*; or clear it of the Disgrace brought upon it by Ignorance, whether disguised (1.) in the Zeal of *Divines*, (2.) the Arrogance of *Politicians*, or (3.) the Errors of *Men of Letters*.

Learning de-
fended from
the charge of
Irreligion.

2. Some *Divines* pretend, (1.) "that Knowledge is to be received with great limitation, as the aspiring to it was the original Sin, and the cause of the Fall; (2.) that it has somewhat of the Serpent, and puffeth up; (3.) that Solomon says, "of making books there is no end; much study is weariness of the flesh; for in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow:" (4.) that St. Paul cautions against "being spoiled through vain Philosophy;" (5.) "that Experience shews learned men have

^a The Discoveries of Mr. Boyle, Dr. Hook, Sir Isaac Newton, &c. may give us a nearer View of this *Work*, in its physical part; but the *Work itself*, in its full extent, is far from being completed to this day; and must still be recommended to Posterity.

^b That is, by condescending to observe her ways.

^c That *human Knowledge* and *human Power* are coincident, will be fully shewn in the *Novum Organum*; where also the nature and uses of this last *Part* are more largely explained.

^d The two foregoing *Sections* being no more than the Out-lines of the *Instauration*, they cannot give a full and distinct View of the Scheme. But the Reader will find the whole open to him by degrees; and be enabled at length to perform even an executive part in the *Design*.

“ have been Hereticks ; and learned times inclined to Atheism ; and that
 “ the contemplation of second Causes takes from our dependance upon God,
 “ who is the first.”

3. To this we answer, (1.) it was not the pure *Knowledge of Nature*, by *Natural* the light whereof man gave names to all the creatures in Paradise, agree- *Knowledge not* able to their natures, that occasion'd the Fall ; but the *proud Knowledge of Good* *the cause of* and *Evil*, with an intent in man to give law to himself, and depend no more upon God^a.

4. (2.) Nor can any quantity of *natural Knowledge* puff up the Mind ; for nothing fills, much less distends the *Soul*, but God. Whence as *Solomon* declares, *that the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing* ; so of *Knowledge* itself, he says, *God hath made all things beautiful in their seasons: also he hath placed the world in man's heart ; yet cannot man find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end* : hereby declaring plainly, that God has framed the Mind like a *Glass*, capable of the image of the Universe, and desirous to receive it, as the eye to receive the *Light* ; and thus it is not only pleased with the variety and vicissitudes of things, but also endeavours to find out the *Laws* they observe in their changes and alterations. And if such be the extent of the *Mind*, there is no danger of filling it with any quantity of *Knowledge*. But it is merely from its quality, when taken without the true corrective, that *Knowledge* has somewhat of venom or malignity. The corrective which renders it sovereign, is *charity* ; for according to *St Paul*, *knowledge puffeth up, but charity buildeth up*^b.

5. (3.) For the excess of writing and reading books ; the anxiety of spirit *Three Limitations of Knowledge.* proceeding from *Knowledge* ; and the admonition, that we be not seduced by *vain Philosophy* ; when these passages are rightly understood, they mark out the boundaries of *human Knowledge* ; so as to comprehend the universal nature of things. These limitations are *three* ; the *first*, that we should not place our felicity in *Knowledge*, so as to forget mortality ; the *second* ; that we use *Knowledge* so as to give ourselves ease and content, not distaste and repining ; and the *third*, that we presume not by the contemplation of *Nature*, to attain to the mysteries of *God*.

6. As to the *first*, *Solomon* excellently says, *I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness. The wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness: and I myself perceived also that one event happeneth to them all.* And for the *second*, it is certain that no vexation or anxiety of mind results from *Knowledge*, but merely by accident ; all *Knowledge*, and *Admiration*, which is the seed of *Knowledge*, being pleasant in itself : but when we frame conclusions from our *knowledge*, apply them to our own particular, and thence minister to ourselves weak fears, or vast desires ; then comes on that anxiety and trouble of mind which is here meant : when *Knowledge*

^a The Reader will easily perceive, that the Arguments here employed are *Arguments ad hominem* ; or popular Answers to the Objections, usually brought against *Learning* by particular sets of men ; rather than such Instances as shew the usefulness and advantages of *Philosophy*, or the improved state of the mind : with intention, that when such *Objections* are answered in their kind, the Author may proceed unmolested in his way, to improve the general state of *Knowledge* ; and set it above the reach of future *Objections*.

^b See Sect. I. 23. 24.

is no longer the *dry Light of Heraclitus*; but the *drenched one*, steeped in the humours of the affections.

7. (4.) The *third* point deserves to be more dwelt upon. For if any man shall think, by his enquiries after material things, to discover the nature, or will, of God, he is indeed spoiled by *vain Philosophy*: for the contemplation of God's works produces Knowledge; tho', with regard to him, not perfect Knowledge, but Wonder, which is broken Knowledge. It may therefore be properly said, *That the Sense resembles the Sun, which shows the terrestrial Globe; but conceals the celestial.* For thus the Sense discovers natural things, whilst it shuts up divine. And hence some learned men have indeed been heretical; whilst they fought to seize the secrets of the Deity, born on the waxen wings of the senses.

That Knowledge does not incline to Atheism.

8. (5.) As to the point that too much Knowledge should incline to *Atheism*, and the ignorance of second causes make us more dependant upon God, we ask *Job's* Question: "*Will ye lye for God, as one man will do for another; to gratify him?*" For certainly God works nothing in Nature but by second Causes; and to assert the contrary is mere imposture, as it were in favour of God; and offering up to the author of truth, the unclean sacrifice of a lye. And tho' a superficial tincture of Philosophy may incline the mind to Atheism, yet a farther knowledge brings it back to Religion^a: for to rest in the entrance of Philosophy, where second causes appear, may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when we go deeper, and see the dependance of causes, and the works of Providence, we shall easily perceive that *the upper link of nature's chain is fastned to Jupiter's throne.* To conclude, let no one weakly imagine, that men can search too far, or be too well studied in the Book of God's word, and works, Divinity and Philosophy; but rather let them endeavour an endless progression in both; only applying all to charity, and not to pride; to use, not ostentation; without confounding the two different streams of Philosophy and Revelation together^b.

Learning defended from the charge of Politicians.

II. 9. The Reflections cast upon Learning by Politicians, are these, (1.) "that it enervates mens minds, and unfits them for Arms; (2.) that it perverts their dispositions for Government and Politicks; (3.) that it makes them too curious and irresolute, by variety of reading; too peremptory or positive by strictness of rules; too immoderate and conceited by the greatness of instances; too unfociable and unsuitable for the times, by the dissimilitude of examples; or at least, (4.) that it diverts from action and business, and leads to a love of retirement; (5.) that it introduces a relaxation in Government, whilst every man is more ready to argue than obey; (6.) that *Cato the Censor*, when *Carneades* came Ambassador to Rome, and the young *Romans* flock'd about him, allured with his Eloquence, gave counsel in open Senate, to grant him his dispatch immediately, lest he should infect the minds of the youth, and insensibly occasion an alteration in the State."

10.

^a See more upon this Head in the Author's *Essay on Atheism*; and Mr. *Boyle's* *Essays* upon the Usefulness of Philosophy.

^b The Dispute betwixt the *rational* and *scriptural Divines* is still on foot: the former are for reconciling Reason and Philosophy with Faith and Religion; and the latter for keeping them distinct, as things incomputable; or making Reason and Knowledge subject to Faith and Religion. The Author is clear, that they should be kept separate; as will more fully appear hereafter, when he comes to treat of *Theology*. See *de Augm. Scient. Sect. XXVII.*

10. (1.) But these and the like *Imputations* have rather a shew of gravity, *That Learning* than any just ground: for experience shews that *Learning* and *Arms*, have ^{and Arms} flourished in the same persons, and ages. As to persons, there are no better ^{have flourished} instances than *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, the one *Aristotle's* Scholar in Philosophy, ^{in the same} and the other *Cicero's* rival in eloquence; and again, *Epaminondas* and *Xenophon*, the one whereof first abated the power of *Sparta*, and the other first pav'd the way for subverting the *Persian* monarchy.

11. This concurrence of *Learning* and *Arms*, is yet more visible in times *And in the* than in persons, as an age exceeds a man. For in *Ægypt*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Greece*, and *Rome*, the times most famous for *Arms* are likewise most admired *same Times.* for *Learning*; so that the greatest Authors and Philosophers, the greatest Leaders and Governours, have lived in the same ages. Nor can it well be otherwise: for as the fulness of human strength, both in body and mind, comes nearly at an age; so *Arms* and *Learning*, one whereof corresponds to the body, the other to the soul, have a near concurrence in point of time.

12. (2.) And that *Learning* should rather prove detrimental than service- *Learning of* able in the Art of Government, seems very improbable: It is wrong to trust *service in Go-* the natural body to *Empiricks*, who commonly have a few receipts whereon *vernment.* they rely; but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the constitutions of patients, nor the danger of accidents, nor the true methods of cure. And so it must needs be dangerous to have the civil Body of States managed by empirical Statesmen, unless well mix'd with others who are grounded in *Learning*.

13. On the contrary, it is almost without instance, that any government was unprosperous under learned Governours. For however common it has been with *Politicians* to discredit learned men, by the name of *Pedants*; yet it appears from History, that the governments of princes in minority have excelled the governments of princes in maturity; merely because the management was in learned hands. The state of *Rome* for the first five years, so much magnified, during the minority of *Nero*, was in the hands of *Seneca*, a *Pedant*: so it was for ten years, during the minority of *Gordianus* the younger, with great applause in the hands of *Misitheus*, a *Pedant*: and it was as happy before that, in the minority of *Alexander Severus*, under the rule of women, assisted by *Preceptors*. And to look into the government of the Bishops of *Rome*, particularly that of *Pius*, and *Sextus Quintus*, who were both at their entrance esteemed but pedantical Friars, we shall find that such Popes did greater things, and proceeded upon truer principles of State, than those who rose to the Papacy from an education in civil affairs, and the Courts of Princes. For tho' men bred to *Learning* are perhaps at a loss in points of convenience, and present accommodations, called *Reasons of State*; yet they are perfect in the plain grounds of religion, justice, honour and moral virtue, which if well pursued, there will be as little use of *Reasons of State*, as of Physick in a healthy constitution. Nor can the experience of one man's life, furnish Examples and Precedents for another's: present Occurrences frequently correspond to ancient examples, better than to later. And lastly, the Genius of any single man can no more equal *Learning*, than a private purse hold way with the Exchequer.

14. (3.) As to the particular Indispositions of the Mind, for *Politicks* and *Government*, laid to the charge of *Learning*, if they are allow'd of any force, it *How Learn-* must *ing affects the* *Mind with* *regard to Po-* *liticks.*

must be remembred, that *Learning* affords more Remedies, than it breeds Diseases: for if, by a secret operation, it renders Men perplexed and irresolute; on the other hand, by plain precept, it teaches when, and upon what grounds to resolve, and how to carry things in suspense, without prejudice: if it makes Men positive and stiff, it shews what things are in their nature demonstrative, what conjectural; and teaches the use of Distinctions and Exceptions, as well as the rigidness of Principles and Rules. If it misleads, by the unsuitableness of Examples, it shews the force of Circumstances, the Errors of Comparisons, and the Cautions of Application; so that in all cases, it rectifies more effectually than it perverts: And these Remedies it conveys into the Mind much more effectually, by the force and variety of Examples. Let a Man look into the Errors of *Clement* the Seventh, so livelily described by *Guicciardine*; or into those of *Cicero*, described by himself in his Epistles to *Atticus*, and he will fly from being irresolute: Let him look into the Errors of *Phocion*, and he will beware of Obstinacy, or Inflexibility: Let him read the Fable of *Ixion*, and it will keep him from Conceitedness: Let him look into the Errors of *Cato* the Second, and he will never tread opposite to the World.

Whether
Learning dis-
poses to Indo-
lence.

15. (4.) For the pretence that *Learning* disposes to Retirement, Privacy, and Sloth; it were strange if what accustoms the Mind to perpetual Motion, and Agitation, should induce Indolence; whereas no kind of Men love business, for its own sake, but the Learned; whilst others love it for profit, as Hirelings for the Wages; others for honour; others because it bears them up in the eyes of men, and refreshes their Reputations; which would otherwise fade; or because it reminds them of their Fortune, and gives them opportunities of revenging, and obliging; or because it exercises some faculty, wherein they delight, and so keeps them in good-humour with themselves, &c. Whence, as false Valour lies in the eyes of the Beholders, such Men's Industry lies in the eyes of others, or is exercised with a view to their own Designs; whilst the Learned love Business, as an Action according to Nature, and agreeable to the Health of the Mind, as Exercise is to that of the Body: Whence, of all Men, they are the most indefatigable in such business as may deservedly fill and employ the Mind. And if there are any laborious in Study, yet idle in Business; this proceeds either from a Weakness of Body, or a Softness of Disposition; and not from Learning itself: The Conscioufness of such a Disposition may indeed incline a Man to Learning, but Learning does not breed any such Temper in him.

Whether
Learning mis-
employs Time.

16. If it be objected, that *Learning* takes up much time, which might be better employ'd; I answer, that the most active or busy Men have many vacant hours, while they expect the tides and returns of Business; and then the question is, how those Spaces of Leisure shall be fill'd up, whether with Pleasure, or Study? No fear, therefore, that Learning should displace Business; for it rather keeps, and defends the Mind against Idleness, and Pleasure; which might otherwise enter, to the prejudice both of Business and Learning.

17. (5.) Again, for the Allegation that *Learning* should undermine the Reverence due to Laws and Government, it is a mere Calumny, without shadow of Truth. For to say, that blind Custom of Obedience should be

a safer Obligation, than Duty, taught and understood; is to say, that a blind Man may tread surer by a Guide, than a Man with his Eyes open can by a Light. And, doubtless, *Learning* makes the Mind gentle and pliable to Government; whereas Ignorance renders it churlish and mutinous: and 'tis always found, that the most barbarous, rude, and ignorant Times, have been most tumultuous, changeable, and seditious.

18. (6.) As to the Judgment of *Cato* the Censor, he was punish'd for his Contempt of *Learning*, in the kind wherein he offended; for when past three-score, the humour took him to learn *Greek*: which shews that his former Censure of the *Grecian Learning* was rather an affected Gravity, than his inward Sense. And indeed the *Romans* never arrived at their height of Empire, till they had arrived at their height of Arts. For in the time of the two first *Cæsars*, when their Government was in its greatest perfection, there lived the best Poet, *Virgil*; the best Historiographer, *Livy*; the best Antiquary, *Varro*; and the best, or second best Orator, *Cicero*, that the world has known. And let this serve for an Answer to those Politicians, who, in a humorous Severity, or affected Gravity, have thrown Imputations upon *Learning*^a.

Cato's Judgment of Learning.

III. 19. We come now to that sort of *Discredit*, which is brought upon Learning by *learned Men* themselves: And this proceeds either (1.) from their *Fortune*; (2.) their *Manners*; or (3.) the nature of their *Studies*.

Learning defended from the Discredit brought on it by the Learned.

(1.) The Disrepute of Learning from the *Fortune*, or Condition of the Learned, regards either their *Indigence*, *Retirement*, or *Meanness of Employ*.

20. As to the point, that *learned Men* grow not so soon rich as others, because they convert not their Labours to Profit; we might turn it over to the *Friars*, of whom *Machiavel* said, "That the Kingdom of the Clergy had been long since at an end, if the Reputation and Reverence towards the Poverty of the *Monks* and *Mendicants* had not born out the Excesses of *Bishops* and *Prelates*:" For so the Splendor and Magnificence of the Great had long since sunk into Rudeness and Barbarism, if the *Poverty of learned Men* had not kept up Civility and Reputation. But to drop such Advantages, it is worth observing, how reverend and sacred, *Poverty* was esteemed for some Ages in the *Roman State*; since, as *Livy* says, *There never was a Republic greater, more venerable, and more abounding in good Examples, than the Roman; nor one that so long withstood Avarice and Luxury; or so much honoured Poverty and Parsimony.* And we see, when *Rome* degenerated, how *Julius Cæsar*, after his Victory, was counsel'd to begin the Restoration of the State; by abolishing the Reputation of Wealth. And indeed, as we truly say that Blushing is the Livery of Virtue, tho' it may sometimes proceed from Guilt; so it holds true of *Poverty*, that it is the Attendant of *Virtue*, tho' sometimes it may proceed from mismanagement and accident^b.

The Poverty of the Learned.

21.

^a Most of the Exceptions made to *Learning*, may proceed from a misunderstanding of the word, rather than from any defect in the thing. *Learning* is often taken for a disagreeable, pragmatical, or pedantick Temper and Behaviour, in many of those called *learned Men*; but if *Knowledge* were substituted for the word *Learning*, most Disputes of this kind are at an end: for who will say of *Knowledge*, that is of the essential part of acquired *Learning*, that it unfits Men for any Office of Life? So that if any Objection still remains, it should rather seem to lie against the accidental Attendants, or Concomitants, of *Learning*, than *Learning* itself.

^b The principal Reason why Philosophers, and learned Men, fail of raising Estates, seems to be

*Their Privacy
of Life.*

21. As for *Retirement*, it is a Theme so common, to extol a private Life, not taxed with Sensuality and Sloth, for the liberty, the pleasure, and the freedom from Indignity it affords, that every one touches it well: such an agreement it has to the Nature and Apprehensions of Mankind. This may be added, that learned Men, forgotten in States, and not living in the eyes of the world, are like the Images of *Cassius* and *Brutus* at the Funeral of *Junia*; which not being represented, as many others were, *Tacitus* said of them, that *they out-shone the rest, because not seen.*

*Their Mean-
ness of Employ.*

22. As for their *Meanness of Employ*; that most exposed to contempt, is the Education of Youth; to which they are commonly allotted. But how unjust this Reflection is, will appear to all who measure things, not by popular Opinion, but by Reason. And to say the truth, how much soever the Lives of Pedants have been ridicul'd upon the Stage, as the Emblem of Tyranny; because the modern Looseness, or Negligence, has not duly regarded the choice of proper School-Masters and Tutors; yet the Wisdom of the ancientest and best Times always complain'd, that States were too busy with Laws, and too remiss in the point of Education. This excellent Part of ancient Discipline, has, in some measure, been revived of late by the *College of Jesuits* abroad; in which particular, they deserve our Imitation^a.

*The Manners
of the Learned.*

23. (2.) The *Manners of learned Men*, are personal, and of all kinds; as in other Professions; for particular Studies have their particular Influence upon mens minds. But, to view the thing impartially, no Disgrace can be reflected upon Learning from the *Manners of learned Men*, not inherent in them as learned; unless it be a fault, that the Times they read of are commonly better than the Times they live in; and the Duties taught, better than the Duties practis'd. 'Tis true, they sometimes over-earnestly endeavour to bring things to perfection; and to reduce Morality to Precepts, or Examples of too great height; tho' they have Cautions enow in their Books against such a Procedure.

*Their prefer-
ring their
Country's Good
to their own.*

24. (3.) Another *Fault*, laid to the charge of learned Men, and arising from the nature of their Studies; is, "that they esteem the Preservation, Good, and Honour of their Country, before their own Fortunes or Safeties." *Demosthenes* said well to the *Athenians*; "My Counsels are not such, as tend to aggrandize me, and diminish you; but sometimes not expedient for me to give, tho' always expedient for you to follow." So *Seneca*, after consecrating the five Years of *Nero's* Minority, to the immortal Glory of learned Governours, held on his honest course of good Counsel, after his Master grew extremely corrupt. Nor can this be otherwise; for Learning gives Men a true sense of their Frailty, the Casualty of Fortune, and the Dignity of the Soul and its Office; whence they cannot think any Greatness of Fortune a worthy End of their Living; and therefore live so as to give a clear and acceptable Account to God, and their Superiors: whilst the corrupter sort of Politicians, who are not, by Learning, established in a love of Duty, nor ever look abroad into Univerſality, refer all things to themselves; and thrust

be their regard to Univerſality, or a great variety of Particulars; whereas a strong attachment and fixedness to some one Thing, with a disregard of all others, is the direct way of raising a Fortune.

^a The chief Reason why the Jesuits make such excellent Tutors, is, perhaps, their being versed in civil, as well as collegiate Life: so as to join the *Gentleman* with the *Scholar*.

thrust into the Center of the World, as if all Lines should meet in them and their Fortunes; without regarding, in Storms, what becomes of the Ship of the State, if they can save themselves in the Cockboat of their own Fortune.

25. Another Charge brought against learned Men, which may rather be defended than denied, is, "that *they sometimes fail in making court to particular Persons.*" This want of application arises from two Causes; the one, the largeness of their Mind, which can hardly submit to dwell in the Examination and Observance of any one Person: tho' he who cannot contract the sight of his Mind, as well as dilate it, wants a great Talent in Life. The second Cause, is no Inability, but a Rejection upon Choice and Judgment. For the honest and just Limits of Observation in one Person upon another, extend no farther than to understand him sufficiently; so as to give him no offence, or be able to counsel him, or to stand upon reasonable guard and caution with respect to one's self: But to pry deep into another Man, to learn to work, wind, or govern him, proceeds from a double Heart; which, in Friendship, is want of Integrity, and towards Princes or Superiors, want of Duty. The *Eastern* Custom, which forbids Subjects to gaze upon Princes, tho' in the outward Ceremony barbarous, has a good Moral; for Men ought not, by cunning and studied Observations, to penetrate and search into the Hearts of Kings; which the Scripture declares *inscrutable*.

Their Failure in point of particular Applications.

26. Another *Fault* noted in learned Men, is, "that *they often fail in point of Discretion and Decency of Behaviour; and commit Errors in ordinary Actions*; whence vulgar Capacities judge of them in greater matters, "by what they find them in small." But this Consequence often deceives. For we may here justly apply the Saying of *Themistocles*; who being asked to touch a Lute, reply'd, "he could not fiddle; but he could make a little Village a great City." Accordingly many may be well skilled in Government and Policy, who are to seek in little Punctilio's. So *Plato* compared his Master *Socrates* to the Shop-Pots of Apothecaries, painted on the outside with Apes and Owls, and Antiques; but contain'd sovereign and precious Remedies.

Their Failure in Decency.

27. But we have nothing to offer in excuse of those *unworthy Practices*, whereby some Professors have debas'd both themselves and Learning: as the *trencher Philosophers*, who, in the decline of the *Roman* State, were but a kind of solemn Parasites. *Lucian* makes merry with this kind of *Gentry*, by describing a Philosopher riding in a Coach with a great Lady, who would needs have him carry her Lap-dog; which he doing with an awkward Officiousness, the Page said, "he feared the *Stoick* would turn *Cynick*." But above all, the gross Flattery, wherein many abuse their Wit, by turning *He-cuba* into *Hellena*, and *Faustina* into *Lucretia*, has most diminished the Value and Esteem of Learning. Neither is the modern Practice of *Dedications* commendable: for Books should have no Patrons, but Truth and Reason. And the ancient Custom was, to dedicate them only to private and equal Friends; or if to Kings and Great Persons, it was to such as the Subject suited. These, and the like measures, therefore, deserve rather to be censured than defended. Yet the Submission of learned Men to those in power, cannot be condemned. *Diogenes*, to one who ask'd him, "how it happen'd that

*Their Temp-
erizing, Flatter-
ing, &c.*

"Phil-

“ Philosophers follow’d the Rich, and not the Rich the Philosophers?” answer’d, “ because the Philosophers know what they want, but the Rich “ do not.” And of the like nature was the Answer of *Aristippus*, who having a Petition to *Dionysius*, and no ear given him, fell down at his feet; whereupon *Dionysius* gave him the hearing, and granted the suit: but when afterwards *Aristippus* was reproved for offering such an Indignity to Philosophy, as to fall at a Tyrant’s Feet, he reply’d, “ it was not his fault, if “ *Dionysius’s* Ears were in his Feet.” Nor was it accounted Weakness, but Discretion in him that would not dispute his best with the Emperor *Adrian*; excusing himself, “ that it was reasonable to yield to one that commanded thirty Legions.” These, and the like Condescensions to points of Necessity and Convenience, cannot be disallow’d: for tho’ they may have some shew of external Meanness; yet, in a Judgment truly made, they are Submissions to the *Occasion*, and not to the *Person* ^a.

*Errors in the
Studies of the
Learned.*

IV. 28. We proceed to the *Errors and Vanities intermixed with the Studies of learned Men*; wherein the Design is not to countenance such Errors, but, by a Censure and Separation thereof, to justify what is found and good: For ’tis the manner of Men, especially the evil-minded, to depreciate what is excellent and virtuous, by taking advantage over what is corrupt and degenerate. We reckon three principal *Vanities*, for which Learning has been traduced. Those Things are *vain*, which are either false or frivolous; or deficient in Truth or Use: and those Persons are *vain*, who are either credulous of Falsities, or curious in things of little use. But Curiosity consists either in *Matter* or *Words*; that is, either in taking pains about *vain Things*, or too much labour about the *Delicacy of Language*. There are therefore in reason, as well as experience, three *Distempers of Learning*; viz. *vain Affectations*, *vain Disputes*, and *vain Imaginations*; or *effeminate Learning*; *contentious Learning*; and *fantastical Learning*.

*Three principal
Diseases in
Learning.*

*Luxuriancy of
Style.*

29. The first *Disease*, which consists in a *Luxuriancy of Style*, has been anciently esteemed, at different times, but strangely prevail’d about the time of *Luther*; who finding how great a Task he had undertaken against the degenerate Traditions of the *Church*, and being unassisted by the Opinions of his own Age, was forced to awake Antiquity to make a Party for him. Whence the ancient Authors, both in Divinity, and the Humanities, that had long slept in Libraries, began to be generally read. This brought on a necessity of greater application to the original Languages, wherein those Authors wrote; for the better understanding, and applying their Works. Hence also proceeded a delight in their manner of Style, and Phrase, and an admiration of this kind of Writing, which was much increased by the Enmity now grown up against the School-men; who were generally of the contrary Party; and whose Writings were in a very different Style and Form: as taking the liberty to coin new and strange Words, to avoid Circumlocution, and express their Sentiments acutely; without regard to Purity of Diction, and Justness of Phrase. And again, because the great Labour then was to win and persuade the People; Eloquence and variety of Discourse grew into

^a And hence the Author, in the original of this Piece, and several others, used many Apotrophes and Compliments to King *James* the First: but as neither the *Occasion*, nor the *Person* sùbstit any longer, it was thought proper to drop such Digressions in this *Edition*.

into request, as most suitable for the Pulpit, and best adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar; so that these four Causes concurring, *viz.* (1.) Admiration of the Ancients; (2.) Enmity to the School-men; (3.) an exact Study of Languages; and (4.) a Desire of powerful Preaching, introduced an affected study of Eloquence, and copiousness of Speech; which then began to flourish. This soon grew to excess; insomuch, that Men study'd more after Words than Matter; more after the choiceness of Phrase, and the round and clean Composition, sweet Cadence of Periods, the use of Tropes and Figures; than after Weight of Matter, Dignity of Subject, Soundness of Argument, Life of Invention, or Depth of Judgment. Then grew into esteem, the flowing and watry Vein of *Orosius*, the *Portugal* Bishop; then did *Sturmius* bestow such infinite Pains upon *Cicero* and *Hermogenes*; then did *Car* and *Afcham*, in their Lectures and Writings, almost deify *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*; then grew the Learning of the School-men to be utterly despised, as barbarous; and the whole bent of those Times, was rather upon Fulness than Weight.

29. Here, therefore, is the first *Distemper of Learning; when Men study Words, and not Matter*: and, though we have given an Example of it from later Times, yet such Levities have, and will be found, more or less, in all Ages. And this must needs discredit Learning, even with vulgar Capacities, when they see learned Men's Works appear like the first Letter of a Patent; which, tho' finely flourish'd, is still but a Letter. *Pygmalion's* Frenzy seems a good Emblem of this *Vanity*: for Words are but the Images of Matter; and unless they have Life of Reason and Invention, to fall in love with them is to fall in love with a Picture.

30. Yet the illustrating the obscurities of Philosophy, with sensible and plausible Elocution, is not hastily to be condemned: For hereof we have eminent examples in *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, and *Plato*^a; and the thing itself is of great use: for altho' it be some hindrance to the severe Enquiry after Truth, and the farther progress in Philosophy, that it should too early prove satisfactory to the Mind, and quench the desire of farther search; before a just period is made: yet when we have occasion for Learning and Knowledge in civil Life; as for conference, counsel, persuasion, discourse, or the like; we find it ready prepared to our hands in the Authors who have wrote in this way. But the excess herein is so justly contemptible, that as *Hercules*, when he saw the statue of *Adonis*, who was the delight of *Venus*, in the temple, said with indignation, *there is no divinity in thee*; so all the followers of *Hercules* in Learning, that is, the more severe and laborious enquirers after Truth, will despise these delicacies and affectations, as trivial and effeminate.

31. This luxuriant *Style* was succeeded by another, which, tho' more chaste, has still its *vanity*; as turning wholly upon pointed expressions, and short periods, so as to appear concise and round, rather than diffusive; by which contrivance the whole looks more ingenious than it is. *Seneca* used this

^a *M. Fontenelle* is an eminent modern Instance in the same way: thus particularly his *Plurality of Worlds* renders the present System of Astronomy agreeably familiar; as his *History of the Royal Academy* embellishes and explains the abstruse parts of Mathematicks, and Philosophy.

kind of Style profusely; but *Tacitus* and *Pliny* with greater moderation. It has also begun to render itself acceptable in our time. But to say the truth, its admirers are only the men of a middle Genius, who think it adds a Dignity to Learning; whilst those of solid judgment justly reject it, as a certain *Disease of Learning*; since it is no more than a jingle, or particular quaint affectation of words^a. And so much for the *first Disease of Learning*.

*The second
Disease of
Learning, vain
Subtily.*

V. 32. The *second Disease* is worse in its nature than the former: for as the Dignity of matter exceeds the Beauty of words, so Vanity in Matter is worse than Vanity in Words: whence the Precept of St. Paul is at all times seasonable: *Avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called.* He assigns two marks of suspected and falsified science: the one *novelty* and *strangeness* of terms; the other *strictness* of positions; which necessarily induces oppositions, and thence questions and altercations. And indeed, as many solid substances putrefy, and turn into worms; so does sound Knowledge often putrefy into a number of subtle, idle, and vermicular Questions, that have a certain quickness of life and spirit, but no strength of matter, or excellence of quality. This kind of *degenerate Learning* chiefly reign'd among the *Schoolmen*; who having subtle and strong Capacities, abundance of leisure, and but small variety of reading, their minds being shut up in a few Authors, as their bodies were in the cells of their monasteries, and thus kept ignorant both of the History of Nature and Times; they, with infinite agitation of wit, spun out of a small quantity of matter, those laborious webs of Learning, which are extant in their books. For the human Mind, if it acts upon matter, and contemplates the nature of Things, and the works of God, operates according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it works upon itself, as the spider does, then it has no end: but produces cobwebs of learning, admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread; but of no substance or profit^b.

*The method of
the Schoolmen.*

33. This *unprofitable subtily* is of two kinds; and appears either in the subject, when that is fruitless speculation or controversy; or in the manner of treating it, which amongst them was this: Upon every particular position they framed objections, and to those objections solutions; which solutions were generally not confutations, but distinctions; whereas the strength of all Sciences, is like the strength of a faggot bound. For the harmony of a Science, when each part supports the other, is the true and short confutation of all the smaller objections; on the contrary, to take out every axiom, as the sticks of the faggot, one by one, you may quarrel with them, and bend them, and break them at pleasure: whence, as it was said of *Seneca*, that he *weakened the weight of things by trivial expression*; we may truly say of the School-men, that *they broke the solidity of the Sciences, by the minuteness of their questions*. For, were it not better to set up one large light in a noble room, than to go about with a small one, to illuminate every corner thereof^c? Yet such is the method of the School-men; that rests not so much upon

^a Since the establishment of the *French Academy*, a studied plainness, and simplicity of style, begins to prevail in that Nation.

^b For the *Literary History of the Schoolmen*, see *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. II. Lib. I. Cap. 14. *Cambden's Remains*, &c.

^c This is what the Author endeavours in his *Novum Organum*; which sets up a general Light: for the improvement of all kinds of Knowledge.

upon the evidence of truth from arguments, authorities and examples, as upon particular confutations and solutions of every scruple, and objection; which breeds one question, as fast as it solves another; just as in the above example, when the light is carried into one corner, it darkens the rest. Whence the fable of *Scylla* seems a lively image of this kind of Philosophy; who was transformed into a beautiful virgin upwards; *whilst barking monsters surrounded her below*. For so the generalities of the School-men are for a while fair and proportionable; but to descend into their distinctions and decisions, they end in monstrous altercations, and barking questions. Whence this kind of knowledge must necessarily fall under popular contempt: for the people are ever apt to condemn truth, upon account of the controversies raised about it; and to think those all in the wrong way, who never meet. And when they see such Quarrels about subtilities and matters of no use, they usually give into the judgment of *Dionysius*, “*That ’tis old men’s idle talk.*” But if those Schoolmen, to their great thirst of truth, and unwearied exercise of wit, had joined variety of reading, and contemplation; they would have proved excellent lights, to the great advancement of all kinds of Arts and Sciences. And thus much for the *second Disease of Learning*.

VI. 34. The *third Disease*, which regards *Deceit or Falshood*, is the foulest; as destroying the essential form of Knowledge; which is nothing but a representation of Truth: for the Truth of Existence, and the Truth of Knowledge are the same thing; or differ no more than the direct and reflected ray. This vice therefore branches into two; *viz. delight in deceiving*, and *aptness to be deceiv’d*; imposture and credulity; which tho’ apparently different, the one seeming to proceed from cunning, and the other from simplicity; yet they generally concur. For as an inquisitive man is a pratter; so a credulous man is a deceiver; for he who easily believes rumours, will as easily increase them.

35. This *easiness of belief*, and *admitting things upon weak authority*, is of two kinds, according to the subject: being either a belief of History, and matter of Fact, or else matter of Art and Opinion. We see the inconvenience of the former in *Ecclesiastical History*, which has too easily received and registred relations of miracles wrought by martyrs, hermits, monks, &c. and their relicks, shrines, chapels, images, &c. So in *Natural History*, there has not been much judgment employed, as appears from the writings of *Pliny*, *Cardan*, *Albertus*, and many of the *Arabians*; which are full of fabulous matters; many of them not only untried, but notoriously false: to the great discredit of *Natural Philosophy*, with grave and sober minds. But the prudence and integrity of *Aristotle* is here worthy our observation; who having compiled an exact *History of Animals*, dash’d it very sparingly with fable or fiction; throwing all *strange Reports*, which he thought worth recording, into a book by themselves^a; thus wisely intimating, that matter of Truth, which is the basis of solid Experience, Philosophy, and the Sciences, should not be mix’d with matter of doubtful credit: and yet that cu-

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riosity

The third Disease of Learning, viz. Deceit, or Imposture and Credulity.

Easiness of Belief of two kinds, viz. with regard to History.

^a The same method was since observed by Mr. *Boyle*, who collected together such Relations of Facts as seem’d less credible, under the Title of *Strange Reports*.

riofities or prodigies, tho' seemingly incredible, are not to be suppress'd, or denied the registering.

And Opinions.

36. *Credulity in Arts and Opinions*, is likewise of two kinds; viz. when men give too much belief to Arts themselves; or to certain Authors in any Art. The Sciences that sway the Imagination more than the Reason, are principally three, viz. *Astrology*, *Natural Magick*, and *Alchemy*; the ends or pretensions whereof, are however noble. For *Astrology* pretends to discover the influence of the superior upon the inferior Bodies: *Natural Magick* pretends to reduce Natural Philosophy from speculation to works: and *Chemistry* pretends to separate the dissimilar parts, incorporated in natural mixtures; and to cleanse such bodies as are impure, throw out the heterogeneous parts, and perfect such as are immature. But the means supposed to produce these Effects are, both in theory and practice, full of error and vanity: and besides are seldom delivered with candour; but generally concealed by artifice and enigmatical Expressions; referring to Traditions, and using other Devices to cloak Imposture. Yet *Alchemy* may be compared to the man who told his sons, he had left them Gold buried somewhere in his vineyard; where they by digging found no Gold, but by turning up the mould about the roots of their vines, procured a plentiful vintage. So the search and endeavours to *make Gold*, have brought many useful inventions and instructive experiments to light^a.

Credulity as to Authors.

37. *Credulity in respect of certain Authors, and making them Dictators* instead of *Consuls*, is a principal cause that the Sciences are no farther advanced. For hence, tho' in mechanical Arts, the first inventor falls short, time adds perfection; whilst in the Sciences, the first Author goes farthest, and time only abates or corrupts. Thus *Artillery*, *Sailing*, *Printing*, &c. were grossly managed at the first; but received improvement by time: on the contrary, the *Philosophy* and the *Sciences* of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, &c. flourish'd most in the original Authors, and degenerated with Time. The reason is, that in the *mechanick Arts*, the Capacities and Industry of many are collected together; whilst in the *Sciences*, the Capacities and Industry of many have been spent upon the Invention of some one man; who has commonly been thereby rather depraved than illustrated. For as water ascends no higher than the level of the first spring, so knowledge derived from *Aristotle*, will at most rise no higher again than the knowledge of *Aristotle*. And therefore tho' a scholar must have faith in his master; yet a man well instructed must judge for himself: for Learners owe to their Masters only a temporary belief, and a suspension of their own judgment, till they are fully instructed; and not an absolute resignation, or perpetual captivity.

^a As among the *Ægyptians*, the *Chinese*, and the *Arabians*, if their *Histories* are to be credited. In later times, they make *Copper* out of *Iron*, to profit, at *Newsohl* in *Germany*. See *Agricola de re Metallica*, *Morhof*, *Fr. Hoffman*, &c. And thus whilst *Brand* of *Hambrough*, was working upon *Urine*, in order to find the *Philosopher's Stone*, he stumbled upon that called *Kunckel's burning Phosphorus*, in the year 1669. See *Mem. de l'Academ. Royal des Sciences*, An. 1692. And *M. Homberg* operating upon *human Excrement*, for an Oil to convert *Quick-silver* into *Silver*, accidentally produced that we now call the *Black Phosphorus*; a powder which readily takes fire, and burns like a coal in the open air. See *Mem. de l'Acad. An. 1711*. To give all the Instances of this kind, were almost endless.

tivity. Let great Authors therefore have their due ; but so as not to defraud Time, which is the Author of Authors, and the Parent of Truth.

VII. 38. Besides the *three Diseases of Learning* above treated ; there are some other *peccant Humours*, which falling under popular observation, and reprehension, require to be particularly mentioned. The *first is the affecting of two extremes ; Antiquity, and Novelty* : wherein the children of Time seem to imitate their Father ; for as he devours his children, so they endeavour to devour each other : whilst *Antiquity* envies new Improvements ; and *Novelty* is not content to add, without defacing. The advice of the Prophet is just in this case : *Stand upon the old ways, and see which is the good way, and walk therein.* For *Antiquity* deserves that men should stand a while upon it, to view around which is the best way ; but when the discovery is well made, they should stand no longer, but proceed with chearfulness. And to speak the truth, *Antiquity*, as we call it, is the young state of the world ; for those times are ancient when the world is ancient ; and not those we vulgarly account ancient by computing backwards ; so that the present time is the real *Antiquity*^a.

39. Another *Error*, proceeding from the former, is, *a distrust that any thing should be discovered in later times, that was not hit upon before* ; as if *Lucian's* objection against the Gods, lay also against Time. He pleasantly asks why the Gods begot so many children in the first ages, but none in his days ; and whether they were grown too old for generation, or were restrained by the *Pasjan Law*, which prohibited old men from marrying ? For thus we seem apprehensive that *Time* is worn out ; and become unfit for generation. And here we have a remarkable instance of the levity and inconstancy of man's humour ; which before a thing is effected, thinks it impossible ; and as soon as it is done, wonders it was not done before. So the Expedition of *Alexander* into *Asia*, was at first imagin'd a vast and impracticable enterprize ; yet *Livy* afterwards makes so light of it, as to say *it was but bravely venturing to despise vain Opinions*^b. And the case was the same in *Columbus's* Discovery of the *West Indies*. But this happens much more frequently in intellectual matters ; as we see in most of the Propositions of *Euclid* ; which till demonstrated, seem strange ; but when demonstrated, the mind receives them by a kind of affinity ; as if we had known them before.

40. Another *Error* of the same nature, is *an Imagination that of all ancient Opinions or Sects, the best has ever prevailed, and suppressed the rest* ; so that if a man begins a new search, he must happen upon somewhat formerly rejected ; and by rejection, brought into oblivion : as if the multitude, or the wiser sort, to please the multitude, would not often give way to what is light and popular, rather than maintain what is substantial and deep^c.

41. Another different *Error* is *the over-early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into Arts and Methods* ; from which time the Sciences are seldom improved.^d

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^a This is more particularly explained and illustrated in the *Novum Organum*.

^b *Nihil aliud quam bene ausus est, vana contemnere.*

^c The Author's own conduct in this particular may deserve observation ; as turning upon the artificial use of rational means to overthrow Prejudice, and establish Truth. See above Sect. I. 11. and hereafter in the present Piece, and the *Novum Organum*, passim.

Peccant Humours of Learning, viz. an Affectation of Antiquity and Novelty.

Distrust of farther Discoveries.

That the best Opinions are not the most prevalent.

Sudden Reduction of Knowledge into so methods.

improved: For as young men rarely grow in stature, after their shape and limbs are fully formed; so Knowledge, whilst it lies in *Aphorisms* and *Observations*, remains in a growing state; but when once fashion'd into Methods, tho' it may be farther polished, illustrated, and fitted for use, it no longer encreases in bulk and substance^a.

The quitting
of Universality.

42. Another *Error* is, that after the distribution of particular Arts and Sciences, men generally abandon the Study of Nature, or universal Philosophy; which stops all farther progress. For as no perfect view of a Country can be taken upon a flat; so it is impossible to discover the remote and deep parts of any Science, by standing upon the level of the same Science; or without ascending to a higher^b.

Too great Re-
verence to the
human Under-
standing.

43. Another *Error* proceeds from too great a reverence, and a kind of adoration paid to the human understanding^c; whence men have withdrawn themselves from the contemplation of nature, and experience, and sported with their own reason and the fictions of Fancy. These *Intellectualists*, tho' commonly taken for the most sublime and divine Philosophers^d; are censured by *Heraclitus*, when he says, "men seek for truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great world without them:" and as they disdain to spell, they can never come to read in the volume of God's works; but on the contrary, by continual thought and agitation of wit, they compel their own *Genius*, to divine, and deliver oracles, whereby they are deservedly deluded^e.

Introducing
particular
Concepts into
Philosophy.

44. Another *Error* is, that men often infect their Speculations and Doctrines, with some particular Opinions they happen to be fond of, or the particular Sciences whereto they have most applied; and thence give all other things a tincture that is utterly foreign to them. Thus *Plato* mixed Philosophy with Theology; *Aristotle* with Logick, *Proclus* with Mathematicks^f; as these Arts were a kind of elder and favourite children with them. So the *Alchemists* have made a Philosophy from a few Experiments of the Furnace; and *Gilbert* another out of the *Loadstone*. But of such Authors *Aristotle* says well: *Those who take in but a few Considerations, may easily pronounce*^g.

Impatience of
Doubting and
Suspension.

45. Another *Error* is an impatience of doubting, and a blind burry of asserting without a mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are like the two ways of action, so frequently mention'd by the ancients; the one plain and easy at first, but in the end impassable; the other rough and

^a Hence Mr. Boyle, and others, recommend and practise *Essay-writing* in Philosophy, preferably to the *Systematical Method*.

^b Thus the *Mathematical Philosophy* of our times is not to be measured by mere Mathematicians; but by such as are acquainted with Nature and Universality, as well as *Mathematicks*; so as clearly to discern how far this kind of Philosophy reaches, and where it errs, or falls short. It may be proper to consult, upon this occasion, a late Performance, entituled, *Mathématique Universelle*.

^c See above, Sect. I. 20. & Sect. II. 11.

^d As *Plato*, for instance, among the Ancients; and *des Cartes* among the Moderns.

^e Thus some of the Laws of motion, laid down by *des Cartes*, from *Theory*, are found false in *Experience*.

^f How far universal Philosophy is at present disadvantageously wrested into the Channel of Mathematicks, will perhaps be better perceived by Posterity than ourselves. See the Author on Mathematicks hereafter, Sect. VII. and *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. II. pag. 149.

^g Hence the principal modern writers of *Literary History* justly recommend *Polymathy*, or a general knowledge of Arts and Sciences, as necessary to those who would thoroughly understand and improve any one in particular. See *Morhof, Struvius, Stollius*, &c.

and fatiguing in the entrance, but soon after fair and even : so in contemplation, if we begin with certainties, we shall end in doubts ; but if we begin with doubts, and are patient in them, we shall end in certainties^a.

46. Another *Error* lies in the manner of *delivering Knowledge*, which is generally *magisterial and peremptory, not ingenuous and open ; but suited to gain belief without examination.* And in compendious Treatises for practice, this form should not be disallowed : but in the true delivering of Knowledge both extremes are to be avoided ; viz. that of *Velleius the Epicurean*, “ who feared “ *nothing so much as the non-appearance of doubting ;*” and that of *Socrates*, and the *Academicks*, who ironically doubted of all things : but the true way is to propose things candidly, with more or less asseveration, as they stand in a man’s own judgment.

The magisterial delivering of Knowledge.

47. There are other *Errors* in the scope that men propose to themselves : for whereas *the more diligent Professors of any Science ought chiefly to endeavour the making some additions or improvements therein ; they aspire only to certain second prizes ;* as to be a profound commentator ; a sharp disputant ; a methodical compiler, or abridger, &c. whence the Returns or Revenues of Knowledge are sometimes increased, but not the Inheritance and Stock^b.

Aspiring but to inferior Qualifications.

48. But the greatest *Error* of all, is, *mistaking the ultimate End of Knowledge ;* for some Men covet Knowledge, out of a natural Curiosity, and inquisitive Temper ; some to entertain the Mind with Variety and Delight ; some for Ornament and Reputation ; some for Victory and Contention ; many for Lucre and a Livelihood ; and but few for employing the Divine Gift of Reason, to the use and benefit of Mankind. Thus some appear to seek, in Knowledge, a Couch for a searching Spirit ; others, a Walk for a wandering Mind ; others, a Tower of State ; others, a Fort, or commanding Ground ; and others, a Shop for profit, or sale ; instead of a Store-house for the Glory of the Creator, and the endowment of human Life. But that which must dignify and exalt Knowledge, is the more intimate and strict conjunction of *Contemplation and Action* ; a Conjunction like that of *Saturn*, the Planet of Rest and Contemplation ; and *Jupiter*, the Planet of civil Society and Action. But here, by *Use and Action*, we do not mean the applying of Knowledge to lucre ; for that diverts the advancement of Knowledge ; as the golden Ball thrown before *Atalanta* ; which while she stoops to take up, the race is hindred. Nor do we mean, as was said of *Socrates*, to call Philosophy down from Heaven, to converse upon Earth ; that is, to leave Natural Philosophy behind, and apply Knowledge only to Morality and Policy : But as both Heaven and Earth contribute to the use and benefit of Man ; so the End ought to be, from both Philosophies, to separate and reject vain and empty Speculations ; and preserve and increase all that is solid and fruitful. And thus we have opened the chief of those *peccant Humours*, which not only retard

Mistaking the End of Knowledge.

^a *Doubting, in Philosophy*, appears to be the occasional Spring of Examination and Trial ; or a principal motive to farther search and experiments, in order to satisfy the Scruples that arise in the Mind. To this purpose, see *Glanvil’s Sceptis Scientifica*, printed at London, 1665 ; and hereafter under *Physicks*, Sect. IV. 25.

^b That is, the present System of Knowledge is thus sometimes spread among the Body of a People ; but no addition made to its total Sum. And thus the greatest part of Writers are but *Spreaders* ; and the original *Inventors and Improvers*, a slender Number.

§ See above, Sect. I. 1.

retard the *Progress of Learning*; but also occasion it to be traduced^a. We have been free of our Censures, as not proposing a *Panegyric upon Learning*, or an *Hymn to the Muses*; but, without varnish or amplification, to weigh the Dignity of *Knowledge*, and take its true Estimate by Arguments and Testimonies, *human and divine*.

The Dignity of Learning shewn from divine Testimony.

VIII. 49. Next, therefore, let us seek the *Dignity of Knowledge* in its original; that is, in the Attributes and Acts of God; so far as they are revealed to Man, and may be observed with sobriety. But here we are not to seek it by the name of *Learning*: for all Learning is Knowledge acquired; but all Knowledge in God is original: we must therefore look for it under the name of *Wisdom*, or *Sapience*, as the Scriptures call it.

A difference betwixt Knowledge and Power in the Creation.

50. In the work of Creation, we see a double Emanation of Virtue from God; the one relating more properly to *Power*, the other to *Wisdom*; the one express'd in making the Matter, and the other in disposing the Form. This being supposed, we may observe, that, for any thing mentioned in the History of the Creation, the confused mass of the Heavens and Earth was made in a moment; whereas the Order and Disposition of it was the work of six days: such a mark of difference seems put betwixt the *Works of Power*, and the *Works of Wisdom*: whence it is not written that God said, *Let there be Heaven and Earth*, as it is of the subsequent Works; but actually, that *God made Heaven and Earth*: the one carrying the style of a Manufacture, the other that of a Law, Decree, or Council.

In the celestial Hierarchy.

51. To proceed from God to Spirits: We find, as far as credit may be given to the celestial Hierarchy, of the supposed *Dionysius*, the *Areopagite*, the first place is given to the *Angels of Love*, termed *Seraphim*; the second, to the *Angels of Light*, called *Cherubim*; and the third, and following places, to *Thrones*, *Principalities*, and the rest; which are all *Angels of Power and Ministry*: so that the *Angels of Knowledge and Illumination*, are placed before the *Angels of Office and Domination*.

The Scripture Dispensation.

52. To descend from Spirits, and intellectual, to sensible and material Forms: We read the first created *Form* was *Light*; which, in nature and corporeal things, hath a relation and correspondence to *Knowledge* in Spirits, and things incorporeal: so, in the distribution of Days, we find the Day wherein God rested, and completed his Works, was blessed above all the Days wherein he wrought them.

In Paradise.

53. After the *Creation* was finished, it is said, that Man was placed in the Garden to work therein; which Work could only be Work of Contemplation; that is, the end of his Work was but for Exercise and Delight, and not for Necessity: for there being then no Reluctance of the Creature, nor Sweat of the Brow, Man's Employment was consequently matter of Pleasure, not Labour. Again, the first Acts which Man performed in *Paradise*, consisted of the two summary parts of *Knowledge*; a view of the Creatures, and the imposition of Names.

54.

^a To this Catalogue of Errors incident to *learned Men*, may be added, the Frauds and Impostures of which they are sometimes guilty, to the scandal of Learning. Thus Plagiarism, Piracy, Falsification, Interpolation, Castration, the publishing of spurious Books, the stealing of Manuscripts out of Libraries, &c. have been frequent, especially among the *Ecclesiastical Writers*; and the *Frares Falsarii*. For instances of this kind, see *Struvius de Doctis Impostoribus*, *Morhof in Polyhist. de Pseudonymis, Anonymis, &c.* *Le Clerc's Ars Critica*, *Cave's Historia Literaria Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, *Father Simon, Mabillon, &c.*

54. In the first event after the Fall, we find an Image of the two States, *In Cain and Abel.* the contemplative and the active, figured out in the persons of *Abel* and *Cain*; by the two simplest and most primitive Trades, that of the Shepherd, and that of the Husbandman; where again, the favour of God went to the Shepherd, and not to the Tiller of the Ground.

55. So in the Age before the *Flood*, the sacred Records mention the name *The Age before the Flood.* of the Inventors of Musick, and Workers in Metal. In the Age after the Flood, the first great Judgment of God upon the Ambition of Man, was the *Confusion of Tongues*; whereby the open trade, and intercourse of Learning and Knowledge, was chiefly obstructed.

56. It is said of *Moses*, "*That he was seen in all the Learning of the Ægyptians*;" which Nation was one of the most ancient Schools of the World: for *Plato* brings in the *Ægyptian Priest* saying to *Solon*; "*You Grecians are ever Children, having no knowledge of Antiquity, nor antiquity of Knowledge.*" In the ceremonial Law of *Moses*, we find, that besides the prefiguration of *Christ*, the mark of the People of God to distinguish them from the *Gentiles*, the exercise of Obedience, and other divine Institutions, the most learned of the *Rabbies* have observed a natural, and some of them a moral Sense, in many of the Rites and Ceremonies. Thus in the Law of the Leprosy, where it is said; "*If the Whiteness have overspread the Flesh, the Patient may pass abroad for clean; but if there be any whole Flesh remaining, he is to be shut up for unclean.*" one of them notes a Principle of Nature; viz. that Putrefaction is more contagious before Maturity, than after. Another hereupon observes a *Position of moral Philosophy*; or that Men abandon'd to Vice, do not corrupt the Manners of others, so much as those who are but half wicked. And in many other places of the *Jewish Law*, besides the Theological Sense, there are couched many Philosophical Matters. The Book of *Job* is likewise pregnant with the deep parts of Natural Philosophy: and in the person of King *Solomon*, we see Knowledge preferred to all temporal Felicity.

57. Nor did the *Dispensation* of God vary in the times after our *Saviour*, *The Gospel-Dispensation.* who himself first shewed his power to subdue Ignorance, by conferring with the Priests and Doctors of the Law; before he shewed his power to subdue Nature by Miracles. And the coming of the Holy Spirit was chiefly expressed in the *Gift of Tongues*, which are but the conveyance of Knowledge.

58. So in the election of those Instruments it pleased God to use for planting the Faith, tho' at first he employ'd Persons altogether unlearned, otherwise than by Inspiration, the more evidently to declare his immediate working, and to humble all human Wisdom, or Knowledge; yet, in the next succession, he sent out his divine Truth into the world, attended with other parts of Learning, as with Servants or Handmaids: Thus *St. Paul*, who was the only learned amongst the Apostles, had his Pen most employed in the writings of the New Testament. *In the Apostles.*

59. Again, we find that many of the ancient Bishops, and Fathers of the Church, were well versed in all the Learning of the Heathens; insomuch, that the Edict of the Emperor *Julian*, prohibiting Christians the Schools, and Exercises, was accounted a more pernicious Engine against the Faith, than all the sanguinary Persecutions of his Predecessors. *The Fathers of the Church.* Neither could

Gregory the First, Bishop of Rome, ever obtain the opinion of Devotion, even among the Pious; for designing, tho' otherwise an excellent Person, to extinguish the memory of Heathen Antiquity. But it was the *Christian Church*, which, amidst the Inundations of the *Scythians* from the Northwest, and the *Saracens* from the East, preserved in her bosom the Relicks even of Heathen Learning; which had otherwise been utterly extinguished. And of late years the *Jesuits*, partly of themselves, and partly provoked by example, have greatly enlivened and strengthened the State of Learning, and contributed to establish the *Roman See*.

Two capital Services of Philosophy to Religion.

60. There are, therefore, two principal Services, besides Ornament and Illustration, which *Philosophy* and *human Learning* perform to *Faith* and *Religion*: the one effectually exciting to the exaltation to God's Glory; and the other affording a singular Preservative against Unbelief and Error^a. Our Saviour says, *Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God*; thus laying before us two Books to study, if we will be secured from Error; viz. the *Scriptures*, which reveal the Will of God; and the *Creation*, which expresses his Power: the latter whereof is a key to the former; and not only opens our Understanding, to conceive the true sense of the Scripture, by the general Notions of Reason, and the Rules of Speech; but chiefly opens our Faith, in drawing us to a due consideration of the Omnipotence of God, which is stamped upon his Works. And thus much for *divine Testimony*, concerning the *Dignity* and *Merits of Learning*^b.

The Dignity of Learning shewn from human Testimony.

IX. 61. Next, for *human Proofs*. Deification was the highest Honour among the Heathens; that is, to obtain Veneration as a God, was the supreme Respect which Man could pay to Man; especially when given not by a formal Act of State, as it usually was to the *Roman Emperors*, but from a voluntary, internal Assent, and Acknowledgment. This Honour being so high, there was also constituted a middle kind: for human Honours were inferior to Honours heroical and divine. Antiquity observed this difference in their distribution; that whereas Founders of States, Law-Givers, Extirpers of Tyrants, Fathers of the People, and other eminent persons in civil merit, were honoured but with the titles of *Heroes*, or *Demi-Gods*; such as *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Minos*, *Romulus*, &c. Inventors, and Authors of new Arts, or Discoveries, for the service of human Life, were ever advanced amongst the Gods; as in the case of *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, &c. And this appears to have been done with great justice and judgment; for the Merits of the former being generally confined within the circle of one Age, or Nation; are but like fruitful Showers, which serve only for a season, and a small extent: whilst the others are like the Benefits of the Sun, permanent and universal. Again, the former are mixed with Strife and Contention; whilst the latter have the true Character of the divine Presence, as coming in a *gentle Gale*, without noise or tumult.

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^a See, upon these Heads, Mr. Boyle's *High Veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God*; and his *Christian Virtuoso*.

^b How far the Defence of the *Christian Religion* is owing to Learning, may appear from Spencer's Edition of *Origen against Celsus*; *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christiana*; *Huet's Demonstratio Evangelica*, &c.

The Effects of Learning in Society.

62. The Merit of Learning, in remedying the Inconveniences arising from Man to Man, is not much inferior to that of relieving human Necessities. This Merit was lively described by the Ancients, in the Fiction of *Orpheus's* Theatre; where all the Beasts and Birds assembled; and forgetting their several Appetites, stood sociably together, listening to the Harp; whose Sound no sooner ceased, or was drown'd by a louder, but they all returned to their respective Natures. For thus Men are full of savage and unreclaimed Desires; which, as long as we hearken to Precepts, Laws, and Religion, sweetly touch'd with Eloquence and Persuasion, so long is Society and Peace maintained: but if these Instruments become silent, or Sedition and Tumult drown their Musick, all things fall back to Confusion and Anarchy^a.

63. This appears more manifestly, when Princes, or Governours, are learned. For tho' he might be thought partial to his profession, who said, "*States would then be happy; when either Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings;*" yet so much is verified by experience, that the best Times have happen'd under wise and learned Princes. For tho' Kings may have their Errors and Vices, like other Men; yet if they are illuminated by Learning, they constantly retain such Notions of Religion, Policy, and Morality, as may preserve them from destructive and irremediable Errors, or Excesses: for these Notions will whisper to them, even whilst Counsellors and Servants stand mute. Such Senators likewise as are learned, proceed upon more safe and substantial Principles, than mere Men of experience: the former view Dangers afar off; whilst the latter discover them not till they are at hand, and then trust to their Wit to avoid them. This felicity of Times under learned Princes, appears eminent in the age between the death of *Domitian*, and the reign of *Commodus*; comprehending a succession of six Princes; all of them learned, or singular Favourers and Promoters of Learning. And this Age, for temporal respects, was the happiest and most flourishing, that ever the *Roman* State enjoyed.

64. Nor has Learning an influence only over civil Society, and the Arts of Peace; but likewise exerts its power over *military* Virtue: as eminently appears in the examples of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*. *Alexander* was bred under *Aristotle*, who dedicated several Books of Philosophy to him. He was attended by *Callisthenes*, and other learned Persons, in his Camp, and Conquests. In what esteem he held Learning, may appear by three particulars; viz. (1.) The Envy he used to express towards *Achilles*, in having so good a Recorder of his Acts as *Homer*: (2.) The assignment of that rich Cabinet of *Darius*, to contain *Homer's* Works: (3.) His Letter to *Aristotle*, upon publishing his *Physics*; expostulating with him for divulging the Secrets of Philosophy; and telling him he esteemed it nobler to excel other Men in Learning and Knowledge, than in Power and Empire.

Effects of Learning upon military Virtue.

65. The Learning of *Julius Cæsar* need not be argued from his Education, his Company, or his Speeches; as fully declaring itself in his Writings, whereof some are extant, and others unfortunately lost. We have

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left

^a This shews the necessity of cultivating Eloquence, or keeping up the Power of Speech, in order to subdue the Passions, inculcate Morality and Religion, and influence civil Society: and that the same Art may, in some degree, be used in *Natural Philosophy*, was shewn above, Sect. III. 31.

left us that excellent *History of his own Wars*, which he barely entitl'd a *Commentary*, or *Memoir*; wherein all the succeeding times have admir'd the solid Weight of Matter, and the lively Images of Actions and Persons, express'd in the greatest propriety and perspicuity of Language. That this was not the effect of a natural Gift, but of Learning^a, may appear by that Work of his entitl'd *de Analogia*; which was a certain *grammatical Philosophy*, wherein he endeavour'd to reduce the common use of Speech to Congruity and Correctness; and to suit Words to Things, not by Custom, but Reason^b.

Effects of
Learning on
private Vir-
tue.

66. To proceed from imperial and military, to moral and private Virtue; it is certain, that Learning softens the barbarity and fierceness of men's Minds: but then it must not be superficial; for this rather works a contrary effect. Solid Learning prevents all Levity, Temerity, and Insolence; by suggesting Doubts and Difficulties, and inuring the Mind to balance the Reasons on both sides, and reject the first offers of Things; or to accept of nothing but what is first examined and tried. It prevents vain Admiration, which is the root of all Weakness: things being admir'd, either because they are *new*, or because they are *great*. As for *Novelty*, no Man can wade deep in Learning, without discovering *that he knows nothing thoroughly*: nor can we wonder at a Puppet-show, if we look behind the Curtain. With regard to *Greatness*; as *Alexander*, after having been us'd to great Armies, and the Conquests of large Provinces in *Asia*; when he received accounts of Battles from *Greece*, which were commonly for a pass, a fort, or some walled town, imagin'd he was but reading *Homer's* Battle of the Frogs and the Mice: so if a Man considers the universal Frame; the Earth and its Inhabitants will seem to him but as an Ant-hill; where some carry Grain, some their Young, some go empty, and all march but upon a little heap of Dust.

Learning con-
quers the Fear
of Death.

67. Learning also conquers, or mitigates, the Fear of Death, and adverse Fortune; which is one of the greatest Impediments to Virtue and Morality: For if a man's Mind be deeply season'd with the consideration of the Mortality and Corruptibility of things, he will be as little affected as *Epictetus*; who, one day, seeing a Woman weeping for her Pitcher that was broken; and the next day, a Woman weeping for her Son that was dead; said calmly, *Yesterday I saw a brittle Thing broken, and to-day a Mortal die*. And hence *Virgil* excellently join'd the *Knowledge of Causes*, and the conquering of *Fears*, together, as Concomitants^c.

Remedies the
Diseases of
the Mind.

68. It were tedious to enumerate the particular Remedies which Learning affords for all the Diseases of the Mind; sometimes by purging the morbid Humours; sometimes by opening Obstructions, helping Digestion, increasing

^a The diffusive Learning of this extraordinary Personage, may farther appear from *Fabricius's* Account of his Works. See *Jo. Albert. Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina*, Vol. I. cap. x.

^b This Work of *Julius Caesar*, written in two Books, is lost; but *Ju. Operarius* endeavours to supply it in his *Analogia Lingua Latina*, printed at *Paris*, in the year 1698; and at *Amsterdam*, in 1700.

^c *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique me us omnes, & inexorabile fatum,
Subjicit pedibus; strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

creasing the Appetite; and sometimes healing Exulcerations, &c. But, to sum up all, it disposes the Mind not to fix or settle in Defects; but to remain ever susceptible of Improvement and Reformation. For the illiterate person knows not what it is to descend into himself, or call himself to an account; nor the agreeableness of that Life, which is daily sensible of its own Improvement: He may, perhaps, learn to shew, and employ his natural Talents; but not increase them; he will learn to hide and colour his Faults, but not to amend them: like an unskilful Mower, who continues to mow on without whetting his Scythe. The Man of Learning, on the contrary, always joins the Correction and Improvement of his Mind, with the use and employment thereof. To conclude, *Truth* and *Goodness* differ but as the Seal and the Impression: for Truth imprints Goodness; whilst the Storms of Vice and Perturbation break from the Clouds of Error and Falshood^a.

X. 69. From moral Virtue, we proceed to examine *whether any Power be equal to that afforded by Knowledge*. Dignity of Command is always proportionable to the Dignity of the Commanded. To have command over Brutes, as a Herdsman, is a mean thing; to have command over Children, as a Schoolmaster, is matter of small honour; and to have command over Slaves, is rather a Disgrace than an Honour. Nor is the command of a Tyrant much better, over a servile and degenerate People; whence Honours, in free Monarchies, and Republicks, have ever been more esteemed, than in tyrannical Governments; because to rule a willing People, is more honourable than to compel. But the Command of Knowledge, is higher than the Command over a free People; as being a Command over the Reason, Opinion, and Understanding of Men; which are the noblest Faculties of the Mind, that govern the Will itself: for there is no Power on earth that sets up a Throne in the Spirits of Men, but Knowledge and Learning. Whence the detestable and extreme Pleasure wherewith Arch-hereticks, false Prophets, and Impostors, are transported, upon finding they have a dominion in the Faith and Consciences of Men; a pleasure so great, that it once tasted, scarce any Torture, or Persecution, can make them forgo it. But as this is what the Apocalypse calls *the depths of Satan*; so the just and lawful Rule over men's Understanding, by the evidence of Truth, and gentle Persuasion, is what approaches nearest to the divine Sovereignty^b.

70. With regard to Honours and private Fortune; the benefit of *Learning* is not so confined to States, as not likewise to reach particular Persons. For it is an old Observation, that *Homer* has given more Men their livings, than *Sylla*, *Cæsar*, or *Augustus*, notwithstanding their great Largesses. And it is hard to say, whether *Arms* or *Learning* have advanced the greater numbers. In point of Sovereignty, if Arms, or Descent, have obtained the Kingdom; yet Learning has obtained the *Priesthood*, which was ever in competition with *Empire*.

71. Again, the pleasure and delight of Knowledge and Learning, surpass all others: for if the Pleasures of the Affections exceed the Pleasures of

Gives great power over men's Minds.

Raises private Fortunes.

Affords great Delight.

of

^a Most seem to agree, that *Knowledge* will make Men virtuous; at least, that none are truly wise, if they are not virtuous.

^b For the command which *Knowledge* gives Men over the Works of Nature, and over one another, see Mr. *Boyle's* Essays on the *Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy*. Abridg. Vol. I. *in init.*

of the Senses, as much as the obtaining a Desire, or a Victory, exceeds a Song, or a Treat; shall not the Pleasures of the Understanding exceed the Pleasures of the Affections? In all other pleasures there is a Satiety, and after use, their Verdure fades; which shews they are but Deceits and Fallacies; and that it was the Novelty which pleased, not the Quality: whence voluptuous Men frequently turn Friars, and ambitious Princes Melancholicks. But of Knowledge there is no Satiety; for here Gratification and Appetite are perpetually interchanging; and consequently this is Good in itself, simply, without fallacy or accident. Nor is that a small pleasure and satisfaction to the Mind, which *Lucretius* describes to this effect. “It is a Scene of Delight to be safe on shore, and see a Ship tossed at sea; or to be in a Fortification, and see two Armies join battle upon a Plain: But it is a Pleasure incomparable, for the Mind to be seated by Learning in the Fortress of Truth, and from thence to view the Errors and Labours of others.”

Renders Men
immortal.

72. To conclude; the Dignity and Excellence of Knowledge and Learning, is what human Nature most aspires to, for the securing of Immortality: which is also endeavour'd after, by raising and ennobling of Families; by Buildings, Foundations, and Monuments of Fame; and is, in effect, the bent of all other human Desires. But we see how much more durable the Monuments of Genius and Learning are, than those of the Hand. The Verses of *Homer* have continued above five and twenty hundred years, without loss; in which time, numberless Palaces, Temples, Castles, and Cities, have been demolished, and are fallen to ruin. It is impossible to have the true Pictures or Statues of *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, or the great Personages of much later date; for the Originals cannot last, and the Copies must lose of the Life: But the Images of men's Knowledge remain in Books, exempt from the Injuries of Time, and capable of perpetual Renovation. Nor are these properly called Images, because they generate still, and sow their Seed in the minds of others; so as to cause infinite Actions and Opinions in succeeding Ages. If, therefore, the Invention of a Ship was thought so noble, which carries Commodities from place to place, and brings the remotest Regions acquainted; how much more are Letters to be valued, which, like Ships, pass thro' the vast Ocean of Time, and convey Knowledge and Inventions to the remotest Ages? Nay, some of the Philosophers, who were most immersed in the Senses, and denied the Immortality of the Soul; yet allowed, that whatever Motions the Spirit of Man could perform without the Organs of the Body, might remain after death; which are only those of the Understanding, and not of the Affections: so immortal and incorruptible a thing did Knowledge appear to them^a. And thus having endeavoured to do justice to the Cause of Knowledge, divine and human, we shall leave *Wisdom to be justified of her Children*^b.

S E C T.

^a This Section has but occasionally consider'd the general Merits of Learning; its particular Merits will appear hereafter, when it comes to be branched into the Sciences: so that a Judgment cannot justly be form'd of it from this Examination. See below, Sect. V. VI. &c.

^b The Merits of Learning have been occasionally shewn by many, but expressly by few. Among the latter may be reckon'd *Johannes Wouwerius de Polymathia*, *Gulielmus Budæus de Philologia*, *Morhof* in his *Polyhistor*, and *Stollus* in *Introduct. in Historiam Literariam*. To these may be added, *Baron Spanheim*, *M Perault*, *Sir William Temple*, &c.

S E C T. IV.

The PUBLIC OBSTACLES to LEARNING consider'd.

1. **W**E come next to consider what steps have hitherto been taken, and what farther remains, for the promotion of *Learning*. The Foundation we proceed upon is this, that *all Works are conquer'd*, (1.) by *Greatness of Reward*; (2.) *Justness of Direction*; and (3.) *united Labours*: The first multiplies Endeavours, the second prevents Error, and the third supplies the Imperfection of Mankind^a. But the principal of these is *Direction*; for according to the Proverb, *a lame Man in the right way, may beat a Racer in the wrong*. And Solomon excellently said, *If the Iron be blunt, it requireth more strength; but Wisdom is that which prevaileth*: signifying that a prudent Choice of the Means, is more effectual than joint Endeavours. But the Acts of great Men rather regard Magnificence and Fame, than Progress and Proficiency; and tend more to augment the Mass of Learning in the multitude of Learned Men, than to rectify or advance the *Sciences*^b.

Publick Endeavours necessary to advance Learning.

2. The *Acts of Merit towards Learning*, regard three Objects; viz. (1.) the *Places of Learning*; (2.) the *Books of Learning*; and (3.) the *Persons of the Learned*. For as Water, whether of the Dew of Heaven, or the Springs of the Earth, scatters, and is lost on the ground, unless collected in some Receptacle, or Cistern; so Knowledge, whether from divine Inspiration, or human Sense, would soon be lost, if it were not preserved in Books, Traditions, Universities, Colleges and Schools.

The publick Objects of Learning.

3. The Works regarding the Seats of Learning are four; viz. (1.) *Buildings*; (2.) *Endowments*; (3.) *Privileges*; (4.) *Laws and Institutions*; all tending to privacy, quiet, and exemption from Cares and Anxieties; like the still Stations, described by *Virgil*, for the hiving of Bees.

The Works regarding the Seats of Learning.

4. The *Works with regard to Books*, are principally two; viz. (1.) *Libraries*, which are as Shrines that lodge the Relicks of the ancient Saints, full of Virtue, without Delusion and Imposture; and (2.) *new and more correct*

Books.

^a This fundamental Observation should be kept in mind, throughout the whole *Instaurations*; otherwise many parts of the Author's Scheme will appear impracticable. Thus the particular *Desiderata* of Learning, hereafter set down, are some of them too great to be supplied by a private hand; but require a publick Purse, an exact Conduct, and united Assistance; as the *History of Arts*, the *Literary History*, the *Philosophical College*, &c. And, doubtless, some of the greatest Things that Mankind are capable of performing, remain unattempted, or unaccomplished, for want of these main Springs of Action.

^b The means of doing which, are pointed out below.

^c For the best Methods of collecting and disposing publick *Libraries*, and those who have wrote upon the Subject, see *Morhof* in *Polybist. de Mediis erigendarum Bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. Lib. I. Cap. IV. V. VI. and *Stollii Introduct. in Historiam Literariam. de Historia Literaria generatim spectata*, p. 78, &c. But particularly *M. Naudé's Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, first printed at Paris, in 1627; and afterwards translated into Latin by *Schmidius*, with Additions, in 1703. See also *Naudé's Catalogus Bibliothecæ Cordesiana*; printed at Paris, in 1643.

correct Editions of Authors, with more exact Translations, more useful Notes, Explanations, &c.

*The Persons of
the Learned.*

5. The *Works that regard the Persons of the Learned*, besides the countenancing of them in general, are also two: viz. (1.) the Reward and Institution of Readers in the Sciences already known; and (2.) the Reward and Institution of Writers, and Enquirers into the Parts of Learning not hitherto sufficiently prosecuted.

*The first publick
Defect, a
want of Col-
leges for Arts
and Sciences
at large.*

6. These are the Works and Acts wherein the Merits of many Princes, and others, have appeared. But, to *look unto that part of the Race which is before us*, we observe, (1.) *that, as there are so many excellent Foundations of Colleges in Europe, it is strange they should be all dedicated to certain Professions, and none left free to Arts and Sciences at large.* For tho' all Learning should be referred to Action, yet we may here easily fall into the error of supposing the Stomach idle, because it neither performs the Office of Motion, as the Limbs; nor of Sense, as the Head; tho' it digests and distributes to all the other Parts: in like manner, if a Man thinks Philosophy and Universality but idle Studies, he does not consider that all Professions are from thence supplied. And this seems a principal Cause of the slow advancement of Learning; as these fundamental kinds of Knowledge have been studied only in passage. For to make a Tree bear more Fruit, it is not any thing done to the Boughs; but stirring the Earth, and the putting new Mould about the Roots, that must effect it^a. And this dedicating of Foundations to *professory Learning*, has not only had a bad effect upon the growth of the *Sciences*, but also in *Governments*. For hence Princes generally find a great want of able Men for their service; as there is no collegiate Institution for History, modern Languages, Politicks, and the like means of qualifying such as are disposed for the Service of the State^b.

*The second, a
want of pro-
portionable
Salaries.*

7. (2.) And as *Founders of Colleges* plant, and *Founders of Lectures* water, we must next note a defect in *publick Lectures*, whether in Arts or Professions: viz. *the smallness of the Salary generally assigned them.* For 'tis necessary to the progress of the Sciences, that *Readers* be of the ablest kind, as men intended for propagating the Sciences to future ages, and not for transitory use. And this cannot be, unless the Profits may content the most Eminent in every Art to appropriate their Lives and Labours to this sole purpose; who must therefore have a competency allowed them, proportionable to what might be expected from the practice of a Profession. For to make the *Sciences* flourish, *David's* military Law should be observed, and *those who stay with the Carriage, have equal with those who are in the Action*;

^a The thing here intended is a *general College*, set apart for *fundamental Learning*, or such as should be preparatory to all Arts Sciences, and Professions; that is, for teaching the Principles of *universal Philosophy*, or *general Knowledge*: For want of such a *general Institution*, Men the most eminent in some one particular Profession, are commonly ignorant in all the rest; whereas, to make a Man compleat, and eminently serviceable, 'tis necessary he should first understand the Principles of *Morality, civil Society, natural Philosophy, Law, Divinity, Medicine* &c. before he applies himself to the Practice and Improvement of any one Art, Science, or Profession: such a Connection all the Parts of Learning have with one another, as together constituting but one *Corps of Science*.

^b From feeling this ill Effect, perhaps, the *Academy of Politicks* was instituted by *Lewis* the Fourteenth of *France*; and, lately, a Professor of *modern History* by *King George* the First of *England*.

Action; or otherwise the Carriages will be ill attended: so *Lecturers in the Sciences*, as being the Guardians of the Stores and Provisions, whence Men in active Life are furnished, ought to share equal Advantages with them: For if the Fathers of the *Sciences* be weak, or ill maintained, the Students will feel the effects of it^a.

8. (3.) The next *Defect* may require the assistance of the Chemists; who call upon Scholars to sell their Books, and build Furnaces; quitting *Minerva* and the Muses, as barren Virgins, and relying upon *Vulcan*. And indeed to the deep, fruitful, and operative Study of many Sciences, especially *Natural Philosophy* and *Physick*, Books are not the only Instruments required: and accordingly Spheres, Globes, Maps, &c. have, as well as Books, been provided for the study of *Astronomy* and *Geography*. And some Places destined to *Physick*, have also Gardens for Simples; and the allowance of dead Bodies for Anatomy. *But these are too scanty*. In general, no great proficiency can well be made in the disclosing of Nature, without some PUBLIC ALLOWANCES FOR EXPERIMENTS; whether of the Furnace, Engine, or any other kind: and therefore as the Secretaries and Spies of Princes are allowed to bring in *Bills for Intelligence*; so must the Spies and Observers of Nature bring in their *Bills of Charges*, or we shall be ill informed. And if *Alexander* made such a liberal Allowance to *Aristotle*, for Hunters, Fowlers, Fishers, &c. in order to a *natural History of Animals*; much better do they deserve it, who labour in the Labyrinths of Art^b.

9. (4.) Another *Defect* of great importance, is a neglect in Governours of *Universities*, with regard to *Consultations*; and in Princes, of *Visitations*; to observe, with diligence, whether the Readings, Exercises, Disputations, and other academical Customs, anciently instituted, should be still continued, changed, or reformed. For, as in all Precedents, if the times wherein they began, were dark or ignorant, it derogates from their Authority; and as most Customs and Orders of Universities began in obscure and ignorant Times; it is the more requisite they should be re-examined. Thus, for instance, Scholars in the Universities begin *Logick* and *Rhetorick* too soon; these being Arts fitter for Graduates, than Children: and when rightly understood, are the gravest of Sciences, and the Arts of Arts; the one for Judgment, the other for Ornament; as affording Rules and Directions for setting out, and disposing of Matter: whence for Minds empty and unfraught to begin with these Arts, the Wisdom whereof is great and universal, renders them contemptible, and sinks them into childish Sophistry, and ridiculous Affectation. Again, the *Exercises of Universities*, make too great a separation between *Invention* and *Memory*; for Speeches are here either premeditated, when nothing is left to Invention, or merely extemporary, when little is left to Memory; whereas Business and Action require a mixture of Premeditation and

The third, a want of Apparatus, and publick Allowances for Experiments.

The fourth, a want of Inspection and Regulation of Universities.

^a The Salaries allowed by Lewis the Fourteenth, procured very able Men for Members of the *Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris*; and if that Academy has out-stripp'd most others in Discoveries and Improvements, this may be chiefly owing to the princely Munificence of its Founder; and the Presents extraordinary, wherewith he rewarded such Members as merited it by their Works. See *Fontenelle's History of the Re-establishment*, An. 1699.

^b That is, who prosecute the Business of *Experiments*, as in the *Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris*; and the *Metallick College of the King of Sweden*: but the *Royal Society of London* has no publick Allowance for Experiments.

Invention. Whence the Exercise answers not to Practice, nor the Image the Life: whereas it is a constant rule in Exercises, to form them as near as possible to Practice; otherwise they do not prepare, but pervert the natural Faculties of the Mind; as appears when *Students* come to act in civil Life; for then this want is soon perceived by themselves, and sooner by others.

The fifth. a want of Intelligence betwixt the Universities of Europe.

10. (5.) The next *Defect* goes a little higher: for as the *advancement of Learning* greatly depends upon the Orders and Institutions of Universities in the same Kingdom; it would be still better, if there were more of mutual Intelligence between the Universities of Europe. There are many Orders and Foundations, which tho' lying under several Sovereignities, yet take themselves to have a kind of Society, and Correspondence, with one another; inso-much, that they have common Heads and Provincials^a: and, surely, as Nature creates Brotherhood in Families, and mechanical Arts make Brotherhood in Communities, as the Divine Unction induces Brotherhood in Kings and Bishops, and Vows and Rules make Brotherhood in Orders; so there cannot but be an illustrious Fraternity in Learning and Illumination, relative to that Paternity attributed to God, the Father of Lights^b.

The sixth. a want of publick Writers and Enquirers.

11. (6.) The last *Defect* is, that there has rarely been any publick Institution of Writers or Enquirers, about such parts of Knowledge as are not already sufficiently labour'd. Whence it were highly proper to examine what parts of Learning have been prosecuted, and what neglected: for the opinion of plenty is one cause of want; and our great quantity of Books, looks like superfluity; which, however, is not to be remedied by destroying those we have already, but by publishing more good ones; that, like the Serpent of *Moses*, might devour the Serpents of the Enchanters.

12. The removal of the five preceding Defects, and even the active part of the sixth and last, viz. the Institution of *Writers* and *Enquirers*, are regal Works^c; towards which, the Endeavours of a private Person are but as a Statue in a cross Road, that may point the way it cannot go^d: but the speculative part of the last, viz. the Examination of Learning, may be promoted by private labour. We shall, therefore, next attempt a general Survey of Knowledge; and enquire into what parts thereof lie waste, or unimproved; in order to furnish out such a Plan, as may give light to publick Designs, and excite the private Endeavours of others^e.

^a As the *Jesuits*, for instance, and other religious Orders abroad.

^b The ill Consequences of this want of Correspondence still continue, in some degree: We in *England* are but little acquainted with the Transactions of foreign Universities; and thence generally think but contemptibly of them; as particularly of the *Germans*; perhaps for want of knowing them better.

^c And therefore properly laid before crown'd Heads, as they were, with great address, by the Author, before King *James the First*; tho' without effect. But King *Charles II.* of *England*, and *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, enter'd into the Spirit of this grand Design. The first, upon instituting the *Royal Society* of *London*, was soon follow'd by the other, in establishing the *Royal Academy of Sciences* at *Paris*. And these two eminent Examples gave occasion to the establishment of many the like Societies in different parts of *Europe*: tho' some of an inferiour kind were, before this, formed in *Italy*.

^d Yet private Fortunes may be employ'd to procure these publick Advantages; as appears by the noble Institution of *Gresham College*.

^e The Design of this Section is beautifully exemplified, and deduced, in the *New Atlantis*, or Plan of a *Philosophical Society*, placed as the FIRST SUPPLEMENT to the present Piece.

T H E
D I S T R I B U T I O N
O F
K N O W L E D G E,
I n t o P a r t i c u l a r S C I E N C E S.

S E C T. I.

O f H I S T O R Y.

I. **T**HE justest *Division of Human Learning*, is that derived from the three different Faculties of the *Soul*; the Seat of Learning: *HISTORY* being relative to the *Memory*, *POETRY* to the *Imagination*, and *PHILOSOPHY* to the *Reason*. By *Poetry*, we understand no more than *feign'd History*, or *Fable*; without regard, at present, to the *poetical Style*.

Knowledge, divine and human, ranged under History, Poetry, and Philosophy.

2. *HISTORY* is properly concerned about *Individuals*, circumscribed by Time and Place: so likewise is *POETRY*; with this difference, that its *Individuals* are feign'd, with a resemblance to true *History*; yet, like *Painting*, so as frequently to exceed it. But *PHILOSOPHY*, dropping *Individuals*, fixes upon *Notions* abstracted from them; and is employ'd in compounding and separating these *Notions* according to the *Laws of Nature*, and the *Evidence of Things themselves*. Thus *HISTORY*, *POETRY*, and *PHILOSOPHY* flow from the three distinct Fountains of the Mind, *viz.* the *Memory*, the *Imagination*, and the *Reason*; without any possibility of increasing their number. For *History* and *Experience* are one and the same thing; so are *Philosophy* and the *Sciences*.

3. Nor does *Divine Learning* require any other *Division*: for tho' *Revelation* and *Sense* may differ, both in matter and manner; yet the Spirit of Man, and its Cells, are the same; and in this case receive, as it were, different Liquors thro' different Conduits. *Theology*, therefore, consists (1.) of *Sacred History*; (2.) *Parable*, or *Divine Poesy*; and (3.) of *Holy Doctrine*, or *Precept*,

as its fixed *Philosophy*. As for *Prophecy*, which seems a part redundant, 'tis no more than a Species of *History*; *Divine History* having this prerogative over *Human*; that the *Narration* may precede, as well as succeed the *Fact*.

History divided into natural and civil.

4. HISTORY is either *natural* or *civil*: the *natural* records the Works and Acts of *Nature*; the *civil* the Works and Acts of *Men*. Divine Interposition is unquestionably seen in both, particularly in the Affairs of *Men*; so far as to constitute a different species of *History*, which we call *Sacred*, or *Ecclesiastical*. But such is the dignity of *Letters* and *Arts*, that they deserve a separate *History*, which, as well as the *Ecclesiastical*, we comprehend under *Civil History*.

Natural History divided into the History of Generations, Præter-generations and Arts.

5. We form our Division of *Natural History* upon the threefold *state* and *condition* of *Nature*; which is (1.) either free, and proceeding in her ordinary course, without molestation; or (2.) obstructed by some stubborn and less common Matters; and thence put out of her course, as in the production of *Monsters*; or (3.) bound and wrought upon by human means, for the production of Things artificial. Let all *Natural History*, therefore, be divided into the *History of Generations*, *Præter-generations*, and *Arts*; the *first* to consider *Nature at liberty*; the *second*, *Nature in her errors*; and the *third*, *Nature in constraint*.

The History of Arts, why made a species of Natural History.

6. THE HISTORY OF ARTS should the rather make a Species of *Natural History*, because of that prevalent opinion, as if *Art* were a different thing from *nature*; and Things natural different from Things artificial; whence many Writers of *Natural History* think they perform notably, if they give us the *History of Animals*, *Plants*, or *Minerals*^a, without a word of the *mechanic Arts*. A farther mischief is to have *Art* esteemed no more than an assistant to *Nature*, so as to help her forwards, correct or set her free, and not to bend, change, and radically affect her; whence an untimely Despair has crept upon mankind; who should rather be assured that *artificial Things* differ not from natural in *form* or *essence*, but only in the *efficient*: For *Man* has no power over *Nature* in any thing but *Motion*, whereby he either puts bodies together, or separates them. And therefore, so far as natural Bodies may be separated or conjoin'd, man may do any thing^b. Nor matters it, if things are put in order for producing effects, whether it be done by human means or otherwise. Gold is sometimes purged by the Fire, and sometimes found naturally pure: the *Rain-bow* is produced after a natural way, in a *Cloud* above; or made artificially, by the sprinkling of *Water* below. As *Nature*, therefore, governs all things, by means (1.) of her general Course, (2.) her Excursion, and (3.) by means of human Assistance: these three Parts must be received into *Natural History*; as in some measure they are by *Pliny*.

7.

^a As *Aristotle*, *Dioscorides*, *Casalpinus*, *Cesius*, *Wormius*, *Aldrovandus*, &c.

^b This *fundamental Maxim* will be made great use of in the Course of the Work; and should therefore be well understood and remembered; otherwise we shall easily mistake practicable things for impracticable; when the Author comes to apply so simple a Principle, for producing *uncommon Effects* by *human Means*, or merely by the separation and combination of Matter. Thus a person unacquainted with *Distillation* and *Concentration*, would not conceive that *Brandy* should be separated from *Wine* by *Fire*; *Water* from *Wine* by *Cold*, &c. and many more considerable Works be perform'd barely by *human separation* and *combination*, applied in *Mechanics*, *Optics*, *Manufactures* and *Arts*.

7. The first of these Parts, the *History of Creatures*, is extant in tolerable perfection^a; but the two others, the *History of Monsters*, and the *History of Arts*, may be noted as deficient. For I find no competent Collection of the works of Nature digressing from the ordinary course of generations, productions and motions; whether singularities of place and region, or strange events of time and chance; effects of unknown properties, or instances of exceptions to general Rules. We have indeed many books of fabulous Experiments, Secrets and frivolous Impostures, for pleasure and strangeness^b; but a substantial and well-purged Collection of Heteroclitics, or Irregularities of Nature, carefully examined and described, especially with a due rejection of fable and popular error, is wanting^c: for as things now stand, if false Facts in Nature be once on foot; what thro' neglect of Examination, the countenance of Antiquity, and the use made of them in Discourse, they are scarce ever retracted.

8. The Design of such a Work, of which we have a precedent in *Aristotle*, is not to content curious and vain minds; but (1.) to correct the depravity of *Axioms* and *Opinions*, founded upon common and familiar Examples; and (2.) to shew the *Wonders of Nature*, which give the shortest passage to the *Wonders of Art*: for by carefully tracing Nature in her wandrings, we may be enabled to lead or compel her to the same again^d. Nor would we in this *History of Wonders* have superstitious Narrations of Sorceries, Witchcrafts, Dreams, Divinations, &c. totally excluded, where there is full evidence of the fact: because it is not yet known in what cases, and how far effects attributed to superstition, depend upon natural causes. And, therefore, tho' the practice of such things is to be condemned; yet the consideration of them may afford light, not only in the judging of criminals, but in the farther disclosing of Nature. Nor should men scruple examining into these things, in order to discover Truth: the Sun tho' it passes thro' dirty places, yet remains as pure as before. Those narrations, however, which have a tincture of superstition, should be kept separate, and unmix'd with others, that are merely natural. But the Relations of religious prodigies and miracles, as being either false or supernatural, are unfit to enter a *History of Nature*^e.

9. As for the HISTORY OF NATURE WROUGHT OR FORM'D; we have some Collections of *Agriculture* and manual Arts, but commonly with a Rejection

^a By *Aristotle*, *Dioscorides*, *Pliny*, and others.

^b As by *Cardan*, *Paracelsus*, *Alexis*, *Baptista Porta*, &c.

^c Nor supplied to this day; tho' many particulars for it may be collected from *Aldrovandus*, *Weinrichius*, *Licetus*, *Bonaccantura*, *Scheenkius*, *Laurentius*, *Cassianus*, and *Stengelius*, who have all wrote, *de Monstris*. To these may be added the *Physica curiosa* of *Schottus*, *Kircher's Mundus subterraneus*, the *Philosophical Transactions*, the *French Memoirs*, the *Acta Eruditorum*, the *German Ephemerides*, and *Hanley's Wonders of the little World*.

^d Let this Foundation for acquiring a Command over Nature be well observed; for many Particulars mention'd hereafter, such as governing the Winds, the Weather, &c. would seem impossibilities without it.

^e To this History might perhaps advantageously be added, the monstrous, or anomalous Productions in Arts; where things happen in an eminent degree, contrary to the expectation of the Artizⁿ: as the perverting or stopping of vinous Fermentation, by the accidental falling in of a little Soap; the making of solid, or Loaf Sugar, from the accidental application of Tobacco-pipe Clay, the preventing of Sugar from boiling over, by the accidental dropping in of a Candle; the discharging of red Ink by accidentally spitting upon a red Writing, &c. Instances of which kind are to be found in the Books of *Chemistry*, and other practical Arts. They deserve the rather to be collected, because all such Instances give us the Power of doing the like again; and thus enlarge our command over Nature.

jection of familiar and vulgar Experiments, which yet are of more service in the *Interpretation of Nature* than the uncommon ones: an Enquiry into mechanical matters being reputed a dishonour to Learning; unless such as appear secrets, rarities and subtilties^a. But the truth is, they are not the highest Instances that give the securest information; for mean and small things often discover great ones, better than great can discover the small: and therefore *Aristotle* observes, “*That the nature of every thing is best seen in its smallest portions.*” Whence he seeks the nature of a common-wealth, first in a family: and so the nature of the world, and the policy thereof, must be sought in mean relations and small portions. The magnetic virtue of Iron was not first discover’d in Bars, but in Needles.

10. But in my judgment the use of *mechanical History* is, of all others, the most fundamental towards such a *Natural Philosophy* as shall not vanish in the fume of subtile, sublime, or pleasing speculations; but be operative to the endowment and benefit of human life: as not only suggesting, for the present, many ingenious practices in all trades, by connecting and transferring the observations of one Art to the uses of another, when the Experience of several Arts shall fall under the consideration of one man; but as giving a more true and real illumination with regard to *Causes* and *Axioms*, than has hitherto appeared. For as a man’s Temper is never well known till he is cross’d; in like manner, the Turns and Changes of Nature cannot appear so fully, when she is left at her liberty, as in the Trials and Tortures of Art.

11. We add, that the body of this *Experimental History* should not only be formed from the *mechanic Arts*; but also from the operative and effective part of the *liberal Sciences*, together with numerous practices, not hitherto brought into Arts: so that nothing may be omitted which has a tendency to inform the Understanding^b.

12.

^a The *History* here intended is a thing of vast extent, that requires great abilities, and suitable assistance to execute; and perhaps is the *History of Arts*, which the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris* have been several years engaged in. Such a Work is certainly worthy of that illustrious Society. What Particulars the Author would have this History include, may be seen in the Catalogue of *Histories required for interpreting the Works of Nature*; laid down in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, or *third Part of the Institution*, Sect. II. The Writings to be consulted for it, are principally such as *Agricola de re Metallica*; which describes the common methods and ways of working Metals, from the Ore to their saleable state; *Neri’s Art of Glass*, with the Notes and Improvements upon it by *Merrer* and *Kunckel*; all Mr. *Boyle’s* Experimental Pieces many of those in the Philosophical Transactions, and foreign Journals; *Pomet* and *Lemery* on Drugs; *Savary’s* Dictionary of Commerce; *Stahl* upon Dying, Metallurgy, Fermentation, and other Chemical Arts; *Boerhaave’s* Chemistry; *de Luss’s Magisterium Natura & Artis*, &c. But a capital thing wanting to compleat this *History of Arts*, is an Account of the particular *Encheireses*, or secret ways of working, which make the mystery of every Art, and are commonly concealed, as lucrative, by Artificers. Their mysteries may, however, be learnt by a right application; and ’tis pity but they were published for the enrichment of *Natural Philosophy*, and the farther improvement of *Arts*. Some Attempts also have been made towards furnishing out the *History* itself. Dr. *Harris’s* *Lexicon Technicum* may pass for a Specimen of the Work, in the Mathematical Part. But Mr. *Chambers* has pursued the Design in all its extent: A second Edition of his *Cyclopaedia*, we presume, may go near to compleat the whole.

^b And therefore not the *History of Sophistications or Adulterations and Frauds practised in Arts and Trades*; which the learned *Morhof* adds as a fourth part of this *Experimental History*;

12. AS NATURAL HISTORY has three Parts, so it has two principal *Uses*; and affords, (1.) a *Knowledge* of the Things themselves that are committed to *History*; and (2.) the *first Matter of Philosophy*. But the former, tho' it has its advantages, is of much more inferior consideration than the other; which is a *Collection of Materials* for a just and solid *Induction*, whereon *Philosophy* is to be grounded. And in this view, we again divide *Natural History* into *Narrative* and *Inductive*; the latter whereof is wanting. If the *Natural History* extant, tho' apparently of great bulk and variety, were to be carefully weeded of its *Fables, Antiquities, Quotations, frivolous Disputes, Philology, Ornaments, and Table-talk*; it would shrink to a slender bulk. But besides, a *History* of this kind is far from what we require; as wanting the two abovemention'd Parts of a *Natural History*, viz. *Præter-generations* and *Arts*, on which we lay great stress; and only answers one Part in five of the *third*, viz. that of *Generations*. For the *History of Generations* has five subordinate Parts; viz. (1.) The *Celestial Bodies*, considered in their naked *Phænomena*, stripp'd of *Opinions*. (2.) *Meteors, Comets, and the Regions of the Air*. (3.) The *Earth and Sea*, as integral parts of the *Universe*, including *Mountains, Rivers, Tides, Sands, Woods, and Islands*; with a view to *Natural Enquiries* rather than *Cosmography*. (4.) The *Elements, or greater Assemblages* of matter, as I call them; viz. *Fire, Air, Water, and Earth*. And (5.) The *Species of Bodies*; or more exquisite *Collections of Matter*; by us called the *smaller Assemblages*; in which alone the industry of *Writers* has appeared; and that too rather in a *luxurious than solid manner*; as rather abounding in things *superfluous*, viz. the *Representations of Plants and Animals, &c.* than careful *Observations*, which should ever be subjoined to *Natural History*^a. In fine, all the *Natural History* we have is absolutely unfit for the end we propose, viz. to build *Philosophy* upon; and this both in the manner and the matter thereof; whence we set down **INDUCTIVE HISTORY**, as deficient^b.

Two Uses of Natural History.

A pure and general Natural History wanting.

Inductive History wanting.

13. CIVIL HISTORY, in general, may be divided into three particular kinds, viz. *Sacred, Civil, and Literary*; the latter whereof being wanting, the *History of the World* appears like the *Statue of Polypheme*, without its *Eye*;

Literary History wanting.

tho' it may seem sufficiently included under the *History of Arts*; as being the secret part essential to every *Art*, and properly called the *Mystery, or Craft* thereof. Of these *Impositions*, a large number may be readily collected, and serve, not only to quicken the understanding, and enrich *Experimental History*; but also contribute to perfect the *Science of Oeconomical Prudence*. For contraries illustrate each other, and to know the *limited practices of an Art* gives light to the *Art itself*; as well as puts men upon their guard against being deceived. See *Morhof's Polybist*. Tom. II. pag. 128.

^a It appears to be the *Design of the Royal Society*, in their *Philosophical Transactions*, to collect *Materials* for this pure *Natural History*; whereo we may add the *French Memoirs, the German Ephemerides, &c.* And perhaps a judicious *Collection* from the modern *Writings* of this kind, would come nearly up to the Thing here intended; and lay the *Foundation* of an *Inductive History*, justly noted by the Author as deficient.

^b What the Author understands by *Inductive History* fully appears in his own *particular Histories of Life and Death, Winds, &c.* which shew the *Way of inducing* or consequentially discovering and drawing out the *Designs and Operations of Nature*, by the *rabbling, or orderly disposing* of *Observations and Experiments*, or managing them somewhat like *algebraical Equations*. This method was observed with less rigour by *Mr. Boyle*, whose *Philosophical Pieces* are a mixture of *natural and inductive History* together; but more strictly by *Sir Isaac Newton*. See *Morhof's Polybist*. Tom. II. p. 127, 128, &c. and the *Novum Organum*, Part II. Sect. I &c.

Eye; the part that best shews the life and spirit of the person^a. In many particular Sciences indeed, as the *Law*, *Mathematicks*, *Rhetoric*, &c. there are extant some short Memoirs, and jejune Relations, of Sects, Schools, Books, Authors, and the successions of this kind of Sciences; as well as some trivial Accounts of the Inventors of Things and Arts: but we say, that A JUST AND UNIVERSAL LITERARY HISTORY has not hitherto been published^b.

Its Design.

14. The *Design* of this Work should be, to relate from the earliest Accounts of Time, (1.) what Particular kinds of *Learning* and *Arts* flourished in what Ages, and what Parts of the World; (2.) their Antiquities, Progress, and Travels on the Globe; (3.) their Decline, Disappearance, and Restoration. In each Art should be observed, (4.) its origin and occasion of invention; (5.) the manner and form of its delivery; and (6.) the means of its introduction, exercise and establishment. Add to these, (7.) the most famous Sects and Controversies of learned Men; (8.) the Calumnies they suffer'd, and the Praises and Honours they receiv'd. (9.) All along let the best Authors and Books be noted; with (10.) the Schools, Successions, Academies, Societies, Colleges, Orders, and whatever regards the *State of Learning*. But (11.) principally let Events be all along coupled with their Causes; (which is the Soul, as it were, of *Civil History*;) in relating the Nature of Countries and People; (12.) their disposition and indisposition to different kinds of Learning; (13.) the accidents of Time, whether favourable or destructive to the Sciences; (14.) the zeal and mixture of Religion; (15.) the severity and lenity of Laws; (16.) the remarkable Patronage, Efforts and Endowments of illustrious Men, for the promotion of Learning, and the like. All which we would have handled, not in the manner of *Critics*, who barely praise and censure; but historically, or in the way of a naked delivery of Facts, with but a sparing use of private judgment^c.

15.

^a That is, an Account of the Origin, Progress, and Fate of Learning, human Inventions and the Sciences over all the Globe; is what gives Light, Life and Spirit to the body of *Civil History*.

^b Notwithstanding *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, first printed in the year 1551, and the *Hermes Academicus of Mylaus*, first published in the year 1548.

^c The Design here sketched out, appears too vast for any single hand, and should rather be the work of some Society or College of learned Men. None of the Writers upon *Literary History* seem to have taken in the whole Plan of the Author. Some parts thereof have, however, been attempted; particularly by *Petr. Lambecius*, who in the year 1659. published his *Prodromus Historiæ Literariæ*; or *Preliminaries to a general History of the Rise, Progress, Revolutions, and Restorations of all Languages, Sciences, Faculties, and liberal Arts*, in the order of Time, thro' all Ages: with a particular commemoration of the illustrious persons of both Sexes. Printed in *Latin*, by *Liebezeit of Hambourg*, in *Folio*, and again with Additions by *Joh. Albert. Fabricius*, in 1710. This Performance, tho' but a Specimen, of an universal LITERARY HISTORY, was a Work of immense labour and erudition. The whole Design consisted of eight and thirty books; only the first whereof, and four Chapters of the second, ending with the Argonautic Expedition, are here published; with Plans of the thirty two last Chapters of the same second Book. Nor if the whole were executed, would it fully answer either to the method, or fill up the Heads, sketched out by the Lord *Bacon*. The execution of such a grand Design seems a *Royal Work*, and requires to be executed *in Parts*. See *Morhof. Polyhist.* Tom. I. pag. 10. Ed. 1714. & *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*, Ed. *Fene*, An. 1728. Many particulars for this *Literary History* are to be found in the Works of *G. J. Vossius de Historicis Græcis & Latinis*, *de Philologia*, *de Philosophiâ & Philosophorum Sectis*, *de Theologia Gentili*, *Physiologia Christiana*, *de Artibus popularibus*, *de scientiis Mathematicis*, &c. This Author in his Book *de Philologia* gives some directions for the execution. He observes, (1.) that *Literary History should contain an account of the learned*

15. For the manner of writing this *History*, we particularly advise that the materials of it be drawn, not only from Histories and Critical Works, but also that the principal Books of every Century be regularly consulted downwards; so far we mean, as that a Taste may be had, or a Judgment formed, of the Subject, Style, and Method thereof; whence the *literary Genius* of every Age, may at pleasure be raised, as it were from the dead^a.

The manner of writing it.

16. The *use and end of this Work* is not to derive honour and pomp to *Learning*, nor to gratify an eager curiosity, and fondness, of knowing and preserving whatever may relate thereto; but chiefly to make learned Men wise, in the prudent and sober exercise and administration of Learning; and by marking out the *Virtues and Vices of intellectual Things*, as well as the motions and perturbations of States, to shew how the best Regulation, and Government, may be thence derived: for as the works of St. *Austin*, or St. *Ambrose*, will not make so wise a Divine as a thorough reading of *Ecclesiastical History*; the same will hold true of learned Men with regard to particular Books, and a *Literary History*: for whoever is not supported by Examples and the remembrance of Things, must always be exposed to contingencies and precipitancy^b.

Its use.

Men, and their Writings; the improvement of the Sciences, the Inventors, and the progress of Arts. (2.) That *Xenophon* is said by *Laertius* and *Suidas*, to be the first who wrote the *History or Lives of the Philosophers*; but the Book is lost. (3.) That the ancient Historians remaining upon this Subject are *Laertius*, *Philostratus*, *Eunapius*, *Hejchius*, and *Suidas*, among the Greeks; and *Cicero*, *de claris Oratoribus*, and *Suetonius de illustribus Grammaticis, ac Rhetoribus*, & aliquot *Poetis*, among the Latins. (4.) That to this kind belong those who have wrote upon the illustrious *Ecclesiasticks*; as have done St. *Jerom*, *Gennadius Massiliensis*, *Isidorus Hispalensis*, *Hildeshonus Toletanus*, *Sigebertus*, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, & *Henricus de Gandavo*. (5.) Among the moderns he reckons *Polydore Virgil*, *Lilius Gyraldus*, and himself, upon the ancient Rhetoricians, but particularly upon the Greek and Latin Historians and Poets. (6.) To these he adds many of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and such as have given the Lives of eminent Divines, Lawyers and Physicians. See *Voss. de Philolog.* Ed. 1650. pag. 71, 72. (7.) We may add, *Christ. Mylæi Hermes Academicus, seu de Scribenda Universitatis Rerum Historia*; *Conringius de Antiquitatibus Academicis*; *Reineri Reineccii Methodus legendi cognoscendique Historiam, tam sacram quam profanam*; *Pancirollus de Rebus memorabilibus*; *Georg. Paschius de novis Inventis, quibus facem præstulit Antiquitas*; *Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers*; *Morhof's Polyhistor*; *Srruvii Introductio in Notitiam Rei Literariae*, & *Bibliotheca Philosophica*; *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*, &c.

^a For the execution of this Design, *Morhof*, in his *Polyhistor*, recommends the observance of the Direction laid down by M. *Naudé* for disposing a Library, and ranging Books according to the Subject or Faculties they treat; or rather that proposed by *Lambecius*, for a Philosophical Library. See *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. I. pag. 9—15. Ed. 1714. See also *Naudai Dissertatio de instruenda Bibliotheca*; published in Latin, with Additions, by *Schmidius*. An. 1703.

^b The uses of such a *Literary History*, besides the capital one here mention'd, would be great and numerous; for instance, it would shew the Origins and Transmigrations of Religions, Heresies, Philosophies, Doctrines and Opinions; the Antiquity of Arts, Sciences and Inventions; their introduction and reception in different Countries: such a History would perhaps shew that most Philosophies, Heresies, Doctrines, and Inventions are originally ancient, and only revived or new dress'd up in later times; and help us to recover the ancient Arts and Secrets now supposed to be lost. Another principal use of it would be to direct our Studies, for acquiring a Knowledge of *universal Philosophy*, or any particular Branch of it; and lead to Practice and farther Improvement. See *Eraſmus Bartholinus de Arcanis Scientiarum*, *Pancirollus de Rebus deperditis*, *Alex. Tassoni Pensieri diversi*, & *Pegelii Thesaurus Rerum selectarum*, &c. But what we find commonly published under the Title of *Literary Histories*, contain little more than an Account of the Editions of Books, with biographical and critical Remarks on the Authors; and are by no means that *universal kind of Literary History* here intended.

Particular
Civil History,
what it should
contain.

17. CIVIL HISTORY, particularly so called, is of prime dignity and authority among human Writings; as the Examples of Antiquity, the Revolutions of Things, the Foundations of *civil Prudence*, with the names and reputations of Men, are committed to its trust. But 'tis attended with no less difficulty than dignity; for it is a Work of great labour and judgment, to throw the mind back upon things passed, and store it with Antiquity; diligently to search into, and with fidelity and freedom relate (1.) the *Com-motions of Times*, (2.) the *Characters of Persons*; (3.) the *Instability of Counsels*; (4.) the *Courses of Actions*; (5.) the *Bottoms of Pretences*; (6.) the *Secrets of State*; and (7.) to set all this to view in proper and suitable language: especially as ancient Transactions are uncertain, and late ones exposed to danger. Whence such a *Civil History* is attended with numerous Defects; the greater part of Historians writing little more than empty and vulgar Narrations, and such as are really a disgrace to *History*; while some hastily draw up particular Relations, and trivial Memoirs; some only run over the general heads of Actions; and others descend to the minutest particulars, which have no relation to the principal Actions. These in compliance with their Genius, boldly invent many of the things they write; whilst those stamp the image of their own affections upon what they deliver: thus preserving fidelity to their party; but not to Things themselves. Some are constantly inculcating *Politicks*, in which they take most pleasure; and seek all occasions of shewing themselves; thus childishly interrupting the Thread of their *History*: whilst others are too tedious, and shew but little Judgment in the prolixity of their Speeches, Harangues, and Accounts of Actions: so that in short, nothing is so seldom found among the Writings of men, as *true and perfect civil History*^a.

The difficulty
of writing it.

Is of three
kinds, viz.

18. This *Civil History* is of three kinds, and bears resemblance to three kinds of *Pictures*; viz. the *unfinished*, the *finished*, and the *defaced*: Thus *Civil History*, which is the Picture of Times and Things, appears in *Memoirs*, *just History*, and *Antiquities*; but *Memoirs* are *History begun*, or the first Strokes and Materials of it; and *Antiquities*, are *History defaced*, or Remnants that have escaped the Shipwreck of Time.

Memoirs, of
two sorts.

19. MEMOIRS, or *Memorials*, are of two kinds; whereof the one may be termed *Commentaries*, the other *Registers*. In *Commentaries* are set down naked Events and Actions in sequence; without the Motives, Designs, Counsels, Speeches, Pretexts, Occasions, &c. for such is the true nature of a *Commentary*; tho' *Cæsar*, in modesty mix'd with greatness, called the best *History* in the world a *Commentary*.

Registers, of
two sorts.

20. REGISTERS are of two kinds; as either containing the Titles of Things and Persons in order of Time, by way of *Calendar* and *Chronicles*, or else in the way of *Journal*, and preserving the Edicts of Princes, Decrees of Council, judicial Proceedings, Declarations and Letters of State, publick Orations, &c. without continuing the thread of the Narration^b.

21.

^a Thus perhaps most of the *Histories of Britain* are partial Accounts of the same publick Transactions, differently represented; according to the Principles, or particular Views of the Writer. Whence those of *Buchanan*, *Baker*, *Clarendon*, *Kennet*, *Eachard*, and *Burnet*, are often found partial; whilst that of a Foreigner, *M. Thoyras Rapin*, is allow'd the justest general *History of our Nation*.

^b *Rushworth's Collections* and *Rymer's Fœdera*, are eminent Instances hereof.

21. ANTIQUITIES are the *Wrecks of History*, wherein the memory of *And Antiquities.* Things is almost lost; or such Particulars as industrious Persons, with exact and scrupulous diligence, can any way collect from Genealogies, Calendars, Titles, Inscriptions, Monuments, Coins, Names, Etymologies, Proverbs, Traditions, Archives, Instruments, Fragments of publick and private History, scatter'd Passages of Books no way historical, &c. by which means something is recovered from the Deluge of Time. This is a laborious Work; yet acceptable to Mankind, as carrying with it a kind of reverential awe; and deserves to come in the place of those fabulous and fictitious *Origins of Nations* we abound with: tho' it has the less authority, as but few have examined and exercised a liberty of thought about it^a.

22. In these kinds of IMPERFECT HISTORY, no Deficiency need be noted, they being of their own nature imperfect: but *Epitomes of History* are the Corruption and Moths, that have fretted and corroded many found and excellent bodies of *History*, and reduced them to base and unprofitable Dregs; whence all Men of sound Judgment declare, the use of them ought to be banish'd.

23. JUST HISTORY is of three kinds, with regard to the three Objects *Just History of three kinds, viz. Chroni- cles.* it designs to represent; which are either a *Portion of Time*, a *memorable Person*, or an *illustrious Action*. The first kind we call writing of *Annals*, or *Chronicles*; the second, *Lives*; and the third, *Narratives or Relations*. *Chronicles* share the greatest Esteem and Reputation; but *Lives* excel in Advantage and Use; as *Relations* do in Truth and Sincerity. For *Chronicles* represent only grand publick Actions, and external Shews and Appearances to the People, and drop the smaller Passages and Motions of Men and Things. But as the Divine Artificer hangs the greatest Weight upon the smallest Strings; so such *Histories* rather shew the Pomp of Affairs, than their true and inward Springs. And tho' it intersperes Counsel; yet delighting in Grandeur, it attributes more Gravity and Prudence to human Actions, than really appears in them: so that *Satyr* might be a truer Picture of human Life, than certain *Histories* of this kind: whereas *Lives*, if wrote with care *Lives.* and judgment, proposing to represent a Person, in whom Actions, both great and small, publick and private, are blended together, must of necessity give a more genuine, native, and lively Representation, and such as is fitter for imitation^b.

24. PARTICULAR RELATIONS OF ACTIONS; as of the *Peloponnesian War*, *And Relations.* the Expedition of *Cyrus*, &c. may, likewise, be made with greater truth and exactness, than *Histories of Times*; as their Subject is more level to the Enquiry and Capacity of the Writer: whilst they who undertake the *History* of any large portion of Time, must needs meet with Blanks and empty Spaces, which they generally fill up out of their own Invention.

^a The Subject of *Antiquities* is now found considerably cultivated, by the Labours of *Cambden*, *Selden*, *Lightfoot*, *Vossius*, *Spanheim*, *Grævius*, *Gronovius*, *Dugdale*, *Van Dale*, *Pitsiscus*, *Struvius*, *Montfaucon*, *Potter*, *Prideaux*, *Wood*, and many other eminent *Antiquaries*. See *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*. Ed. Jenæ, An. 1728. *De Arte Critica*, pag. 152—167. & *Morhof. Polyhistor*, Tom. I. lib. V. cap. 2. *de Scriptoribus Antiquariis*.

^b Eminent Examples thereof we have in *Gassendi's Lives* of *Peirese*, *Tycho Brahe*, *Purbach*, *Regiomontanus*, and *Copernicus*.

25. This exception, however, must be made to the Sincerity of *Relations*, that if they be wrote near the times of the Actions themselves, they are, in that case, to be greatly suspected of Party or Prejudice. But as 'tis usual for opposite Parties to publish *Relations* of the same Transactions; they, by this means, open the way to truth; which lies betwixt the two extremes: so that after the heat of Contention is allay'd, a good and wise *Historian* may hence be furnished with Matter for a more perfect *History*.

26. As to the DEFICIENCIES in these *three kinds of HISTORY*; doubtless many particular Transactions have been left unrecorded, to the great prejudice, in point of Honour and Glory, of those Kingdoms and States where they pass'd. But to omit other Nations; we have particular reason to complain of the Imperfection of the present *History of England*, in the main continuance of it; and the Partiality and Obliquity of that of *Scotland*. It would be a very memorable Work, if this Island of *Great Britain*, now joined in Monarchy, were also joined in one *History*, after the manner of the *sacred History*; which draws down the account of the ten Tribes, and of the two Tribes, as twins, together^a.

Biography de-
fective.

27. With regard to LIVES; we cannot but wonder that our own Times have so little value for what they enjoy, as not more frequently to write the *Lives* of eminent Men. For tho' Kings, Princes, and great Personages are few, yet there are many other excellent Men, who deserve better than vague Reports and barren *Elogies*. And altho' many, more mortal in their affections than their bodies, esteem the desire of Fame and Memory but a Vanity; and despise Praise, whilst they do nothing that is praise-worthy; yet this alters not Solomon's Judgment, "*the memory of the Just shall be with praises; but the name of the Wicked shall rot:*" the one flourishing, whilst the other consumes, or turns to corruption. So in that laudable way of speaking of the dead, "*of happy memory! of pious memory! &c.*" we seem to acknowledge, with *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, "that a good Name is the proper *Inheritance* of the deceased." Which *Inheritance*, as lying waste in our time, deserves to be noted as a *Deficiency*^b.

Relations to
be wrote with
care.

28. In the business of RELATIONS, it is also to be wished that greater diligence were employ'd; for there is no signal Action, but has some good Pen to describe it. But very few being qualified to write a *just History*, suitable to its dignity, a thing wherein so many have failed; if memorable Acts were but tolerably related as they pass; this might lay the Foundations,
and

^a The Author intended to write such a History himself, and accordingly begun it: what was finished of it, stands as the SECOND SUPPLEMENT to this PIECE *de Augmentis Scientiarum*: but for the Continuation, we must have recourse to *Drake*, *Thuanus*, *Rapin*, &c.

^b It has been so well cultivated since, that a Library might be collected of the *Lives of eminent Moderns*. Whoever desires to see the necessary Rules for this kind of Writing, the great Utility, and more eminent Instances of it, cannot, perhaps, do better than read the learned *Morhof* upon the Subject, in his *Polyhistor*, Tom. I. lib. I. cap. 19. *de Vitarum Scripturis*. As for *Lives* themselves, among the most useful may be reckon'd that extraordinary one of *Peirese*, written by *Gassendi*; that of *Melancthon*, by *Camerarius*; that of *Erasmus*, by *M. Le Clerc*; that of *Mr. Cowley*, by *Bishop Sprat*; that of the *Lord Chief Justice Hale*, by *Bishop Burnet*; those of Learned Men, by *Thuanus*, in his History; those collected by *Bates*; and those of the Members of the *Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris*, by *M. Fontenelle*. See *Struvii Introductio in notissiam Reipublice Literariae*. Cap. VII. *de Scripturis Vitarum*. What the *Lord Bacon* himself perform'd in this way, appears by the THIRD SUPPLEMENT to this PIECE, *de Augmentis Scientiarum*.

and afford Materials for a compleat *History of Times*, when a Writer should arise equal to the Work.

29. HISTORY OF TIMES is either *general* or *particular*, as it relates the Transactions of the whole World, or of a certain Kingdom, or Nation. And there have been those, who would seem to give us the *History of the World* from its Origin; but, in reality, offer only a rude Collection of Things, and certain short Narratives instead of a *History*^a: whilst others have nobly, and to good advantage, endeavour'd to describe, as in a *just History*, the *memorable Things*, which in their time happened over all the Globe. For human Affairs are not so far divided by *Empires* and *Countries*, but that in many cases they still preserve a connection: whence it is proper enough to view, as in one Picture, the *Fates of an Age*. And such a *general History* as this, may frequently contain particular *Relations*; which, tho' of value, might otherwise either be lost, or never again reprinted: at least, the heads of such *Accounts* may be thus preserved. But upon mature consideration, the Laws of *just History* appear so severe, as scarce to be observed in such a large field of Matter: whence the bulkiness of *History* should rather be retrenched, than enlarged: otherwise, he who has such variety of Matter every where to collect, if he preserve not constantly the strictest watch upon his Informations, will be apt to take up with Rumours, and popular Reports, and work such kind of superficial Matter into his *History*. And then to retrench the whole, he will be obliged to pass over many things otherwise worthy of relation; and often to contract and shorten his Style; wherein there lies no small danger of frequently cutting off useful Narrations, in order to oblige Mankind in their favourite way of *Compendium*; whence such Accounts, which might otherwise live of themselves, may come to be utterly lost^b.

History of Times, is general or particular.

30. HISTORY OF TIMES is likewise divisible into ANNALS and JOURNALS, according to the observation of *Tacitus*; where, mentioning the Magnificence of certain Structures, he adds, "'twas found suitable to the Roman dignity, that illustrious Things should be committed to *Annals*; but such as these, to the *publick Journals of the City*." Thus referring what related to the State of the Commonwealth to *Annals*; and smaller Matters to *Journals*. And so there should be a kind of *Heraldry* in regulating the dignities of *Books*, as well as *Persons*: for as nothing takes more from the Dignity of a State, than Confusion of Orders and Degrees; so it greatly takes from the Authority of *History*, to intermix Matters of Triumph, Ceremony, and Novelty, with Matters of State. And it were to be wish'd that this Distinction prevail'd. But in our times, *Journals* are only used at Sea, and in military Expeditions: whereas, among the Ancients, 'twas a regal Honour to have
the

Divisible into Annals and Journals.

^a Some Gentlemen in England have lately published Proposals, and a noble Attempt, towards an *Universal History, from the earliest Account of Time, to the present*; wherein the Plan appears so justly laid, and what is hitherto executed so exact, that it is greatly to be wished they may meet with suitable Encouragement. Among the best *general Histories* wrote of late, are esteemed the following; viz. *Cellarii Historia universalis*. Ed. Jenæ 1711. *Jo. Henric. Loderi Introductio in Historiam universam*. Ed. Lipsiæ, An. 1713. *Johan. Cleric. Compendium Historiæ universalis*. Amstelodami 1697; & Lipsiæ 1713. & *Burchard Gottlieb Struvii Kurzer Begriff der universal-Historie*. Jenæ 1726. See *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*. pag. 325, &c.

^b For the Rules of writing *History*, and the Qualifications of an *Historian*, see *Vossius de Arte Historica*; and for the Assitances required in the Work, see *Morhof's Polybist*, Tom. III. lib. 2. de *Prudentia Civilis Scriptoris*, & Tom. III. lib. 4. de *Historiæ Scriptoris*.

the daily Acts of the Palace recorded; as we see in the case of *Abassuerus*, King of *Persia*. And the *Journals* of *Alexander the Great* contained even trivial Matters. Yet *Journals* are not destined for trivial things alone, as *Annals* are for serious ones; but contain all things promiscuously, whether of greater or of less concern.

Civil History
divisible into
pure and
mix'd.

31. The last Division of CIVIL HISTORY, is into *pure* and *mix'd*. Of the *mix'd*, there are two eminent kinds; the one principally *civil*, and the other principally *natural*: for a kind of Writing has been introduced, that does not give particular Narrations in the continued thread of a *History*, but where the Writer collects and culls them, with choice, out of an Author; then reviewing, and, as it were, ruminating upon them, takes occasion to treat of *political Subjects*: And this kind of *ruminated History* we highly esteem, provided the Writers keep close to it professedly: for 'tis both unseemable, and irksome, to have an Author profess he will write a *just History*, yet be at every turn introducing *Politicks*, and thereby breaking the thread of his Narration. All wise *History* is indeed pregnant with political Rules and Precepts; but the Writer is not to take all opportunities of delivering himself of them.

Cosmographi-
cal History
variously
mix'd.

32. COSMOGRAPHICAL HISTORY is also *mix'd* many ways; as taking the Descriptions of Countries, their Situations and Fruits, from *Natural History*; the Accounts of Cities, Governments and Manners, from *Civil History*; the Climates, and astronomical Phænomena, from *Mathematicks*: In which kind of *History*, the present Age seems to excel, as having a full view of the World in this light. The Ancients had some knowledge of the *Zones* and *Antipodes*; tho' rather by abstract demonstration than fact: but that little Vessels, like the celestial Bodies, should sail round the whole Globe, is the happiness of our Times. This great Improvement of *Navigation*, may give us great hopes of extending and improving the SCIENCES; especially as it seems agreeable to the Divine Will, that they should be coeval. Thus the Prophet *Daniel* foretells, that "*many shall go to and fro on the Earth, and Knowledge shall be increased;*" as if the openness and thorough passage of the World, and the increase of Knowledge, were allotted to the same Age: which indeed we find already true in part; for the *Learning* of these Times, scarce yields to the former Periods or Returns of Learning; the one among the *Greeks*, and the other among the *Romans*; and in many particulars far exceeds them ^a.

Ecclesiastical
History di-
vided into
The History of
the Church;

33. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, in general, has nearly the same Divisions with *Civil History*: thus there are *Ecclesiastical Chronicles*, *Lives of the Fathers*, *Accounts of Synods*, and other Ecclesiastical Matters: but in propriety, it may be farther divided, (1.) into the general *History of the Church*; (2.) the *History of Prophecy*; and (3.) the *History of Providence*. The first describes the times of the *Church militant*, whether *fluctuating*, as the Ark of *Noah*; *moveable*, as the Ark in the Wilderness; or *at rest*, as the Ark in the Temple; that is, in the states of *Persecution*, *Migration*, and *Peace*. And in this part, there is a Redundancy rather than a Deficiency; but it were to be wished the goodness and sincerity of it were equal to the bulk ^b.

^a See this Matter farther prosecuted in the *Novum Organum*, Part I.

^b See *Morhof's Polyhistor, de Theologicis Scriptoribus*, Tom. III. lib. 5.

34. The *second* part, viz. the HISTORY OF PROPHECY, consists of two Relatives; the *Prophecy*, and the *Accomplishment*: whence the nature of it requires, that every *Scripture Prophecy* be compared with the *Event*, thro' all the Ages of the World; for the better confirmation of the *Faith*, and the better information of the *Church*, with regard to the *interpretation of Prophecies not yet fulfilled*. But here we must allow that Latitude, which is peculiar and familiar to *divine Prophecies*; which have their completion not only at stated times, but in succession: as participating of the nature of their Author, “with whom a thousand years are but as one day;” and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once; but have a *growing accomplishment* thro' many Ages: tho' the height or fulness of them may refer to a single age, or moment. And this is a Work which I find *deficient*: but it should either be undertaken with Wisdom, Sobriety, and Reverence, or not at all^a.

The History of Prophecy, which is wanting.

35. The *third* part, the HISTORY OF PROVIDENCE, has been touched by some pious Pens; but not without a mixture of Party. This *History* is employ'd in observing that *divine agreement* which there sometimes is betwixt the revealed and secret Will of God. For altho' the Counsels and Judgments of God are so secret, as to be absolutely unsearchable to Man; yet the Divine Goodness has sometimes thought fit, for the confirmation of his own People, and the confutation of those who are as *without God in the world*, to write them in such Capital Letters, as they who run may read them. Such are the remarkable Events and Examples of God's Judgments, tho' late and unexpected; sudden and unhop'd for Deliverances and Blessings; Divine Counsels dark and doubtful, at length opening and explaining themselves,^b &c. All which have not only a power to confirm the Minds of the Faithful, but to awaken and convince the Consciences of the Wicked.

And the History of Providence.

36. And not only the *Actions* of Mankind, but also their *SAYINGS* ought to be preserved: and may, doubtless, be sometimes inserted in *History*, so far as they decently serve to illustrate the Narrations of Facts. But Books of ORATIONS, EPISTLES, and APOPTHEGMS, are the *proper Repositories* of human Discourse. The *SPEECHES* of wise Men, upon matter of Business, weighty Causes, or difficult Points, are of great use, not only for Eloquence, but for the knowledge of Things themselves^c. But the *LETTERS* of wise Men upon serious Affairs, are yet more serviceable in points of *civil Prudence*; as of all human Speech, nothing is more solid or excellent than such *Epistles*: for they contain more of natural Sense than *Orations*, and more Ripeness than *occasional Discourses*. So *LETTERS OF STATE-AFFAIRS*,
written

The Appendages of History.

Speeches.

Letters.

^a This is attempted by Grotius, in his *Commentaries upon the Bible*; by Father Simon, in his *Critical History of the Old and New Testament*; Dr. Hammond, upon the *Old and New Testament*; Dr. Whistler, on the *New Testament*; Mr. Whiston, in his *Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*; M. Le Clerc, and Bishop Sherlock, in his *Discourse of the Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World*.

^b Dr. Hackwell's *Apology for Providence*, Dr. Reynolds's *God's Revenge against Murder*, Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments*, Fuller's *History of Providence*, Le Clerc's *Defense de la Providence*, and Bayle's *Dictionary*, contain many Particulars of this kind.

^c Thus the *SPEECHES* of the *Author*, which make the *FOURTH SUPPLEMENT* to this *Work*; and many of those preserved in *Rushworth's Collections*, are highly valuable and instructive; as opening the Scene of publick Affairs; shewing the Genius and free Spirit of the *English Nation*; and seeming to contain the Form and Matter of many famous publick Speeches of later Times.

written, in the order of time, by those that manage them, with their Answers, afford the best Materials for *Civil History* ^a.

And Apophthegms.

37. Nor do APOPHTHEGMS only serve for Ornament and Delight, but also for Action and *civil Use*: as being the Edge-tools of Speech, which cut and penetrate the Knots of Business and Affairs. For *Occasions have their Revolutions*; and what has once been advantageously used, may be so again; either as an old thing or a new one. Nor can the usefulness of these *Sayings* in Civil Affairs be question'd, when *Cæsar* himself wrote a Book upon the Subject: which we wish were extant; for all those we have yet seen of the kind, appear to be collected with little choice and judgment ^b.

S E C T. II.

Of P O E T R Y.

Poetry is imaginary History.

I. I. P O E T R Y is a kind of Learning generally confined to the measure of Words, but otherwise extremely licentious, and truly belonging to the *Imagination*; which being unrestrained by Laws, may make what unnatural mixtures and separations it pleases. 'Tis taken in two Senses; or with respect to *Words* and *Matter*. The first is but a Character of Style, and a certain form of Speech, not relating to the Subject; for a *true Narration* may be deliver'd in *verse*, and a feign'd one in *prose*: but the second is a capital Part of Learning; and no other than *feign'd History*. And here, as in our Divisions we endeavour to find and trace the true *Sources of Learning*, and this frequently without giving way to Custom, or the established Order; we shall take no particular notice of *Satyr, Elegy, Epigram, Quid, &c.* but turn them over to *Philosophy*, and the Arts of Speech: and under the name of *Poetry*, treat nothing more than *imaginary History*.

Divided,

2. The justest *Division of Poetry*, except what it shares in common with *History*, (which has its *feign'd Chronicles, feign'd Lives, and feign'd Relations*)

is

^a The Advantages to be reaped from *Letters* are largely shewn in *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. I. Cap. 23, 24, 25. *de Epistolarum Scriptoribus*; and the judgment here made of them confirmed; and extended to *Philosophical* as well as *Civil* Purposes. Thus, as the *Latin Letters* of Mr. *Milton* to foreign States, best shew the Spirit and Conduct of *Oliver Cromwell*; so the private Letters of *des Carres* and Mr. *Locke*, are the best Explanation of the Designs and Views of their *Philosophical Writings*: and therefore as the *Letters of Ambassadors, and Secretaries of State*, give the most authentic and satisfactory Accounts of political Transactions; so the familiar Letters of learned Men disclose their internal Sentiments, and secret Intentions, better than their formal Works, which are dress'd out for the *Publick*. And hence the Letters of eminent Men are generally read with great pleasure, and advantage; as those of *Erasmus, Grotius, Patin, Sr William Temple, Mr. Ray*, and even the supposed *Letters of the Turkish Spy, the Spectator, &c.* The select Letters of the *Lord Bacon*, therefore, deservedly make the FIFTH SUPPLEMENT to this PIECE of the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*.

^b And therefore the Author began a new Collection of APOPHTHEGMS, which make the SIXTH SUPPLEMENT to the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*.

^c Thus *Lucan's Pharsalia*, and *Blackmore's Creation*, are true Histories in *verse*; and *Telemanchus*, and the *Travels of Cyrus*, feign'd Histories in *prose*.

is (1.) into *Narrative*, (2.) *Dramatic*, and (3.) *Allegorical*. *Narrative Poetry* is such an exact imitation of *History*, as to deceive, did it not often carry things beyond probability. *Dramatic Poetry* is a kind of *visible History*; giving the Images of things as if they were present; whilst *History* represents them as past. But *Allegorical Poetry* is *History with its Type*; which represents intellectual Things to the Senses.

3. NARRATIVE POETRY, otherwise called *Heroic Poetry*, seems, with regard ^{Into Narrative Poetry.} to its matter, not the versification, raised upon a noble foundation; as having a principal regard to the dignity of human Nature ^a. For as the active World is inferior to the rational Soul, so *Poetry* gives that to mankind which *History* denies; and in some measure satisfies the Mind with shadows, when it cannot enjoy the substance ^b. For upon a narrow inspection, *Poetry* strongly shews, that a greater grandeur of things, a more perfect order, and a more beautiful variety is pleasing to the Mind, than can any where be found in Nature, after the fall. So that as the Actions and Events, which are the Subjects of *true History*, have not that grandeur which satisfies the Mind, *Poetry* steps in, and feigns more heroical actions. And as *real History* gives us not the success of things, according to the deserts of virtue and vice; *Poetry* corrects it, and presents us with the Fates and Fortunes of persons rewarded or punished according to merit. And as *real History* disgusts us with a familiar and constant similitude of things; *Poetry* relieves us by unexpected turns and changes; and thus not only delights, but inculcates morality and nobleness of Soul. Whence it may be justly esteemed of a divine nature; as it raises the Mind, by accommodating the Images of things to our Desires; and not, like *History* and *Reason*, subjecting the Mind to Things ^c. And by these its charms, and congruity to the Mind, with the assistance also of Musick, which conveys it the sweeter, it makes its own way; so as to have been in high esteem in the most ignorant ages, and among the most barbarous people; whilst other kinds of *Learning* were utterly excluded ^d.

4. DRAMATIC POETRY, which has the *Theatre* for its *World*, would be ^{Dramatic Poetry.} of excellent use, if it were found: for the *discipline and corruption of the Theatre* is of very great consequence. And the corruptions of this kind are numerous in our times; but the regulation quite neglected ^e. The Action of the Theatre, tho' modern States esteem it but ludicrous, unless it be satyrical and biting, was carefully watch'd by the ancients, that it might improve

^a Upon this Head consult the judicious *French Critic*, *Bossu du Poëme Epique*.

^b Hence the extreme Pleasure we receive in reading the Origin of the World, the Revolutions and Transactions of Heaven, Earth and Hell; the History and Fate of our first Parents; the Description of Paradise, &c. in *Milton's Paradise lost*.

^c Which intimates another Species of *Historical Poetry*, viz. the *Physical*; as that of *Lucretius*, which describes the *System of the World*, upon the *Principles of Epicurus*; and that of *Sir Richard Blackmore* upon the footing of the modern *Philosophy*.

^d Thus in the *Origins of Nations*, we find the first thing studied is generally *Language and Poetry*; for the sake, as it should seem, of their great influence in governing the uncultivated minds of men; and the use they are of, in transmitting down *History and Antiquities* to Posterity.

^e Mr. *Collier* has endeavour'd to shew the immoralities, and rectify the abuses of the *Stage*, by weeding several of our modern Plays. But the due prosecution of this subject, perhaps requires more Knowledge of human Nature, and civil Affairs, than usually comes to one man's share. This subject is also touch'd upon in several of the *SPECTATORS*.

stand in virtue: and indeed many wise men and great Philosophers have thought it to the Mind as the *Bow* to the *Fiddle*^a; and certain it is, tho' a great Secret in Nature, that *the minds of men in company, are more open to affections and impressions, than when alone.*

And Allegorical Poetry.

5. But ALLEGORICAL POETRY excels the others; and appears a solemn sacred thing, which Religion itself generally makes use of, to preserve an intercourse between divine and human Things. Yet this also is corrupted, by a levity and indulgence of Genius towards Allegory. Its use is ambiguous, and made to serve contrary purposes; for it envelopes as well as illustrates: the first seeming to endeavour at an *Art of Concealment*, and the other at a *Method of Instructing*, much used by the Ancients. For when the Discoveries and Conclusions of Reason, tho' now common, were new, and first known, the human Capacity could scarce admit them in their subtle state, or till they were brought nearer to sense, by such kind of imagery and examples. Whence ancient times are full of their Fables, their Allegories, and their Similies. Nay, the Apophthegms of the ancient Sages were usually demonstrated by Similitudes. And as *Hieroglyphicks preceded Letters, so Parables preceded Arguments*: And *the force of Parables ever was and will be great; as being clearer than Arguments, and more apposite than real Examples.*

The two Uses of Allegorical Poetry.

6. The other use of *Allegorical Poetry* is to envelope things, whose dignity deserves a Veil; as when the *Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy and Philosophy*, are wrapp'd up in *Fables and Parables*. But tho' some may doubt whether there be any mystical Sense concealed in the *ancient Fables of the Poets*; we cannot but think there is a latent Mystery intended in some of them: for we do not therefore judge contemptibly of them, because they are commonly left to *Children and Grammarians*; but as *the Writings that relate these Fables, are, next to the sacred ones, the most ancient*; and the *Fables themselves much older still*; being not delivered as the Inventions of the Writers, but as things before believed and received; they appear like a *soft whisper from the Traditions of more ancient Nations*, convey'd thro' the *Flutes of the Grecians*. But all hitherto attempted towards the interpretation of these *Parables* proving unsatisfactory to us; as having proceeded from Men of but common-place learning; we set down the *PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT FABLES*, as the only *DEFICIENCY IN POETRY*^b; and subjoin three *Examples* of the Work, such as we design it; one in *Natural*, one in *Political*, and one in *Moral Philosophy*.

The Philosophy of the ancient Fables deficient in Poetry.

The

^a That is, capable of working upon and influencing the *People*; and hence we have in *England* a variety of *State Plays*: and certainly the *Stage* has its use in *Government and Morality*, as well as the *Pulpit*; both which may be called the *Schools of a Country*.

^b How far this *Deficiency* is supplied by the Author, will appear in his Piece de *Sapientia Veterum*; which makes the *SEVENTH SUPPLEMENT* to the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*: and how far the Design has since been carried, may be learnt from the *Opuscula Mythologica*, publish'd by *Gale*; *Vossius de Theologia Gentili*; *Spanheim*, in his Notes upon *Callimachus*; *Boeclerus's Metamorphosis Ovidiana*; *Johan. Conrad. Durrius, de recondita Veterum Sapientia in Poetis*; and *Le Clerc's Bibliothéque Univerfelle*, where he explains the Histories of *Hercules, Adonis, and Ceres*. See more to this purpose in *Morkof's Polyhistor*, under the *Chapters de Scriptoribus ad Artem Poeticam facientibus, de Philosophia Morali Scriptoribus, & de Libris Physicis secretioribus*. See also *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*; *Cap. V. de Arte Poetica*; & *Siruvii Bibliotheca Philosophica*, *Cap. III. de Scriptoribus Historie Philosophicis*; & *Cap. VI. de Scriptoribus Philosophia practica*.

The FABLE of PAN explained of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

II. 7. **T**HE Ancients have, with great exactness, delineated universal Nature, under the person of Pan. The Fable of Pan traced. They leave his origin doubtful: some asserting him the son of Mercury, and others the common offspring of all Penelope's Suitors (a). The latter supposition doubtless occasion'd some later Writers to entitle this ancient Fable, Penelope: a thing frequently practis'd, when the earlier relations are applied to more modern characters and persons; tho' sometimes with great absurdity and ignorance; as in the present case: for Pan was one of the ancientest Gods, and long before the time of Ulysses: besides, Penelope was venerated by antiquity for her matronal chastity. A third sort will have him the Issue of Jupiter and Hybris, that is Reproach (b). But whatever his origin was, the Destinies are allowed his Sisters (c).

8. He is described by antiquity, with pyramidal horns reaching up to heaven (d), a rough and shaggy body (e), a very long beard (f), of a bisform figure, human above, half brute below (g), ending in Goats feet (h). His arms, or ensigns of power, are, a Pipe in his left hand, composed of seven Reeds (i); in his right a Crook (k); and he wore for his mantle a leopard's skin (l). His Portrait.

9. His Attributes and Titles, were, the God of Hunters, Shepherds, and all the rural Inhabitants (m); President of the Mountains (n); and after Mercury the next messenger of the Gods (o). He was also held the leader and ruler of the Nymphs, who continually danced and frisked about him, attended with the Satyrs, and their elders the Sileni (p). He had also the power of striking terrors, especially such as were vain and superstitious; whence they came to be call'd Panic terrors (q). His Offices;

10. Few actions are recorded of him, only a principal one is, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, and was worsted (r). He also caught the Giant Typhon in a net, and held him fast (s). They relate farther of him, that when Ceres growing disconsolate for the Rape of Proserpine, hid her self, and all the Gods took the utmost pains to find her, by going out different ways for that purpose, Pan only had the good fortune to meet her, as he was hunting; and discovered her to the rest (t). He likewise had the assurance to rival Apollo in Musick; and in the judgment of Midas was prefer'd: but the Judge had, tho' with great privacy and secrecy, a pair of Asses Ears fastned on him for his sentence (u). His Act.

His Amours. 11. *There is very little said of his Amours; which may seem strange among such a multitude of Gods, so profusely amorous (v). He is only reported to have been very fond of Echo, who was also esteemed his wife (w); and one Nymph more called Syrinx, with the love of whom Cupid inflamed him for his insolent challenge.*

And Issue. 12. *Lastly, Pan had no descendant; which also is a wonder, when the male Gods were so extremely prolifick; only he was the reputed father of a servant Girl, called Iambe, who used to divert strangers with her ridiculous prating stories (x).*

The Fable explained in the Origin of Pan. 13. *This Fable is perhaps the noblest of all Antiquity; and pregnant with the Mysteries and Secrets of Nature. (a) Pan, as the name imports, represents the Universe, about whose origin there are two opinions; viz. that it either sprung from Mercury, that is, the divine Word, according to the Scriptures, and Philosophical Divines; or from the confused seeds of Things. For they who allow only one beginning of all things, either ascribe it to God; or if they suppose a material beginning, acknowledge it to be various in its powers; so that the whole dispute comes to these two points, viz. either that Nature proceeds from Mercury, or from confused mixture, according to the Fable^a.*

14. *(b) The third origin of Pan seems borrow'd by the Greeks from the Hebrew Mysteries, either by means of the Egyptians, or otherwise; for it relates to the state of the world, not in its first creation, but as made subject to Death and Corruption after the Fall: and in this state it was, and remains the offspring of God and Sin, or Jupiter and Reproach. And therefore these three several Accounts of Pan's birth may seem true, if duly distinguished in respect of things and times. For this Pan, or the universal Nature of things, which we view and contemplate, had its origin from the divine Word, and confused Matter, first created by God himself; with the subsequent Introduction of Sin, and consequently Corruption.*

In the Destinies being his Sisters. 15. *(c) The Destinies, or the Natures and Fates of things, are justly made Pan's Sisters; as the chain of natural Causes links together the rise, duration, and corruption; the exaltation, degeneration, and workings; the processes, the effects, and changes, of all that can any way happen to Things.*

His Horns. 16. *(d) Horns are given him, broad at the roots, but narrow and sharp a-top, because the nature of all things seems pyramidal: for individuals are infinite; but being collected into a variety of species, they rise up into Kinds; and these again ascend, and are contracted into Generals; till at length Nature may seem collected to a point. And no wonder if Pan's horns reach to the Heavens, since the Sublimities of Nature, or abstract Ideas, reach in a manner to Things divine: for there is a short and ready passage from Metaphysics to Natural Theology.*

17.

^a Namque canebat uti magnum per inana coacta
Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent;
Et liquidi simul ignis; & his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.

17. (e) *Pan's* body, or the body of *Nature*, is, with great propriety and elegance, painted shaggy and hairy; as representing the *Rays of Things*: for *Rays* are as the *hair*, or *fleece of Nature*; and more or less worn by all bodies. This evidently appears in vision; and in all effects or operations at a distance: for whatever operates thus, may be properly said to emit *Rays*^a. (f) But particularly the *beard of Pan* is exceeding long; because the *Rays* of the celestial bodies penetrate, and act to a prodigious distance: and the Sun himself, when clouded on its upper part, appears to the eye bearded.

His shaggy body.

His Beard.

18. (g) Again, the *Body of Nature* is justly described *biform*, because of the difference between its superior and inferior parts; as the former, for their beauty, regularity of motion, and influence over the earth, may be properly represented by the *human figure*; and the latter, because of their disorder, irregularity, and subjection to the celestial bodies, are by the *brutal*. This *biform* figure also represents the participation of one species with another; for there appear to be no *simple Natures*; but all participate or consist of two: thus *Man* has somewhat of the *Brute*, the *Brute* somewhat of the *Plant*, the *Plant* somewhat of the *Mineral*; so that all natural bodies have really two faces; or consist of a superior and an inferior Species.

His biform Body.

19. (b) There lies a curious Allegory in the making of *Pan* *goat-footed*; on account of the motion of ascent which the terrestrial bodies have towards the air and heavens: for the *Goat* is a clambering creature, that delights in climbing up rocks and precipices: and in the same manner, the matters destined to this lower globe strongly affect to rise upwards; as appears from the *Clouds* and *Meteors*.

His Goat's Feet.

20. *Pan's Arms*, or the *Ensigns* he bears in his hands, are of two kinds; the one an *Emblem of Harmony*, the other of *Empire*. (i) His *Pipe*, composed of seven reeds, plainly denotes the consent and harmony, or the concords and discords of things, produced by the motion of the *seven Planets*. (k) His *Crook* also contains a fine Representation of the *ways of Nature*; which are partly strait, and partly crooked: thus the staff having an extraordinary bend towards the top, denotes, that the Works of *divine Providence* are generally brought about by remote means, or in a circuit; as if somewhat else were intended, rather than the effect produced, as in the sending of *Joseph* into *Egypt*, &c. So likewise in human government, they who sit at the helm, manage and wind the people more successfully, by *Pretext* and *oblique Courses*, than they could by such as are direct and strait; so that in effect all *Scepters* are crooked a-top^b.

His Ensigns, viz. his Pipe.

And Crook.

21. (l) *Pan's Mantle*, or *Cloathing*, is with great ingenuity made of a *Leopard's Skin*; because of the spots it has: for, in like manner, the heavens

His Mantle.

^a This is always supposed the Case in *Vision*; so that the *Mathematical Demonstrations* in *Opticks*, proceed upon it. And hence we may the better understand the meaning of the Author, when he mentions, as he frequently does, the *Rays of Things*.

^b The Reader will find many uncommon Observations of this kind, with regard to *civil Policy*, in the third Section of the *Sapientia Veterum*; as if the Author intended to deliver the *Secrets of Government*, in the least exceptionable way; that of explaining the *political Mythology of the Ancients*. See also the following Fable of *Perseus*, explain'd of *War*.

vens are sprinkled with Stars, the Sea with Islands, the Earth with Flowers, and almost each particular thing, is variegated, or wears a mottled coat.

His Office, as
the God of
Hunters.

22. (m) The *Office of Pan* could not be more lively expressed, than by making him the *God of Hunters*: for every natural action, every motion and process, is no other than a chase: thus *Arts* and *Sciences* hunt out their works; and human schemes and counsels, their several ends: and all living creatures either hunt out their aliment, pursue their prey, or seek their pleasures; and this in a skilful and sagacious manner^a. He is also stiled the *God of the rural Inhabitants*; because men in this situation live more according to Nature, than they do in *Cities* and *Courts*; which corrupt them with effeminate Arts. (n) He is likewise particularly stiled *President of the Mountains*, because in mountains and lofty places, the nature of things lies more open and exposed to the eye and the understanding^b.

Rural Inhabi-
tants.

And Messenger
of the Gods.

23. (o) In his being called the *messenger of the Gods*, next after *Mercury*, lies a *divine Allegory*; as, next after the *Word of God*, the image of the World is the herald of the divine power and wisdom; according to the Expression of the *Psalmist*: *The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth his handy-work*.

His ruling the
Nymphs.

24. (p) *Pan* is delighted with the company of the *Nymphs*: that is, the *Souls of all living creatures are the delight of the world*; and he is properly called their *Governour*, because each of them follows its *own Nature* as a Leader; and all dance about their own respective Rings, with infinite variety, and never-ceasing motion. And with these continually join the *Satyrs* and *Sileni*, that is, *Youth* and *Age*; for all things have a kind of young, chearful, and dancing time; and again their time of slowness, tottering, and creeping. And whoever, in a true light, considers the motions and endeavours of both these ages, like another *Democritus*, will perhaps find them as odd and strange, as the gesticulations and antick motions of the *Satyrs* and *Sileni*.

His power of
striking Ter-
rors.

25. (q) The *Power* he had of *striking terrors*, contains a very sensible Doctrine; for Nature has implanted *fear* in all living creatures; as well to keep them from risking their lives, as to guard against injuries and violence: and yet this *Nature*, or *Passion*, keeps not its bounds; but with *just* and *profitable* fears always mixes such as are *vain* and *senseless*; so that all things, if we could see their insides, would appear full of *panic terrors*. Thus mankind, particularly the vulgar, labour under a high degree of *Superstition*; which is nothing more than a *Panic Dread* that principally reigns in unsettled and troublesome Times.

His challeng-
ing Cupid.

26. (r) The *Presumption of Pan, in challenging Cupid to the conflict*, denotes that Matter has an appetite, and tendency to a dissolution of the world; and falling back to its first *Chaos* again; unless this depravity and inclination were restrained and subdued by a more powerful concord and agreement of things, properly expressed by *Love* or *Cupid*: 'tis therefore well for mankind,

^a *Torva Leona Lupum sequitur, Lupus ipse Capellam;
Florentem Cyrtum sequitur lasciva Capella.*

See hereafter Sect. XII. of *Learned Experience*.

^b Particularly the *Meteors* and *Celestial Bodies*; whence *Observatories for Astronomy, Meteorology, &c.* See the Author's *NEW ATLANTIS*.

mankind, and the state of all things, that *Pan* was thrown, and conquered, in the struggle^a.

27. (s) His *catching and detaining Typhon in the net*, receives a similar explanation; for whatever vast and unusual *swells*, which the word *Typhon* signifies, may sometimes be raised in Nature, as in the sea, the clouds, the earth, or the like; yet *Nature* catches, entangles, and holds all such Outrages and Insurrections in her inextricable *Net*, wove as it were of adamant. His catching Typhon in a Net.

28. (t) That part of the *Fable*, which attributes the discovery of lost *Ceres* to *Pan*, whilst he was hunting; a happiness denied the other Gods, tho' they diligently and expressly sought her, contains an exceeding just and prudent admonition; viz. that we are not to expect the discovery of things useful in common life, as that of *Corn* denoted by *Ceres*, from abstract *Philosophies*; as if these were the *Gods of the first Order*; no, not tho' we used our utmost Endeavours this way; but only from *Pan*, that is, a *sagacious Experience*, and general knowledge of *Nature*; which is often found, even by accident, to stumble upon such Discoveries, whilst the Pursuit was directed another way^b. His finding of Ceres.

29. (u) The Event of his contending with *Apollo in Musick*, affords us an useful Instruction, that may help to humble the human Reason and Judgment, which is too apt to boast, and glory in itself. There seem to be two kinds of *Harmony*; the one of *divine Providence*, the other of *human Reason*: but the government of the world, the administration of its affairs, and the more secret *divine Judgments*, sound harsh and dissonant to *human Ears*, or human Judgment; and tho' this ignorance be justly rewarded with *Asses Ears*; yet they are put on and wore, not openly, but with *great secrecy*: nor is the deformity of the thing seen or observed by the vulgar. His contending with Apollo in Musick.

30. (v) We must not find it strange if *no Amours are related of Pan*, besides his marriage with *Echo*: for *Nature* enjoys itself, and in itself all other things: he that *loves*, desires enjoyment; but in profusion there is no room for desire: and therefore *Pan*, remaining content with himself, has no passion, unless it be for *Discourse*, which is well shadow'd out by *Echo*, or *Talk*; or when it is more accurate, by *Syrinx*, or *Writing*^c. But *Echo* makes a most excellent Wife for *Pan*, as being no other than *genuine Philosophy*, which faithfully repeats his words; or only transcribes exactly as *Nature dictates*; thus representing the true image and reflection of the World, without adding a tittle^d. His Amours.

31. (w) It tends also to the support and perfection of *Pan* or *Nature*, to be without offspring; for the *World* generates in its parts, and not in the way of a whole; as wanting a body external to itself, wherewith to generate. His Offspring.

32.

^a These kind of Explanations may appear like forced Accommodations, to hasty and juvenile minds: but perhaps will have a greater effect upon sober and philosophical Natures, versed in the Knowledge of *Men and Things*. It certainly requires a knowledge of History, depth in Philosophy, and a mature Judgment, to discover the Origin, the Intention, and Use of the ancient *Mythology*. See the Author's Critique upon the Subject, prefix'd to the *Sapientia Veterum*.

^b See hereafter Sect. XII of *Learned Experience*.

^c Observe that *Syrinx* signifies a *Reed*, or the ancient *Pen*.

^d The Author always endeavours to place himself in this Situation, and accordingly calls himself, and is called by others, the *Secretary of Nature*. See Sir *Henry Wotton's* Letter to the Lord *Bacon*, in the *Reliquia Wottoniana*.

*His supposed
Daughter.*

32. (x) Lastly, for the *supposed* or *spurious* prattling daughter of Pan, 'tis an excellent addition to the *Fable*; and aptly represents the talkative *Philosophies* that have at all times been stirring, and filled the world with idle *Tales*: being ever barren, empty and servile; tho' sometimes indeed diverting and entertaining; and sometimes again, troublesome and importunate^a.

*The FABLE of PERSEUS explained of the Preparation
and Conduct necessary to WAR.*

*The Fable of
Perseus de-
duced.*

III. 33. **T**HE Fable relates, that Perseus was dispatch'd from the East by Pallas (a), to cut off Medusa's Head; who had committed great ravage upon the People of the West (b): For this Medusa was so dire a Monster, as to turn into stone all those who but looked upon her (c). She was a Gorgon, and the only mortal one of the three; the other two being invulnerable (d). Perseus therefore preparing himself for this grand Enterprize, had Presents made him from three of the Gods: Mercury gave him Wings for his Heels; Pluto, a Helmet; and Pallas, a Shield and a Mirror (e). But tho' he was now so well equipp'd, he posted not directly to Medusa, but first turned aside to the Grecæ, who were Half-Sisters to the Gorgons (f). These Grecæ were gray-headed, and like old Women from their birth; having among them all three but one Eye, and one Tooth; which, as they had occasion to go out, they each wore by turns; and laid them down again upon coming back (g). This Eye and this Tooth they lent to Perseus (h); who now judging himself sufficiently furnished, he, without farther stop, flies swiftly away to Medusa; and finds her asleep (i). But not venturing his Eyes, for fear she should wake, he turned his head aside, and viewed her in Pallas's Mirror (k): and thus directing his stroke, cut off her Head: when immediatly, from the gushing Blood, there darted Pegasus winged (l). Perseus now inserted Medusa's Head into Pallas's Shield (m); which thence retained the faculty of astonishing and benumbing all who look'd on it (n).

*Affords three
Precepts for
War.*

34. This Fable seems invented to shew the prudent Method of chusing, undertaking, and conducting a War; and accordingly lays down three useful Precepts about it, as if they were the Precepts of Pallas (a).

(1.) The first is, that no Prince should be over-sollicitous to subdue a neighbouring Nation: for the method of enlarging an Empire, is very different from

^a After reading the Explanation, it may be proper to read the Fable again; which makes the Conformity appear to great, that one can scarce help believing, or at least wishing, the Things drawn out of it by the Author, were originally intended by the Contriver. But of this, in general, see more in the Critique prefix'd to the *Sapientia Veterum*.

from that of increasing an *Estate*. Regard is justly had to Contiguity, or Adjacency, in private Lands and Possessions; but in the extending of Empire, the Occasion, the Facility, and Advantage of a War, are to be regarded instead of Vicinity. 'Tis certain that the *Romans*, at the time they stretched but little beyond *Liguria* to the *West*, had by their Arms subdued the Provinces as far as Mount *Taurus* to the *East* (b). And thus *Perseus* readily undertook a very long Expedition, even from the *East* to the extremities of the *West*.

*Explained of
undertaking a
War that shall
be remote.*

(2.) The second Precept is, that *the Cause of the War be just and honourable*; for this adds Alacrity both to the Soldiers, and the People who find the Supplies; procures Aids, Alliances, and numerous other Conveniences. (c) Now there is no *Cause of War* more just and laudable, than the suppressing of *Tyranny*; by which a People are dispirited, benumbed, or left without Life and Vigour, as at the sight of *Medusa*.

(3.) (d) Lastly, it is prudently added, that as there were three of the *Gorgons*, who represent War, *Perseus* singled her out for his Expedition that was mortal: which affords this Precept, that *such kind of Wars should be chuse, as may be brought to a conclusion, without pursuing vast and infinite Hopes*.

And sensible.

34. (e) Again, *Perseus's* setting-out is extremely well adapted to his Undertaking; and in a manner commands success: he received Dispatch from *Mercury*, Secrecy from *Pluto*, and Foresight from *Pallas*. It also contains an excellent Allegory, that the Wings given him by *Mercury* were for his *Heels*, not for his *Shoulders*; because Expedition is not so much required in the first Preparations for War, as in the subsequent Matters, that administer to the first: for there is no Error more frequent in War, than, after brisk Preparations, to halt for subsidiary Forces, and effective Supplies.

*Perseus's set-
ting-out.*

35. The Allegory of *Pluto's* Helmet, rendering Men invisible and secret, is sufficiently evident of itself; but the Mystery of the Shield and the Mirror lies deeper: and denotes, that not only a prudent Caution must be had to defend, like the Shield; but also such an Address and Penetration, as may discover the Strength, the Motions, the Counsels, and Designs of the Enemy; like the Mirror of *Pallas*.

*His Helme.
Shield, and
Mirror.*

36. (f) But tho' *Perseus* may now seem extremely well prepared, there still remains the most important thing of all: before he enters upon the War, he must of necessity consult the *Grea*. These *Grea* are *Treasons*; half, but degenerate Sisters of the *Gorgons*; who are Representatives of *Wars*: for *Wars* are generous and noble; but *Treasons* base and vile. (g) The *Grea* are elegantly described, as hoary-headed, and like old Women from their birth; on account of the perpetual Cares, Fears, and Trepidations attending Traitors. Their force also, before it breaks out into open revolt, consists either in an *Eye* or a *Tooth*; for all Faction alienated from a State, is both watchful and biting: and this *Eye* and *Tooth* is, as it were, common to all the disaffected; because whatever they learn and know, is transmitted from one to another, as by the hands of *Faction*. And for the *Tooth*, they all bite with the same; and clamour with one Throat; so that each of them singly expresses the Multitude.

*His consulting
the Grea.*

37. (*b*) These *Grææ*, therefore, must be prevail'd upon by *Perseus*, to lend him their *Eye* and their *Tooth*; the *Eye* to give him *Indications*, and make *Discoveries*; the *Tooth* for sowing *Rumours*, raising *Envy*, and stirring up the *Minds* of the *People*. And when all these things are thus disposed and prepared, then follows the *Action of the War*.

His finding
Medusa asleep.

38. (*i*) He finds *Medusa* asleep; for whoever undertakes a *War* with *prudence*, generally falls upon the *Enemy unprepared*, and nearly in a state of *security*; and (*k*) here is the occasion for *Pallas's Mirror*: for 'tis common enough, before the *Danger* presents, to see exactly into the state and posture of the *Enemy*; but the principal use of the *Glass* is, in the very instant of *Danger*, to discover the manner thereof, and prevent *Consternation*; which is the thing intended by *Perseus's turning his Head aside*, and viewing the *Enemy* in the *Glass*^a.

His use of the
Mirror.

The Origin of
Pegasus, and
the Gorgon
Shield.

39. Two Effects here follow the *Conquest*: (1.) (*l*) The darting forth of *Pegasus*; which evidently denotes *Fame*, that flies abroad, proclaiming the *Victory* far and near. (2.) (*m*) The bearing of *Medusa's Head* in the *Shield*; which is the greatest possible *Defence* and *Safeguard*: for (*n*) one grand and memorable *Enterprize*, happily accomplished, bridles all the *Motions* and *Attempts* of the *Enemy*, stupefies *Disaffection*, and quells *Commutations*^b.

The FABLE of DIONYSUS, or BACCHUS, explained of the PASSIONS.

The Fable of
Bacchus histo-
rically de-
duced.

IV. 40. **T**HE Fable runs, that *Semele*, *Jupiter's Mistress*, having bound him by an *inviolable Oath* to grant her an unknown *Request*, desired he would embrace her in the same form and manner he used to embrace *Juno* (*a*): and the *Promise* being *irrevocable*^c, she was burnt to death with *Lightning* in the performance (*b*). The *Embryo*, however, was sewed up, and carried in *Jupiter's Thigh*, till the compleat time of its birth: but the burthen thus rendering the *Father* lame, and giving him pain, the *Child* was thence called *Dionysus* (*c*)^d. When born, he was committed, for some years, to be nursed by *Proserpina*; and when grown up, appeared with such an *effeminate Face*, that his *Sex* seemed somewhat doubtful (*d*). He also died, and was buried for a time; but afterwards revived (*e*). When a *Youth*, he first introduced the
culti-

^a Thus it is the excellence of a *General*, early to discover what turn the *Battle* is likely to take; and looking prudently behind, as well as before, to pursue a *Victory* so as not to be unprovided for a *Retreat*.

^b It may be observed of the *Explanation* of this *Fable*, and of most of those contained in the *Sapientia Veterum*, that the *Author* does not explain them in the way of a *Recluse*; but as a *Man* who had been conversant in *Action*, and knew the *Nature*, *Secrets*, and *Springs* of *publick*, as well as *private Transactions*.

^c The *Word* has several *Significations*, according to its different *Derivations*; but among the rest, it denotes *pungent Pain*.

^d See the *Fable of Styx*, explained in the *Sapientia Veterum*.

cultivation and dressing of Vines; the method of preparing Wine (f); and taught the use thereof: whence becoming famous, he subdued the World, even to the utmost bounds of the Indies (g). He rode in a Chariot drawn by Tygers (h). There danced about him certain deformed Demons called Cobali, &c. (i). The Muses also joined in his Train (k). He married Ariadne, who was deserted by Theseus (l). The Ivy was sacred to him (m). He was also held the Inventor and Institutor of religious Rites and Ceremonies; but such as were wild, frantick, and full of Corruption and Cruelty (n). He had also the power of striking Men with Frenzies (o). Pentheus and Orpheus were torn to pieces by the frantick Women at his Orgies: the first for climbing a Tree, to behold their outrageous Ceremonies; and the other for the Musick of his Harp (p). But the Acts of this God are much entangled, and confounded, with those of Jupiter (q).

41. This *Fable* seems to contain a little System of *Morality*; so that there is scarce any better Invention in all *Etbicks*. (a) Under the History of *Bacchus* is drawn the nature of *unlawful Desire*, or *Affection*, and *Disorder*; for the appetite and thirst of apparent Good, is the Mother of all unlawful Desires, tho' ever so destructive: and all unlawful Desires are conceived in unlawful Wishes, or Requests, rashly indulged, or granted, before they are well understood, or considered. (b) And when the Affection begins to grow warm, the *Mother* of it, the *Nature of Good*, is destroyed and burnt up by the heat. (c) And whilst an *unlawful Desire* lies in the *Embryo*, or unripen'd in the *Mind*, which is its *Father*, and here represented by *Jupiter*, 'tis cherish'd and conceal'd, especially in the *inferiour part* of the *Mind*, corresponding to the *Thigh* of the *Body*; where Pain twitches and depresses the *Mind* so far, as to render its *Resolutions* and *Actions* imperfect and lame. (d) And even after this *Child of the Mind* is confirm'd, and gains strength by consent and habit, and comes forth into action; it must still be nursed by *Proserpina*, for a time: that is, it skulks and hides its head in a clandestine manner, as it were under ground^a; till at length, when the checks of Shame and Fear are removed, and the requisite Boldness acquir'd, it either assumes the pretext of some *Virtue*, or openly despises *Infamy*. And 'tis justly observed, that every vehement *Passion* appears of a doubtful *Sex*; as having the *Strength* of a *Man* at first, but at last the *Impotence* of a *Woman*. (e) 'Tis also excellently added, that *Bacchus* died, and rose again; for the *Affections* sometimes seem to die, and be no more; but there is no trusting them, even tho' they were buried; being always apt and ready to rise again, whenever the *Occasion*, or *Object*, offers.

42. (f) That *Bacchus* should be the *Inventor of Wine*, carries a fine Allegory with it; for every *Affection* is cunning, and subtle, in discovering a proper *Matter* to nourish and feed it; and of all things known to *Mortals*,

K 2

Wine

^a See the *Fable of Proserpina*, explained in the *Sapientia Veterum*.

Wine is the most powerful, and effectual, for exciting and inflaming Passions of all kinds: being, indeed, like a common fewel to them all.

His Conquests.

43. (g) 'Tis again, with great elegance, observed of *Bacchus*, that he *subdued Provinces, and undertook endless Expeditions*: for the Affections never rest satisfied with what they enjoy; but, with an endless and insatiable Appetite, thirst after somewhat further. And (b) *Tygers* are prettily feigned to *draw the Chariot*; for as soon as any Affection shall, from going on foot, be advanced to ride; it triumphs over Reason, and exerts its Cruelty, Fierceness, and Strength, against all that oppose it.

His Chariot drawn by Tygers.

The Dæmons about his Chariot.

44. (i) 'Tis also humorously imagined, that *ridiculous Dæmons should dance and frisk about this Chariot*; for every Passion produces indecent, disorderly, interchangeable, and deformed Motions in the Eyes, Countenance, and Gesture; so that the Person under the impulse, whether of Anger, Insult, Love, &c. tho' to himself he may seem grand, lofty, or obliging; yet in the eyes of others, appears mean, contemptible, or ridiculous.

The Muses in his Train.

45. (k) The *Muses* also are found in the Train of *Bacchus*; for there is scarce any Passion without its Art, Science, or Doctrines, to court and flatter it; but in this respect, the indulgence of Men of Genius has greatly detracted from the Majesty of the Muses, who ought to be the Leaders and Conductors of human Life, and not the Hand-maids of the Passions.

His Amour with Ariadne.

46. (l) The Allegory of *Bacchus's* falling in love with a *cast Mistress*, is extremely noble: for 'tis certain that the Affections always court and covet what has been rejected upon experience. And all those who by serving and indulging their Passions, immensely raise the value of Enjoyment, should know, that whatever they covet and pursue, whether *Riches, Pleasure, Glory, Learning*, or any thing else; they only pursue those things that have been forsaken, and cast off with contempt, by great numbers in all ages, after possession and experience had of them.

His Ivy.

47. (m) Nor is it without a mystery, that the *Ivy was sacred to Bacchus*; and this for two reasons: first, because *Ivy* is an ever-green, or flourishes in the Winter; and secondly, because it winds and creeps about so many things; as Trees, Walls, and Buildings; and raises itself above them. As to the *first*, every Passion grows fresh, strong, and vigorous, by opposition and prohibition; as it were by a kind of Contrast, or *Antiperistasis*; like the *Ivy* in the Winter. And for the *second*, the predominant Passion of the Mind throws itself, like the *Ivy*, round all human Actions, entwines all our Resolutions, and perpetually adheres to, and mixes itself in among, or even over-tops them.

His frantick Rites.

48. (n) And no wonder, that *superstitious Rites and Ceremonies are attributed to Bacchus*, when almost every ungovernable Passion grows wanton and luxuriant in *corrupt Religions*; nor again, that (o) *Fury and Frenzy* should be sent and dealt out by him; because every *Passion* is a short Frenzy; and if it be vehement, lasting, and take deep root, it terminates in *Madness*. (p) And hence the *Allegory of Pentheus and Orpheus being tire to pieces*, is evident; for every headstrong Passion is extremely bitter, severe, inveterate, and revengful upon all curious Enquiry, wholesome Admonition, free Counsel and Persuasion.

49. (q) Lastly, the *Confusion between the Persons of Jupiter and Bacchus*, will justly admit of an *Allegory*; because noble and meritorious Actions may sometimes proceed from Virtue, sound Reason, and Magnanimity; and sometimes again from a conceal'd Passion, and secret desire of Ill; however, they may be extoll'd and praised: insomuch, that 'tis not easy to distinguish betwixt the Acts of *Bacchus* and the Acts of *Jupiter*^a.

But perhaps we remain too long in the *Theatre*; 'tis time we should advance to the *Palace of the Mind*.

S E C T. III.

Of P H I L O S O P H Y.

1. **A**LL Knowledge may be divided into PHILOSOPHY, and INSPIRED THEOLOGY. *Philosophy* has three OBJECTS, viz. *God, Nature, and Man*; as also three kinds of Rays; for (1.) *Nature* strikes the human Intellect with a *direct Ray*; (2.) *God*, with a *refracted Ray*, from the Inequality of the Medium betwixt the Creator and the Creatures; and (3.) *Man*, as exhibited to himself, with a *reflected Ray*. Whence 'tis proper to divide *Philosophy* into the *Doctrine of the Deity*, the *Doctrine of Nature*, and the *Doctrine of Man*.

Philosophy divided into the Doctrine of the Deity, Nature, and Man.

2. But as the DIVISIONS OF THE SCIENCES are not like different Lines that meet in one Angle, but rather like the Branches of Trees that join in one Trunk^b; 'tis first necessary that we constitute an UNIVERSAL SCIENCE, as a *Parent* to the rest, and making a part of the *common Road to the Sciences*, before the ways separate. And *this Knowledge* we call *Philosophia Prima*, *primitive* or *primary Philosophy*. It has no other for its opposite, and differs from other *Sciences* rather in the limits, whereby 'tis confined, than in the Subject; as treating only the *Summits of Things*. And whether this should be noted as wanting, may seem doubtful; tho' I rather incline to note it. For I find a certain *Rhapsody of Natural Theology, Logicks, and Physicks*, delivered in a certain sublimity of Discourse, by such as aim at being admired for standing on the *Pinnacles of the Sciences*; but what we mean is, without ambition, to design some GENERAL SCIENCE, for the reception of *Axioms*, not peculiar to any one Science; but common to a number of them.

Primary Philosophy; which is deficient.

3.

^a The Author, in pursuance of his *Design of giving Examples and Specimens* of the Works he sets down as deficient, has thus deprived his *Piece de Sapiaientia Veterum* of three beautiful Flowers; unless the reader shall please to supply them in that Performance, by turning hither for them. in the order he will there perceive them indicated by the Notes.

^b This Observation is the Foundation of Father *Castel's* late *Piece de Mathematique universelle*; wherein, by the help of sensible Representations and Divisions, he proposes to teach the *Sciences* readily, and even abstract *Mathematicks*, to common Capacities.

Its Nature
and Use.

3. *Axioms* of this kind are numerous: for example, (1.) *If Equals be added to Unequals, the wholes will be unequal.* This is a Rule in *Mathematicks*; which holds also in *Etbicks*, with regard to *distributive Justice*. (2.) *Things agreeing to the same third, agree also with one another.* This likewise is an *Axiom* in *Mathematicks*; and, at the same time, so serviceable in *Logick*, as to be the Foundation of *Sylogism*. (3.) *Nature shows herself best in her smallest Works.* This is a Rule in *Philosophy*, that produced the *Atoms* of *Democritus*; and was justly employ'd by *Aristotle* in *Politicks*, when he begins the Consideration of a *Commonweath* in a *Family*. (4.) *All things change, but nothing is lost.* This is an *Axiom* in *Physicks*, and holds in *Natural Theology*; for as the sum of *Matter* neither diminishes nor increases; so it is equally the *Work* of *Omnipotence* to create, or to annihilate it. (5.) *Things are preserved from Destruction, by bringing them back to their Principles.* This is an *Axiom* in *Physicks*, but holds equally in *Politicks*; for the preservation of *States*, as is well observed by *Machiavel*, depends upon little more than reforming and bringing them back to their ancient *Customs*. (6.) *A Discord ending immediately in a Concord, sets off the Harmony.* This is a Rule in *Musick*, that also holds true in *Morals*. (7.) *A trembling Sound in Musick gives the same pleasure to the Ear, as the Coruscation of Water, or the sparkling of a Diamond to the Eye.* (8.) *The Organs of the Senses resemble the Organs of Reflexion,* as we see in *Opticks* and *Acausticks*; where a concave *Glass* resembles the *Eye*, and a *sounding Cavity* the *Ear*. And of these *Axioms* an infinite number might be collected. And thus the celebrated *Persian Magick* was, in effect, no more than a notation of the correspondence in the *Structure* and *Fabrick* of *Things natural and civil*^a. Nor let any one understand all this of mere *Similitudes*, as they might at first appear; for they really are one and the same *Footsteps*, and *Impressions* of *Nature*, made upon different *Matters* and *Subjects*. And in this light the thing has not hitherto been carefully treated. A few of these *Axioms* may indeed be found in the *Writings* of eminent *Men*, here and there interspersed occasionally; but a *collected Body* of them, which should have a *primitive and summary tendency* to the *SCIENCES*, is not hitherto extant; tho' a thing of so great moment, as remarkably to shew *Nature* to be one and the same: which is supposed the *Office* of a *primary Philosophy*^b.

A second Part
of primary
Philosophy,
with regard
to transcen-
dental Con-
ditions.

4. There is another part of this *PRIMARY PHILOSOPHY*, regarding the *adventitious* or *transcendental Conditions* of *Things*; as *little, much, like, different, possible, impossible, entity, non-entity, &c.* For as these things do not properly come under *Physicks*; and as their *logical Consideration* rather accommodates them to *Argumentation*, than *Existence*; 'tis proper that this *Point* be not quite deserted, as being of considerable *Dignity* and *Use*; so as to have some place in the *Arrangement* of the *Sciences*. But this should be done in a manner very different from the common. For example; no *Writer* who has treated of *much* and *little*, endeavours to assign the cause why some things

^a The Author has given us a *Specimen* of this *Magick*; which we place as the *EIGHTH SUPPLEMENT* to this *PIECE*, de *Augmentis Scientiarum*.

^b I am not sensible that any *general Collection* of this kind has hitherto been published; most *Writers* having contented themselves with setting down the *Axioms* serving to teach the *particular Sciences* they treat of. Thus many of them are found in *Books* of *Law*, *Mathematicks*, and *Logick*. And a capital one of this kind for *Logick*, is that of *Dan. Stahl*.

things in nature are so *numerous and large*, and others so *rare and small*: for, doubtless, 'tis impossible in the *nature of Things*, that there should be as great a quantity of *Gold* as of *Iron*; or *Roses* as plenty as *Grass*, &c. so likewise no body that treats of *like and different* has sufficiently explained, why betwixt particular Species there are almost constantly interposed some things that partake of both; as *Moss* betwixt *Corruption* and a *Plant*; *motionless Fish* betwixt a *Plant* and an *Animal*; *Bats* betwixt *Birds* and *Quadrupeds*, &c. Nor has any one hitherto discovered why *Iron* does not attract *Iron*, as the *Loadstone* does; and why *Gold* does not attract *Gold*, as *Quicksilver* does, &c. But of these Particulars we find no mention in the *Discourses of Transcendentals*: for *Men have rather pursued the Quirks of Words, than the Subtilties of Things*. And therefore we would introduce into primary *Philosophy*, a *real and solid Enquiry into these Transcendentals, or adventitious Conditions of Beings, according to the Laws of Nature, not of Speech*^a. And thus having first seated the common Parent of the *Sciences*; we return to our Division of *Philosophy*, into *divine, natural, and human*. For *natural Theology* may be justly called *divine Philosophy*.

5. DIVINE PHILOSOPHY is a *Science*, or rather the *Rudiments of a Science*, derivable from *God* by the *Light of Nature*, and the *Contemplation* of his *Creatures*; so that with regard to its *Object*, 'tis truly *divine*; but with regard to its *Acquirement*, *natural*. The *Bounds* of this *Knowledge* extend to the *confutation of Atheism*, and the *ascertaining the Laws of Nature*; but not to the *establishing of Religion*: And therefore *God* never wrought a *Miracle* to convert an *Atheist*, because the *Light of Nature* is sufficient to demonstrate a *Deity*; but *Miracles* were designed for the *Conversion* of the *Idolatrous and Superstitious*, who acknowledged a *God*, but erred in their worship of him: the *Light of Nature* being unable to declare the *Will of God*, or assign the just form of worshipping him. For as the *Power and Skill* of a *Workman* are seen in his *Works*, but not his *Person*; so the *Works of God* express the *Wisdom and Omnipotence* of the *Creator*, without the least representation of his *Image*. And in this particular, the *Opinion* of the *Heathens* differ'd from the *sacred Verity*; as supposing the *World* to be the *Image of God*; and *Man* a little *Image of the World*. The *Scripture* never gives the *World* that honour; but calls it the *Work of his Hands*; making only *Man* the *Image of God*. And therefore *the Being of a God; that he Governs the World; that he is All-powerful, Wise, Prescient, Good, a just Rewarder and Punisher, and to be adored, may be shewn and enforced from his Works*: and many other wonderful *Secrets*, with regard

Divine Philosophy, its Nature and Use.

TO

^a This *Desideratum* is not, that I know of, supplied: and as the design is no less than to set down the *Laws of Nature*, by which the *Universe* and its *Parts* are govern'd; it can only be derived from *Experiment, Observation, and Enquiry*; in which light, the modern experimental *Philosophy* contains many particulars that might be collected together, towards forming a *Body of such philosophical Laws*: For not the *final*, but the *physical Causes* of *Things*, are here required. Thus to say, *there is more Iron than Gold in the World. because Iron is the more useful Metal; or more Grass than Roses, because Grass feeds more Animals than Roses*; and the like; is only to assign the *final Causes* for which such things were apparently created, and not the *natural Causes*; or by what *physical means*, or *Law of Nature*, it happens that *Gold* is not so common as *Iron*, &c. The *Philosophy of Becher*, as explained and illustrated by *Stahl*, gives considerable Light to this *Subject*.

to his Attributes, and much more as to his Dispensation and Government over the Universe, may also be solidly deduced, and made appear, from the same. And this Subject has been usefully treated by several^a.

6. But from the *Contemplation of Nature*, and the *Principles of human Reason*, to dispute or urge any thing with vehemence, as to the *Mysteries of Faith*; or over-curiously to examine and sift them, by prying into the manner of the *Mystery*, is no safe thing: "Give unto Faith the things that are Faith's." And the Heathens grant as much, in that excellent and divine *Fable of the Golden Chain*; where "Men and Gods are represented unable to draw Jupiter to Earth; but Jupiter able to draw them up to Heaven." So that 'tis a vain attempt to draw down the sublime Mysteries of Religion to our Reason; but we should rather raise our Minds to the adorable Throne of heavenly Truth. And in this part of *Natural Theology*, we find rather an excess than any defect: which we have turned a little aside to note, on account of the extreme Prejudice and Danger which both *Religion* and *Philosophy* hence incur; because a mixture of these makes both an *heretical Religion*, and a *fantastick and superstitious Philosophy*^b.

The Doctrine of Spirits.

7. 'Tis otherwise, as to the *Nature of Spirits and Angels*; this being neither unsearchable nor forbid; but in great part level to the human Mind, on account of their affinity. We are, indeed, forbid in Scripture to worship Angels, or to entertain fantastical Opinions of them; so as to exalt them above the degree of *Creatures*, or to think of them higher than we have reason: but the sober Enquiry about them, which either ascends to a knowledge of their Nature, by the Scale of corporeal Beings; or views them in the Mind, as in a Glass, is by no means forbid. The same is to be understood of *revolted or unclean Spirits*: Conversation with them, or using their assistance, is unlawful; and much more in any manner to worship or adore them: but the Contemplation and Knowledge of their Nature, Power, and Illusions, appears from Scripture, Reason, and Experience, to be no small part of *spiritual Wisdom*. And thus 'tis as lawful in *Natural Theology* to investigate the Nature of evil Spirits, as the Nature of Poisons in *Physicks*, or the Nature of Vice in *Morality*. But this part of Knowledge relating to Angels and Spirits, which we call the APPENDAGE TO NATURAL THEOLOGY, cannot be noted for deficient; as having been handled by many: but we may justly tax no small part of the Writers in this way, either with *Levity, Superstition, or fruitless Speculation*^c.

Natural Philosophy divided into speculative and practical.

8. But to leave NATURAL THEOLOGY, and proceed to NATURAL PHILOSOPHY: as it was well said by *Democritus*, that "the Knowledge of Nature lies concealed in deep Mines and Caves;" and by the *Chemists*, that "*Vulcan* is a *second Nature*, imitating concisely what the *first* takes time

^a And more particularly since, by *Cudworth* in his *Intellectual System of the Universe*; *Mr. Boyle*, in his *Christian Virtuoso*, &c. *Mr. Ray*, in his *Wisdom of the Creation*; *Dr. Bentley*, in his *Discourse of the Folly and Unreasonableness of Atheism*; *Dr. Clarke*, in his *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*; *Mr. Derham*, in his *Physico-Theology*; *Mr. Raphson*, *de Deo*; *Dr. Newmunt*, in his *Religious Philosopher*; *Mr. Whiston*, in his *Astronomical Principles of Religion*, &c.

^b See above, *Prelimin. Sect. III. 8.* and hereafter, *of Theology, Sect. ult.*

^c What modern Writers have treated this *Doctrine of Spirits*, and to what purpose, may be seen, at one view, in *Stollii Introduct. in Historiam Literariam, Cap. III. de Pneumatologia.*

time and circuit to effect; suppose *Natural Philosophy* were divided, as it regards the *Mine* and the *Furnace*: thus instituting two Offices of *Philosophers*, *Miners*, and *Smelters*? This, indeed, may appear jocular; yet such a kind of Division we judge extremely useful, when proposed in just and familiar terms: so that the *Doctrine of Nature* be divided into *Speculative* and *Practical*, or the *Search after Causes*, and the *Production of Effects*: The one *entering into the Bowels of Nature*, and the other *forming her upon the Anvil*. Nor are we insensible of the strict union betwixt *Causes* and *Effects*; so that the explanation of them must, in some measure, be coupled together: but as all solid and fruitful *Natural Philosophy* hath both an ascending, and a descending Scale of Parts, leading from *Experience to Axioms*, and from *Axioms to new Discoveries*; it seems most adviseable here, in the *Division of the Sciences*, to separate *Speculation* from *Operation*, and treat them distinct^a.

9. The *speculative* or *theoretical Part* of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, we divide into *PHYSICKS* and *METAPHYSICKS*: taking the word *Metaphysicks* in a sense different from that received. And here we must, once for all, declare, as to our use of Words, that tho' our Conceptions and Notions are new, and different from the common; yet we religiously retain the *ancient Forms of Speech*: for as we hope that the Method, and clear Explanation, we endeavour at, will free us from any misconstruction that might arise from an ill choice of Words; so in every thing else, 'tis our desire, as much as possible, without prejudice to Truth and the *Sciences*, not to deviate from ancient Opinions and Forms of Speech. And here I cannot but wonder that *Aristotle* should proceed in such a *spirit of Contradiction*, as he did to all Antiquity; not only coining new Terms of Science, at pleasure; but endeavouring to abolish all the Knowledge of the Ancients; so that he never mentions any ancient Author but to reprove him, nor Opinion but to confute it: which is the ready way to procure Fame and Followers. For certainly it happens in *philosophical*, as it does in *divine Truth*: "I came in the name of my Father, and ye received me not; but if one came in his own name, ye would receive him." Which *divine Aphorism*, as applied to *Antichrist*, the great Deceiver, plainly shews us that a Man's coming in his own name, without regard to *Antiquity* or *Paternity*, is no good sign of Truth; tho' joined with the fortune and success of *being received*. But for so excellent and sublime a Genius as *Aristotle*, one would think he catch'd this Ambition from his Scholar; and affected to subdue all Opinions, as *Alexander* did all Nations: and thus erect himself a Monarchy in his own Contemplation. Tho' for this, perhaps, he may not escape the lash of some severe Pen, no more than his Pupil; and be called a *successful Ravager of Learning*, as the other was of *Countries*. But on the other hand, desiring, by all possible means, to cultivate, and establish, a free *Commerce betwixt ancient and modern Learning*; we judge it best, religiously to side with *Antiquity*; and therefore to retain the ancient Terms, tho' we frequently alter their Sense, according to that mo-

*Speculative
Philosophy di-
vided into
Phyicks and
Metaphyicks.*

^a They are hereafter consider'd together, in the *Novum Organum*; where the Author comes to apply them in *Business*, or *practical Philosophy*.

derate and laudable usage in *Politicks*, of introducing a new state of Things, without changing the popular Terms of Government.

Metaphysicks distinguished from primary Philosophy, and natural Theology.

10. Thus then we distinguish METAPHYSICKS, as may appear by what was above delivered, from *primary Philosophy*^a; which has hitherto been taken for it; making *this* the common Parent of the Sciences, and *that* a part of *Natural Philosophy*. But to assign the proper Office of *Metaphysicks*, as contradistinguish'd from *primary Philosophy*, and *natural Theology*, we must note, that as *Physicks* regards the things which are wholly immerfed in *Matter*, and moveable; so *Metaphysicks* regards what is more abstracted, and fixed: that *Physicks* supposes only Existence, Motion, and natural Necessity; whilst *Metaphysicks* supposes also *Mind* and *Idea*. But to be more exprefs: as we have divided *Natural Philosophy* into the Investigation of Causes, and the Production of Effects; and referred the Investigation of Causes to *Theory*, which we again divide into *physical* and *metaphysical*; 'tis necessary that the real difference of these two be drawn from the nature of the Causes they enquire into: and therefore plainly, *PHYSICKS* enquires into the *Efficient*, and the *Matter*; and *METAPHYSICKS* into the *Form* and the *End*. *PHYSICKS*, therefore, is vague and instable, as to *Causes*; and treats moveable Bodies as its Subjects, without discovering a *Constancy of Causes*, in different Subjects. Thus the same Fire gives hardness to *Clay*, and softness to *Wax*; tho' it be no *constant Cause* either of hardness or softness^b.

S E C T. IV.

Of P H Y S I C K S.

Physicks divided (1.) into the Doctrine of Principles, (2.) the Structure of the Universe, and (3.) the Variety of Things.

1. **W**E divide *PHYSICKS* into three parts; for Nature is either *collected* into one Total, or *diffused*, and *distributed*. Nature is collected either by reason of the common Principles of all things, or one integral Fabric of the Universe. Whence this *union of Nature* produces *two* parts of *Physicks*; the *one* relating to the *Principles of Things*, and the *other* to the *Structure of the Universe*^c; whilst the *third* exhibits all the possible varieties and lesser collections of Things. And this latter is like a first Gloss, or *Paraphrase in the Interpretation of Nature*^d. None of the *three* are deficient entirely;

^a Concerning *Primary Philosophy*. see above. 2, 3, 4.

^b *Physicks*, therefore, may be defined that part of universal Philosophy which observes and considers the *Procedure of Nature in Bodies*, so as to discover her *Laws, Powers, and Effects*; and the material Origins, and Causes thereof, in different Subjects; and thence form Rules for imitating, controlling, or even excelling her Works, in the Instances it considers.

^c This Division appears in the judgment of the learned *Morhof*, to have given Mr. *Boyle* the occasion of considering the *Cosmical Qualities* of Things; or those Properties of them which result from their being Parts of the general Frame of *the Universe*. See *Boyle, Abridgm. Vol I. pag 280—296.*

^d That is, the consideration of Nature's smaller Works, every where diffused in the Universe, leads to an Interpretation, or unravelling of the general Scheme of Things: for in Philosophy we proceed from particulars to generals, as from the reading of passages to the understanding of a Book.

entirely; but how justly and solidly they have been treated, is another question.

2. This third part we again divide into two others, with regard to *Concrete* and *Abstracts*, or into PHYSICKS OF CREATURES and PHYSICKS OF NATURES: the one enquiring into Substances, and all the variety of their Accedents; the other into Accidents thro' all the variety of Substances. Thus if enquiry be made about a *Lion* or an *Oak*; these support many different Accidents: so if the enquiry were about *Heat* or *Gravity*; these are found in many different Substances. But as all PHYSICKS lies in the middle, betwixt *Natural History* and *Metaphysicks*; so the former part approaches nearer to *Natural History*, and the latter to *Metaphysicks*.

The Doctrine of Variety divided into Physicks of Creatures, and Physicks of Natures.

3. CONCRETE PHYSICKS has the same division with *Natural History*; being conversant either about celestial Appearances, Meteors, and the terrestrial Globe: or about the larger Assemblages of Matter, called the Elements; and the lesser or particular Bodies: as also about Prætergenerations and Mechanicks. For in all these, *Natural History* examines and relates the matters of fact; and *Physicks* their instable, or material and efficient causes. And among these parts of PHYSICKS, *that is absolutely lame and incomplete, which regards the celestial Bodies*; tho' for the dignity of the subject it claims the highest regard. *Astronomy*, indeed, is well founded in *Phænomena*; yet 'tis low and far from solid. But *Astrology* is in many things destitute of all foundation.

Concrete Physicks divided as Natural History.

4. And to say the truth, *Astronomy* itself seems to offer *Prometheus's* sacrifice to the Understanding; for as he would have impos'd upon *Jupiter* a fair large Hide, stuff'd with Straw, and Leaves, and Twigs, instead of the Ox itself; so *Astronomy* gives us the number, situation, motion, and periods of the Stars, as a beautiful outside of the Heavens; whilst the Flesh and the Entrails are wanting: that is, a well-fabricated System; or the *physical Reasons* and Foundations for a just Theory; that should not only solve Phænomena; as almost any ingenious Theory may do; but shew the substance, motions and influences of the heavenly Bodies, as they really are. But scarce any one has enquired into the physical Causes of the substance of the Heavens, stellar and interstellar; the different velocities of the celestial Bodies with regard to one another; the different accelerations of motion in the same Planet; the sequences of their motion from East to West; the progressions, stations and retrogradations of the Planets; the stoppage and accidents of their Motion, by the Perigé and Apogé; the obliquity of their Motions; why the Poles of Rotation are principally in one quarter of the Heavens; why certain Planets keep a fix'd distance from the Sun, &c. Enquiries of this kind have hitherto been scarce touched upon; but the pains has been chiefly bestowed in *Mathematical Observations* and *Demonstrations*: which indeed may shew how to account for all these things ingeniously; but not how they actually are in Nature: how to represent the apparent Motions of the heavenly Bodies, and machines of them, made according to particular fancies; but not the real causes and truth of things. And therefore *Astronomy*, as it now stands, loses of its dignity, by being reckon'd among the *Mathematical Arts*; for it ought in justice to make the most noble

Physical Astronomy deficient.

part of *Physicks*. And whoever despises the imaginary separation between terrestrial and celestial things; and well understands the more general appetites and passions of Matter, which are powerful in both; may receive a clear information of what happens above, from that which happens below: and from what passes in the heavens, he may become acquainted with some inferior motions hitherto undiscovered; not as these are governed by those, but as they both have the same common passions. We, therefore, report this PHYSICAL PART OF ASTRONOMY as wanting; under the Title of ANIMATED ASTRONOMY^a.

Astrology to
be purged.

5. But for ASTROLOGY, 'tis so full of superstition, that scarce any thing found can be discovered in it: tho' we judge it should rather be purged than absolutely rejected. But if any one shall pretend that this *Science* is founded, not in Reason and *physical Contemplations*, but in the direct *Experience* and *Observations* of past ages, and therefore not to be examined by physical Reasons, as the *Chaldeans* boasted; he may at the same time bring back *Divination*, *Auguries*, *Sooth-saying*, and give into all kinds of Fables: for these also were said to descend from long Experience. But we receive *Astrology* as a part of *Physicks*, without attributing more to it than Reason and the Evidence of things allows; and strip it of its superstition and conceits. Thus we banish that empty notion about the horary reign of the Planets; as if each resumed the throne thrice in twenty four hours, so as to leave three hours supernumerary: and yet this Fiction produced the *division of the Week*, a thing so ancient and so universally receiv'd. Thus likewise we reject, as an idle figment, the doctrine of *Horoscopes*, and the distribution of the *Hours*; tho' these are the darling Inventions of *Astrology*, which have kept Revel, as it were, in the Heavens. And we are surprized that some eminent Authors in *Astrology*, should rest upon so slender an argument for erecting them; as because it appears by experience, that the *Solstices*, the *Equinoxes*, the *new and full Moon*, &c. have a manifest operation upon natural Bodies, therefore the more curious and subtle positions of the Stars must produce more exquisite and secret effects: whereas, laying aside those operations of the Sun, which are owing to manifest heat; and a certain attractive virtue of the Moon, which causes the spring-tides; the other effects of the Planets upon natural bodies, are, so far as experience reaches, exceeding small, weak and latent. Therefore the Argument should run thus: since these greater revolutions are able to effect so little; those more nice and trifling differences of positions will have no force at all. And lastly, for the
Calculation

^a The Author made an Attempt to supply this *Desideratum*, as may be seen in the NINTH SUPPLEMENT to this Work. His Design was to rescue the *Science* from the usurpation of *Mathematicks*, and render it more extensive, philosophical and serviceable. But he does not appear to have had many followers in this way; few besides *Mathematicians* thinking themselves qualified to improve *Astronomy*; and the Astronomical Mathematicians seldom cultivating more than the *Mathematical* or *systematical Part*; as *Galilao*, *Kepler*, *Ward*, *Hevelius*, &c. except Sir *Isaac Newton*: and upon his Foundation, *Dr. Gregory*, *Dr. Keil*, *Mr. Whiston*, &c. have introduced more *Natural Philosophy* into *Astronomy*. However, the *physical Part* of the Science has not hitherto been sedulously cultivated, and kept clear of *System* and *Hypothesis*, according to the *Direction and Example of the Lord Bacon*. See *Morhof's Polyhist. Mathemat.* *Stollins de Disciplinis Mathematicis*; and *Wolfii Elementa. Matheseos Univerſa*.

Calculation of Nativities, Fortunes, good or bad Hours of business, and the like Fatalities; they are mere levities that have little in them of certainty and solidity, and may be plainly confuted by physical reasons.

6. And here we judge it proper to lay down some *Rules for the examination of Astrological Matters*; in order to retain what is useful therein, and reject what is insignificant. Thus (1.) *Let the greater Revolutions be retain'd, but the lesser of Horoscopes and Houses be reject'd*; the former being like Ordnance, which shoot to a great distance; whilst the other are but like small Bows, that do no execution. (2.) *The celestial Operations affect not all kinds of bodies; but only the more sensible.* Here we except the operations of the Sun's heat; which may doubtless penetrate Metals, and other subterraneous Bodies: and confine the other Operations chiefly to the Air, the Humours, and the Spirits of things. (3.) *All the celestial Operations rather extend to Masses of Things, than to Individuals.* Tho' they may obliquely reach some Individuals also; which are more sensible than the rest: as a pestilent constitution of the air affects those bodies which are least able to resist it. (4.) *All the celestial Operations produce not their effects instantaneously, and in a narrow compass, but exert them in large portions of time and space.* Thus *Predictions* as to the temperature of a year, may hold good; but not with regard to single days. (5.) *There is no fatal Necessity in the Stars.* And this the more prudent *Astrologers* have constantly allowed. (6.) We will add one thing more, which, if amended and improved, might make for *Astrology*; viz. that we are certain, *The Celestial Bodies have other Influences besides Heat and Light*^a: but these Influences act not otherwise than by the foregoing Rules; tho' they lie so deep in *Physicks*, as to require a fuller explanation. So that, upon the whole, we must register, as defective, an *Astrology wrote in conformity to these Principles*; under the name of *ASTROLOGIA SANA*^b.

Rules for its amendment.

A just Astrology wanting;

7. This *JUST ASTROLOGY* should contain, (1.) *The Doctrine of the Commixture of Rays*, viz. the Conjunctions, Oppositions and other Situations, or Aspects of the Planets, with regard to one another; their Transits thro' the Signs of the *Zodiac*; and their Situation in the same Signs: as the situation of Planets in a *Sign*, is a certain conjunction thereof with the Stars of that *Sign*. And as the *Conjunctions*, so likewise should the *Oppositions*, and other Aspects of the Planets, with regard to the celestial Signs, be remark'd; which has not hitherto been fully done. The *Commixtures of the Rays* of the fix'd Stars,

How to be supplied.

^a The Author might presume he had a particular Reason for this Observation, more than other Men; as he always faints when the Moon was eclipsed. Mr. Boyle offers several Observations for the fuller proof of the *Proposition*; and seems to have taken the occasion of considering the different Effects of Light in different Planets, from this Hint. See *Abridgm. of his Philosophical Works*, Vol III. pag. 34, 35, 36. See also *Placidus de Titis*, in his *Astrologia*, *Morinus* in his *Astrologia Gallica*, and *Campanella's Astrologicorum Libri VII. de Siderali Facto vitando*.

^b This *Work* is not hitherto extant; nor *Physicks* and *Astronomy*, perhaps, improved far enough to afford it complete. The philosophical Labours of Mr. Boyle, Dr. Hook, Dr. Halley. &c. the Observations of *Herelius, de la Hire, Mr. Flamsteed*. and many other Members of the *Royal Society* and foreign Academies, with all the Discoveries of *Sir Isaac Newton*, do but afford some Materials for the *Foundation of this Science*; which was solidly begun by the Author in his *Natural History of the Wind*. The great usefulness of the Design in civil and active Life, may require it to be diligently prosecuted. See *Childrey's Indago Astrologica*, printed at London, 1652.

Stars, with one another, are of use in contemplating the Fabrick of the World ; and the nature of the subjacent Regions : but in no respect for Predictions, because at all times alike. (2.) This *Astrology should take in the nearest approaches, and the farthest removes of each Planet, to and from the Zenith, according to the Climate*: for all the *Planets* have their Summer and Winter ; wherein they dart their rays stronger or weaker, according to their perpendicular or oblique direction. So we question not but the *Moon* in *Leo*, has, in the same manner as the *Sun*, a greater effect upon natural bodies with us, than when in *Pisces* ; by reason of her greater perpendicular elevation, and nearer approach to the larger Stars. (3.) It should receive the *Apogees* and *Perigees* of the *Planets* ; with a proper Enquiry into what the Vigour of the *Planets* may perform of itself ; and what thro' their nearness to us : for a Planet is more brisk, in its Apogé, but more communicative in its Perigé. (4.) It should include all the other accidents of the *Planet's Motions* ; their accelerations, retardations, courses, stations, retrogradations, distances from the Sun, increase and diminutions of Light, Eclipses, &c. For all these things affect the rays of the *Planets* ; and cause them to act either weaker, stronger, or in a different manner. (5.) This *Astrology should contain all that can by any means be known or discovered of the nature of the Stars, both erratic and fix'd* ; considered in their own essence and activity ; viz. their magnitude, colour, aspect, sparkling and vibrating of Light ; their situation with regard to the Poles or Equinoctial : the Constellations, which thicker set, and which thinner ; which higher, which lower ; what fix'd Stars are in the *Zodiac*, and what out of it ; the different velocities of the *Planets* ; their different latitudes ; which of them are retrograde, and which not ; their different distances from the Sun ; which move swiftest in their Apogé, and which in their Perigé ; the irregularities of *Mars*, the excursions of *Venus*, and the extraordinary phases, accidents, and appearances observable in *Venus* and the *Sun* ; with other things of this kind. (6.) Lastly, let it contain, from Tradition, the particular natures and alterations of the *Planets* and fix'd Stars : for as these are delivered with general consent, they are not lightly to be rejected ; unless they directly contradict physical reasons. And of such Observations let a JUST ASTROLOGY be formed : and according to these alone should Schemes of the Heavens be made and interpreted ^a.

*Its Uses in
Prediction.*

8. Such an *Astrology* should be used with greater confidence in *Prediction*, but more cautiously in *Election* ; and in both cases with due moderation. Thus *Predictions* may be made of *Comets*, and all kinds of *Meteors*, *Inundations*, *Droughts*, *Heats*, *Frosts*, *Earthquakes*, *fiery Eruptions*, *Winds*, *great Rains*, the *Seasons of the Year*, *Plagues*, *Epidemic Diseases*, *Plenty*, *Famine*, *Wars*, *Seditions*, *Seets*, *Transmigrations of People* ; and all *Comotions*

^a This may shew that the principal use of *Astronomy* is to serve as a Basis for a just *Astrology*, or that *Astronomy* is not so much to be cultivated for its own sake, as for laying the Foundations of a more useful *Science*, that of predicting the Changes of the Atmosphere ; the Winds, the Weather, the Seasons, and the grand Commotions, and Contingencies on the *Earth* ; with a discovery of the ways of preventing or guarding against them. See the *Author's History of the Wind*; and Mr. *Boyle* on the new use of *Astronomy*, in his *Memoirs for a general History of the Air*.

motions or great Innovations of things Natural and Civil. *Predictions* may possibly be made more particular, tho' with less certainty; if when the general tendencies of the Times are found; a good philosophical or political judgment applies them to such things as are most liable to this kind of accidents. For example, from a foreknowledge of the *Seasons* of any year, they might be apprehended more destructive to *Olives* than *Grapes*; more hurtful in Distempers of the *Lungs* than the *Liver*; more pernicious to the Inhabitants of *Hills* than *Valleys*; and, for want of Provisions, to men of retirement, than *Courtiers*, &c. Or if any one, from a knowledge of the Influence which the celestial bodies have upon the spirits of mankind, should find it would affect the people more than their Rulers, learned and inquisitive men more than the military, &c. For there are innumerable things of this kind, that require not only a general knowledge, gained from the Stars, which are the *Agents*, but also a particular one of the *passive Subjects*.

9. Nor are *Elections* to be wholly rejected; tho' not so much to be trusted as *Predictions*: for we find in Planting, Sowing, and Grafting, Observations of the Moon are not absolutely trifling; and there are many particulars of this kind. But *Elections* are more to be curb'd by our Rules, than *Predictions*. And this must always be remembred, that *Election* only holds in such cases where the virtue of the heavenly bodies, and the action of the inferior bodies also, is not transient; as in the examples just mentioned: for the increases of the Moon and Planets are not sudden things. But Punctuality of time should here be absolutely rejected. And perhaps there are more of these Instances to be found in *Civil Matters*, than some would imagine.

10. There are but four Ways of arriving at this Science, viz. (1.) *by future Experiments*, (2.) *past Experiments*, (3.) *Traditions*, and (4.) *Physical Reasons*. But (1.) 'tis in vain, at present, to think of *future Experiments*, because many ages are required to procure a competent stock of them. And (2.) as for the *past*, 'tis true they are within our reach; but 'tis a work of labour and much time to procure them. Thus *Astrologers* may, if they please, draw from real History all greater accidents, as Inundations, Plagues, Wars, Seditions, Deaths of Kings, &c. as also the positions of the Celestial Bodies; not according to fictitious Horoscopes, but the abovementioned rules of their Revolutions, or such as they really were, at the time; and where the event conspires, erect a probable Rule of Prediction. (3.) All *Traditions* should be well sifted, and those thrown out that manifestly clash with *physical Reasons*; leaving such in their full force as comport well therewith. And (4.) those *physical Reasons* are best suited to this Enquiry, which search into the universal *appetites and passions of Matter*; and the simple genuine motions of the heavenly bodies. And this we take for the surest *Guide to Astrology*^a.

II.

^a On the Foundations here laid down, Mr. Boyle makes a defence of *Astrology*; and represents it as one of the most serviceable parts of *Astronomy*. See his *Memoirs for a general History of the Air*. Abridgm. Vol. III. pag. 33—36. Accordingly, *Astronomy* and *Astrology* were anciently reputed the same Thing. In which Light see also the Author's Specimen of animated or *solid Astronomy*; in the NINTH SUPPLEMENT to this Piece. And for the *History of Astrology*, see *Salmasius de Annis Climactericis*, & *antiqua Astrologia*.

Celestial Magick absurdly rack'd to Astrology.

11. There remains another piece of *wild Astrology*, tho' usually separated from it, and transferred to *Celestial Magick*; as they call it. 'Tis a strange fiction of the human brain, the *receiving the benign Aspect of the Stars upon Seals and Signets of Gems or Metal*, suited to the purpose; so as to detain and fix, as it were, the felicity of that hour which would otherwise be volatile and fugitive. Thus to treasure up the *Relicks of Heaven*, in order to revive and preserve the fleeting, and now dead hour, wherein they were taken, is a superstition exceeding that of the *Catholicks* in preserving the *Relicks of Saints*. Let all such Dreams therefore be banish'd Philosophy.

Abstract Physicks divided into the Doctrine of the Schemes of Matter.

12. ABSTRACT PHYSICKS may be justly divided into two parts; the *Doctrine of the Schemes of Matter*, and the *Doctrine of Appetites and Motions*. The *Schemes of Matter* are density, rarity, gravity, levity, heat, cold, tangibility, intangibility, volatile, fixed, determinate, fluid, humid, dry, unctuous, crude, hard, soft, fragile, tensile, porous, united, spirituous, jejune, simple, compound, absolute, imperfectly mix'd, fibrous and veiny, simple position, or equable, similar, dissimilar, specificate, unspecificate, organical, inorganical, animate and inanimate: and farther than this we proceed not; for sensible and insensible, rational and irrational, we refer to the *Doctrine of Man*.

And Appetites and Motions.

13. *Appetites and Motions* are of two kinds; as being either *simple Motions*, wherein the spring of all natural Actions is contained, that is, in respect of their Schemes of Matter; or *Motions compounded or produced*: and with these the *common Philosophy*, which enters but little into the body of Nature, begins. But these *compound Motions*, such as Generation, Corruption, &c. should be esteemed certain Results or *Effects of simple Motions*, rather than *primitive Motions* themselves. The *simple Motions* are (1.) motion of *Resistance*, or preventive of penetration of dimensions; (2.) *motion of Connexion*, preventive of a Vacuum, as 'tis called; (3.) motion of *Liberty*, preventive of preternatural compression, or extension; (4.) motion in a new Orb, with regard to rarefaction and condensation; (5.) motion of the second Connexion, or preventive of solution of continuity; (6.) motion of the greater Congregation, or with regard to masses of connatural Bodies, commonly called natural Motion; (7.) motion of the lesser Congregation, vulgarly term'd motion of Sympathy and Antipathy; (8.) disponent motion, with regard to the just placing of Parts in the Whole; (9.) motion of Assimilation, or multiplicative of its own nature upon another body; (10.) motion of Excitation, where the nobler agent excites the latent and benumb'd motion in another thing; (11.) motion of the Seal, or impresson, by an operation without communication of substance; (12.) regal motion, or the restraint of other motions by a predominant one; (13.) endless motion, or spontaneous rotation; (14.) motion of Trepidation, or the motion of systole and diastole, with regard to Bodies placed betwixt things advantageous and hurtful; (15.) and lastly, motion couchant, or a dread of motion, which is the cause of many effects. And such are the simple motions that really proceed out of the inward recesses of Nature; and which being complicated, continued, used alternately, moderated, repeated, and variously combined, produce those compound Motions or Results of Motion we call *Generation, Corruption, Increase, Diminution, Alteration, Translation, Mixtion, Separation and Conversion*^a. 14.

^a The Doctrine arising from this *classing of Motions*, is largely explained towards the close of the

14. The *Measures of Motions* are an *Attendant* on PHYSICKS; as shewing the effects of quantity, distance, or the sphere of activity, intensification and remission, short and long continuance, activity, dulness, and incitation. And these are the genuine parts of ABSTRACT PHYSICKS; which wholly consists (1.) in the *Schemes of Matter*, (2.) Simple Motions, (3.) the Results or Sums of Motions, and (4.) the Measures of Motions. As for voluntary motion in Animals; the motion in the Action of the Senses; the motions of the Imagination, Appetite, and Will; the motion of the Mind, the Determination, and other intellectual Faculties; they have their own proper *Doctrines*, under which we range them; confining the whole of PHYSICKS to *Matter and Efficient*, and assigning over *Forms and Ends* to METAPHYSICKS.

The Measures of Motions are Attendant on Physicks.

15. We must annex two remarkable APPENDAGES TO PHYSICKS, with regard rather to the manner, than the matter of Enquiry; viz. *Natural Problems*, and the *Opinions of the ancient Philosophers*. The first is an *Appendage of Nature at large*; and the other of *Nature united or summed up*: both relating to a diligent kind of *doubting*; which is no contemptible part of Knowledge. Now, *Problems* contain *particular Doubts*; and *Opinions*, *general* ones, as to Principles and Structure. In the Books of *Aristotle* we have a noble example of *Problems*; deserving not only the Praises, but the Imitation of Posterity: since new Doubts are daily arising. But the utmost caution is to be used in such an Undertaking. The recording and proposing of *Doubts* has two advantages; the one, as it defends *Philosophy* against Errors, when that which is not clear, is neither judged nor asserted; lest Error thus should multiply Error; but Judgment is suspended upon it, and not made positive: the other is, that *Doubts* once register'd, are like so many *Sponges*, which perpetually suck and draw to themselves the increases of Knowledge; whence those things which would have been slightly passed over, unless they had been doubted of before, come now from this very doubting to be more attentively consider'd. But these two advantages will scarce ballance this single Inconvenience, unless well provided against; viz. that when a *Doubt* is once admitted for just, and becomes, as it were, authentick, it presently raises up Disputants on both sides, who transmit to Posterity the same liberty of *doubting* still; so that Men seem to apply their Wits rather to nourish the *Doubt* than solve it. And of this we every where meet with examples in *Lawyers* and *Scholars*; who, when a *Doubt* once gains admittance, would have it remain a *Doubt* for ever; and engage themselves in doubting, as well as asserting: whereas the true use of Wit is to render doubtful things certain, and not certain ones doubtful. And therefore I set down as wanting A CALENDAR OF DOUBTS, OR PROBLEMS IN NATURE; and recommend it to be undertaken, with care to blot out

Two Appendages to Physicks; viz. (1.) natural Problems.

A Calendar whereof is deficient.

the *Novum Organum*; tho' it seems to have been little regarded in the modern *mechanical Philosophy*, which accounts for *Phænomena*, without such an exact analysis of Motion; or dividing it into its several species: how justly, is another Question. Whoever converses with natural and artificial Operations, such as *Fermentation*, *Putrefaction*, and most chemical Processes, will perhaps find the use and necessity of all these different Species, to produce different effects, as they shall be differently combined; and give the true Causes of numerous *Phænomena*, which tho' common, are little attended to.

daily, as Knowledge increases, those that are clearly discussed and settled ^a. And this *Calendar* we would have attended with another, of no less utility; for as in every Enquiry there are things plainly true, things doubtful, and things plainly false, 'twere exceeding proper that along with a *Calendar of Doubts*, should go A CALENDAR OF FALSEHOODS AND VULGAR ERRORS, both in natural *History* and *Opinions*; that they may no longer disturb the *Sciences* ^b.

And (2.) the
Opinions of
the ancient
Philosophers.

16. As to the *Opinions of the ancient Philosophers*, for example those of *Pythagoras*, *Philolaus*, *Xenophanes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Parmenides*, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and others, which Men usually pass slightly over; 'tis proper to cast a modest eye upon them. For tho' *Aristotle*, after the *Ottoman* manner, thought he could not reign secure, without putting all his Brethren to death; yet those who do not affect Dominion and Rule, but the Enquiry and Illustration of Truth, will find their account in beholding, at one view, the different *Opinions* of different Philosophers, as to the Natures of Things. But there is no room to expect any pure Truth from these or the like *Theories*: for as the celestial appearances are solved both upon the Suppositions of *Ptolemy* and *Copernicus*; so common experience, and the obvious face of things, may be applied to many different *Theories*: whilst a much stricter procedure is required in the right discovery of Truth. For as Children, when they first begin to speak, call every woman Mother; but afterwards learn to distinguish their own: so a childish Experience calls every *Philosophy* its Mother; but when grown up, will easily distinguish its true one. In the mean time, 'tis proper to read the *disagreeing Philosophies*, as so many different Glosses of Nature. We could therefore wish there were, with care and judgment, drawn up A WORK OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHIES ^c, from the Lives.

Which is a
Work like-
wise deficient.

^a This *Calendar of Doubts* is not proposed as a temporary, but as a renewable Thing, to be continued down to After-ages; with an Expunction of such Queries as are fully solved, and the insertion of new ones, as they arise, till *Philosophy* is completed. But I do not find any such *Calendar* extant in form; as it might, perhaps to advantage, be kept in all *Philosophical Societies*, or Meetings of learned Men. *Des Cartes* made Doubting the first Principle of his *Philosophy*; *Mr. Glanvil* wrote his *Scepſis Scientifica* to shew that all dogmatical Doctrine is vain, and the Mother of Ignorance. The Motto of the *Royal Society* is *Nullius in Verba*: many Doubts and Heads of Enquiries are contained in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the Works of *Mr. Boyle*; and *Sir Isaac Newton*, at the End of his *Opticks*, has left a set of Queries of this kind that might be enlarged to *Calendars*, by a judicious Collection from various Authors. And with this view may be consulted *Alexandr. Tassoni Penſeri diverſi*; *Arn. Senguerdii Exercitationes Physica*, the Works of *la Mothe le Vayer*, *M. Bayle*, &c.

^b *Dr. Primrose* wrote upon the *vulgar Errors of Physick*; but *Dr. Brown*, in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, seems to have expressly intended to supply, in a general and extensive way, the *Desideratum* here pointed out. To those who would continue the Design, the learned *Morhof* recommends the perusal of *Meric Casaubon's Treatise of Credulity and Incredulity*: and adds, that a diligent Enquiry should be made into the *Cause and Origin of Errors*; upon a discovery whereof, our Admiration presently ceases; and *absurd Opinions* sink, that might otherwise be supported by some imaginary Prodigy. See *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. II. Lib. II. Part I. Cap. 1. Sect. 9.

^c The Work here proposed is of vast extent, and a fit Undertaking for a *Society*, as intended to include all the *ancient and modern Systems of Philosophy*; or the *History of Knowledge* thro' all Ages and Countries. Considerable Progress has, however, been made in it; particularly by *Vossius de Philosophia*, & *Philosophorum Sectis*; continued with a Supplement by *Ruffel*; printed at *Jena*, in the year 1705; by *Pancirollus de Rebus Inventis & Perditis*; by *Paschius de Novis Inventis*,

Lives of the old Philosophers, *Plutarch's* Collection of their Opinions, the Citations of *Plato*, the Confutations of *Aristotle*, and the scatter'd Relations of other Books, whether ecclesiastical or heathen; as *Lactantius*, *Philo*, *Philostratus*, &c. For such a Work is not yet extant: and we would advise it to be done distinctly; so that each *Philosophy* be drawn out and continued separate; and not ranged under Titles and Collections, as *Plutarch* has done. For every *Philosophy*, when entire, supports itself; and its Doctrines thus add Light and Strength to each other: which, if separated, sound strange and harsh. Thus, when we read in *Tacitus*, the Acts of *Nero*, or *Claudius*, clothed with the circumstances of Times, Persons, and Occasions, every thing seems plausible; but when the same are read in *Suetonius*, distributed under Chapters and Common-places, and not described in the order of Time, they look monstrous, and absolutely incredible. And the case is the same with *Philosophy* propos'd entire, and dismember'd, or cut into Articles. Nor do we exclude from this *Calendar*, the modern Theories and Opinions; as those of *Paracelsus*, elegantly reduced by *Severinus* into a *Body and Harmony of Philosophy*; or of *Telesius*, who, in restoring the *Philosophy of Parmenides*, has turned their own weapons against the Peripateticks; or of *Gilbert*, who revived the Doctrines of *Philolaus*; or of any other, provided he be worthy. But as there are whole Volumes of these Authors extant, we would only have the Result drawn out, and joined to the rest^a. And so much for PHYSICKS, and its APPENDAGES.

S E C T. V.

Of M E T A P H Y S I C K S.

I. **T**O METAPHYSICKS we assign the *Enquiry of formal and final Causes*. Metaphysicks the Enquiry after Forms, and final at Causes.
 But an Opinion has prevailed, as if the *essential Forms*^b, or *real Differences of Things*, were absolutely undiscoverable by human means: granting,

M 2

Inventis, quibus facem prætulit Antiquitas; by *Stanley*, in his *Lives of the Philosophers*; by *Herbelot*, in his *Bibliothèque Universelle*; by *M. Bayle*, in his *Dictionary*, &c. For more Collections, Histories, and Writings to this purpose, see *Struvii Bibliotheca Philosophica*, *Morhof's Polyhistor*, and *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam*.

^a Many, perhaps, may imagine that the Usefulness of such a Work would not sufficiently reward the Labour required to compile it: but several Advantages would attend it. Thus, in particular, it might shew how *Philosophies* have been, through all Ages, borrowed from one another; so that 'tis almost impossible to find or invent one that has not been on foot before; that the modern eclectic Philosophy, is but the revival of an old one; that even when *notional Philosophy* prevailed, yet Works were performed, &c. and, in effect, prove to *universal Philosophy*, what *literary History* is to *History in general*; that is, in the Language of our Author, its Eye.

^b Observe, that by *Forms* the Author means the specific Differences of Things, whatever they be at the last; or that which specifically distinguishes one Thing from another; a Man from a Horse, Rosemary from Thyme, Crystal from Diamond, Light from Heat, &c. without using the Word in the seemingly definitive, but abstruse Sense of *Aristotle* and his Followers; who make a *Form* to be a *Substance* seen by nobody; but a Thing existing by itself in a single point; so as to be the active Principle, or sole Cause of all Actions and Operations.

at the same time, that if they could be discover'd; this, of all the Parts of Knowledge, would be the most worthy of Enquiry. As to the possibility of the Thing; there are indolent Discoverers, who seeing nothing but Sea and Sky, absolutely deny there can be any Land beyond them. But 'tis manifest that *Plato*, a Man of a sublime Genius, who took a view of every thing as from a high Rock, saw in his *Doctrine of Ideas*, that "*Forms were the true Object of Knowledge*;" tho' he lost the advantage of this just Opinion, by contemplating and grasping at Forms totally abstracted from Matter, and not as determined in it^a: whence he turned aside to Theological Speculations, and therewith infected all his *Natural Philosophy*. But if with diligence, seriousness, and sincerity, we turn our eyes to Action and Use, we may find, and become acquainted with those *Forms*, the knowledge whereof will wonderfully enrich and prosper human Affairs.

Simple Forms
to be first en-
quired.

2. The *Forms of Substances*, indeed, *viz.* the *Species of Creatures*^b, are so complicated, and interwoven, that the Enquiry into them is either vain, or should be laid aside for a time, and resumed after the *Forms* of a more simple nature have been duly sifted and discover'd. For as 'twere neither easy nor useful to discover the *Form* of a Sound that shall make a Word, since Words, by the Composition and Transposition of Letters, are infinite; but practicable and easy to discover the *Form* of a Sound expressing a single Letter; or by what Collision, or Application of the Organs of the Voice it was made; and as these *Forms* of Letters being known, we are thence directly led to enquire the *Forms* of Words: So, to enquire the *Form* of an Oak, a Lion, Gold, Water, or Air, were at present vain; but to enquire the *Form* of *Density, Rarity, Heat, Cold, Gravity, Levity*, and other *Schemes of Matter and Motions*; which, like the Letters of the Alphabet, are few in number, yet make and support the *Essences* and *Forms* of all Substances; is what we would endeavour after, as constituting and determining that Part of *Metaphysicks* we are now upon.

This part of
Metaphysicks
defective.

3. Nor does this hinder *Physicks* from considering the same *Natures*, in their fluxile Causes only: Thus, if the *Cause of Whiteness* in *Snow*, or *Froth*, were enquired into; 'tis judged to be a subtile intermixture of Air with Water: but this is far from being the *Form of Whiteness*, since Air intermix'd with powder'd Glass, or Crystal, is also judged to produce Whiteness, no less than when mix'd with Water: This, therefore, is only the efficient Cause, and no other than the Vehicle of the *Form*^c. But if the Enquiry be made in *Metaphysicks*, it will be found that two transparent Bodies, intermix'd in their optical portions, and in a simple order, make Whiteness. *This part of METAPHYSICKS I find defective*: and no wonder; because in the method of Enquiry hitherto used, the *Forms of Things* can never appear. The misfortune lies here, that Men have accustom'd themselves to hurry away, and abstract their Thoughts too hastily, and carry them too remote from

Expe-

^a As Mr. Boyle has excellently shewn, by a large Induction of *Experiments*, and *Crucial Instances*, wherewith most of his *Physical Enquiries* are enriched.

^b As Plants, Animals, Minerals; the Elements Fire, Air, Water, Earth, &c.

^c That is, the *Form* is contained in it; but the Analysis not carried far enough, to shew the *Form* itself; or what Whiteness is, independent of the Thing wherewith it resides.

Experience and Particulars; and given themselves wholly up to their own Meditations and Arguments^a.

4. The use of this Part of *Metaphysicks* is recommended by two principal Things: *first*, as 'tis the Office and Excellence of all *Sciences* to shorten the long turnings and windings of *Experience*, so as to remove the ancient complaint of the scantiness of Life, and the tediousness of Art; this is best perform'd by collecting and uniting the *Axioms of the Sciences* into more general ones, that shall suit the Matter of all *Individuals*. For the *Sciences* are like Pyramids, erected upon the single Basis of *History* and *Experience*; and therefore a *History of Nature* is (1.) the Basis of *Natural Philosophy*; and (2.) the first Stage from the Basis is *PHYSICKS*; and (3.) that nearest the Vertex *METAPHYSICKS*: But (4.) for the Vertex itself, "the *Work which God worketh from the beginning to the end*," or the *summary Law of Nature*; we doubt whether human Enquiry can reach it. But for the other three, they are the true *Floorings of the Sciences*. And as that *Science* is the most excellent, which least burthens the Understanding by its multiplicity; this Property is found in *Metaphysicks*; as it contemplates those *simple Forms of Things*, Density, Rarity, &c. which we call *Forms of the first Class*: for tho' these are few; yet, by their *Commensurations*, and *Co-ordinations*, they constitute all *Truth*^b.

Its Use to shorten the way to Knowledge.

5. The *second Thing* that ennobles this Part of *Metaphysicks*, relating to *Forms*, is, that it releases the human Power, and leads it into an immense and open Field of Work: For *Physicks* directs us thro' narrow rugged Paths, in imitation of the crooked ways of ordinary Nature: but the ways of Wisdom are every where wide, and abounding in plenty, and variety of means. *Physical Causes*, indeed, by means of new Inventions, afford light and direction in a like case again: but *he that understands a FORM*, knows the ultimate possibility of superinducing that Nature upon all kinds of Matter; and is therefore the less restrained, or tied down in his working; either as to the Basis of the Matter, or the Condition of the Efficient^c.

And set free the human Power.

6. The *second Part of METAPHYSICKS*, is the *Enquiry of final Causes*: which we note not as wanting; but as ill-placed: these *Causes* being usually sought in *Physicks*, not in *Metaphysicks*; to the great prejudice of *Philosophy*: for

The second part of Metaphysicks is final Causes.

^a It is easy to observe, that Mr. Boyle's *Enquiries into the Origin of Forms and Qualities in Bodies*, endeavour to supply this *Deficiency*, proceed upon the Directions here laid down, and particularly keep close to *Experience*. See the *Abridgment* of his Works, Vol. I. pag. 187, to the end of that Volume. He seems also to have chose for his *Enquiry* the very Subjects pointed out by the Lord Bacon; viz. *Heat, Cold, Gravity, Levity, Density, Rarity*, &c. as the simplest and fittest to lay the Foundation for discovering the more complex *Forms of Creatures, particular Natures, or systematical Beings*; as *Plants, Animals, and Minerals*, in their *integral Subdivisions* respectively: whence we are, for instance, to derive the medicinal Virtues of Herbs, Roots, Flowers, &c. For *Physicks*, and *Metaphysicks*, have not obtained their End, till *Forms* are discovered; the Knowledge whereof will enable Mankind to produce Effects, in all possible Cases, equal or superior to those of *Nature*, and give us a great Command of her Works; as more fully appears in the *Novum Organum*.

^b That is, a Knowledge of *simple Forms*, or the *specifick Essences of general Qualities in Matter and Motion*, will, by *Involution and Evolution* (to use an algebraical Phrase) constitute and explain all the Truths of *Philosophy*; whose Perfection rests in the Knowledge of *Forms*.

^c That is, a Knowledge of *Forms*, will enable Mankind to effect all physical Possibilities; as is hereafter particularly shewn and illustrated by Examples in the *Novum Organum*.

for the treating of *final Causes* in *Physicks*, has driven out the *Enquiry of physical ones*; and made Men rest in *specious* and *shadowy Causes*; without ever searching in earnest, after such as are *real*, and *truly physical*. And this was not only done by *Plato*, who constantly anchors upon this shore; but by *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and others: who frequently introduce such *Causes* as these. “*The Hairs of the Eye-lids are for a Fence to the Sight. The Bones for Pillars*” “*whereon to build the Bodies of Animals. The Leaves of Trees are to defend*” “*the Fruit from the Sun and Wind. The Clouds are designed for watering the*” “*Earth, &c.*” All which are properly alledg’d in *Metaphysicks*; but in *Physicks* are impertinent, and as *Remoras* to the *Ship*, that hinder the *Sciences* from holding on their course of *Improvement*; and introducing a neglect of searching after *physical Causes*. And therefore the *Natural Philosophies* of *Democritus*, and others, who allow no *God* or *Mind* in the frame of *Things*; but attribute the *Structure* of the *Universe* to infinite *Essays* and *Trials* of *Nature*, or what they call *Fate*, or *Fortune*; and assign’d the *Causes* of particular things to the necessity of *Matter*, without any intermixture of *final Causes*; seem, so far as we can judge from the *Remains* of their *Philosophy*, much more solid, and to have gone deeper into *Nature*, with regard to *physical Causes*, than the *Philosophy* of *Aristotle* or *Plato*: and this only because they never meddled with *final Causes*; which the others were perpetually inculcating. Tho’ in this respect, *Aristotle* is more culpable than *Plato*; as dropping *God*, the *Fountain* of *Final Causes*, and substituting *Nature* in his stead; and, at the same, receiving *final Causes* thro’ his affection to *Logick*, not *Theology*.

Their Office
and Use.

7. These *final Causes*, however, are not false, or unworthy of *Enquiry* in *Metaphysicks*; but their excursion into the limits of *physical Causes*, hath made a great devastation in that *Province*; otherwise, when contain’d within their own bounds, they are not repugnant to *physical Causes*: for the Cause, that “*the Hairs of the Eye-lids are to preserve the Sight,*” is no way contradictory to this, that “*Pilosity is incident to the Orifices of Moisture;*” and so of the rest: these two kinds of *Causes* agreeing excellently together; the one expressing the *Intention*, and the other the *Consequence* only.

8. Nor does this call *Divine Providence* in question; but rather highly confirms and exalts it: for as he is a greater *Politician*, who can make others the *Instruments* of his *Will*, without acquainting them with his *Designs*, than he who discloses himself to those he employs; so the *Wisdom* of *God* appears more wondrous, when *Nature* intends one thing, and *Providence* draws out another; than if the *Characters* of *Providence* were stamped upon all the *Schemes* of *Matter*, and natural *Motions*. So *Aristotle* had no need of a *God*, after having once impregnated *Nature* with *final Causes*; and laid it down, that “*Nature does nothing in vain; always obtains her Ends, when*” “*Obstacles are removed, &c.*” But *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, when they advanced their *Atoms*, were thus far tolerated by some; but when they asserted the *Fabrick* of all things to be raised by a fortuitous *Concourse* of these *Atoms*, without the help of *Mind*, they became universally ridiculous. So far are *physical Causes* from drawing Men off from *God*, and *Providence*,
that,

that, on the contrary, the *Philosophers* employ'd in discovering them can find no rest, but by flying to God or Providence at last ^a.

S E C T. VI.

Of NATURAL MAGICK.

THE PRACTICAL DOCTRINE OF NATURE we likewise necessarily divide into *two Parts*, corresponding to those of the *Speculative* ^b; for *Physicks*, or the Enquiry of efficient and material Causes, produces MECHANICKS; and *Metaphysicks*, the Enquiry of *Forms*, produces MAGICK ^c; whilst the Enquiry of *final Causes* is a barren thing, or as a Virgin consecrated to God. We here understand that *Mechanicks*, which is coupled with physical Causes; for besides the bare *effective* or *empirical Mechanicks*, which has no dependance on *Physicks*, and belongs to *Natural History*, there is another not absolutely *operative*, and yet not strictly *philosophical*. For all Discoveries of Works, either had their rise from accident, and so were handed down from age to age; or else were sought by design: and the latter were either discovered by the *light of Causes and Axioms*; or acquired by *extending, transferring or compounding some former Inventions*: which is a thing more ingenious and sagacious than *philosophical*. But the *Mechanicks* here understood is that treated by *Aristotle* promiscuously; by *Hero* in his *Pneumaticks*; by that very diligent Writer in *Metallicks*, *George Agricola*; and by numerous others in particular subjects ^d: so that we have no omission to note in this point, only that the *miscellaneous Mechanicks*, after the example of *Aristotle*, should have been more carefully continued by the Moderns; especially with regard to such *Contrivances* whose Causes are more obscure, or their Effects more noble ^e: whereas the Writers upon these subjects perform very superficially. And it appears to us, that scarce any thing in Nature can be fundamentally discovered, either by accident, experimental attempts, or the light of physical Causes; but only by the *discovery of Forms* ^f. Since, there-

The practical Doctrine of Nature divided in correspondence to the theoretical: whence rational Mechanicks.

And Magick, which is defective.

^a This Subject is prosecuted by Mr. Boyle, in a particular *Treatise*, entitled, *An Enquiry into the final Causes of natural Things*.

^b See above of *Philosophy*, Sect. III. 9.

^c In what sense, *Magick* is here understood, see below, §. 2.

^d Who describe such *Arts, Experiments, or Inventions* as are used in ordinary Life.

^e Instances of this kind are, perhaps, the *artificial Stone* of the ancients, wherewith they built their Amphitheatres and Monuments of perpetuity; the *working the Asbestos into combustible Cloth*; the making of a soft or malleable *Glass*, &c. See *Pancirollus de Rebus memorabilibus sive deperditis*.

^f The common Method of *Invention*, for want of a Knowledge of *Forms*, proceeds upon a mixture of *physical Reasoning*, and *repeated Trials*; by which means several Discoveries have been made: but if *Forms* were known, that is, what particulars constitute things, or give them their several Natures, nothing would then be left to accident; but Men might proceed directly

therefore we have set down as wanting that part of *Metaphysicks* which treats of *Forms*, it follows that NATURAL MAGICK, *which is relative to it, must also be wanting.*

Magick, in
what sense to
be understood.

2. We here understand *Magick* in its ancient and honourable sense: among the *Persians*, it stood for a sublimer Wisdom; or a knowledge of the relations of universal Nature: and we would have it signify *that Science, which leads to the knowledge of hidden Forms, for producing great Effects; and by joining Agents to Patients, setting the Capital Works of Nature to view.* The common *Natural Magick* found in Books, gives us only some childish and superstitious traditions and observations of the Sympathies and Antipathies of Things; or occult and specific Properties; which are usually intermix'd with many trifling *Experiments*, admired rather for their disguise, than for themselves: but as to the truth of Nature, this differs from the *Science* we propose, as much as the Romances of *Arthur of Britain*, *Hugh of Bourdeaux*, or other *imaginary Heroes*, do from the *Commentaries of Cæsar*, in truth of narration. *Cæsar* in reality performed greater things, tho' not by *Romantick means*, than such *fabulous Heroes* are feign'd to do. This kind of Learning is well represented by the *Fable of Ixion*; who thinking to enjoy *Juno*, the Goddess of Power, embraced a Cloud; and thence produced *Centaur*s and *Chimeras*: for so those who, with a hot and impotent desire, are carried to such things as they see only thro' the fumes and clouds of imagination; instead of producing *Works*, beget nothing but vain Hopes, and monstrous Opinions. This degenerate *natural Magick* has also an effect like certain sleepy Medicines, which procure pleasing Dreams: for so it first lays the Understanding asleep, by introducing specifick properties, and occult virtues; whence men are no longer attentive to the discovery of *real Causes*; but rest satisfied in such indolent and weak Opinions: and thus it insinuates numberless pleasing Fictions, like so many Dreams.

The weakness
of the common
Magick, Al-
chemy, and
Astrology.

3. And here we may properly observe that those *Sciences* which depend too much upon *Fancy* and *Faith*, as this *degenerate Magick*, *Alchemy*, *Astrology*, &c. have their *Means* and their *Theory* more monstrous than their *End* and *Action*. The conversion of *Quicksilver* into *Gold* is hard to conceive; tho' it may much more probably be effected by a man acquainted with the nature of gravity, colour, malleability, fixedness, volatility, the principles of Metals and Menstruums, &c. than by one who is ignorant of these *Natures*; by the bare projection of a few grains of the *Elixir*. Understand the same of the prolongation of Youth, or retarding of old Age; which may more rationally be expected, by observing a set of Rules, well form'd upon the Art of Medicine, than from a few drops of any precious Liquor or Quintessence^a. But men are so headstrong and notional, as not only

directly from this Knowledge, to the most capital *Works*, without intermediate Trials. But this is anticipating the Doctrine of the *Novum Organum*; tho' with a view to prepare the way to it. And if we could suppose ourselves Spectators of the Operation that passes in the Minds of illustrious Inventors; such as Mr. *Boyle*, or Sir *Isaac Newton*, for instance; surely we should perceive something like this *Investigation of Forms*, here meant by the Author; or a train of Thoughts, that after due exclusions and rejections, lead up to the *Invention*.

^a The Author's Enquiry into *Life and Death*, proceeds upon no such weak or superstitious Hopes; but in the solid way of physical Reason, Experiment, Observation, laborious Search, and the Investigation of *Forms*.

only to promise themselves Things impossible; but also hope to obtain the most difficult Ends, without labour or sweat.

4. This *Practical Doctrine of Nature* requires two APPENDAGES, of very great consequence. The *first* is, that AN INVENTORY BE MADE OF THE STOCK OF MANKIND; containing their whole *Possessions* and *Fortunes*, whether proceeding from *Nature* or *Art*; with the addition also of things formerly known, but now lost: so that he who goes upon new Discoveries, may have a knowledge of what has already been done^a. This INVENTORY will be the more artificial and useful, if it also contain things of every kind, which, according to common Opinion, are *impossible*; as likewise such as seem'd next to impossible, yet have been effected; the one to whet the human *Invention*, and the other to direct it; so that from these *Optatives* and *Potentials*, *Actives* may the more readily be deduced.

5. The *second Thing* is that a CALENDAR BE MADE OF SUCH EXPERIMENTS AS ARE MOST EXTENSIVELY USEFUL; AND THAT LEAD TO THE DISCOVERY OF OTHERS. For example, the *Experiment of artificial freezing, by means of Ice and Bay-Salt*, is of infinite extent; and discovers a secret Method of Condensation, of great service to mankind^b. *Fire* is ready at hand for rarefaction, but the *means of Condensation* are wanted. And it would greatly shorten the way to Discoveries, to have a *particular Catalogue of these LEADING EXPERIMENTS*^c.

^a This is another of the *grand Works*, conceived in the Mind of the Author, that requires the united Labours of many to execute. The *Literary History*, the *History of Arts*, and other *Desiderata*, above set down, might, if extant, afford great Light and Assistance in the Collection. Among the Books of principal use to the Design, may be reckon'd the Natural Histories of particular Nations; Travels, Voyages, Books of Arts, Books of Inventions, and *Universal Dictionaries*; for instance *Piſo's Histories of the Indies*, *Thevenot*, *Tavernier*, *Dampier*, and *Frachier's Voyages*, *Neri's Art of Glass*, the *Marquis of Worcester's Scantlings of Inventions*, *Pancirollus de Rebus memorabilibus*, *Pezelius's Thesaurus Rerum Selectarum*, *de Lana's Magisterium Natura & Artis*, *Faschius de Inventis novis & antiquis*, *Becher's Narrische Weisheit*; but particularly *Mr. Chambers's Cyclopadia*. See *Morhof's Polyhistor*. Tom I. Cap. xx. de *Fructu omnium Historia Bibliothecarum*.

^b How far this Experiment has been applied by *Mr. Boyle*, appears from his *History of Cold*; which proceeds almost wholly upon it: tho' it still remains capable of infinite applications; as to the *Concentration of Wines, Vinegar, Spirits, &c.* the procuring of *fresh Water at Sea*; the making of *Salt* out of *Sea-Water, &c.*

^c This *Work*, so far as I know, remains unattempted; but might be set about to good advantage, since the experimental Labours of *Mr. Boyle*, *Dr. Hook*, and many other eminent Members of the *Royal Society*, and *French Academy*. Of what service *leading Experiments* are in Philosophy, may appear from the Discoveries of *Mr. Boyle*, and *Sir Isaac Newton*; which were generally made by their means.

Two appendages wanted to the practical Doctrine of Nature. viz. (1.) An Inventory of Knowledge.

And (2.) a Calendar of Leading Experiments.

S E C T. VII.

Of MATHEMATICKS.

The Office and
Use of Mathe-
maticks.

T WAS well observed by *Aristotle*, that **PHYSICKS** and **MATHEMATICKS** produce **PRACTICE**, or **MECHANICKS**: therefore, as we have treated both the *speculative* and *practical* part of the **DOCTRINE OF NATURE**; we should also consider **MATHEMATICKS**, as an *auxiliary Science* to both: which being received into **PHILOSOPHY**, comes as a *third part* after **PHYSICKS** and **METAPHYSICKS**. But upon due recollection, if we design'd it as a substantial and *principal Science*; it were more agreeable to *Method* and the Nature of the thing, to make it a part of *Metaphysicks*. For *Quantity*, the *Subject of Mathematicks*, applied to *Matter*, is as the *Dose of Nature*, and productive of numerous *Effects* in *Natural Things*; and therefore ought to be reckon'd among *essential Forms*. And so much did the power of *Figures* and *Numbers* prevail with the ancients, that *Democritus* chiefly placed the Principles of the Variety of Things in the figures of their Atoms: and *Pythagoras* asserted that the nature of things consisted of numbers. Thus much is true, that of *natural Forms*, such as we understand them, *Quantity* is the most abstracted, and separable from *Matter*: and for this reason it has been more carefully cultivated, and examin'd into, by mankind, than any other *Forms*; which are all of them more immerfed in *Matter*. For, as, to the great disadvantage of the *Sciences*, 'tis natural for men's minds to delight more in the open Fields of *Generals*, than in the Inclosures of *Particulars*; nothing is found more agreeable than *Mathematicks*, which fully gratifies this appetite of expaniating and ranging at large. But as we regard not only *Truth* and *Order*, but also the benefits and advantages of mankind; it seems best, since *Mathematicks* is of great use in *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, *Mechanicks*, and *Magicks*, to make it an *Appendage*, or *Auxiliary* to them all. And this we are in some measure obliged to do; from the fondness, and towering notions of *Mathematicians*, who would have their *Science* preside over *Physicks*^a. 'Tis a strange fatality, that *Mathematicks* and *Logicks*, which ought

to

^a The learned *Morhof* thus confirms the justness of this Observation; "To say the truth, the modern Philosophy has still the same Defect; for at this day most of our *Philosophical Doctrine* is made *Mathematical*; so as to appear subtle in the demonstration of those Properties which come chiefly under the consideration of *Mathematicians*; whilst in discovering the *internal Causes of Things*, the *Mathematicians* prove as insufficient as the *Peripateticks*; who, instead of *Mathematicks*, make *Logick* preside over *Physicks*. The middle way should be chose betwixt these two extremes; and the sense and meaning of Nature discovered." See *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. II. pag. 149. If this Doctrine, so fully laid down by the Lord *Bacon*, had been followed, the Moderns might probably have made many more substantial Discoveries in *Natural Philosophy*, *Anatomy*, *Chemistry*, and *Medicine*; than by a rash application of *Mathematicks*, which, instead of promoting, has prejudiced these Sciences.

to be but handmaids to *Physicks*, should boast their certainty before it; and even exercise dominion against it. But the *place and dignity of this Science* is a secondary consideration, with regard to the thing itself.

2. *Mathematicks* is either *pure* or *mix'd*. To the *pure* belong the *Sciences* *Divided into* employ'd about Quantity, wholly abstracted from Matter and *physical* *pure and* *Axioms*. This has *two parts*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*; the one regarding *continued*, and the other *discrete Quantity*. These two *Sciences* have been cultivated with very great subtilty and application: but in plain *Geometry* there has nothing considerable been added to the Labours of *Euclid*; tho' he lived many ages since. The *Doctrine of Solids* has not been prosecuted and extended, equal to its use and excellency, neither by the ancients nor the moderns: and in *Arithmetick* there is still wanting a sufficient VARIETY OF SHORT AND COMMODIOUS METHODS OF CALCULATION, especially *The Defects of pure Mathematicks.* with regard to *Progressions*; whose use in *Physicks* is very considerable. Neither is *Algebra* brought to perfection. As for the *Pythagorical* and *Mystical Arithmetick*, which began to be recovered from *Proclus*, and certain Remains of *Euclid*, 'tis a *speculative Excursion*: The Mind having this misfortune, that when it proves unequal to solid and useful things, it spends itself upon such as are unprofitable^a.

3. *Mix'd Mathematicks* has for its subject *Axioms*, and the *Parts of Physicks*; and considers Quantity so far as may be assisting to illustrate, demonstrate, and actuate those; for without the help of *Mathematicks*, many parts of Nature could neither be sufficiently comprehended, clearly demonstrated, nor dexterously fitted for use. And of this kind are *Perspective*, *Musick*, *Astronomy*, *Cosmography*, *Architecture*, *Mechanicks*, &c. *The Defects of mix'd Mathematicks increase as Physicks improve.* In *mix'd Mathematicks* we at present find no *entire Parts deficient*; but foretell there will be many found hereafter, if Men are not wanting to themselves: For if *Physicks* be daily improving, and drawing out new *Axioms*, 'twill continually be wanting fresh assistances from *Mathematicks*; so that the *Parts of mix'd Mathematicks*, must gradually grow more numerous^b.

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SECT.

^a No part of Learning has perhaps been more cultivated since this Author wrote than *Mathematicks*; inasmuch, that every other Science, or the Body of Philosophy itself, seems rendered *Mathematical*. The *Doctrine of Solids* has been improv'd by several; the shorter ways of *Calculation* here noted as deficient, are in good measure supplied by exact Tables of *Logarithms*. *Algebra* has been so far improved and applied, as to rival, or almost prejudice, the *ancient Geometry*. Add to this, the new Discoveries of the *Method of Fluxions*, the *Method of Tangents*, the *Doctrine of Infinites*, the *Squaring of Curves*, &c. For the present System of *Mathematical Learning*, see *Wolffii Elementa Matheseos univ'ersa*, in two Volumes 4to, printed at Hall in the year 1715. or for a more cursory View, Father *Castel's Mathematique Universelle*, published this year 1731. But for the *History of Mathematicks*, see *Vossius de univ'ersa Matheseos Natura & Constitutione*, the *Almagest of Ricciolus*, *Morhof's Polyhist. Mathemat.* and *Wolffius's Commentatio de Scriptis Mathematicis*, at the End of the *second Volume of his Elementa Matheseos univ'ersa*.

^b As in effect they are at this day, by the modern improvements in *Opticks*, *Ironicks*, *Hydrostaticks*, *Pneumaticks*, *Fortification*, *Gunnery*, *Surveying*, &c.

S E C T. VIII.

The DOCTRINE OF MAN:
And first, of the HUMAN PERSON.

*The just bounds
 and use of Di-
 vision in the
 Sciences.*

I. HAVING gone thro' the *two parts* of PHILOSOPHY that relate to the DEITY, and to NATURE, we come now to the third, or the KNOWLEDGE OF OUR SELVES; which to us is the End of the *Sciences*; tho' but a part of Nature^a. And here we must admonish mankind, that all Divisions of the Sciences are to be understood, and employ'd, so as only to mark out and distinguish; not tear, separate, or make any solution of continuity in their body: the contrary practice having render'd particular *Sciences barren, empty, and erroneous*; whilst they are not fed, supported and kept right, by their common Parent. Thus we find *Cicero* complaining of *Socrates*, that he first disjoin'd *Philosophy* from *Rhetorick*; which is thence become a frothy, talkative Art. So the Art of *Physick*, without the assistance of Natural Philosophy, differs but little from *Empiricism*.

*The Doctrine
 of Man divi-
 ded into hu-
 man and civil
 Philosophy.*

2. The DOCTRINE OF MAN divides itself into *two parts*, or into HUMAN and CIVIL PHILOSOPHY; as it considers *Man separate, or joined in Society*. HUMAN PHILOSOPHY consists in the *Sciences* that regard the *Body*, and those that regard the *Soul of Man*. But before we descend to a more particular distribution, 'tis proper to make one GENERAL SCIENCE, OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN; which certainly deserves to be freed from the rest, and reduced to a *Science* by itself. And this will consist of such Things as are common; both to the *Body* and the *Soul*. It may likewise be divided into two parts; *viz.* according to the *individual Nature of Man*; and the *Connexion of the Soul and Body*. The former we call the DOCTRINE OF THE PERSON OF MAN; and the other the DOCTRINE OF UNION. All which being common and mix'd matters, cannot be separately referr'd to the *Sciences* that regard the *Body*, nor to those that regard the *Soul*.

*The Doctrine
 of the human
 Person.*

3. The DOCTRINE OF THE HUMAN PERSON principally consists in two Things; the Consideration of the miseries of mankind; and its prerogatives or excellencies. There are many Writings, both Philosophical and Theological, that elegantly and copiously bewail the human Miseries: and it is an agreeable and wholesome topic. But the *Prerogatives of mankind* are not hitherto described. *Pindar* in his Praise of *Hiero* says, with his usual elegance, that *he cropt the Tops of every Virtue*: and methinks it would greatly contribute to the encouragement and honour of mankind, to have these *Tops, or utmost extents of human Nature, collected from faithful History*: I mean the *greatest length whereto human Nature of itself has ever gone, in the several ENDOWMENTS OF BODY AND MIND*^b. Thus 'tis said of *Cæsar*, that he could dictate to five amanuenses at once. We read also of the ancient Rhetoricians;

as

^a See above Sect. III. 1.

^b The Author himself might sure'y make an eminent Instance of this kind, as having grasp'd the whole compass of ancient Knowledge, and struck out new Methods for improving all the Sciences, and extending the Empire of *Man* over the *Works of Nature*.

as *Protagoras*, and *Gorgias*; and of the ancient Philosophers, as *Callisthenes*, *Pollidonius* and *Carnades*, who could, with eloquence and copiousness, dispute off hand, on either side of an argument: which shews the powers of the Mind to advantage. So does also what *Cicero* relates of his master *Archias*, viz. that he could make extempore a large number of excellent Verses upon the common transactions of life. 'Tis a great honour to the Memory, that *Cyrus* or *Scipio* could call so many thousands of men by their names. Nor are the victories gain'd in the moral virtues less signal than those of the intellectual faculties. What an example of patience is that of *Anaxarchus*, who when put to the torture, bit off his own tongue, and spit it in the Tyrant's face? We have many instances of great serenity and composure of mind at the time of Death; as particularly in the Centurion, mention'd by *Tacitus*, who being bid by the Soldier, appointed his executioner, to stretch out his neck strongly, replied, "I wish you may strike as strongly." Sir *Thomas More*, the day before his execution, being waited upon by his Barber, to know if he would have his hair off, refus'd it; with this answer, that "the King and he had a dispute about his Head, and till that were ended he would bestow no cost upon it." And even when he had laid his head upon the block, he raised himself again a little, and gently putting his long beard aside, said, *this surely has not offended the King*. By these examples it will appear that the Miracles of human Nature, and the utmost Powers and Faculties, both of Mind and Body, are what we would have collected into a Volume, that should be a kind of REGISTER OF HUMAN TRIUMPHS. And with regard to such a Work, we commend the Design of *Valerius Maximus* and *Pliny*; but not their care and choice^a.

4. THE DOCTRINE OF UNION, or of the common Tie of Soul and Body, has two parts: for as, in all alliances, there is mutual Intelligence, and mutual Offices; so the Union of the Mind and Body requires a description of the manner wherein they discover, and act upon, each other, by Notices, or Indication and Impression. The Description by Indication, has produced two Arts of Prediction; the one honoured with the Enquiry of *Aristotle*, and the other with that of *Hippocrates*. And tho' later Ages have debas'd these Arts with superstitious and fantastical mixtures; yet, when purged, and truly restored, they have a solid foundation in Nature, and use in Life. The first of these is *Physiognomy*; which, by the Lineaments of the Body, discovers the Dispositions of the Mind. The second is, the Interpretation of Natural Dreams; which, from the Agitations of the Mind, discovers the State and Dispositions of the Body. I find the former deficient in one part; for tho' *Aristotle* has, with great ingenuity and diligence, treated the Structure of the Body at rest^b; he dropt the consideration of it in Motion or Gesture; which is no less subject to the Observations of Art, and more useful than the other. For the Lineaments of the Body shew the general Inclinations and Dispositions of the Mind; whilst the Motions of the Face, and

^a Mr. *Wanly's Wonders of the little World*, was a Work intended to supply, in some measure, this *Desideratum*, as himself intimates in the Preface.

^b See his *Physiognomica*, with the Notes of *Camillus Baldus*. See also *Baptista Porta's Opus Physiognomicum*.

and the Gestures of the other parts, not only do the same, but also express the present Disposition and Inclination: for as the *Tongue* applies to the *Ear*, so does *Gesture* to the *Eye*. And this is well known to many subtle and designing Persons; who watchfully observe the Countenance and Gestures of others; and value themselves for their talent of turning such Discoveries to their own advantage: And it must be acknowledged an excellent way of discovering Dissimulation in others; and of admonishing Men to chuse proper times and opportunities for their Addreses: which is no small part of *civil Prudence*. A *Work upon this Doctrine of Gesture*, would not only prove useful in particular cases, but serve as a general Rule; for all Men laugh, weep, blush, frown, &c. alike: and this holds of nearly all the more subtle Motions ^a. But for *Chiromancy*, 'tis absolutely a vain thing, and unworthy to be mentioned among those we are now treating ^b.

Interpretation
of Dreams;
its best Founda-
tion.

5. The INTERPRETATION OF NATURAL DREAMS has been much labour'd; but mix'd with numerous Extravagancies. We shall here only observe of it, that at present it stands not upon its best Foundation; which is, that *where the same thing happens from an internal Cause, as also usually happens from an external one, there the external Action passes into a Dream*. Thus the Stomach may be oppress'd by a gross internal Vapour, as well as by an external Weight: whence those who have the *Night-mare*, dream that a Weight is laid upon them; with a great concurrence of Circumstances. So again, the *Viscera* being equally tossed by the agitation of the Waves at Sea; as by a collection of Wind in the *Hypochondria*: hence melancholy Persons frequently dream of failing, and tossing upon the Waters. And Instances of this kind are numerous ^c.

The Doctrine
of Impression
divided into
the Actions of
the Body upon
the Soul.

6. The second part of the DOCTRINE OF UNION, which we call IMPRESSION, is not yet reduced to an Art; and but occasionally mentioned by Writers. This also has *two parts*: as considering (1.) *how, and to what degree, the Humours and Constitution of the Body may affect the Soul, or act upon it*: and (2.) *how, and to what degree, the Passions and Apprehensions of the Soul may affect and work upon the Body*. The first of these we sometimes find touched in *Medicine*; but it has strangely insinuated itself into *Religion*. Physicians prescribe Remedies for the Diseases of the Mind, *viz.* Madness, Melancholy, &c. as also to cheer the Spirits, strengthen the Memory, &c. but for Diet, choice of Meats and Drinks, Washings, and other Observances relating

^a The learned *Morhof* observes, that this *Doctrine of reading the Minds of Men by external Signs*, may be many ways useful to a *Politician*; and mentions an eminent Instance thereof, from the *Relation of a certain Venetian Ambassador, concerning the Court of Rome*, who, by this means, discover'd how the Pope and Cardinals stood affected to the *State of Venice*. He afterwards enumerates the several Writers upon this Subject. See his *Polyhistor*, Tom. II. Lib. III. *de Artibus divinatoriis & Magia*. See also an anonymous Treatise of *the different Wills of Men*; printed at *London*, in the year 1669.

^b Of the *Vanity of Chiromancy*, see *Paschius de novis Inventis*, p. 604, &c. and for other Authors, who have shewn the weakness of this Art, see *Stollii Introduct. in Historiam Literarum*, pag. 413.

^c Inasmuch, that some will assign the occasions of their Dreams from a recollection of what has passed, in relation to themselves, before-hand; or from the Transactions of the preceding Days. It were to be wished we had a faithful *History* of this kind, drawn from Observation, and Experience, without any mixture of *Hypothesis*, or *Fancy*. For we might hence be led into a more rational and philosophical Knowledge of the *Mind* and its *Operations*.

relating to the Body; they are found immoderately in the *Sect of the Pythagoreans*, the *Manichean Heresy*, and the *Law of Mahomet*. There are also numerous and strict Ordinances in the *ceremonial Law*, prohibiting the eating of Blood and Fat; and distinguishing the unclean Animals from the clean, for Food. Even the *Christian Religion*, tho' it has thrown off the Veil of Ceremonies, still retains the use of fasting, abstinence, and other things that regard the subjection and humiliation of the Body; as things not merely ritual, but advantageous. The root of all these Ordinances, besides the ceremony and exercise of Obedience, is, that the *Soul should sympathize and suffer with the Body*.

7. The other part, which considers the *Operations of the Soul upon the Body*; has likewise been received into *Medicine*: for every prudent Physician regards the *Accidents of the Mind*, as a principal Thing in his Cures; that greatly promotes or hinders the Effects of all other Remedies. But one Particular has been hitherto slightly touch'd, or not well examin'd, as its usefulness and abstruse nature require; *viz. how far a fix'd and rivetted Imagination may alter the Body of the Imaginant*: for tho' this has a manifest power to hurt, it does not follow, it has the same to relieve: no more than because an Air may be so pestilent, as suddenly to destroy; another Air should be so wholesome, as suddenly to recover. This would be an Enquiry of noble use; but it requires a *Delian Diver*; for it is deep plunged^a.

And the Actions of the Soul upon the Body.

8. But among these DOCTRINES OF UNION, or *Consent of Soul and Body*, there is none more necessary, than an *Enquiry into the proper Seat and Habitation of each Faculty of the Soul in the Body, and its Organs*. Some, indeed, have prosecuted this Subject; but all usually delivered upon it is either controverted, or slightly examin'd; so as to require more pains and accuracy. The opinion of *Plato*, which seats the *Understanding* in the *Brain*, *Courage* in the *Heart*, and *Sensuality* in the *Liver*, should neither be totally rejected, nor fondly received^b.

An Enquiry after the Seat of the Soul recommended.

^a The Author has begun this *Enquiry* in his *SYLVA SYLVARUM*, under the *Article IMAGINATION*; and it has been since prosecuted by many; particularly with a view to the *Cure of Diseases*. See *Paschius de novis Inventis*, &c. Cap. VI. *de Inventis Medicis*, the Art of curing by Expectation, *Medicina Mensis & Corporis Stahlii*, *Casaubon* of *Enthusias*, *Malbranche's Recherche de la Verité*, and *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. II. pag. 449, &c.

^b This particular Enquiry, seems to have been almost over-look'd by the later *Philosophers*; what has been done upon it, may, in some measure, appear from *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. II. Part II. Lib. II. Cap. 48. *de Homine*, & Cap. 29. *de Sensibus Animalium*; *Le Clerc's Pneumatologia*, *Struvii Bibliotheca Philosophica*, Cap. V. Sect. 10. & *Stollii Introduct. in Historiam Litterariam, de Pneumatologia*.



S E C T. IX.

Of the DOCTRINE of the HUMAN BODY.

The Doctrine of the Body divided into Medicine, Beautifying, Gymnastics, and the Art of Elegance.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE HUMAN BODY divides itself according to the *Perfections* of the Body, whereto it is subservient. These *Perfections* are four; viz. (1.) *Health*, (2.) *Comeliness*, (3.) *Strength*, and (4.) *Pleasure*: to which correspond as Relatives, (1.) the Arts of *Medicine*, (2.) *Beautifying*, (3.) *Gymnastics*, and (4.) the Art of *Elegance*. MEDICINE is a noble Art, and honourably descended, according to the *Poets*; who make *Apollo* the primary God, and his Son *Æsculapius*, whom they also deify, the first *Professor thereof*: for as, in *natural Things*, the *Sun* is the Author and Fountain of Life; so the *Physician*, who preserves Life, seems a second Origin thereof. But *Medicine* receives far greater honour from the Works of our Saviour; who was Physician both to *Soul* and *Body*: and made the latter the standing Subject of his *Miracles*; as the *Soul* was the constant Subject of his *Doctrine*.

Reasons of the Difficulties and Imperfection of Medicine.

2. Of all the Things that *Nature* has created, the *human Body* is most capable of *Relief*; tho' this *Relief* be the most liable to Error. For as the subtilty and variety of the Subject affords many opportunities of *Cure*; so likewise a great facility of *Mistake*. And therefore, as this *Art*, especially at present, stands among the most *conjectural ones*; so the Enquiry into it is to be placed among the most subtle and difficult. For of all *natural Bodies*, we find none so variously compounded as the *human*: *Vegetables* are nourished by *Earth* and *Water*; *Brutes* by *Herbs* and *Fruits*; but *Man* feeds upon the *Flesh* of living Creatures, *Herbs*, *Grain*, *Fruits*, different *Juices* and *Liquors*; and these all prepared, preserved, dressed, and mixed in endless variety. Besides, the way of living among other Creatures is more simple, and the Affections that act upon the Body, fewer, and more uniform: but *Man* in his Habitation, his Exercises, Passions, &c. undergoes numberless changes. This variable and subtle Composition, and Fabrick of the *human Body*, makes it, like a kind of curious *musical Instrument*, easily disordered: and therefore the *Poets* justly join'd *Musick* and *Medicine* in *Apollo*; because the *Office of Medicine* is to tune the curious Organ of the *human Body*, and reduce it to *Harmony*.

The means of removing the Difficulties, in advancing this Art.

3. The Subject being so variable, has render'd the *Art* more *conjectural*; and left the more room for *Imposture*. Other *Arts* and *Sciences* are judged of by their Power and Ability, and not by Success, or Events. The *Lawyer* is judged by the *Ability of his Pleading*; not the *Issue of the Cause*: The *Pilot*, by directing his *Course*; and not by the *Fortune of the Voyage*: whilst the *Physician* has no particular Act, that clearly demonstrates his Ability; but is principally

principally censured by the *Event*: which is very unjust: for who can tell if a Patient die or recover, whether it were by *Art*, or by *Accident*? Whence *Imposture* is frequently extoll'd, and *Virtue* decried. Nay, the Weakness and Credulity of Men is such, that they often prefer a *Mountebank*, or a *Cunning-Woman*, to a learned Physician. The Poets were clear-sighted in discerning this Folly, when they made *Æsculapius* and *Circe* Brother and Sister, and both Children of *Apollo*. For in all times, Witches, old Women, and Impostors, have, in the vulgar opinion, stood Competitors with Physicians. And hence Physicians say to themselves, in the words of *Solomon*, *If it befall to me, as befalleth to the Fools, why should I labour to be more wise?* And therefore one cannot greatly blame them, that they commonly study some other *Art*, or *Science*, more than their Profession. Hence, we find among them *Poets*, *Antiquaries*, *Criticks*, *Politicians*, *Divines*, and in each kind more knowing than in Medicine; no doubt, because they find that mediocrity, and excellency in their own *Art*, makes no difference in *Profit* or *Reputation*: for Men's Impatience of Diseases, the Sollicitations of Friends, the Sweetness of Life, and the Inducement of Hope, make them depend upon Physicians, with all their Defects. But when this is seriously consider'd, it turns rather to the reproach, than the excuse of Physicians: who ought not hence to despair, but to use greater diligence. For we see what a power the Subtily of the Understanding has over the variety both of the Matter and Form of Things. There is nothing more variable than Men's Faces; yet we can remember infinite Distinctions of them: and a Painter, with a few Colours, the practice of the Hand and Eye, and help of the Imagination, could imitate thousands, if brought before him. As variable as Voices are, yet we can easily distinguish them in different Persons; and a Mimick will express them to the life. Tho' the Sounds of Words differ so greatly, yet Men can reduce them to a few simple Letters. And certainly 'tis not the Insufficiency, or Incapacity of the Mind; but the remoteness of the Object, that causes these Perplexities and Distrusts in the *Sciences*: for as the *Sense* is apt to mistake at great distances, but not near at hand; so is the *Understanding*. Men commonly take a view of Nature, as from a remote Eminence; and are too much amused with *Generalities*: whereas, if they would descend, and approach nearer to Particulars; and more exactly and considerately examine into things themselves; they might make more solid and useful Discoveries. The Remedy of this Error, therefore, is to quicken or strengthen the *Organ*, and thus to approach the Object. No doubt, therefore, if *Physicians*, leaving *Generalities* for a while, and suspending their Assent, would advance towards Nature; they might be able to *vary their Art as Distempers vary*. They should the rather endeavour this, because the *Philosophies*, whereon *Physicians*, whether *Methodists* or *Chemists*, depend, are trifling; and because *Medicine, not founded on Philosophy, is a weak thing*. Therefore as *too extensive Generals*, tho' true, do not bring Men home to action; there is more danger in such *Generals as are false* in themselves, and seduce, instead of directing the Mind. *Medicine*, therefore, has been rather *profess'd*, than *labour'd*: and yet more *labour'd* than *advanced*; as the pains bestow'd

bestow'd thereon, were rather *circular* than *progressive*: for I find great *Repetition*, and but little *new Matter*, in the *Writers of Physick*.

Medicine divided into (1.) the Preservation of Health, (2.) the Cure of Diseases, and (3.) the Prolongation of Life.

4. We divide *Medicine* into *three parts*, or *Offices*; viz. (1.) the *Preservation of Health*, (2.) the *Cure of Diseases*, and (3.) the *Prolongation of Life*. For this last part, *Physicians* seem to think it no capital part of *Medicine*, but confound it with the other two: as supposing, that if *Diseases* be prevented, or cured after invasion, *long Life* must follow of course. But then they do not consider, that both *Preservation and Cure regard only Diseases*, and such *Prolongation of Life* as is intercepted by them: whence the means of spinning out the full *Thread of Life*, or preventing, for a season, that kind of *Death* which gradually steals upon the *Body* by *simple Resolution*, and the *wasting of Age*, is a Subject that no *Physician* has treated suitably to its Merit^a. Let none imagine we are here *repealing the Decrees of Fate and Providence*, by establishing a *new Office of Medicine*; for, doubtless, *Providence* alike dispenses all kinds of *Deaths*, whether they proceed from *Violence*, *Diseases*, or the course and period of *Age*; yet without excluding the use of *Remedies and Preventions*: for *Art and Industry do not here over-rule, but administer to Nature and Fate*.

The Preservation of Health not well treated of.

5. Many have unskilfully written upon the *PRESERVATION OF HEALTH*; particularly by *attributing too much to the Choice*, and *too little to the Quantity of Meats*. As to *Quantity*, they, like the *Moral Philosophers*, highly commend *Moderation*; whereas, both *fasting* changed to custom, and *full feeding*, where a *Man* is used to it, are better *Preservatives of Health*, than those *Mediocrities* they recommend; which commonly dispirit *Nature*, and unfit her to bear excess, or want, upon occasion. And for the *several Exercises*, which greatly conduce to the *Preservation of Health*, no *Physician* has well distinguished, or observed them^b; tho' there be scarce any tendency to a *Disease*, that may not be corrected by some appropriated *Exercise*. Thus *Bowling* is suited to the *Diseases of the Kidneys*; *Shooting with the long Bow*, to those of the *Lungs*; *Walking and Riding*, to those of the *Stomach*^c, &c.

The Cure of Diseases imperfectly handled.

6. Great pains have been bestow'd upon the *CURE OF DISEASES*; but to small purpose. This part comprehends the *Knowledge of the Diseases* incident to the *human Body*, together with their *Causes, Symptoms, and Cures*. In this *second Office of Medicine*, there are many *Deficiencies*. And first, we may note the discontinuance of that useful Method of *Hippocrates*, in *writing Narratives of PARTICULAR CURES with diligence and exactness*; containing the *Nature, the Cure, and Event of the Distemper*. And this remarkable Precedent of one accounted the *Father of his Art*, need not to be backed with *Examples* derived from other *Arts*; as from the prudent practice of the *Lawyers*, who religiously enter down the more eminent *Cases*, and new *Decisions*; the better to prepare and direct themselves in future. This *Continuation*, therefore, of *MEDICINAL REPORTS*, we find deficient; especially in form of

The Hippocratica Method of Medicinal Reports discontinued.

^a The Author, therefore, attempted it, in his *Natural History of Life and Death*.
^b For the ancient *Gymnasticks*, see *Vossius de quatuor Artibus popularibus*; *Hieron. Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica*; and *Paschius de novis Inventis, quibus facem prætulit Antiquitas*.
^c Dr. Fuller has lately wrote upon this Subject, as a *Physician*. See his *Medicina Gymnastica*.

of an entire Body, digested with proper care and judgment^a. But we do not mean, that this Work should extend to every common Case that happens every day; which were an infinite Labour, and to little purpose; nor yet to exclude all but Prodigies and Wonders, as several have done: for many things are new in their manner and circumstances, which are not new in their kind; and he who looks attentively, will find many Particulars worthy of observation, in what seems vulgar.

7. So in ANATOMY, the general parts of the *human Body* are diligently observed, and even to niceness: but as to the variety found in different Bodies, here the Diligence of Physicians fails. And therefore tho' *simple* *Comparative Anatomy deficient.* *Anatomy* has been fully and clearly handled; yet COMPARATIVE ANATOMY is deficient. For Anatomists have carefully examin'd into all the Parts, their Consistencies, Figures, and Situations; *but pass over the different Figure, and State of those Parts in different Persons*^b. The Reason of this Defect, I take to be; that the former Enquiry may terminate upon seeing two or three Bodies dissected; but the other being comparative, and casual, requires attentive and strict application to many different Dissections: Besides, the first is a Subject, wherein learned *Anatomists* may shew themselves to their Audience; but the other a rigorous Knowledge, to be acquired only by silent and long Experience. And no doubt but the internal Parts, for variety and proportions, are little inferior to the external; and that *Hearts, Livers, and Stomachs* are as different in Men, as *Foreheads, Noses, and Ears*. And in these differences of the internal Parts, are often found the immediate Causes of many Diseases; which Physicians not observing, sometimes unjustly accuse the Humours, when the fault lies only in the mechanick Structure of a Part. And in such Diseases, 'tis in vain to use *Alteratives*, as the case admits not of being alter'd by them; but must be affected, accommodated, or palliated by a Regimen, and *familiar Medicines*.

8. Again, COMPARATIVE ANATOMY requires accurate Observations upon all the Humours, and the Marks and Impressions of Diseases in different Bodies upon Dissection: for the *Humours* are commonly pass'd over, in *Anatomy*, as loathsome and *excrementitious* things; whereas 'tis highly useful and necessary, to note their nature, and the various kinds that may sometimes be found in the human Body; in what Cavities they principally lodge; and with what advantage, disadvantage, and the like. So the Marks and Impressions of Diseases, and the Changes and Devastations they bring upon the internal Parts, are to be diligently observed in different Dissections;

O 2

viz.

^a This Continuation of the History of Cases in Physick, is not hitherto on foot, in the Form here directed; and perhaps no considerable Foundations are laid for it, by all the numerous Writers of Observations. However, the thing intended seems of late attempted by *Baglivi*, in the way of close and attentive Clinical Observation, in his Treatise *de Praxi Medica ad priscam Observandæ rationem revocanda*; and registering the Phenomena of Diseases: from which, when carried to a due length, and properly ranged for the Understanding to work upon, a solid Knowledge of the Nature, Causes, and Cures of Distempers may probably be derived; in the same manner as other useful Discoveries are made in Arts, and the System of the World; according to the Direction and Example of the Lord Bacon, in his *Natural Enquiries*; and particularly his *History of Life and Death*.

^b One would expect, so diligently as *Anatomy* has been cultivated since the Discovery of the Circulation, that this Part of Medicine should not still remain deficient.

viz. Impoſthumes, Ulcerations, Solutions of Continuity, Putrefactions, Corroſions, Conſumptions, Contractions, Extenſions, Convulſions, Luxations, Diſlocations, Obſtractions, Repletions, Tumours; and preternatural Excreſcencies, as Stones, Carnoſities, Wens, Worms, &c. all which ſhould be very carefully examined, and orderly digeſted in the COMPARATIVE ANATOMY we ſpeak of; and the Experiments of ſeveral Phyſicians be here collected and compared together. But this variety of Accidents, is by *Anatomists*, either ſlightly touched, or eſſe paſſed over in ſilence^a.

The Deſect of live Anatomy, how to be ſupplied.

9. That *Deſect in ANATOMY*, owing to its not having been practiſed upon *live Bodies*, needs not be ſpoke to; the thing itſelf being odious, cruel, and juſtly condemned by *Celſus*: yet the Obſervation of the Ancients is true, that many ſubtile Pores, Paſſages, and Perforations appear not upon Diſſection, becauſe they are cloſed and concealed in *dead Bodies*; that might be open and manifeſt in *live ones*. Wherefore, if we would conſult the Good of Mankind, without being guilty of Cruelty; this *Anatomy of live Creatures* ſhould be entirely deſerted, or left to the *caſual Inſpection of Chirurgeons*; or may be ſufficiently perform'd upon *living Brutes*, notwithstanding the diſſimilitude between their Parts and thoſe of Men, ſo as to anſwer the Deſign; provided it be done with judgment.

A Work wanting upon Incurable Diſeaſes.

10. Phyſicians, likewise, when they enquire into Diſeaſes, find ſo many which they judge incurable, either from their firſt appearance, or after a certain Period; that the *Proſcriptions of Scylla*, and the *Triumvirate*, were trifling to the *Proſcriptions of the Phyſicians*; by which, with an unjuſt Sentence, they deliver Men over to *Death*: numbers whereof, however, eſcape with leſs difficulty, than under the *Roman Proſcriptions*. A *Work therefore is wanting upon the CURES OF REPUTED INCURABLE DISEASES*^b; that Phyſicians of Eminence and Reſolution, may be encouraged and excited to purſue this matter, as far as the nature of things will permit: ſince to pronounce *Diſeaſes incurable*, is to eſtabliſh *Negligence, and Careleſſneſs*, as it were by a *Law*; and ſcreen Ignorance from Reproach.

The Office of a Phyſician to procure eaſy Deaths.

11. And farther, we eſteem it the *Office of a Phyſician, to mitigate the Pains and Tortures of Diſeaſes*, as well as to reſtore Health; and this not only when ſuch a Mitigation, as of a dangerous Symptom, may conduce to Recovery; but alſo, when there being no farther hopes of Recovery, it can only ſerve to make the paſſage out of life more calm and eaſy. For that *complacency in Death*, which *Augustus Cæſar* ſo much deſired, is no ſmall Felicity. This was alſo obſerved in the Death of *Antoninus Pius*, who ſeemed not ſo much to die, as to fall into a deep and pleaſing Sleep. And 'tis deliver'd of *Epicurus*, that he procured himſelf this eaſy Departure; for after his Diſeaſe was judged deſperate, he intoxicated himſelf with Wine, and died in that

^a And ſo it continues, in the general, to this day: except ſome *extraordinary Caſes*, ſuch as thoſe publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Transactions*, and *German Ephemerides*; which, indeed, afford abundance of *Inſtances* fit for the *Comparative Anatomy* here ſketch'd out.

^b This *Work* has not, perhaps, hitherto appeared in that extent which the Subject requires; but many Materials may be collected for it from the Writings of Phyſicians, the *Hitories of extraordinary Cures*, by Accident, Nature, Empirical Remedies, Mineral Waters, &c. particularly from ſeveral of Mr. *Boyle's* *Philoſophical Pieces*, the *Philoſophical Transactions*, the *German Ephemerides*, &c. See alſo a ſmall *Treatiſe of Incurable Diſeaſes*; printed at *London*, 1723.

Condition. But the Physicians of our Times make a scruple of attending the Patient after the Disease is thought past cure; tho', in my judgment, if they were not wanting to their own Profession, and to Humanity itself, they should here give their attendance, to improve their Skill, and make the dying Person depart with greater Ease and Tranquillity. *We therefore jet down as deficient, AN ENQUIRY AFTER A METHOD OF CAUSING AN EXTERNAL COMPOSURE IN DYING^a*: calling it by the name of *external*, to distinguish it from the *internal Composure*, procured to the Soul in *Death*.

An Enquiry into the Means of procuring Composure in Death deficient.

12. Again, we generally find this *Deficiency in the Cures of Diseases*, that tho' the present *Physicians* tolerably pursue the *general Intentions of Cures*; yet they have NO PARTICULAR MEDICINES, WHICH, BY A SPECIFICK PROPERTY REGARD PARTICULAR DISEASES: for they lose the benefit of Traditions, and approved Experience, by their authoritative Procedure in adding, taking away, and changing the Ingredients of their Receipts at pleasure; after the manner of Apothecaries, substituting one thing for another; and thus haughtily commanding *Medicine*, so that *Medicine* can no longer command the *Disease*. For except *Venice-Treacle*, *Mithridate*, *Diascordium*, the *Confession of Alkermes*, and a few more, they commonly tie themselves strictly to no certain Receipts: the other saleable Preparations of the Shops being in readiness, rather for general Purposes, than accommodated to any particular Cures; for they do not principally regard some one Disease, but have a general Virtue of opening Obstructions, promoting Concoction, &c. And hence it chiefly proceeds, that *Empiricks*, and *Women*, are often more successful in their Cures, than learned *Physicians*; because the former keep strictly and invariably to the use of *experienced Medicines*, without altering their Compositions^b. I remember a famous *Jew Physician* in *England*, would say, "your *European Physicians* are indeed Men of Learning; but they know nothing of *particular Cures for Diseases*." And he would sometimes jest a little irreverently, and say, "our *Physicians* were like *Bishops*, that had the *Keys of binding and loosing*; but no more^c." To be serious; it might be of great consequence, if

^a Physicians seem to apprehend some Danger, or unfavourable Construction, in pursuing this Design; for I have met with nothing upon the Subject: and all that they venture to do in Practice, is seldom more than to order *Opiates*, where they have an intention to render Death more calm and placid. The Author had certainly no design of recommending any Method for this purpose, that should be dangerous, immoral, or contrary to the Rules of Humanity, Decency, and good Sense; as may appear by the several unexceptionable Methods he proposes for lengthening Life, in his *History of Life and Death*. If he had been more explicit upon the ways he thought of, for procuring an easy Death, perhaps he would not have confined himself to *Internals*; but have mentioned also some *external Contrivances* for soothing the Mind, lulling the Senses, and introducing Composure; as by *grateful Odours*, *soft and solemn Musick*, *pleasing Sights*, *refreshing Baths*, &c. But *Physick* can scarce bear the mention of such things as these: and therefore whoever would write an useful *Treatise* on this Subject, should guard it with *Address* and *Judgment*.

^b What the Author here recommends, is a Discovery of *Specifick Medicines*; a Subject nobly treated by *Mr. Boyle*: and to say the Truth, the Improvement of *Medicine* principally depends on the Knowledge and Use of *Specificks*; but the *Art of discovering them*, without leaving the Business to Chance and Accident, seems very little known in our time; tho' the Author, long since, taught and practised it: I mean, he taught it in his *Novum Organum*, and practised it in his *History of Life and Death*.

^c Thus *Dr. Quincey* complains, that the standing Medicines of the Shops are left so coarse in their Composition, that we can do little more than purge or vomit with them; whereas, the removal

A Work of approved Remedies wanting.

if some Physicians, eminent for Learning and Practice, would compile A WORK OF APPROVED AND EXPERIENCED MEDICINES IN PARTICULAR DISEASES. For tho' one might speciously pretend, that a learned Physician should rather suit his Medicines occasionally, as the Constitution of the Patient, his Age, Customs, the Seasons, &c. require, than rest upon any certain Prescriptions; yet this is a fallacious Opinion, that under-rates Experience, and over-rates human Judgment. And as those Persons in the Roman State were the most serviceable, who being either *Consuls*, favoured the People, or *Tribunes*, and inclined to the Senate; so are those the best Physicians, who being either learned, duly value the Traditions of Experience; or Men of eminent Practice, that do not despise Methods, and the general Principles of the Art. But if Medicines require, at any time, to be qualified, this may rather be done in the *Vehicles*, than in the Body of the Medicine, where nothing should be alter'd without apparent necessity. Therefore *this part of PHYSICK WHICH TREATS OF AUTHENTICK AND POSITIVE REMEDIES^a, we note as deficient*: but the business of supplying it, is to be undertaken with great judgment; and, as by a COMMITTEE OF PHYSICIANS, chose for that purpose.

The Imitation of natural Baths and Springs deficient.

13. And for the *Preparation of Medicines*; it seems strange, especially as *mineral ones* have been so celebrated by Chemists, tho' safer for external than internal use; that no body hath hitherto attempted any ARTIFICIAL IMITATIONS OF NATURAL BATHS, AND MEDICINAL SPRINGS; whilst 'tis acknowledged that these receive their virtues from the *mineral Veins* thro' which they pass: and especially since human industry can, by certain separations, discover with what kind of *Minerals* such Waters are impregnated; as whether by *Sulphur, Vitriol, Iron, &c.* And if these natural impregnations of Waters are reducible to artificial Compositions, it would then be in the power of Art to make more kinds of them occasionally; and at the same time to regulate their temperature at pleasure. *This part, therefore, of Medicine, concerning the ARTIFICIAL IMITATION OF NATURAL BATHS AND SPRINGS, we set down as deficient; and recommend as an easy as well as useful undertaking^b.*

I 4.

removal of inveterate Obstructions, and Diseases seated in the habit of the Body, require such Remedies, as will preserve their Virtues to the farthest Stages of Circulation, and operate there, without affecting the first Passages. See his PHARMACEUTICK LECTURES, and *Mechanical Account of the Operations of Medicines on the human Body, in the APPENDIX* to them.

^a Such Medicines, if any where to be found, might, one should think, appear in the publick *Pharmacopœias* of particular Countries, or in the most approved, or best authorized *Practices* of every Age; which have usually been made publick by some Writer or other. But whoever looks attentively into such Books, will not find what might be expected; or what the nature of Men and Things is certainly capable of affording: as if there were some strange Fatality attending the Art whereon the Lives and Felicities of Mankind depend. Dr. *Sydenham*, however, among the *English*, made some practical Improvements in Medicine; and our later *Physicians* are got into a ready and commodious Method of Practice; which is, in some measure, digested of late into a Body, for the service of others, under the Title of A NEW PRACTICE OF PHYSICK; the third Edition whereof, is the more correct, and somewhat enlarged.

^b And yet it has not been hitherto prosecuted to that length the Subject requires. Dr. *Lister*, however, and Mr. *Boyle*, set in earnest about it; the one writing *de Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ*, and the other *Memoirs for the Natural History of Mineral Waters*: the *Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris*, also, thought it an Enquiry worthy of their illustrious Body, as appears from their *Memoirs*;

14. The last *Deficiency* we shall mention seems to us of great importance; *The Physicians Cure deficient.* viz. that the *Methods of Cure in use are too short to effect any thing that is difficult, or very considerable.* For it is rather *vain and flattering, than just and rational,* to expect that any *Medicine* should be so effectual, or so successful, as by the sole use thereof to work any great *Cure.* It must be a *powerful Discourse,* which tho' often repeated, should correct any deep-rooted and inveterate vice of the *Mind.* Such *Miracles* are not to be expected: But the things of greatest efficacy in *Nature,* are *Order, Perseverance,* and an *artificial Change of applications;* which tho' they require exact judgment to prescribe, and precise observance to follow; yet this is amply recompenced by the great effects they produce. To see the daily Labours of *Physicians* in their *Visits, Consultations, and Prescriptions,* one would think that they diligently pursued the *Cure,* and went directly in a certain beaten *Track* about it: but whoever looks attentively into their *Prescriptions and Directions,* will find, that the most of what they do is full of uncertainty, wavering, and irresolution; without any certain *View, or Foreknowledge,* of the *Course of the Cure.* Whereas they should from the first, after having fully and perfectly discovered the *Disease,* chuse, and resolve upon, some regular *Process or Series of Cure;* and not depart from it without sufficient reason. Thus *Physicians* should know, for example, that perhaps three or four *Remedies* rightly prescribed in an inveterate *Disease,* and taken in due order, and at due distances of time, may perform a *Cure;* and yet the same *Remedies* taken independently of each other, in an inverted order, or not at stated periods, might prove absolutely prejudicial. Tho' we mean not, that every scrupulous and superstitious *Method of Cure,* should be esteemed the best; but that the *Way* should be as exact as 'tis confined and difficult. *And this part of Medicine we note as deficient, under the name of THE PHYSICIANS CLUE OR DIRECTORY^a.* And these are the Things wanting in the *Doctrine of Medicine,* for the cure of *Diseases,* but there still remains one Thing more, and of greater use, than all the rest, viz. A *GENUINE AND ACTIVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,* *But principally a Natural Philosophy fundamental to the Art.* WHEREON TO BUILD THE SCIENCE OF *PHYSICK^b.*

15.

Memoirs; and the *Sieur du Clos,* and many others, both in *France, England* and elsewhere, have wrote upon the *Subject;* but none perhaps to better purpose than *Dr. Hoffman:* who proceeding upon direct *Experiment and Observation* for a series of years, has shewn that *Medicine* may receive very considerable improvements in this *Way.* The *several Pieces* of his upon this *subject,* lately published, with a few *Notes,* under the Title of *New Experiments and Observations upon MINERAL WATERS,* may perhaps confirm this to the *English Reader.*

^a This *FILUM MEDICINALE,* as the Author terms it, or *Method of prescribing Medicines in their best, exactest, and most direct order, for effecting a Cure,* is not, that I know of, professedly wrote upon. *Physicians,* however, usually observe some kind of order in their *Prescriptions.* Thus, for instance, they begin the *Cure of inflammatory Diseases* with *Bleeding,* then proceed to *Emetics,* next to *Perspiratives, or Sudorificks;* then, near the *Crisis,* to *Opiates, Alteratives,* and *Non-significants;* and conclude with *Purgatives* and *Stomachicks.* But whether this order could not be altered for the better in some points, or improved in the whole, may deserve *Enquiry;* at least the *Physical Reasons* whereon this *Order* depends, have not hitherto been satisfactorily shewn; so that it seems rather a *Mechanical Process,* authorized by *Custom,* than a *rational Method* scientifically deduced, or the best that possibly might be discovered.

^b The modern *Physicians* have not been wanting in their endeavours to found their *Art* upon the *current Philosophies* of their *Times.* Thus *Physick,* that was lately *Cartesian,* is now becoming *Newtonian.*

The third part
of Medicine, or
the ways of
prolonging
Life, deficient.

Admonitions
with regard to
the prolonga-
tion of Life.

15. We make the *third Part of Medicine* regard the *Prolongation of Life*: This is a *new Part*, and *deficient*; tho' the most noble of all: for if it may be supplied, *Medicine* will not then be wholly versed in fordid Cures; nor Physicians be honoured only for necessity; but as Dispensers of the greatest earthly Happiness, that could well be confer'd on Mortals: for tho' the World be but as a wilderness to a *Christian* travelling thro' it to the *promis'd Land*; yet it would be an Instance of the divine Favour, that our clothing, that is, our bodies, should be little worn while we sojourn here. And as this is a *capital part of Physick*, and as we note it for *deficient*, we shall lay down some Directions about it^a.

16. And *first*, no Writer extant upon this Subject has made any great or useful discovery therein. *Aristotle* indeed has left us a short Memoir, wherein there are some admonitions after his manner, which he supposes to be all that can be said of the matter; but the moderns have here wrote so weakly and superstitiously, that the Subject itself, thro' their vanity, is reputed vain and senseless. (2.) The very Intentions of Physicians upon this head are of no validity; but rather lead from the point than direct to it. For they talk as if *Death* consisted in a destitution of heat and moisture; and therefore that natural heat should be comforted, and radical moisture cherished: as if the Work were to be effected by Broths, Lettuce, and Mal-lows; or again, by Spices, generous Wines, Spirits, or chemical Oils; all which rather do hurt, than good. (3.) We admonish mankind, to cease their Trifling, and not weakly imagine that such a great work as retarding the Course of Nature can be effected by a morning's draught, the use of any costly Medicines, Pearls, or *Aurum Potabile* itself; but be assured, that the *prolongation of Life* is a laborious work, that requires many kinds of Remedies, and a proper continuation and intermixture thereof: for it were stupidity to expect, that what was never yet done, should be effected, otherwise than by means hitherto unattempted. (4.) Lastly, we admonish them rightly to observe and distinguish betwixt what conduces to Health, and what to a long Life: for some things, tho' they exhilarate the Spirits, strengthen the Faculties, and prevent Diseases; are yet destructive to Life, and, without sickness, bring on a wasting old Age: whilst there are others which prolong Life, and prevent Decay; tho' not to be used without danger to Health: so that when employed for the *prolongation of Life*, such inconveniencies must be guarded against, as might otherwise happen upon using them.

17.

Newtonian. But the *Natural Philosophy* here noted by the Author, as wanting, for this purpose, should not be derived from any particular Systems; but collected from Nature her self. The Experiments and Observations of Mr. *Boyle*, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and *French Memoirs*, afford many Materials for this Work; which, upon the foundation of the modern mechanical Experience, seems begun by that excellent Physician Dr. *Friderick Hoffman*, in his *Medicinal, Chemical, and Philosophical Pieces*.

^a The Author had not, at this time, wrote his *History of Life and Death*; which proceeds exactly upon the following Directions; and is the Execution of the *Plan* here laid down: tho' offered not as a *finished History*, but as an *Introduction to farther Enquiry* upon this interesting Subject; which has not been since prosecuted suitably to its Merit. See *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. II. Part I. Lib. II. pag. 293.

17. Things seem to us preservable either in their *own Substance*, or by *Repair*: in their *own Substance*, as a *Fly*, or an *Ant*, in *Amber*; a *Flower*, an *Apple*, &c. in *Conservatories of Snow*; or a *Corps* in *Balsam*: by *Repair*, as in *Flame* and *mechanick Engines*. He who attempts to *prolong Life*, must practise both these *Methods* together; for separate, their force is less. The *human Body* must be preserved as *Bodies inanimate* are; again, as *Flame*; and lastly, in some measure as *Machines* are preserved. There are, therefore, three *Intentions for the prolongation of Life*, viz. (1.) to hinder waste, (2.) secure a good repair, and (3.) to renew what begins to decay. I Waste is caused by two depredations; viz. that of the *internal Spirit*; and that of the *external Air*: and both are prevented two ways, viz. by making these agents less predatory, or the patients, that is, the *Juices of the Body*, less apt to be prey'd on. The *Spirit* is rendered less predatory, if either its substance be condensed; as, (1.) by the use of *Opiates*, *Preparations of Nitre*, and in *Contristation*; or (2.) if it be lessened in *Quantity*, as by *Fasting* and *Diet*; and (3.) if it be moderated in its motion, as by *rest* and *quiet*. The *ambient Air* becomes less predatory, either when 'tis less heated by the *Sun*, as in the *cold countries*, *caves*, *hills*; or kept from the body, as by *close skins*, the *plumage of birds*, and the use of *oil* and *unguents*, without *spices*. The *juices of the body* are rendered less subject to be prey'd on, if made more *hardy*, or more *oleaginous*, as by a *rough astringent diet*, living in the *cold*, *robust exercises*, the use of certain *mineral Baths*, *sweet things*, and abstaining from such as are *salt* or *acid*; but especially by means of such *Drinks* as consist of *subtile parts*, yet without *acrimony* or *tartness*.

II. *Repair* is procured by *Nourishment*; and *Nourishment* is promoted four ways: (1.) by forwarding *internal concoction*, which drives forth the *Nourishment*; as by *medicines* that invigorate the *principal Viscera*; (2.) by exciting the *external parts* to attract the *Nourishment*; as by *exercise*, *proper Frictions*, *Uctions* and *Baths*; (3.) by preparing the *Aliment* itself, that it may more easily insinuate, and require less *digestion*; as in many *artificial ways* of preparing *meats*, *drinks*, *bread*, and reducing the *Effects* of these three to one^a. Again, (4.) by the last act of *assimilation*, as in *seasonable sleep*, and *external applications*.

III. The *Renovation* of parts worn out is perform'd two ways; either by softening the habit of the body, as with *suppling applications*, in the way of *Bath*, *Plaster*, or *Uction*, of such qualities as to insinuate into the parts, but extract nothing from them; or by discharging the old, and substituting new moisture, as in *seasonable* and *repeated purging*, *bleeding*, and *attenuating Diets*, which restore the bloom of the body.

18. Several *Rules for the conduct of the Work* are derivable from these *Indications*; but three of the more principal are the following. And first, *prolongation of Life is rather to be expected from stated Diets, than from any common regimen of Food, or the virtues of particular Medicines*: for those things that have force enough to turn back the *Course of Nature*, are commonly too violent to be compounded into a *Medicine*, much more to be mix'd with the ordinary food: and must therefore be administered *orderly*, *regularly*, and

Rules for the conduct of the Work.

^a See the Author's *New Atlantis*, SUPPLEMENT I. and the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the *Articles* *FOODS* and *NOURISHMENT*.

at set periods. (2.) We next lay it down as a Rule, *that the prolongation of life be expected, rather from working upon the Spirits, and mollifying the parts, than from the manner of alimention.* For as the human body, and the internal structure thereof, may suffer from three things, *viz.* the *Spirits*, the *Parts*, and *Aliments*; the way of prolonging life, by means of alimention, is tedious, indirect and winding; but the ways of working upon the *Spirits* and the *Parts*, much shorter: for the *Spirits* are suddenly affected, both by Effluvia and the Passions, which may work strangely upon them; and the *Parts* also by Baths, Unguents, or Plaisters, which will likewise have sudden impressions. (3.) Our last Precept is, *that the softening of the external Parts be attempted by such things as are penetrating, astringent, and of the same nature with the body:* the latter are readily received and entertained; and properly soften: and penetrating things are as vehicles to those that mollify; and more easily convey, and deeply impress the virtue thereof; whilst themselves also, in some measure, operate upon the Parts: but Astringents keep in the virtue of them both, and somewhat fix it, and also stop *Perffiration*, which would otherwise be contrary to mollifying, as sending out the moisture: therefore the whole affair is to be effected by these three means used in order and succession, rather than together. Observe only, that 'tis not the intention of mollifying to nourish the parts externally; but only to render them more capable of Nourishment: for dry things are less disposed to assimilate. And so much for the *Prolongation of Life*, which we make the *Third*, or a *new Part of Medicine*^a.

The Arts of Decoration divided into civil and effeminate.

19. The *Art of Decoration, or Beautifying*, has two *Parts*, *civil* and *effeminate*. For cleanliness, and decency of the body, were always allow'd to proceed from moral modesty and reverence; *first*, towards *God*, whose creatures we are; next, towards *Society*, wherein we live; and lastly, towards ourselves, whom we ought to reverence still more than others. But false *Decorations, Fucus's* and *Pigments*, deserve the imperfections that constantly attend them; being neither exquisite enough to deceive, nor commodious in application, nor wholesome in their use. And 'tis much that this depraved custom of *painting the Face*, should so long escape the penal *Laws*; both of the church and itate; which have been very severe against *Luxury* in apparel, and effeminate trimming of the hair. We read of *Jezabel*, that she painted her *Face*; but not so of *Esther* and *Judith*.

Gymnasticks divided into the Arts of activity, and the Arts of suffering.

20. We take *GYMNASTICKS*, in a large sense, to signify whatever relates to the hability whereto the human body may be brought, whether of *activity* or *suffering*. *ACTIVITY* has two parts, *Strength* and *Swiftness*; so has *ENDURANCE* or *SUFFERING*, *viz.* with regard to natural Wants; and Fortitude under Torture. Of all these, we have many remarkable Instances, in the Practices of *Rope-dancers*, the hardy Lives of *Savages*, surprizing Strength

^a This *Part* of *Medicine* continues new still, as not being hitherto received and cultivated by *Physicians*, as any part of their Profession; tho' perhaps it depends upon more certain Principles than the *cure of Diseases*, and is, in its nature, capable of superseding the other *Parts* of the Profession. If the *Author's History of Life and Death* were to be continued, Mr. *Graunt's Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality*, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the *German Ephemerides*, are proper Books to consult for the purpose. See also *Morbof's Polyhistor*, Cap. *de Tempore*, and *Paschius de Novis Inventis*, &c. Cap. VI. *de Inventis Medicis*.

Strength of Lunatics, and the Constancy and Resolution of many under exquisite Torments. Any other Faculties that fall not within the former Division, as Diving, or the power of continuing long under water without respiration, and the like, we refer them also to GYMNASTICKS. And here, tho' the things themselves are common; yet the Philosophy and Causes thereof are usually neglected; perhaps because men are persuaded that such masteries over Nature, are only obtainable, either from a peculiar and natural disposition in some men, which comes not under Rules; or by a constant custom from childhood, which is rather imposed than taught. And tho' this be not altogether true, yet 'tis here of small consequence to note any *Deficiency*; for the *Olympick Games* are long since ceas'd; and a mediocrity in these things is sufficient for use; whilst excellency in them, serves commonly but for mercenary shew.

21. The ARTS OF ELEGANCE are divided with respect to the two Senses of *Sight* and *Hearing*. *Painting* particularly delights the *Eye*; so do numerous other *magnificent Arts*, relating to Buildings, Gardens, Apparel, Vessels, Gems, &c. *Musick* pleases the *Ear*, with great variety and apparatus of Sounds, Voices, Strings, and Instruments: and anciently *Water-organs* were esteemed as great Master-pieces in this *Art*, tho' now grown into disuse. The *Arts* which relate to the *Eye* and *Ear*, are, above the rest, accounted *liberal*; these two Senses being the more pure; and the *Sciences* thereof more learned, as having *Mathematicks* to attend them. The one also has some relation to the *Memory* and *Demonstrations*; the other, to *Manners* and the *Passions of the Mind*. The Pleasures of the other Senses, and the *Arts* employ'd about them, are in less repute; as approaching nearer to sensuality than magnificence. *Unguents*, *Perfumes*, the *Furniture of the Table*, but principally *Incitements to Lust*, should rather be censured than taught. And it has been well observed, that while *States* were in their increase, *military Arts* flourished; when at their heights, the *liberal Arts*; but when upon their decline, the *Arts of Luxury*. With the *Arts of Pleasure*, we join also the *jocular Arts*; for the Deception of the Senses may be reckon'd one of their Delights.

22. And now, as so many things require to be considered with relation to the human Body, *viz.* the *Parts*, *Humors*, *Functions*, *Faculties*, *Accidents*, &c. since we ought to have an *entire Doctrine of the Body of Man*, which should comprehend them all; yet lest *Arts* should be thus too much multiplied, or their ancient limits too much disorder'd; we receive into the *System of Medicine*, the *Doctrines of the Parts*, *Functions*, and *Humors of the Body*; *Respiration*, *Sleep*, *Generation*; the *Fœtus*, *Gestation in the Womb*; *Growth*, *Puberty*, *Baldness*, *Fatness*, and the like; tho' these do not properly belong either to the *Preservation of Health*, *the Cure of Diseases*, or *the Prolongation of Life*; but because the human body is, in every respect, the subject of *Medicine*. But for voluntary *Motion* and *Sense*, we refer them to the *Doctrine of the Soul*, as two principal parts thereof. And thus we conclude the *Doctrine of the Body*, which is but as a *Tabernacle to the Soul*.

S E C T. X.

Of the DOCTRINE of the HUMAN SOUL.

The Doctrine of the human Soul divided into the Doctrine of the inspired Substance and that of the sensitive Soul.

I. **W**E now come to the DOCTRINE OF THE HUMAN SOUL, from whose Treasures all other Doctrines are derived. It has two Parts, the one treating of the *rational Soul*, which is divine; the other, of the *irrational Soul*, which we have in common with Brutes. Two different Emanations of Souls are manifest in the first Creation, the one proceeding from the *Breath of God*; the other from the *Elements*^a. As to the primitive Emanation of the *rational Soul*; the Scripture says, *God formed Man of the dust of the Earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of Life*: But the Generation of the *irrational and brutal Soul*, was in these words; *Let the Water bring forth; Let the Earth bring forth*. And this *irrational Soul* in Man, is only an instrument to the *rational one*; and has the same origin in us, as in Brutes, viz. the *dust of the Earth*; for 'tis not said, *God form'd the body of Man of the dust of the Earth; but God formed Man*, that is, the whole Man, the *Breath of Life* excepted, *of the dust of the Earth*. We will therefore stile the *first Part* of the general Doctrines of the human Soul, the *Doctrine of the inspired Substance*; and the *other Part*, the *Doctrine of the sensitive or produced Soul*. But as we are here treating wholly of *Philosophy*, we would not have borrowed this *Division* from *Divinity*, had it not also agreed with the *Principles of Philosophy*. For there are many excellencies of the *human Soul* above the *Souls of Brutes*, manifest even to those who philosophize only according to sense. And wherever so many, and such great excellencies are found, a specifick difference should always be made. We do not, therefore, approve that confused and promiscuous manner of the Philosophers, in treating the functions of the Soul; as if the *Soul of Man* differ'd in degree rather than species, from the *Soul of Brutes*; as the *Sun* differs from the *Stars*, or *Gold* from other *Metals*. There may also be another *Division* of the general Doctrines of the human Soul, into the *Doctrine of the Substance and Faculties* of the Soul; and that of the *Use and Objects of the Faculties*. And these two *Divisions* being premised, we come to particulars.

The Enquiry into the Substance of the rational Soul refer'd to inspir'd Theology.

2. The *Doctrine of the inspired Substance*, as also of the *Substance of the rational Soul*, comprehends several Enquiries, with relation to its nature; as whether the Soul be *native*, or *adventitious*; *separable*, or *inseparable*; *mortal*, or *immortal*; *how far 'tis subject to the Laws of Matter*, *how far not*, and the like? But the points of this kind, tho' they might be more thoroughly sifted in *Philosophy* than hitherto they have been; yet in the end they must be turned over to *Religion*, for determination and decision: otherwise they will

^a Thus Man is divided into three distinct Parts, viz. *Body, Soul, and Spirit*, according to the Doctrines of *Plato*, the primitive *Christians*, and some of the *Moderas*. See *Raschius de Novis Inventis*, pag. 359, 360. See also below, §. 3.

will lie exposed to various Errors, and Illusions of Sense. For as the *Substance of the Soul* was not, in its creation, extracted, or deduced from the mass of Heaven and Earth, but immediately *inspired by God*; and as the Laws of Heaven and Earth are the proper subjects of Philosophy; no knowledge of the substance of the rational Soul can be had from Philosophy, but must be derived from the same *divine Inspiration*, whence the Substance thereof originally proceeded.

3. But in the *Doctrine of the sensitive or produced Soul*; even its substance may be justly enquired into; tho' this Enquiry seems hitherto wanting^a: for of what significancy are the terms of *Ætus Ultimus*, and *Forma Corporis*; and such logical trifles, to the knowledge of the Soul's Substance? The *sensitive Soul* must be allow'd a corporeal Substance, attenuated by heat, and rendered invisible; as a subtile breath, or *Aura*, of a flamy and airy nature, having the softness of air in receiving impressions, and the activity of fire in exerting its action; nourish'd partly by an oily and partly by a watry substance; and diffused thro' the whole body: but in perfect creatures, residing chiefly in the head; and thence running thro' the nerves; being fed and recruited by the spirituous blood of the Arteries; as *Telefius*, and his Follower *Donius*, in some measure have usefully shewn. Therefore let this *Doctrine* be more diligently enquir'd into^b; because the ignorance of it has produced superstitious and very corrupt opinions, that greatly lessen the dignity of the human Soul; such as the *Transmigration* and *Lustration* of Souls thro' certain periods of years; and the too near relation, in all respects, of the human Soul to the Soul of Brutes. For this *Soul in Brutes* is a principal Soul, whereof their Body is the Organ; but in Man 'tis itself an Organ of the *rational Soul*, and may rather be called by the name *Spirit* than *Soul*.

The Enquiry of the sensitive Soul neglected.

4. The *Faculties of the Soul* are well known; viz. the Understanding, Reason, Imagination, Memory, Appetite, Will, and all those wherewith *Logicks* and *Ethicks* are concern'd. In the *Doctrine of the Soul*, the *Origin* of these *Faculties* must be physically treated, as they may be innate and adhering to the Soul: But their uses and objects are referr'd to other Arts. And in this part nothing extraordinary has hitherto appear'd^c; tho' we do not indeed report it as wanting. This *Part* of the *Faculties of the Soul* has also two APPENDAGES, which as they have yet been handled, rather present us with smোক, than any clear flame of truth; one being the doctrine of *natural Divination*; the other of *Fascination*.

The Doctrine of the Soul requires an Enquiry into the origin of its Faculties.

5.

^a See Cordemoy, *le Discernment du Corps & de l'Âme; de la Forge, Traité de l'Esprit de de l'Homme; & Malbranche, Recherche de la Vérité.*

^b This Enquiry lies greatly embroiled by the Moderns; some seeking the *Soul* all over the *Body*, some in the *Blood*, some in the animal *Spirits*, some in the *Heart*, some in the *Ventricles* of the *Brain*, and some, with *des Cartes*, in the *Glandula Pinealis*. If the *Discovery* be possible, the best way of making it, is perhaps that of the *Author* laid down in the *Noxum Organum*, for the *conduct* of *Enquiries*, and the *investigation* of *Forms*; as without some such *Method* the *Mind* seems but to search in the *Dark*. *M. Petit* wrote a curious *Piece* relating to this subject, entitled, *de Animâ Corpori coextensâ*; printed at *Paris* 1665. See also *Hobokenius de Sede Animâ in Corpore humano.*

^c See *Mr. Locke's Essay upon human Understanding*, and *Father Malbranche's Recherche de la Vérité.*

Two Appen-
dages of this
Doctrine, viz.
Divination
and Fascina-
tion.

5. DIVINATION has been anciently, and properly, *divided into Artificial and Natural*. The *artificial* draws its Predictions by reasoning from the indication of signs: But the *natural* predicts from the internal foresight of the mind; without the assistance of signs. *Artificial Divination* is of two kinds; one arguing from Causes; the other only from Experiments, conducted by blind authority. The latter is generally superstitious. Such were the heathen Doctrines about the inspection of Entrails, the flight of Birds, &c. And the formal *Astrology of the Chaldeans* was little better. Both kinds of *artificial Divination* spread themselves into various Sciences. The *Astrologer* has his predictions from the *Aspects of the Stars*. The *Physician* too has his; as to death, recovery, and the subsequent symptoms of diseases; from the *Urine, Pulse, Aspect of the Patient*, &c. The *Politician* also is not without his predictions; *“O urbem venalem, & cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!* The Event of which *Prophecy* happened soon after; and was first accomplished in *Sylla*, and again in *Cæsar*. But the Predictions of this kind, being not to our present purpose, we refer them to their proper Arts: and shall here only treat of *natural Divination, proceeding from the internal power of the Soul*.

Divination
from the in-
ternal Power
of the Soul, di-
vided into na-
tive, and that
by influx.

6. This also is of two kinds; the one *native*, the other by *influx*. The *native* rests upon this supposition, that the Mind abstracted or collected in itself, and not diffused in the organs of the body, has from the natural power of its own essence, some foreknowledge of future things. And this appears chiefly in sleep, extasies, and the near approach of Death; but more rarely in waking, or when the body is in health and strength. And this state of the mind is commonly procured, or promoted, by abstinence; and principally such things as withdraw the Mind from exercising the functions of the Body; that it may thus enjoy its own nature, without any external interruption. But *Divination by influx*, is grounded upon another supposition, *viz.* that the Mind, as a mirror, may receive a secondary illumination from the foreknowledge of God and Spirits; whereto likewise the above mention'd state and regimen of the Body are conducive. For the same abstraction of the Mind causes it more powerfully to use its own nature; and renders it more susceptible of *divine influxes*: only in *Divinations by influx*, the Soul is seized with a kind of rapture, and as it were impatience of the Deity's presence, which the Ancients called by the name of *sacred fury*; whereas in *native Divination* the Soul is rather at its ease, and free.

Fascination
the effect of
Imagination.

7. FASCINATION is the Power and intense Act of the Imagination upon the Body of another. And here the School of *Paracelsus*, and the Pretenders to *Natural Magick*, abusively so called, have almost made the force and apprehension of the Imagination equal to the Power of Faith, and capable of working *Miracles*. Others, keeping nearer to Truth, and attentively considering the secret Energies and Impressions of Things; the Irradiations of the Senses; the Transmissions of Thought from one to another; the Conveyances of magnetick Virtues, &c. are of opinion, that Impressions, Conveyances, and Communications, might be made from *Spirit to Spirit*; be-
cause

“ O City set to sale, whose destruction is at hand, if it find a purchaser!

cause *Spirit* is, of all things, the most powerful in operation, and easiest to work on: whence many Opinions have spread abroad of Master-Spirits; of Men ominous, and unlucky; of the Strokes of Love, Envy, and the like. And this is attended with the *Enquiry, how the Imagination may be heighten'd and fortified?* For if a strong *Imagination* has such power, 'tis worth knowing by what means to exalt and raise it ^a.

8. But here a Palliative, or *Defence, of a great part of Ceremonial Magick*, would slyly, and indirectly, insinuate itself, under a specious, tho' dangerous, Pretence, that *Ceremonies, Characters, Charms, Gesticulations, Amulets*, and the like, have not their power from any tacit, or binding, Contract with evil Spirits; but that these serve only to strengthen and raise the Imagination of such as use them; in the same manner as Images have prevail'd in Religion, for fixing Mens Minds in the Contemplation of Things, and raising the Devotion in Prayer. But allowing the Force of Imagination to be great, and that Ceremonies do raise and strengthen it; allowing also that Ceremonies may be sincerely used to that end, as a physical Remedy, without the least design of thereby procuring the assistance of Spirits; yet ought they still to be held unlawful: because they oppose, and contradict, that *divine Sentence* pass'd upon Man for Sin; *In the Sweat of thy Brow thou shalt eat thy Bread.* For this kind of Magick offers those excellent Fruits, which God hath ordained should be procured by Labour, at the price of a few easy and slight Observances.

Ceremonial
Magick not
allowable.

9. There are two other *Doctrines*, which principally regard the Faculties of the *inferior or sensitive Soul*, as chiefly communicating with the Organs of the Body; the one is, of *voluntary Motion*; the other, of *Sense and Sensibility*. The former has been but superficially enquired into; and one entire Part of it is almost wholly neglected. The Office and proper Structure of the Nerves, Muscles, &c. requisite to muscular Motion; what Parts of the Body rest while others move; and how the Imagination acts as Director of this Motion, so far, that when it drops the Image whereto the Motion tended, the Motion itself presently ceases; as in walking; if another serious Thought come across our Mind, we presently stand still; with many other such Subtilties; have long ago been observed and scrutinized: But *how the Compressions, Dilatations, and Agitations of the Spirit*, which, doubtless, is the Spring of Motion, should guide and rule the corporeal and gross Mass of the Parts, has not yet been diligently searched into, and treated. And no wonder, since the *sensitive Soul* itself has been hitherto taken for a Principle of Motion, and a Function, rather than a Substance. But as 'tis now known to be material; it becomes necessary to enquire, by what Efforts so subtle and minute a Breath can put such gross and solid Bodies in motion ^b. Therefore, as this part is deficient, let due Enquiry be made concerning it.

Two other
Doctrines of
the sensitive
Soul, viz.
that of volun-
tary Motion,
and that of
Sense and Sen-
sibility.

The Doctrine
of muscular
Motion de-
ficient.

10.

^a The ways of working upon, or with the *Imagination*, are touched by the Author, in his SYLVA SYLVARUM, under the Article *Imagination*. See more to this purpose in *Des Cartes* upon the Passions, *Cajauton* upon *Enthusiasm*, *Father Malbranche's Recherche de la Verité*, and the Lord *Shaftesbury's* Letter upon *Enthusiasm*.

^b *Muscular Motion* still remains a kind of Mystery in Philosophy, not penetrated to satisfaction, even by the modern mechanical and mathematical Learning. The Existence, or Agency of *spirit*

The Doctrine
of Sense and
Sensibility de-
ficient in two
Parts.

10. SENSE and SENSIBILITY have been much more fully and diligently enquired into, as well in general Treatises upon the Subject, as in particular Arts; viz. *Perspective, Musick, &c.* but how justly, is not to the present Intention. And therefore we cannot note them as *deficient*: yet there are *two excellent Parts wanting in this Doctrine*; one, upon the difference of *Perception and Sense*; and the other, upon the *Form of Light*. In treating of *Sense and Sensibility*, Philosophers should have premis'd the difference between *Perception* and *Sense*, as the Foundation of the whole: for we find there is a manifest *Power of Perception* in most natural Bodies; and a kind of appetite to chuse what is agreeable, and to avoid what is disagreeable to them. Nor is this meant of the more subtile *Perceptions* only; as when the Loadstone attracts Iron; or Flame flies to Petreol; or one drop of Water runs into another; or when the Rays of Light are reflected from a white Object; or when animal Bodies assimilate what is proper for them, and reject what is hurtful; or when a Sponge attracts Water, and expels Air, &c. for in all cases, no one Body placed near to another, can change that other, or be changed by it, unless a reciprocal Perception precede the Operation. A Body always perceives the Passages by which it insinuates; feels the Impulse of another Body, where it yields thereto; perceives the removal of any Body that with-held it, and thereupon recovers itself; perceives the Separation of its Continuity, and for a time resists it; in fine, *Perception is diffused thro' all Nature*^a. But *Air* has such an acute Perception of *Heat and Cold*, as far exceeds the human Touch; which yet pass'es for the measure of Heat and Cold. This *Doctrine*, therefore, has *two Defects*; one, in that Men have generally pass'd it over untouch'd, tho' a noble subject: the other, that they who did attend to it, have gone too far, attributed *Sense to all Bodies*, and made it almost a sin to pluck a Twig from a Tree, lest the Tree should groan, like *Polydorus* in *Virgil*. But they ought carefully to have search'd after the difference betwixt *Perception* and *Sense*; not only in comparing sensible with insensible Things, in the entire Bodies thereof, as those of Plants and Animals; but also to have observed in the sensible Body itself, what should be

animal Spirits is disputed; the introduction of a subtile elastick Medium is thought hypothetical; and the Arguments produced for various Hypotheses, in this obscure Subject, seem inconclusive. Perhaps we have not proceeded regularly in the *Enquiry*, or patiently observed and register'd all the Phænomena relating to it; but seen a little, presumed a great deal, and so jump'd to imperfect and contradictory Conclusions: as will ever be the case, if this Author's sober and laborious Method of Enquiring, or a better, if a better be discoverable, do not take place in *Philosophical Subjects*. See *Borelli de Motu Animalium*, *Boerhaave's Institutiones Medicae*, *Sir Isaac Newton's Queries* at the end of his *Opticks*, and *Dr. Pemberton's Preface to Cowper's Anatomy*.

^a This form of Speech may appear somewhat harsh at first, because *Perception* is generally used for Animal Perception, and the later Philosophers do not attribute a kind of animal *Sensation* to Matter, as *Campanella* and *Helmont* did: but the Expression means no more, than the general and particular ways wherein Bodies affect each other. Thus the power of *Attraction*, or *Gravitation*, as we now vulgarly call it, is common to all Matter; and may, in a due sense, be termed its general *Perception*. And so resistance is *felt* by Bodies upon contact, &c. This *Doctrine* is more fully explained in the *Novum Organum*, where the several kinds of *Motion* are consider'd; and requires to be duly prosecuted for the Improvement of Philosophy: as the Thing whereon all the Phænomena and Effects of Nature depend; and comprehending all the ways whereby Bodies affect, alter, and act upon each other: all which ways, may be consider'd as so many Appetites, or original Impressions in Bodies; or, to use the modern Phrase, as so many *Laws of Nature*.

be the cause that so many Actions are performed without any *Sense* at all. Why the Aliments are digested and discharged; the Humours and Juices carried up and down in the Body; why the Heart and Pulse beat; why the Viscera act as so many Work-shops; and each perform its respective Office; yet all this, and much more, be done without Sense. But Men have not yet sufficiently found *of what nature the Action of Sense* is; and what kind of Body, what Continuance, what Repetitions of the Impression are required to cause Pain or Pleasure. Lastly, they seem totally ignorant of the *difference between simple Perception and Sense*; and how far Perception may be caused without Sense. Nor is this a Controversy about Words, but a Matter of great Importance. Wherefore *let this Doctrine be better examin'd*, as a thing of capital, and very extensive, Use. For the Ignorance of some ancient Philosophers in this point, so far obscured the Light of Reason, that they thought there was a Soul indifferently infused into all Bodies; nor did they conceive how *Motion of Election, could be caused without Sense; or Sense exist, without a Soul.*

II. That the FORM OF LIGHT should not have been duly enquired into, appears a strange over-sight; especially as Men have bestow'd so much pains upon *Perspectiv*: for neither has this Art, nor others, afforded any valuable Discovery in the subject of Light. Its Radiations, indeed, are treated, but not its Origin: and the ranking of *Perspectiv* with *Mathematicks*, has produced this Defect, with others of the like nature; because *Philosophy* is thus deserted too soon. Again, the *Doctrine of Light*, and the Causes thereof, have been almost superstitiously treated in *Physicks*, as a Subject of a middle nature, betwixt natural and divine; whence certain *Platonists* would have Light prior to Matter itself: for they vainly imagin'd, that Space was first fill'd with Light; and afterwards with Body: but the Scriptures plainly say, *that the Mass of Heaven and Earth was dark, before the Creation of Light.* And as for what is physically deliver'd upon this Subject, and according to Sense, it presently descends to *Radiations*; so that very little *Philosophical Enquiry* is extant about it. And Men ought here to lower their Contemplations a little, and enquire into the Properties common to all *lucid Bodies*; as this relates to the *Form of Light*: how immensely soever the Bodies concern'd may differ in dignity, as the Sun does from rotten Wood, or putrefied Fish^a. We should likewise enquire the cause why some things take fire, and when heated throw out Light, and others not. Iron, Metals, Stones, Glafs, Wood, Oil, Tallow, by Fire yield either a Flame, or grow red-hot. But *Water* and *Air*, expos'd to the most intense Heat they are capable of, afford no Light, nor so much as shine. That 'tis not the property of Fire alone to give Light; and that Water and Air are not utter Enemies thereto, appears from the dashing of Salt-Water in a dark Night, and a hot Season; when the small Drops of the Water, struck off by the motion of the Oars in rowing, seem sparkling and luminous. We have the same appearance in the agitated Froth of the Sea, called *Sea-lungs*. And, indeed, it should be enquired what Affinity Flame and ignited Bodies have with *Glow-worms*, the *Luciola*, and the *Indian Fly*, which casts a Light over a whole Room; the Eyes of certain

The Enquiry into the Origin and Form of Light, deficient.

^a Which have a remarkable *luminous Property*.

Creatures in the dark; Loaf-Sugar, in scraping or breaking; the Sweat of a Horse hard ridden, &c. Men have understood so little of this matter, that most imagine the Sparks struck betwixt a *Flint* and *Steel*, to be Air in attrition. But since the Air ignites not with Heat, yet apparently conceives Light, whence Owls, Cats, and many other Creatures see in the Night; (for there is no Vision without Light;) there must be a native Light in Air; which, tho' weak and feeble, is proportion'd to the visual Organs of such Creatures; so as to suffice them for Sight. The Error, as in most other cases, lies here, that Men have not deduced the common Forms of Things from particular Instances; which is what we make the proper business of *Metaphysics*. Therefore let *Enquiry be made into the Form and Origins of Light*; and, in the mean time, we set it down as *deficient*^a. And so much for the *Doctrine of the Substance of the Soul*, both rational and sensitive, with its *Faculties*; and the *Appendages of this Doctrine*.

S E C T. XI.

The DOCTRINE of the FACULTIES of the HUMAN MIND.

The Doctrine of the mental Faculties divided into LOGICKS and ETHICKS.

1. **T**HE *Doctrine of the human Understanding, and of the human Will*, are like Twins; for the *Purity of Illumination*, and the *Freedom of Will*, began and fell together: nor is there in the Universe so intimate a Sympathy, as that betwixt *Truth* and *Goodness*. The more shame for Men of Learning, if in Knowledge they are like the winged Angels, but in Affections like the crawling Serpents; having their Minds indeed like a *Mirror*; but a *Mirror* foully spotted.

2. The *Doctrine of the Use and Objects of the mental Faculties*, has two parts, well known, and generally received; *viz. Logicks* and *Ethicks*. **LOGICKS** treat of the *Understanding* and *Reason*; and **ETHICKS** of the *Will*, *Appetite*, and *Affections*: the one producing *Resolutions*, the other *Actions*. The *Imagination*, indeed, on both sides, performs the Office of Agent, or Embassador; and assists alike in the judicial and ministerial Capacity. *Sense* commits all sorts of Notions to the *Imagination*; and the *Reason* afterwards judges of them. In like manner *Reason* transmits select and approved Notions to the *Imagination*, before the Decree is executed: for *Imagination* always precedes and excites voluntary Motion; and is therefore a common Instrument both to the *Reason* and the *Will*: only it has two Faces; that turn'd towards *Reason* bearing the *Effigy of Truth*; but that towards *Action*, the *Effigy of Goodness*: yet so as to appear the Effigies of Sisters.

3.

^a This Subject has been nobly prosecuted, and the Deficiency here noted, in good measure supplied by the Labours and Discoveries of Mr. Boyle and Sir Isaac Newton. The Author indeed carried the *Enquiry* to a considerable length himself, by means of the *Prism*, and other *Convincances*; as appears by the large *Example* for investigating the *Form of Light* in the *Novum Organum*; and his *Table of Enquiry* for the particular *History of Light and Splendor*, in the entrance of the *Scala Intellectus*. See Mr. Boyle of *Colours*, and Sir Isaac Newton's *Opticks*.

3. But the *Imagination* is more than a mere Messenger; as being invested with, or, at least, usurping no small Authority, besides delivering the Message. Thus, *Aristotle* well observes, that the Mind has the same command over the Body, as the Master over the Slave; but Reason over the Imagination, the same that a Magistrate has over a free Citizen; who may come to rule in his turn. For in *Matters of Faith and Religion*, the IMAGINATION mounts above REASON. Not that divine Illumination is seated in the Imagination; but, as in divine Virtues, *Grace* makes use of the Motions of the Will; so in *Illumination*, it makes use of the Motions of the Imagination: whence *Religion* sollicitly accedes to the Mind, by Similitudes, Types, Parables, Dreams, and Visions^a. Again, the *Imagination* has a considerable sway in *Persuasion*, insinuated by the power of Eloquence: for when the Mind is sooth'd, enraged, or any way drawn aside by the artifice of Speech; all this is done by raising the Imagination: which now growing unruly, not only insults over, but, in a manner, offers Violence to Reason; partly by blinding, partly by incensing it. Yet there appears no cause why we should quit our former Division: for in general, the Imagination does not make the Sciences; since even *Poetry*, which has been always attributed to the Imagination, should be esteem'd rather a Play of Wit, than a Science. As for the Power of the Imagination in natural things, we have already ranged it under the Doctrine of the Soul^b; and for its affinity with *Rhetorick*, we refer it to the Art of *Rhetorick*^c.

The Power of the Imagination over Reason.

4. This part of *human Philosophy* which regards *Logick*, is disagreeable to the taste of many; as appearing to them no other than a Net, and a Snare of thorny Subtilty. For as Knowledge is justly called the Food of the Mind; so in the desire and choice of this Food, most Men have the Appetite of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness; who, weary of Manna, as a thin, tho' celestial Diet, would have gladly return'd to the *Flesh-pots*: thus, generally those Sciences relish best, that participate of somewhat more filling, and nearer related to Flesh and Blood; as *Civil History*, *Morality*, *Politicks*; whereon Mens Affections, Praises, and Fortunes turn, and are employ'd: whilst the other *dry Light* offends, and dries up the soft and humid Capacities of most Men. But if we would rate things according to their real worth, the *rational Sciences* are the Keys to all the rest; for as the Hand is the Instrument of Instruments, and the Mind the Form of Forms; so the *rational Sciences* are to be esteem'd the *Arts of Arts*. Nor do they direct only, but also strengthen and confirm; as the use and habit of shooting, not only enables one to shoot nearer the Mark; but likewise to draw a stronger Bow.

Whence the dislike of many to Logick.

5. The *Logical Arts* are four; being divided according to the Ends they lead to: for in *rational Knowledge*, Man endeavours (1.) either to find what he seeks; (2.) to judge of what he finds; (3.) to retain what he has approved; or (4.) to deliver what he has retained: whence there are as many RATIONAL ARTS; viz. (1.) the ART OF ENQUIRY, OR INVENTION; (2.) the ART OF EXAMINATION, OR JUDGING; (3.) the ART OF CUSTODY, OR MEMORY; and (4.) the ART OF ELOCUTION, OR DELIVERY.

The four Logical Arts.

Q 2

6.

^a See hereafter, Sect. XXVIII. of *Inspired Theology*.

^b See above, Sect. X.

^c See hereafter, Sect. XVIII.

Invention of
two kinds, re-
lating to Arts
and Argu-
ments.

The Art of
inventing Arts
deficient.

Men hitherto
more beholden
to Brutes than
Reason for
Inventions.

6. INVENTION is of two very different kinds; the one of *Arts and Sciences*, the other of *Arguments and Discourse*. The former I set down as *absolutely deficient*. And this *Deficiency* appears like that, when in taking the Inventory of an Estate, there is set down, *in Cash, nothing*: for as ready Money will purchase all other Commodities; so this *Art*, if extant, would procure all other *Arts*. And as the immense Regions of the *West-Indies* had never been discover'd, if the use of the Compass had not first been known; 'tis no wonder, that the Discovery and *Advancement of Arts* hath made no greater progress, when the Art of Inventing, and Discovering, the Sciences remains hitherto unknown. That this part of Knowledge is wanting, seems clear: for *Logick* professes not, nor pretends, to invent either mechanical or liberal Arts; nor to deduce the Operations of the one, or the Axioms of the other; but only leaves us this Instruction in passage, *to believe every Artist in his own Art*. *Celsus*, a wise Man, as well as a Physician, speaking of the empirical and dogmatical Sects of Physicians, gravely and ingenuously acknowledges, *that Medicines and Cures were first discover'd, and the Reasons and Causes of them discoursed of afterwards: not that Causes, first derived from the nature of things, gave light to the Invention of Cures and Remedies*. And *Plato*, more than once, observes, that *Particulars are infinite; that the highest Generalities give no certain Directions; and therefore, that the Marrow of all Sciences, whereby the Artist is distinguished from the unskilful Workman, consists in middle Propositions, which Experience has deliver'd and taught in each particular Science*. Hence those who write upon the first *Inventors of Things*, and the *Origins of the Sciences*, rather celebrate *Chance* than *Art*; and bring in *Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Serpents*, rather than *Men*, as the first *Teachers of Arts*. No wonder, therefore, as the manner of Antiquity was to consecrate the *Inventors* of useful things, that the *Ægyptians*, an ancient Nation, to which many Arts owe their rise, had their Temples fill'd with the *Images of Brutes*, and but a few *human Idols* amongst them.

7. And if we should, according to the Traditions of the *Greeks*, ascribe the first *Invention of Arts* to *Men*; yet we cannot say that *Prometheus* studied the *Invention of Fire*; or that when he first struck the *Flint*, he expected *Sparks*; but that he fell upon it by accident; and, as the Poets say, *stole it from Jupiter*. So that as to the *Invention of Arts*, we are rather beholden to the *wild Goat for Chirurgery*; to the *Nightingal for Musick*; to the *Stork for Glysters*; to the accidental flying off of a *Pot's Cover, for Artillery*; and, in a word, to *Chance*, or any thing else, rather than to *Logick*. Nor does the manner of *Invention*, described by *Virgil*, differ much from the former; viz. that *Practice and intent Thought* by degrees struck out *various Arts*^a. For this is no other than what *Brutes* are capable of, and frequently practise; viz. an intent Sollicitude about some one thing, and a perpetual exercise thereof; which the necessity of their Preservation imposes upon them: for *Cicero* truly observed, that *Practice applied wholly to one thing, often conquers both Nature and Art*^b. And therefore, if it may be said, with regard to *Men*, that *continued Labour and cogent Necessity masters every thing*; so it may

^a *Ut varias Usus meditando extunderet Artes Paulatim.*

^b *Usus uni rei deditus, & Naturam & Artem saepe vincit;*

may be asked, with regard to Brutes, Who taught them Instinct? Who taught the *Raven*, in a Drought, to drop Pebbles into a hollow Tree, where she chanced to spy Water, that the Water might rise for her to drink? Who taught the *Bee* to sail thro' the vast Ocean of Air, to distant Fields, and find the way back to her Hive? Who taught the *Ant* to gnaw every Grain of Corn that she hoards, to prevent its sprouting? And if we observe in *Virgil*, the word *estundere*, which implies *Difficulty*; and the word *pau-latim*, which imports *Slowness*; this brings us back to the case of the *Ægyptian Gods*; since Men have hitherto made little use of their rational Faculties, and none at all of *Art*, in the Investigation of Things.

8. And this Assertion, if carefully attended to, is proved from the *Form* The Use of In-
of *Logical Induction*, for finding and examining the Principles of the *Sciences*: duction per-
which *Form* being absolutely defective and insufficient, is so far from per- verted and
fecting Nature, that it perverts and distorts her. For whoever attentively neglected.
observes how the *æthereal Dew of the Sciences* is gather'd, (the Sciences being
extracted from particular Examples, whether natural, or artificial, as from
so many Flowers,) will find that the Mind of its own natural Motion makes
a better *Induction*, than that describ'd by *Logicians*. From a bare enumera-
tion of Particulars, in the *logical manner*, where there is no *contradictory In-*
stance, follows a false Conclusion; nor does such an *Induction* infer any thing
more than probable conjecture. For who will undertake, when the Parti-
culars of a Man's own Knowledge, or Memory, appear only on one side;
that something directly opposite shall not lie concealed on the other? as
if *Samuel* should have taken up with the Sons of *Jesse* brought before him,
and not have sought *David*, who was in the field. And to say the truth, as
this *Form of Induction* is so gross and stupid, it might seem incredible, that
such acute and subtle Genius's as have been exercised this way, could ever
have obtruded it upon the World; but that they hasted to *Theories*, and
Opinions; and, as it were, disdain'd to dwell upon *Particulars*: For they
have used *Examples*, and *particular Instances*, but as *Whiffers*, to keep the
Croud off, and make room for their own *Opinions*; without consulting them
from the beginning, so as to make a just and mature Judgment of the truth
of things. And this Procedure has, indeed, struck me with an awful and re-
ligious wonder, to see Men tread the same Paths of Error, both in *divine*
and *human Enquiries*. For as in receiving *divine Truths*, Men are averse to
become as little Children; so in the apprehending of *human Truths*, for
Men to begin to read, and, like Children, come back again to the first *Ele-*
ments of Induction, is reputed a low and contemptible thing.

9. But, allowing the *Principles of the Sciences* might be justly form'd by A genuine
the *common Induction*, or by *Sense* and *Experience*; yet 'tis certain that the and correct
lower Axioms cannot, in natural things, be with certainty deduced by *Syllo-* Induction so
gism from them. For *Syllogism* reduces *Propositions* to *Principles*, by inter- be introduced.
mediate Propositions. And this *Form*, whether of *Invention* or *Proof*, has place
in the *popular Sciences*; as *Etbicks*, *Politicks*, *Law*, &c. and even in *Divinity*;
since *God* has been pleas'd to accommodate himself to the human Capacity:
but in *Physicks*, where Nature is to be caught by Works; and not the Ad-
versary, by Arguments; Truth, in this way, slips thro' our Fingers; be-
cause

cause the Subtily of the Operations of Nature, far exceeds the Subtily of Words^a. So that *Syllogism* thus failing, there is every where a necessity for employing a *genuine and correct* INDUCTION; as well in the more general Principles, as the inferior Propositions. For *Syllogisms* consist of *Propositions*, Propositions of *Words*; but *Words* are the *Signs of Notions*: wherefore if these *Notions*, which are the *Souls of Words*, be unjustly and unsteadily abstracted from things, the whole Structure must fall. Nor can any laborious subsequent Examination of the Consequences of Arguments, or the Truth of Propositions, ever repair the Ruin: for the Error lies in the *first Digestion*; which cannot be rectified by the secondary Functions of Nature^b.

The want of
genuine In-
duction, the
Cause of Scep-
ticism.

10. It was not, therefore, without cause, that many of the ancient *Philosophers*, and some of them eminent in their way, became *Academicks* and *Scepticks*; who denied all certainty of human Knowledge: and held that the Understanding went no further than *Appearance* and *Probability*. 'Tis true, some are of opinion, that *Socrates*, when he declared himself certain of nothing, did it only in the way of *Irony*, and put on the Dissimulation of Knowledge; that by renouncing what he certainly knew, he might be thought to know what he was ignorant of. Nor in the later *Academy*, which *Cicero* follow'd, was this Opinion held with much reality: but those who excell'd in Eloquence, commonly chose this *Sect*, as the fittest for their purpose; viz. acquiring the Reputation of Disputing copiously on both sides of the Question: thus leaving the *high Road of Truth*, for *private Walks of Pleasure*. Yet 'tis certain there were some few, both in the old and new *Academies*, but more among the *Scepticks*, who held this Principle of doubting, in Simplicity and Sincerity of Heart. But their chief Errör lay in accusing the *Perceptions of the Senses*; and thus pluck'd up the *Sciences* by *their roots*. For tho' the Senses often deceive, or fail us; yet, when industriously assisted, they may suffice for the *Sciences*: and this not so much by the help of Instruments, which also have their use, as of such Experiments, as may furnish more subtle Objects, than are perceivable by Sense. But they should rather have charged the Defects of this kind upon the Errors, and Obstinacy of the Mind, which refuses to obey the nature of things; and again, upon corrupt Demonstrations, and wrong ways of arguing and concluding, erroneously infer'd from the Perceptions of Sense. And this we say, not to detract from the human Mind, or as if the Work were to be deserted; but that proper assistances may be procured, and administer'd to the Understanding, whereby to conquer the Difficulties of Things, and the Obscurities of Nature. What we endeavour is, that *the Mind, by the help of Art, may become equal to Things*; and to find a certain *Art of Indication*,
or

The Art of In-
dication, or
Direction,
wanting.

^a This Observation is of the utmost importance: infomuch, that it is scarce possible, for want of a *Philosophical Language*, to express, with *Accuracy* and *Precision*, the Discoveries already made in Nature: as may evidently appear in the Writings of that successful Philosopher *Sir Isaac Newton*.

^b To illustrate this Doctrine by an *Example*; we need but consider the general Procedure of Philosophers in their Researches, by means of *Reasoning*, *Suppositions*, and *uncertain Essays*, instead of attentive *Observation*, careful *Experiment*, and *Confirmation* by repeated Trial. Thus the Principles of *Mineral Waters* have long been reason'd about, supposed and guessed at; and but of late begin to be deduced by close *Observation*, *Experience*, the Method of *Rejection*, and just *Induction*. And the same holds true proportionably in *Astronomy*, *Medicine*, and other Branches of *Physicks*.

or *Direction*, to disclose, and bring other *Arts* to light, together with their *Axioms* and *Effects*. And this *Art* we, upon just ground, report as *deficient*.

II. This ART OF INDICATION has two Parts: for *Indication* proceeds The two parts of this Art. (1.) from *Experiment* to *Experiment*; or (2.) from *Experiments* to *Axioms*; which may again point out new *Experiments*. The former we call LEARNED EXPERIENCE; and the latter the INTERPRETATION OF NATURE, *Novum Organum*, or new Machine for the *Mind*. The *first*, indeed, as was formerly intimated, is not properly an *Art*, or any part of *Philosophy*; but a kind of *Sagacity*: whence we sometimes call it the *Chase of Pan*; borrowing the Name from the *Fable* of that God^a. And as there are three ways of walking; *viz.* (1.) either by feeling out one's way in the dark; or (2.) when being dim-sighted, another leads one by the hand; and (3.) by directing one's Steps by a Light: so when a Man tries all kinds of *Experiments*, without Method, or Order, this is mere groping in the dark; but when he proceeds with some *Direction*, and Order, in his *Experiments*, 'tis as if he were led by the hand; and this we understand by *learned Experience*: but for the *Light* itself, which is the third way, it must be derived from the *Novum Organum*^b.

S E C T. XII.

Of LEARNED EXPERIENCE.

I. THE Design of LEARNED EXPERIENCE, or the Chase of *Pan*^c, The Design of Learned Experience. is to shew the various ways of making *Experiments*: and as we note it for *deficient*; and the thing itself is none of the clearest; we will here give some short Sketch of the *Work*. The *manner of Experimenting* chiefly consists in the *Variation, Production, Translation, Inversion, Compulsion, Application, Conjunction*, or any other manner of diversifying, or making *Chance-Experiments*. And all this lies without the limits of any *Axiom of Invention*: but the *Interpretation of Nature* takes in all the *Transitions of Experiments into Axioms*, and of *Axioms into Experiments*^d.

2. *Experiments are varied first in the Subject*; as when a known *Experiment*, The ways of varying Experiments. having rested in one certain *Substance*, is tried in another of the like kind: (1.) in the Subject. Thus the making of *Paper* is hitherto confin'd to *Linu*, and not applied to *Silk*, unless among the *Chinese*; nor to *Hair-Stuffs* and *Camblets*; nor to *Cotton* and *Skins*: tho' these three seem to be more unfit for the purpose, and so should be tried in mixture, rather than separate. Again, *Engrafting* is practis'd in *Fruit-Trees*, but rarely in wild ones; yet an *Elm* grafted upon an *Elm*, is said to produce great *Foliage* for shade. *Institution* likewise in *Flowers*, is very rare, tho' now the *Experiment* begins to be made upon *Musk-Roses*; which are successfully inoculated upon common ones. We also place the *Variations* on the side of the thing, among the *Variations* in the 1
Matter.

^a See the *Fable* of PAN explain'd above, Sect. II. of POETRY.

^b *Viz.* The second part of the INSTAURATION.

^c *Viz.* The starting, hunting, and pursuing of all natural Things.

^d This Subject is fully prosecuted in the NOVUM ORGANUM.

Matter. Thus we see a Scion grafted upon the Trunk of a Tree, thrives better than if set in Earth: and why should not Onion-seed, set in a green Onion, grow better, than when sown in the Ground by itself; a Root being here substituted for the Trunk, so as to make a kind of Infition in the Root?

(2.) *In the Efficient.*

3. An *Experiment may be varied in the Efficient.* Thus, as the Sun's Rays are so contracted by a Burning-glass, and heighten'd to such a degree, as to fire any combustible Matter: may not the Rays of the Moon, by the same means, be actuated to some small degree of warmth; so as to shew whether all the heavenly Bodies are potentially hot? And as luminous Heats are thus increased by Glasses: may not opaque Heats, as of Stones and Metals, before ignition, be increased likewise? Or is there not some Proportion of Light here also? Amber and Jet, chafed, attract Straws; whence *Quere* if they will not do the same when warmed at the fire?

(3.) *In the Quantity.*

4. An *Experiment may be varied in Quantity*; wherein very great care is required, as being subject to various Errors. For Men imagine, that upon increasing the Quantity, the Virtue should increase proportionably: and this they commonly postulate as a *mathematical Certainty*; and yet 'tis utterly false. Suppose a Leaden-Ball, of a pound weight, let fall from a Steeple, reaches the Earth in ten seconds; will a Ball of two pounds, where the Power of natural Motion, as they call it, should be double, reach it in five? No, they will fall almost in equal times; and not be accelerated according to Quantity. Suppose a Dram of Sulphur would flux half a pound of Steel; will therefore an Ounce of Sulphur flux four Pounds of Steel? 'Tis no consequence; for the Stubbornness of the Matter in the Patient is more increased by Quantity, than the Activity of the Agent. Besides, too much, as well as too little, may frustrate the Effect: thus in smelting and refining of Metals, 'tis a common Error to increase the Heat of the Furnace, or the Quantity of the Flux; but if these exceed a due Proportion, they prejudice the Operation: because, by their Force and Corrosiveness, they turn much of the pure Metal into Fumes, and carry it off; whence there ensues, not only a loss in the Metal, but the remaining Mass becomes more sluggish and intractable. Men should therefore remember how *Aesop's* House-wife was deceived, who expected that, by doubling her Feed, her Hen should lay two Eggs a day; but the Hen grew fat, and laid none. 'Tis absolutely unsafe to rely upon any natural *Experiment*, before proof be made of it, both in a less and a larger quantity.

(4.) *By Repetition.*

5. An *Experiment is produced two ways, viz. by Repetition and Extension*; the Experiment being either *repeated*, or *urged* to a more subtle thing. It may serve for an *Example of Repetition*, that Spirit of Wine is made of Wine, by one distillation; and thus becomes much stronger, and more acrid, than the Wine itself: will likewise Spirit of Wine proportionally exceed itself in strength by another distillation? But the Repetition also of Experiments may deceive; thus here the second Exaltation does not equal the Excess of the first; and frequently, by repeating an Experiment, after a certain pitch is obtain'd, Nature is so far from going farther, that she rather falls back. Judgment, therefore, must be used in this affair. So Quicksilver put into melted Lead,

Lead, when it begins to grow cold, will be arrested, and remain no longer fluid: but will the same Quicksilver, often served so, become fix'd and malleable?

6. For an *Example of Extension*; Water made pendulous above, by means ^(5.) *By Extension.* of a long Glass-stem, and dipp'd into a mixture of Wine and Water; will separate the Water from the Wine; the Wine gently rising to the top, and the Water descending, and settling at the bottom. Now as Wine and Water, being two different Bodies, are separable by this contrivance; may likewise the more subtile parts of Wine, which is an entire Body, be separated from the more gross, by this kind of Distillation, perform'd, as it were, by Gravity; so as to have floating a-top, a Liquor like Spirit of Wine, or perhaps more subtile? Again, the *Loadstone* draws *Iron* in substance; but will *Loadstone*, plunged into a solution of Iron, attract the Iron, and cover itself with it? So the magnetick Needle applies to the Poles of the World: but does it do this after the same course and order that the celestial Bodies move? Suppose the Needle held at the South Point, and then let go; would it now turn to the North by the West or East? Thus Gold imbibes Quicksilver contiguous to it; but does the Gold do this without increasing its own Bulk, so as to become a Mass specifically heavier than Gold? Thus Men help their Memories by setting up Pictures of Persons in certain places; but would they obtain the same end, if, neglecting their Faces, they only imagined the Actions or Habits of the Persons?

7. An *Experiment may be transfer'd three ways*; viz. (1.) by Nature, or ^(6.) *By Translation, three ways, viz. from Nature into an Art.* Chance, into an Art; (2.) from one Art, or Practice, to another; and (3.) from one part of an Art to another. There are innumerable Examples of the transferring of Experiments from Nature, or Chance, to Arts; as nearly all the mechanical Arts owe their Origins to slender beginnings, afforded by Nature, or Accident. 'Tis authoriz'd by a Proverb, that *Grapes among Grapes ripen sooner*. And our Cyder-Makers observe the rule: for they do not stamp and press their Apples, without laying them on heaps, for a time, to ripen by mutual Contact; whereby the Liquor is prevented from being too tart. So the making of artificial Rainbows, by the thick sprinkling of little drops of Water, is an easy Translation from natural Rainbows made in a rainy Cloud. So the Art of Distillation might be taken, either from the falling of Rain, and Dew, or that homely Experiment of boiling Water; where Drops adhere to the Cover of the Vessel. Mankind might have been afraid to imitate Thunder and Lightning, by the invention of great Guns; had not the chemical Monk received the first hint of it by the impetuous Discharge, and loud Report, of the Cover of his Vessel^a. But if Mankind were desirous to search after useful things, they ought attentively, minutely, and on set purpose, to view the Workmanship and particular Operations of *Nature*; and be continually examining and casting about, which of them may be transferred to *Arts*^b: for *Nature is the Mirror of Art*.

^a This Accident is related of *Barth. Schwartz*, a *Danish* Monk.

^b There are many Instances of *Arts* copied from Nature in *M. Sorell's* *Treatise de la Science universelle*.

From one Art
to another.

8. Nor are there fewer *Experiments transferrable from one Art, or Practice, to another*; tho' this be rarely used. For *Nature* lies every where obvious to us all; tho' particular *Arts* are only known to particular *Artists*. *Spectacles* were invented for a help to weak Sights; might not, therefore, an Instrument be discovered, that applied to the Ears, should help the Hearing^a? *Embalming* preserves dead Bodies; could not therefore something of like kind be transferred to *Medicine*, for the preservation of live ones? So the Practice of sealing in *Wax, Cements* and *Lead*, is ancient, and paved the way to the printing on Paper, or the *Art of the Press*. So in *Cookery*, *Salt* preserves Meats better in Winter than in Summer: might not this be usefully transferred to *Baths*, and the occasional Regulation of their Temperature? So by late experience, *Salt* is found of great efficacy in condensing, by the way of artificial freezing: might not this be transferred to the condensing of Metals; since 'tis found that the *Aqua fortes*, compos'd of Salts, dissolve Particles of Gold out of some lighter Metals? So *Painting* refreshes the Memory by the Image of a thing: and is not this transferred in what they call the *Art of Memory*? And let it be observ'd, in general, that nothing is of greater Efficacy in procuring a stock of new and useful *Inventions*, than to have the Experiments of numerous mechanick Arts known to a single Person, or to a few, who might mutually improve each other by Conversation: so that by this *Translation of Experiments*, Arts might mutually warm, and light up each other, as it were, by an intermixture of Rays^b. For altho' the *rational way*, by means of a new *Machine for the Mind*, promises much greater things; yet this Sagacity, or *learned Experience*, will, in the mean time, scatter among Mankind many Matters; which, as so many missive Donatives among the Ancients, are near at hand.

And from one
part of an Art
so another.

9. The transferring of Experiments from one part of an Art to another, differs little from the transferring one Art to another. But because some Arts are so extensive, as to allow of the Translation of Experiments within themselves, 'tis proper to mention this kind also; especially as 'tis of very great moment in some particular Arts. Thus it greatly contributes to enlarge the *Art of Medicine*, to have the Experiments of that part which treats of the *Cures of Diseases*, transferred to those parts which relate to the Preservation of Health, and the Prolongation of Life. For if any famous Opiate should, in a pestilential Distemper, suppress the violent Inflammation of the Spirits; it might thence seem probable, that something of the same kind; render'd familiar by a due Dose, might, in good measure, check that wasting Inflammation which steals on with Age^c.

10.

^a Kircher claims the honour of an Invention of this kind, in his *Phonourgia*; tho' perhaps the *Ear-Trumpet* was used in *England* before his time.

^b On this Foundation was built that noble *Design* of Mr. Boyle, for putting out Apprentices to particular Trades; chiefly with a view of having the Knowledge and Practices of such Trades afterwards communicated to himself, or others, whom he should depute for the purpose. And whoever would confer a singular Benefit upon Mankind, and improve *Philosophy* in earnest, could not, perhaps, do better, than by putting such a Design in execution.

^c *Viz.* That kind of Heat, or Inflammation, which dries the *Fibres*, turns the Cartilages and Tendons bony, and thus stops the Offices and Functions of the Body; whence Decay and Death are naturally brought on by old Age.

10. AN EXPERIMENT IS INVERTED, *when the contrary of what the EXPERIMENT shows, is proved*: for example, Heat is increased by Burning-Glasses: but may Cold be so too? So Heat, in diffusing itself, rather mounts upwards; but Cold, in diffusing itself, rather moves downwards. Thus, if an iron Rod be heated at one end, then erected upon its heated end, and the Hand be applied to the upper part of the Rod, the Hand will presently be burnt; but if the heated end be placed upwards, and the Hand applied below, it will be burnt much slower. But if the whole Rod were heated, and one end of it wet with Snow, or a Sponge dipp'd in cold Water: would the Cold be sooner propagated downwards, than upwards, if the Sponge were applied below? Again, the Rays of the Sun are reflected from a white Body, but absorbed by a black one: are Shadows also scatter'd by black, and collected by white Bodies? We see in a dark place, where Light comes in only at a small Hole; the Images of external Objects are received upon white Paper, but not upon black.

(7.) The Inversion of Experiments.

11. AN EXPERIMENT IS COMPELL'D, *where 'tis urged or produced to the Annihilation or Destruction of the Power*; the Prey being only catch'd in the other Cases, but kill'd in this. Thus the Loadstone attracts Iron; urge therefore the Iron, or urge the Loadstone, till they attract no longer: for example; if the Loadstone were burnt, or steep'd in *Aqua fortis*, would it entirely, or only in part, lose its Virtue? So if Iron were reduced to a *Crocus*, or made into *prepared Steel*, as they call it, or dissolved in *Aqua fortis*; would the Loadstone still attract it? The Magnet draws Iron thro' all known Mediums, Gold, Silver, Glass, &c. Urge the Medium, therefore, and, if possible, find out one that intercepts the Virtue. Thus make trial of *Quicksilver*, *Oil*, *Gums*, *ignited Gold*, and such things as have not yet been tried. Again, *Microscopes* have been lately introduced, which strangely magnify minute Objects: urge the use of them either by applying them to Objects so small, that their power is lost; or so large, till 'tis confounded. Thus, for example, can *Microscopes* clearly discover those things in *Urine*, which are not otherwise perceptible? Can they discover any Specks, or Clouds, in Gems that are perfectly clear and bright to appearance? Can they magnify the Motes of the Sun, which *Democritus* mistook for Atoms, and the Principles of Things? Will they shew a mix'd Powder of Vermilion and Ceruse in distinct Grains of Red and White? Will they magnify larger Objects, as the Face, the Eye, &c. as much as they do a Gnat or a Mite? Or represent a Piece of fine Linen open as a Net?

(8.) The Compulsion of Experiments.

12. THE APPLICATION OF AN EXPERIMENT, *is no more than an ingenious Translation of it to some other Experiment of use*: for example, all Bodies have their own Dimensions and Gravities. Gold has more Gravity and less Bulk than Silver, and Water than Wine; hence an useful Experiment is derived for discovering what proportion of Silver is mix'd with Gold; or of Water with Wine; from a knowledge of their Measure and Weight: which was the grand Discovery of *Archimedes*. Again, as Flesh putrefies sooner in some Cellars than in others, 'twere useful to transfer this Experiment to the Examination of *Airs*, as to their being more or less wholesome to live in;

(9.) The Application of Experiments.

by finding those wherein Flesh remains longest-unputrefied: And the same *Experiment* is applicable to discover the more wholesome or pestilential Seasons of the Year. But Examples of this kind are endless; and require that Men should have their Eyes continually turn'd one while to the *Nature of Things*, and another while to *human Uses*.

(10.) The Con-
junction of
Experiments. 13. The CONJUNCTION OF AN EXPERIMENT, is a *Connection and Chain of Applications*, when those things which were not useful single, are made useful by *Connection*: for example, to have Roses or Fruits come late, the way is to pluck off the early Buds, or to lay bare the Roots, and expose them to the open Air, towards the middle of Spring; but 'tis much better to do both together. So *Ice* and *Nitre* separate, have a great power of cooling; but a much greater, when mix'd together. But there may be a Fallacy in this obvious Affair, as in all cases where *Axioms* are wanting; if the *Conjunction* be made in things that operate by different, and, as it were, contrary ways.

(11.) Chance-
Experiments. 14. As for CHANCE-EXPERIMENTS, these are plainly an irrational and wild Procedure; when the Mind suggests the trial of a thing, not because any *Reason* or *Experiment* persuades it, but only because nothing of the like kind has been tried before: yet even here, perhaps, some considerable Mystery lies concealed; provided no stone in nature were left unturn'd: for the capital things of Nature generally lie out of the beaten Paths; so that even the absurdness of a thing, sometimes proves useful. But if Reason also be here join'd, so as to shew that the like *Experiment* never was attempted, and yet that there is great cause why it should be; then this becomes an excellent Instrument, and really enters the Bosom of Nature. For example, in the Operation of Fire upon natural Bodies, it hath hitherto always happen'd, that either something flies off, as Flame and Smoke, in our common Fires, or at least, that the parts are locally separated to some distance, as in Distillation; where the Vapour rises, and the Fæces are left behind; but no Man hath hitherto tried *close Distillation*^a. Yet it seems probable, that if the Force of Heat may have its Action confined in the Cavities of a Body, without any possibility of loss or escape, this *Proteus* of Matter will be manacled, as it were, and forced to undergo numerous Transformations; provided only the Heat be so moderated and changed, as not to break the containing Vessel. For this is a kind of *natural Matrix*, where Heat has its Effect without separating, or throwing off the Parts of a Body. In a true *Matrix*, indeed, there is Nourishment supplied; but in point of Transmutation, the case

^a The Thing here meant is not, as appears from other Passages of the Author, the common *close Digestion*, *Distillation* without the admission of Air, or *close Sublimation*; as in-making Mercury precipitate *per se*; but a *new Digestion*, practis'd by means of the DIGESTOR, or hollow metalline Engine, made so strong and firm, as to endure a great Violence of Fire: which is an Operation that had not, perhaps, been practis'd at the time our Author wrote; but is the reputed Invention of M. Papin, and Mr. Boyle; tho' they neither of them carried the Discovery to any great length: and even at present it seems to rest in the making of Soops, or softening of animal Bones, tho' applicable, perhaps, to much nobler Purposes. See more upon this head, in Morhof's *Polyhistor*, Tom. II. pag. 145.

case is the same^a. And here let none despair or be confounded, if the Experiments they attempt should not answer their Expectation: for tho' Success be indeed more *pleasing*; yet *Failure*, frequently, is no less *informing*: and it must ever be remembered, that *Experiments of Light* are more to be desired, than *Experiments of Profit*. And so much for LEARNED EXPERIENCE, as we call it; which thus appears to be rather a *Sagacity*, or a *scouting of Nature*, as in hunting, than a direct *Science*^b.

S E C T. XIII.

Of the INVENTION of ARGUMENTS: and
TOPICAL INVENTION.

1. **T**HE INVENTION OF ARGUMENTS is not properly an *Invention*; *The Invention of Arguments, what.* for to *invent*, is to discover things unknown before; and not to collect, or admit, such as are known already. The Office and Use of this kind of Invention, seems to be no more, than dextrously to draw out from the Stock of Knowledge laid up in the Mind, such things as make to the present purpose: for one who knows little or nothing of a Subject proposed, has no use of *Topicks*, or *Places of Invention*; whilst he who is provided of suitable Matter, will find and produce Arguments, without the help of *Art*, and such *Places of Invention*; tho' not so readily and commodiously: whence this *kind of Invention*, is rather a bare calling to Memory, or a Suggestion with Application, than a *real Invention*. But since the Term is already received, it may still be called *Invention*; as the hunting in a Park may be call'd hunting, no less than that in the open Field. But not to insist upon the Word, the *Scope and End of the thing itself*, is a *quick and ready use of our Thoughts*, rather than any *Enlargement or Increase of them*.

2. There are *two Methods of procuring a Stock of Matter for Discourse*; viz. *Two Methods of procuring Matter for Discourse, viz. the topical and the PROMPT-promptuary.*
(1.) either by marking out, and indicating the Parts wherein a thing is to be search'd after, which is what we call the TOPICAL WAY; or (2.) by laying up Arguments for use, that were composed before hand, relating to such things as frequently happen, and come in dispute; and this we call the

^a Much Light of Direction for producing uncommon Effects, may be derived from this *Passage*; as it opens the way for an exact and powerful Imitation of *Nature*, in her *close Methods* of operating, in the Formation of Animals in the *Uterus*, and the *Egg*; the Production of Metals and Minerals, in the *close Caverns* of the Earth, &c. See *Morhof*, in the placea above-quoted; and consult Experience, as to the *close Operations* of the *Furnace*.

^b This Section appears to have been little understood, even by some eminent Men; who censure the Scheme of the Author, and think that *Experiments* must needs be casual, and the human Understanding unable to direct and conduct them to useful purposes, unless by accident. The Misfortune seems to lie here, that few converse so familiarly with *Nature*, as to judge what may be done in this way; or how the numerous Discoveries of the Lord Bacon, Mr. Boyle, Dr. Hook, Sir Isaac Newton, &c. were made. An attentive Perusal of the NOVUM ORGANUM, where this Subject is largely prosecuted, will unravel the *Mystery*.

PROMPTUARY WAY: but the latter can scarce be called a part of *Science*, as consisting rather in diligence than any artificial Learning. *Aristotle* on this head ingeniously derides the *Sophists* of his time, saying, *they acted like a profess'd Shoemaker, who did not teach the Art of Shoemaking, but set out a large stock of shoes, of different shapes and sizes.* But it might be replied, that the *Shoemaker* who should have no shoes in his shop, and only make them as they were bespoke, would find few customers. Our *Saviour* speaks far otherwise of *divine Knowledge*, saying, *Therefore every Scribe which is instructed into the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an housholder, which brings forth out of his treasure things new and old.*

3. We find also that the ancient *Rhetoricians* gave it in precept to the *Orators*, to be always provided of various *Common Places*, ready furnished and illustrated with Arguments on both sides; as for the *intention* of the *Law* against the *words of the Law*; for the truth of Arguments against Testimonies, and *vice versa*. And *Cicero* himself being taught by long experience, roundly asserts, that a diligent and experienced *Orator* should have such things as come into dispute, ready laboured and prepared, so as that in *Pleading* there should be no necessity of introducing any thing new, or occasional, except new Names, and some particular Circumstances. But as the first opening of the *Cause* has a great effect in preparing the minds of the Audience, the exactness of *Demosthenes* judged it proper to compose before-hand, and have in readiness, several Introductions to his Harangues and Speeches: and these Examples, and Authorities, may justly over-rule the opinion of *Aristotle*, who would have us change a *whole Wardrobe for a pair of Sheers*. This *promptuary Method*, therefore, should not be omitted, but as it relates as well to *Rhetorick* as to *Logick*, we shall here touch it but slightly; designing to consider it more fully under *Rhetorick* ^a.

Topical Invention divided into general and particular.

4. We divide *topical Invention* into *general and particular*. The *general* is so copiously and diligently treated in the common *Logicks*, that we need not dwell upon its explanation: we only observe by the way, that this *topical Method* is not only used in Argumentation, and close Conference, but also in *Contemplation*, when we meditate or revolve any thing alone. Nor is its office only confin'd to the suggesting, or admonishing us, of what should be affirmed or asserted; but also what we should examine or question: a prudent questioning being a kind of *half-knowledge*; for, as *Plato* justly observes, *a Searcher must have some general notion of the thing he searches after, otherwise he could never know it when he had found it*; and therefore the more comprehensive and sure our *Anticipation* is, the more direct and short will be the *Investigation*. And hence the same *Topicks* which conduce to the close examining into our own Understandings, and collecting the Notices there treasured up, are likewise assitant in drawing forth our Knowledge. Thus, if a person, skilful in the point under question, were at hand, as we might prudently and advantageously consult him upon it; in like manner, we may usefully select and turn over Authors and Books, to instruct and inform our selves about those things we are in quest of.

^a See hereafter, Sect. XVIII.

5. But the PARTICULAR TOPICAL INVENTION is much more conducive to the same purposes, and to be esteemed a highly fertile thing. Some Writers have lately mentioned it; but 'tis by no means treated according to its extent and merit. Not to mention the Error and Haughtiness which have too long reigned in the *Schools*; and their pursuing with infinite subtilty, such things as are obvious, without once touching upon those that lie remote; we receive this *Topical Invention* as an extremely useful thing that affords certain Heads of Enquiry and Investigation appropriated to particular Subjects and Sciences. These Places are certain mixtures of *Logick*, and the peculiar matter of each Science. 'Tis an idle thing, and shews a narrow mind to think that the *Art of discovering the Sciences* may be invented and proposed in perfection from the beginning; so as to be afterwards only exercised and brought into use: for men should be made sensible, that the *solid and real Arts of Invention* grow up and increase along with *Inventions themselves*: so that when any one first comes to the thorough examination of a Science, he should have some useful *Rules of Discovery*; but after he hath made a considerable progress in the Science itself, he may, and ought, to find out new *Rules of Invention*; the better to lead him still further. The way here is like walking on a Flat, where after we have gone some length, we not only approach nearer the End of our journey; but also have a clearer view of what remains to be gone of it: so in the *Sciences*, every step of the way, as it leaves some things behind, also gives us a nearer prospect of those that remain: and as we report this particular topical *Invention deficient*; we think proper to give an Example of it, in the Subject of *Gravity and Levity*.

The particular topical Invention deficient.

6. (1.) *Let Enquiries be made what kind of bodies are susceptible of the motion of Gravity; what of Levity: and if there be any of a middle or neutral Nature.*

An example of the particular topical Invention, in the subject of Gravity and Levity.

7. (2.) *After the simple Enquiry of Gravity and Levity, proceed to a comparative Enquiry; viz. which heavy bodies weigh more, and which less, in the same dimensions; and of like ones, which mount upwards the swifter, and which the slower.*

8. (3.) *Enquire what effect the quantity of the Body has in the motion of Gravity.* This at first sight may appear a needless Enquiry, because Motion may seem proportionable to Quantity; but the case is otherwise. For altho' in Scales, Quantity is equal to the Gravity, yet where there is a small resistance, as in the falling of bodies thro' the Air, Quantity has but little force to quicken the descent: for twenty pounds of lead, and a single pound, fall nearly in the same time.

9. (4.) *Enquire whether the quantity of a Body may be so increased, as that the Motion of Gravity shall be entirely lost; as in the Globe of the Earth, which hangs pendulous without falling. Quære, therefore, whether other masses may be so large as to sustain themselves.* For that Bodies should move to the centre of the Earth, is a fiction: and every mass of matter has an aversion to local motion, till this be overcome by some stronger impulse^a.

(5.)

^a Hence the famous Law of Motion, that Bodies would for ever continue in that state of Rest or Motion, wherein they once are, if some other Cause did not put them out of it. Hence the

10. (5.) *Enquire into the Effects and Nature of resisting Mediums, as to their influencing the Motion of Gravity;* for a falling body either penetrates and cuts thro' the body it meets in its way, or else is stopped by it. If it pass through, there is a penetration, either with a small resistance, as in Air; or with a greater, as in Water. If it be stop'd, 'tis stop'd by an unequal resistance, where there is a preponderancy; as when Wood is laid upon Wax; or by an equal resistance, as when Water is laid upon Water, or Wood upon Wood of the same kind: which is what the Schools pretend, when they idly imagine that bodies do not gravitate in their own places. And all these circumstances alter the motion of Gravity; for heavy bodies move after one way in the ballance, and after another in falling: and, which may seem strange, after one way in a ballance suspended in the Air, and after another in a ballance plunged in Water; after one way in falling thro' Water, and after another when floating upon it.

11. (6.) *Enquire into the Effects of the Figure of the descending Body, in directing the Motion of Gravity:* Suppose of a figure broad and thin, cubical, oblong, round, pyramidal, &c. and how Bodies turn themselves whilst they remain in the same position as when first let go.

12. (7.) *Enquire into the Effects of the Continuation and Progression of the Fall, or Descent itself, as to the acquiring a greater impulse or velocity; and in what proportion and to what length this velocity is increased:* for the Ancients, upon slender consideration, imagin'd, that this Motion being Natural, was always upon the increase.

13. (8.) *Enquire into the Effects of Distance, or the near Approach of a Body descending to the Earth; so as to fall swifter, slower, or not at all; supposing it were to be out of the Earth's sphere of activity, according to Gilbert's opinion; as also the Effects of plunging the falling Body deeper into the Earth, or placing it nearer the surface:* for this also varies the Motion, as is manifest to those who work in Mines.

14. (9.) *Enquire into the Effects of the difference of Bodies, thro' which the Motion of Gravity is diffused and communicated; and whether 'tis equally communicated thro' soft and porous Bodies, as thro' hard and solid ones.* Thus if the beam of a scale were one half of wood, and the other of silver, yet of the same weight; enquire whether this would not make an alteration in the scales: and again, whether metal laid upon wool, or a blown bladder, would weigh the same as in the naked scale.

15. (10.) *Enquire into the Effects of the distance of a body from the point of suspension in the communication of the Motion of Gravity; that is, into the earlier or later perception of its inclination or depression:* as in scales, where one side of the beam is longer, tho' of the same weight with the other, whether this inclines the beam; or in syphons, where the longer leg will draw the water, tho' the shorter, being made wider, contains a greater weight of water.

16. (11.) *Enquire into the Effects of intermixing or coupling a light Body and a heavy one, for lessening the Gravity of Bodies;* as in the weight of creatures alive and dead.

17. (12.)

the *Vis Inertia* of Matter, or its Indisposition to Motion or Rest: and hence the Gravitation of Matter, and the Insignificance of *Mathematical Centres* in the business of Attraction.

17. (12.) *Enquire into the Ascents and Descents of the lighter and heavier parts of one entire Body: whence curious separations are often made; as in the separation of wine and water, the rising of cream from milk, &c.*

18. (13.) *Enquire what is the Line and Direction of the Motion of Gravity, and how far it respects the Earth's centre, that is, the mass of the Earth; or the centre of its own Body, that is, the appetite of its parts. For these centres are properly supposed in Demonstrations; but are otherwise unserviceable in Nature.*

19. (14.) *Enquire into the Comparative Motion of Gravity, with other Motions, or to what Motions it yields, and what it exceeds. Thus in the Motion they call violent, the Motion of Gravity is with-held for a time; and so when a large weight of Iron is raised by a little Loadstone, the Motion of Gravity gives way to the Motion of Sympathy.*

20. (15.) *Enquire concerning the Motion of the Air, whether it rises upwards, or be as it were neutral; which is not easy to be discovered without some accurate Experiments: for the rising up of Air at the bottom of Water, rather proceeds from a resistance of the Water, than the Motion of the Air; since the same also happens in Wood^a. But Air mixed with Air makes no discovery; for Air in Air may seem as light, as Water in Water seems heavy: but in Bubbles, which are Air surrounded with a thin pellicle of Water, it stands still for a time.*

21. (16.) *Let the Bounds of Levity be enquired after; for tho' Men make the Centre of the Earth the Centre of Gravity, they will perhaps hardly make the ultimate convexity of the Heavens the boundary of Levity; but rather, perhaps, as heavy bodies seem to be carried so far, that they rest, and grow as it were immoveable; light bodies are carried so far, that they begin a Rotation, or circular Motion.*

22. (17.) *Enquire the cause why Vapours and Effluvia are carried so high, as that called the middle region of the Air; since the matter of them is somewhat gross; and the rays of the Sun cease alternately by night.*

23. (18.) *Enquire into the tendency of Flame upwards; which is the more abstruse, because Flame perishes every moment, unless perhaps in the midst of larger Flames: for Flames broken from their continuity, are of small duration.*

24. (19.) *Enquire into the motion and activity of Heat upwards; as when Heat in ignited Iron sooner creeps upwards than downwards. And thus much by way of Example of our particular Topical Enquiry. We must, for a Conclusion, admonish mankind, to alter their particular Topicks in such manner, as after some considerable progress made in the Enquiry, to raise Topick after Topick^b, if they desire to ascend to the Pinnacle of the Sciences. For my own part, I attribute so much to these particular Topicks, that I design a particular Work upon their Use, in the more eminent and obscure subjects*

^a As when a Plate of Wood is press'd with the Hand against the bottom of a Pail of Water; for if the Hand be now taken away, the Wood is thrown up by the Water with great violence.

^b The Method of doing this, is particularly explained in the NOVUM ORGANUM.

of Nature: for we are masters of questions, tho' not of things^a. And here we close the Subject of INVENTION.

S E C T. XIV.

Of the ART of JUDGMENT.

The Art of Judgment by Induction, divided into corrupt and genuine.

I. **WE** come now to the ART OF JUDGMENT, which treats of the *nature of Proof or Demonstration*. This *Art*, as 'tis commonly received, concludes either by *Induction* or *Syllogism*: for *Enthymemes* and *Examples* are only abridgments of these two^b. As to *Judgment by Induction*, we need not be large upon it; because what is sought, we both find and judge of, by the same operation of the Mind. Nor is the matter here transacted by a medium, but directly; almost in the same manner as by the Sense: for Sense, in its primary objects, at once seizes the image of the object, and assents to the truth of it^c. 'Tis otherwise in *Syllogism*, whose proof is not direct, but mediate; and therefore the Invention of the *Medium*, is one thing; and Judgment, as to the consequence of an argument, another: For the Mind first casts about, and afterwards acquiesces. But for the *corrupt Form of Induction*, we entirely drop it; and refer the *genuine one* to our *Method of interpreting Nature*^d. And thus much of *Judgment by Induction*.

The Art of Judgment by Syllogism, its Origin.

2. The other by *Syllogism* is worn by the File of many a subtle Genius, and reduced to numerous fragments; as having a great sympathy with the human Understanding: for the Mind is wonderfully bent against fluctuating; and endeavours to find something fix'd and unmoveable, upon which, as a firm basis, to rest in its Enquiries. And as *Aristotle* endeavours to prove, that in all motion of bodies, there is something still at rest; and elegantly explains the ancient Fable of *Atlas*, sustaining the Heavens on his shoulders, of the *Poles of the World*, about which the revolutions are performed: so men have a strong desire to retain within themselves an *Atlas*, or *Pole* for their Thoughts, in some measure to govern the fluctuations and revolutions of the *Understanding*: as otherwise fearing their *Heaven should tumble*. And hence
it

^a Tho' no express Work of the Author was published with this Title, yet all his *particular Enquiries* proceed in this Method; as the *History of Winds, Life and Death, &c.* and the same was carefully followed by the *Royal Society*, for a considerable time; by drawing up *Heads of Enquiries* upon particular Subjects; sending them abroad; and publishing them in their *Philosophical Transactions*. The same was likewise observed by Mr. *Boyle*, and most other successful Enquirers into Nature, since the Lord *Bacon*. See more to this purpose in the *NOVUM ORGANUM*, and *Introductions* to the THIRD AND FOURTH PARTS of the INSTAURATION.

^b An *Enthymeme* is no other than a *Syllogism* of two Propositions, the third being supplied by the Mind; as the word itself imports; and *Induction* is no more than a string of *Instances*, or *Examples*, brought upon any Head.

^c At least the Assent is given so quick, as scarce to be distinguished from the Sensation itself.

^d *Viz.* the *NOVUM ORGANUM*.

it is, that they have been ever hasty in laying the *Principles of the Sciences*, about which all the variety of Disputes might turn without danger of falling; not at all regarding, that whoever too hastily catches at Certainties, shall end in Doubts; as he who seasonably with-holds his Judgment, shall arrive at Certainties.

3. 'Tis therefore manifest that this ART OF JUDGING BY SYLLOGISM *Its Office.* is nothing more than a *Reduction of Propositions to their Principles, by middle Terms.* But *Principles* are supposed to be received by consent; and exempt from Question; whilst the *Invention of middle Terms* is freely permitted to the subtilty and investigation of the Wit. This *Reduction* is of two kinds, *direct* and *inverse*. 'Tis *direct*, when the *Proposition* itself is reduced to the *Principle*; and this is called *offensive Proof*: 'Tis *inverse*, when the *Contradictory* of the *Proposition* is reduced to the *Contradictory* of the *Principle*; which they call *Proof by absurdity*: but the number or scale of the *middle Terms* is diminished, or increased, according to the remoteness of the *Proposition* from the *Principle*.

4. Upon this foundation, we divide the ART OF JUDGMENT nearly as usual, into *Analyticks*, and the *Doctrine of Elenches*, or *Confutations*; the first whereof supplies *Direction*, and the other *Caution*: for *Analyticks* directs the *true Forms of the consequences of Arguments*, from which if we vary, we make a wrong Conclusion. And this itself contains a kind of *Elench*, or redargution; for what is right, shews not only itself, but also what is wrong. Yet 'tis safest to employ *Elenches*, as *Monitors*, the easier to discover fallacies; which would otherwise ensnare the Judgment. We find no *Deficiency* in *Analyticks*; for 'tis rather loaded with superfluities, than deficient^a.

5. We divide the *Doctrine of Confutations* into three parts, *viz.* (1.) the *Confutation of Sophisms*, (2.) the *Confutation of Interpretation*, and (3.) the *Confutation of Images or Idols*. The *Doctrine of the CONFUTATION OF SOPHISMS*, is extremely useful: for altho' a gross kind of Fallacy is not improperly compared, by *Seneca*, to the Tricks of Jugglers; where we know not by what means the things are perform'd, but are well assur'd they are not as they appear to be: yet the more subtile *Sophisms* not only supply *Occasions of Answer*; but also in reality confound the Judgment. This part concerning the *Confutation of Sophisms* is, in *Precept*, excellently treated by *Aristotle*; but still better by *Plato*, in *Example*; not only in the Persons of the ancient Sophists, *Gorgias*, *Hippias*, *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, &c. but even in the person of *Socrates* himself; who, always professing to affirm nothing, but to confute what was produced by others, has ingeniously express'd the *several Forms of Objections, Fallacies, and Redargutions*. Therefore in this part we find no *Deficiency*; but only observe by the way, that tho' we place the *true and principal Use of this Doctrine in the redargution of Sophisms*; yet 'tis plain, that its degenerate and corrupt use tends to the raising of Cavils, and Contradictions, by means of those *Sophisms* themselves: which kind of Faculty is highly

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^a Upon the Subject of *Analyticks*, see *Weigelius* in his *Analysis Aristotelica*, ex *Enclide restituta*; and *Morhof* in his *Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. II. cap. 7. de *Methodis variis*.

highly esteemed, and has no small uses^a: Tho' 'tis a good distinction made between the *Orator* and the *Sophist*, that the former excels in swiftness, as the *Grayhound*; the other in the turn, as the *Hare*.

(2.) *The Confutation of Interpretation.*

6. With regard to the CONFUTATIONS OF INTERPRETATION, we must here repeat what was formerly said of the transcendental and adventitious conditions of Beings, such as *Greater, Less, Whole, Parts, Motion, Rest, &c.* For the different way of considering these things, which is either *Physically* or *Logically*, must be remember'd. The *Physical Treatment* of them we have allotted to *primary Philosophy*; but their *Logical Treatment* is what we here call the *Confutation of Interpretation*. And this we take for a sound and excellent part of Learning: as general and common *Notions*, unless accurately and judiciously distinguished from their Origin, are apt to mix themselves in all Disputes, so as strangely to cloud and darken the Light of the Question; and frequently occasion the Controversy to end in a quarrel about Words: for Equivocations and wrong Acceptations of Words, especially of this kind, are the *Sophisms of Sophisms*: wherefore 'tis better to treat of them separate, than either to receive them into *primary Philosophy* or *Metaphysics*; or again to make them a part of *Analyticks*, as *Aristotle* has confusedly done. We give this *Doctrine* a name from its Use; because its true use is indeed *Redargution* and *Caution, about the employing of Words*. So likewise that part concerning *Predicaments*, if rightly treated, as to the cautions against confounding or transposing the terms of *Definitions* and *Divisions*, is of principal use; and belongs to the present Article. And thus much for the *Confutation of Interpretation*.

(3.) *And the Confutation of Idols, or false Notions.*

Idols divided.

7. As to the CONFUTATIONS OF IMAGES, or IDOLS, we observe that *Idols* are the deepest Fallacies of the human Mind; for they do not deceive in particulars, as the rest, by clouding and ensnaring the Judgment; but from a corrupt predisposition, or bad complexion of the Mind; which distorts and infects all the anticipations of the Understanding. For the Mind darkened by its Covering, the Body, is far from being a flat, equal and clear *Mirror*, that receives and reflects the rays without mixture; but rather a *Magical Glass*, full of *Superstitions* and *Apparitions*. *Idols* are impos'd upon the Understanding, either (1.) by the *general Nature of Mankind*; (2.) *the Nature of each particular Man*; or (3.) by *Words, or communicative Nature*. The first kind we call *IDOLS OF THE TRIBE*; the second kind, *IDOLS OF THE DEN*; and the third kind, *IDOLS OF THE MARKET*^b. There is also a fourth kind, which we call *IDOLS OF THE THEATRE*; being superinduced by *false Theories, or Philosophies*, and the *perverted Laws of Demonstration*. This last kind we are not at present concerned with; as it may be rejected and laid aside: but the others seize the Mind strongly,

^a For example, by giving occasion to farther Thought, Enquiry, and Dispute, which may end in some new Discovery, or the fuller clearing up and confirming some Truth.

^b The Reader should not be shocked at the use of these *new Terms*; since the *DOCTRINE OF IDOLS* was itself new at the Time that this was wrote: and being perhaps never touched upon before, the Author was obliged, for clearness and distinction sake, to give discriminating Names to the several Assortments of these *false Notions*; the *Doctrine* whereof is more fully explained and illustrated in the *NOVUM ORGANUM*.

ly, and cannot be totally eradicated. Therefore no *Art of Analyticks* can be expected here; but the *Doctrine of the Confutation of Idols* is the *primary Doctrine of Idols*. Nor indeed can the *Doctrine of Idols* be reduced to an *Art*; but can only be employ'd, by means of a certain *contemplative Prudence*, to prevent them.

9. For IDOLS OF THE TRIBE^a; 'tis observable that the nature of the *Understanding* is more affected with *Affirmatives* and *Actives*, than with *Negatives* and *Privatives*; tho' in justness it should be equally affected with them both: *but if things fall out right, or keep their course, the Mind receives a stronger impression of this*, than of a much greater number of *Failures*, or contrary *Events*: which is the *Root* of all *Superstition* and *Credulity*. Hence *Diagoras*, being shewed in *Neptune's Temple*, many *votive Pictures* of such as had escaped *Shipwreck*; and thereupon asked by his *Guide*, if he did not now acknowledge the *divine Power*? answered wisely, *But first shew me where those are painted that were shipwrecked, after having thus paid their vows*. And the case is the same, in the similar *Superstitions* of *astrological Predictions*, *Dreams*, *Omens*, &c. Again, *the Mind being of itself, an equal and uniform substance, presupposes a greater unanimity and uniformity in the nature of things, than there really is*; whence our thoughts are continually drawing parallels, and supposing relations in many things that are truly different, and singular. Hence the *Chemists* have fantastically imagined their *four Principles* corresponding to the *Heavens*, *Air*, *Earth*, and *Water*; and the *Mathematicians* their circular *Motions* of the celestial bodies, &c. And again, *Men make themselves, as it were, the Mirror and Rule of Nature*. 'Tis incredible what a number of *Idols* have been introduced into *Philosophy*, by the reduction of *Natural Operations* to a *correspondence with human Actions*; that is, by imagining *Nature* acts as *Man* does: which is not much better than the *Heresy of the Anthropomorphites*, that sprung up in the cells and solitude of ignorant monks; or the opinion of *Epicurus*, who attributed a *human figure to the Gods*. *Velleius*, the *Epicurean*, need not, therefore, have asked, *why God should have adorned the Heavens with Stars and Lights, as Master of the Works*? For if the *grand Architect* had acted a *human Part*, he would have ranged the *Stars* into some beautiful and elegant order; as we see in the vaulted roofs of *Palaces*; whereas, we scarce find among such an infinite multitude of *Stars*, any figure either square, triangular, or rectilinear: so great a difference is there betwixt the *Spirit of Man*, and the *Spirit of the Universe*.

10. The IDOLS OF THE DEN have their Origin from the peculiar *Nature*, both of *Mind* and *Body*, in each person; as also from *Education*, *Custom*, and the *Accidents* of particular persons. 'Tis a beautiful *Emblem* that of *Plato's Den*^b; for, to drop the exquisite subtilty of the parable, if any one should be educated from his infancy in a dark cave, till he were of full age,

^a These might otherwise be called PARTIAL IDOLS; as being owing to the partiality or obliquity of the *Mind*; which has its particular bent; and admits of some things more readily than others, without a manifest Reason assign'd for it to the *Understanding*. However this be, they manifestly belong to the *Tribe of mankind*.

^b Whence the Author apparently took the Appellation, *Idols of the Den*.

age, and should then of a sudden be brought into broad day-light, and behold this Apparatus of the Heavens and of Things; no doubt but many strange and absurd fancies would arise in his Mind: and tho' men live indeed in the view of the Heavens; yet our Minds are confined in the caverns of our Bodies; whence of necessity we receive infinite *Images of Errors and Falshoods*; if the Mind does but seldom, and only for a short continuance, leave its Den; and not constantly dwell in the *contemplation of Nature*; as it were in the open day-light. And with this *Emblem of Plato's Den*, agrees the saying of *Heraclitus*; viz. *that Men seek the Sciences in their own narrow Worlds, and not in the wide one.*

And (3.) the
Idols of the
Market.

11. But the IDOLS OF THE MARKET give the greatest disturbance; and from a *tacit agreement* among mankind, with regard to the imposition of *Words and Names*, insinuate themselves into the Understanding: for *Words* are generally given according to vulgar conception; and divide things by such differences as the common people are capable of^a: but when a more acute Understanding, or a more careful Observation, would distinguish things better; *Words* murmur against it. The remedy of this lies in *Definitions*; but these themselves are in many respects irremediable; as consisting of *Words*: for *Words generate Words*; however men may imagine they have a command over *Words*; and can easily say *they will speak with the Vulgar, and think with the Wise.* *Terms of Art* also, which prevail only among the Skilful, may seem to remedy the mischief; and *Definitions* premised to Arts in the prudent mathematical manner, to correct the wrong acceptance of *Words*: yet all this is insufficient to prevent the seducing incantation of *Names*, in numerous respects, their doing violence to the Understanding, and recoiling upon it, from whence they proceeded. This evil therefore requires a new and a deeper *Remedy*; but these things we touch lightly at present; in the mean time, *noting this Doctrine of GRAND CONFUTATIONS; or the DOCTRINE of the NATIVE AND ADVENTITIOUS IDOLS OF THE MIND, for deficient*^b.

The Doctrine
of Idols defi-
cient.

An Appendix
to the Art of
Judgment de-
ficient.

12. There is also wanting a considerable *Appendix to the Art of Judgment.* *Aristotle* indeed marks out the thing, but has no where delivered the manner of effecting it. The design is to *shew what Demonstrations should be applied to what Subjects*; so that this *Doctrine* should contain the *Judging of Judgments*^c. For *Aristotle* well observes, that we should not require *Demonstrations from Orators*, nor *Persuasion from Mathematicians*: so that if we err in the kind of proof, *Judgment* itself cannot be perfect. And as there are four kinds of *Demonstration*, viz. (1.) by *immediate Consent*, and *common Notions*; (2.) by *Induction*; (3.) by *Syllogism*; and (4.) by *Congruity*, which *Aristotle* justly calls *Demonstration in Circle*; each of these *Demonstrations* has its peculiar *Subjects*, and *Parts of the Sciences*, wherein they are of force; and others again from which they are excluded: for insisting upon
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^a Whence we have the Reason of these Appellations; and in particular, the term *Idols of the Market*.

^b It is supplied in the NOVUM ORGANUM.

^c What has been done towards supplying this Deficiency, may be seen in *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. II. cap. 4. *de Subsidiis dirigendi Judicii*.

too strict proofs in some Cases; and still more, the facility and remissness, in resting upon slight proofs in others; is what has greatly prejudiced and obstructed the *Sciences*. And so much for the *Art of Judgment*.

S E C T. XV.

Of the ART of MEMORY.

1. **W**E divide the ART OF MEMORY, OF THE KEEPING AND RETAINING OF KNOWLEDGE, into *two Parts*; viz. the *Doctrine of Helps for the Memory*; and the *Doctrine of the Memory itself*. The Help for the Memory is *Writing*: and we must observe, that the *Memory*, without this assistance, is unequal to things of Length and Accuracy; and ought not otherwise to be trusted. And this holds particularly in *Inductive Philosophy*, and in the *Interpretation of Nature*; for one might as well undertake to make an Almanack by the Memory, without writing, as to *interpret Nature* by bare Contemplation. Scarce any thing can be more useful in the *ancient and popular Sciences*, than a true and *solid Help for the Memory*; that is, a *just and learned Digest of Common-places*. Some, indeed, condemn this Method of *Common-placing* what one reads or learns, as prejudicial to Erudition, hindering the course of Reading, and rendering the Memory indolent; but as it is a wrong Procedure in the *Sciences* to be over-hasty and quick, we judge it of great service in Studies, unless a Man be solid, and compleatly instructed, to bestow Diligence and Labour in setting down *Common-places*; as it affords Matter to Invention, and collects and strengthens the Judgment. But among all the Methods and *Common-place Books* we have hitherto seen, there is not one of value^a; as favouring of the *School* rather than the *World*, and using rather vulgar and pedantical Divisions, than such as any way penetrate Things.

The Art of Memory divided into the Doctrine of Helps for the Memory,

2. And for the *Memory itself*, it seems hitherto to have been negligently and superficially enquired into. There is indeed some Art of *Memory* extant: but I know that much better *Precepts for confirming and enlarging the Memory* may be had, than this *Art* contains; and that a better Practice of the *Art* itself may be form'd, than what is at present received. And I doubt not, if any one were disposed to make an ostentatious shew of this *Art*, that many surprising things might be perform'd by it; and yet, as now managed, 'tis but barren and useless. We do not, however, pretend that it spoils, or surcharges the *natural Memory*, which is the common Objection; but that 'tis not dextrously applied for assisting the Memory in real Business, and serious

And the Doctrine of the Memory itself.

^a Upon the Subject of *Common-Place*, consult *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. I. Cap. 21. de *Yerbo in Communium Scripioribus*; and *Mr. Locke's Common-Place*, in his *Discourse of the Conduct of the Understanding*.

rious Affairs. But this turn, perhaps, I may receive from the *political Course of Life* I have led; never to value what has the appearance of Art, without any use. For immediately to repeat a multitude of Names, or Words, once repeated before; or off-hand to compose a great number of Verses upon a Subject; or to touch any Matter that occasionally turns up with a satyrical Comparison; or to turn serious things into jest; or to elude any thing by Contradiction, or Cavil, &c. of all which Faculties there is a great Fund in the Mind; and which may, by a proper Capacity and Exercise, be carried almost to a miraculous height; yet I esteem all the things of this kind no more than Rope-dancing, Antick Postures, and Feats of Activity. And indeed they are nearly the same things; the one being an abuse of the bodily, as the other is of the mental Powers: and tho' they may cause admiration, they cannot be highly esteemed.

Two Intentions
of the Art of
Memory, viz.
Pranotion.

3. This ART OF MEMORY has two *Intentions*; viz. *Pranotion*, and *Emblem*. By *Pranotion*, we understand the breaking off of an endless Search; for when one endeavours to call any thing to mind, without some previous Notion, or Perception of what is sought for, the Mind strives and exerts itself, endeavours and casts about, in an endless manner: But if it hath any certain Notion before-hand, the Infinity of the Search is presently cut short; and the Mind hunts nearer home, as in an Inclosure. *Order, therefore, is a manifest Help to Memory.* For here there is a *previous Notion, that the things sought for must be agreeable to Order.* And thus *Verse* is easier remembered than *Prose*; because if we stick at any word in *Verse*, we have a previous Notion, that 'tis such a word as must stand in the *Verse*: and this *Pranotion is the first part of Artificial Memory.* For in *Artificial Memory*, we have certain places digested, and proposed beforehand: but we make *Images* extemporary, as they are required; wherein we have a *previous Notion, that the Image must be such as may, in some measure, correspond to its place*; which thus stimulates the Memory, and, as it were, strengthens it, to find out the thing sought for.

And Emblem.

4. But *Emblems* bring down intellectual to sensible Things; for what is *sensible*, always strikes the Memory stronger, and sooner impresses itself, than what is *intellectual*. Thus the Memory of Brutes is excited by sensible, but not by intellectual Things. And therefore it is easier to retain the *Image* of a Sportsman hunting the Hare, of an Apothecary ranging his Boxes, an Orator making a Speech, a Boy repeating Verses, or a Player acting his Part; than the corresponding Notions of *Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory*; and *Action*. There are also other things that contribute to *assist the Memory*, but the *Art* at present in use, consists of the two above-mentioned^a: and to treat of the *particular Defects of Arts*, is foreign to our present purpose^b.

S E C T.

^a I suppose, that the *Art of Memory*, now commonly taught by *Memory-Masters*, is little more than a Lecture upon the Foundations here laid down; and perhaps their *Secret* is disclosed in Sir Hugh Plat's *Jewel-House of Art and Nature*; printed at London, in the year 1653. See pag. 77—80. of that Edition. Consult also, upon the *Means of improving the Memory*, Morkhof's *Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. II. Cap. 4. *de Subsidiis dirigendi Judicii*.

^b The *Author* intended a *Discourse upon the Helps of the intellectual Faculties*; and began the first Draught of it, as we find in his Letter to Sir Henry Saville: but the Design was left uncompleted;

S E C T. XVI.

Of the DOCTRINE of DELIVERY; and first, of the
ELEMENTS of SPEECH.

1. **W**E next proceed to the *Art of delivering, uttering, and communicating such Things as are discover'd, judg'd of, and treasur'd up in the Memory*: and this we call by the general Name of **TRADITIVE DOCTRINE**; which takes in all the *Arts* relating to *Words* and *Discourse*. For altho' *Reason* be as the *Soul of Discourse*; yet they ought both to be treated separate, no less than the *Soul* and *Body*. We divide this **TRADITIVE DOCTRINE** into *three Parts*; viz. with regard (1.) to the *Organ*, (2.) the *Method*, and (3.) the *Illustration, or Ornament, of Speech and Discourse*.

2. The *vulgar Doctrine of the Organ of Speech*, call'd **GRAMMAR**, is of two kinds; the one having relation to *Speaking*, the other to *Writing*. For, as *Aristotle* well observed, *Words are the Marks of Thoughts, and Letters of Words*: and we refer both of these to *Grammar*. But before we proceed to its several *Parts*, 'tis necessary to say something, in general, of the *Organ of this Traditive Doctrine*; because it seems to have more *Descendants* besides *Words* and *Letters*. And here we observe, that *whatever may be split into differences, sufficiently numerous for explaining the variety of Notions, provided these differences are sensible, may be a means of conveying the Thoughts from Man to Man*^a: for we find that *Nations of different Languages*, hold a *Commerce*, in some tolerable degree, by *Gestures*. And from the *Practice* of some *Persons born deaf and dumb*, but otherwise *ingenious*, we see *Conversation* may be held betwixt them, and such of their *Friends* as have learn'd their *Gestures*. And 'tis now well known, that in *China*, and the more *Eastern Provinces*, they use at this day, certain *real, not nominal Characters*, to express, not *Letters* or *Words*, but *Things* and *Notions*; insomuch, that numerous *Nations*, tho' of quite different *Languages*, yet, agreeing in the use of these *Characters*, hold correspondence by *Writing*^b. And thus a Book

completed; and little more done towards it, than the collecting of a few *Hints*, which shew that the *Author* design'd to consider the *ways of improving the Memory*, as well as the *Judgment*; and intended, principally, to recommend *Practice*, and the acquiring a *Habit*.

^a Hence, perhaps, several ways of communicating our *Thoughts* might be invented, besides those already in use; viz. by applying, after a different manner, to the *Senses*; as by different *Colours, Sounds, Signs, and Touches*, differently changed and combined. *Petr. Montanus, Fabricius ab Aquapendente, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Holder, Bishop Wilkins, Mr. Falconer, and Joh. Conrad. Amman*, have some things relating to this Subject.

^b See more to this purpose in *Spizelius de Re Literaria Chinesium*, Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1660; *Webb's Historical Essay upon the Chinese Language*, printed at London, in 1669; *Father Besnier's Reunion des Langues*, *Father le Compte*, and other of the *Missionaries Letters*.

wrote in such *Characters*, may be read and interpreted, by each Nation, in its own respective Language.

The Signs of Things divided into congruous and arbitrary; viz. (1) Hieroglyphicks and Gestures.

3. The Signs of Things, significative without the Help or Interposition of Words, are therefore of two kinds: the one *congruous*, the other *arbitrary*. Of the first kind, are *Hieroglyphicks* and *Gestures*; of the second, *real Characters*. The use of *Hieroglyphicks* is of great antiquity; being held in veneration, especially among that most ancient Nation the *Egyptians*; insomuch that this seems to have been an early kind of Writing; prior to the Invention of Letters; unless, perhaps, among the *Jews*^a. And *Gestures* are a kind of *transitory Hieroglyphicks*: for as *Words* are fleeting in the pronunciation, but permanent when wrote down; so *Hieroglyphicks*, express'd by Gesture, are momentary; but when painted, durable. When *Periander*, being consulted how to preserve a Tyranny newly usurped, bid the Messenger report what he saw; and going into the Garden, cropt all the tallest Flowers; he thus used as strong an *Hieroglyphick*, as if he had drawn it upon Paper.

(2.) Real Characters.

4. Again, 'tis plain that *HIEROGLYPHICKS* and *GESTURES*, have always some similitude with the things signified; and are in reality *Emblems*: whence we call them *congruous Marks of Things*: but *real Characters* have nothing of the *Emblem*; as being no less mute than the elementary Letters themselves; and invented altogether at Discretion, tho' received by Custom, as by a tacit Agreement. Yet 'tis manifest, that a great number of them is required in writing: for they must be as numerous as the radical Words. This *Doctrine*, therefore, concerning the *Organ of Speech*, that is, the *Marks of Things*, we set down as wanting^c. For altho' it may seem a matter of little use, whilst Words and Writing with Letters are much more commodious Organs of Delivery; yet we think proper here to mention it, as no inconsiderable thing. For whilst we are treating, as it were, of the *Coin of intellectual Matters*; 'tis not improper to observe, that as *Money* may be made of other Materials besides Gold and Silver; so other Marks of Things may be invented, besides *Words* and *Letters*^b.

The Office and Use of Grammar.

5. *GRAMMAR* holds the place of a Conductor, in respect of the other *Sciences*; and tho' the Office be not noble, 'tis extremely necessary; especially as the *Sciences*, in our times, are chiefly derived from the *learned Languages*. Nor should this Art be thought of small Dignity, since it acts as an Antidote against the Curse of *Babel*; the *Confusion of Tongues*. Indeed, human Industry strongly endeavours to recover those Enjoyments it lost through its own default. Thus it guards against the *first general Curse*, the Sterility of the Earth, and the eating our Bread in the Sweat of the Brow, by all

^a See *Causinus's Polyhistor Symbolicus*, and *Symbolica Aegyptiorum Sapientia*, Ed. Par. 1618. And for other Writers upon this Subject, see *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. IV. Cap. 2. de variis Scripturae modis.

^b On this Foundation, Bishop *Wilkins* undertook his laborious Treatise of a *real Character*, or *Philosophical Language*; tho' *Dalgarn* published a Treatise on the same Subject before him; viz. at London, in the Year 1661. In the same Year, *Becher* also published another to the same purpose at Frankfort, entitled, *Charaſter pro Notitia Linguarum univerſali*. See more upon this Subject in *Joachim Fritschii Lingua Ludovica*, *Kircher's Polygraphia*, *Pafchius's Inventio Nova Antiqua*, and *Morhof's Polyhistor*.

all the other Arts; as against the *second*, the Confusion of Languages, it calls in the assistance of *Grammar*. Tho' this Art is of little use in any *maternal Language*; but more serviceable in learning the foreign ones; and most of all in the dead ones, which now cease to be popular, and are only preserved in Books.

6. We divide GRAMMAR also, into two *Parts*, *Literary* and *Philosophical*; the one employed simply about Tongues themselves, in order to their being more expeditiously learned, or more correctly spoke; but the other is in some sort subservient to *Philosophy*: in which view *Cæsar* wrote his *Books of Analogy*; tho' we have some doubt whether they treated of the *Philosophical Grammar* now under consideration. We suspect, however, that they contained nothing very subtle or sublime; but only deliver'd *Precepts of pure and correct Discourse*, neither corrupted by any vulgar, depraved Phrases, and Customs of Speech, nor vitiated by Affectation: in which particular the Author himself excell'd^a. Admonish'd by this Procedure, I have form'd in my Thoughts, a certain GRAMMAR, not upon any *Analogy which Words bear to each other*; but such as should diligently examine the *Analogy or Relation betwixt Words and Things*; yet without any of that *Hermeneutical Doctrine, or Doctrine of Interpretation, which is subservient to Logick*. 'Tis certain that Words are the Traces or Impressions of Reason; and Impressions afford some Indication of the Body that made them. I will therefore here give a small Sketch of the Thing.

Grammar divided into literary and philosophical.

7. And first, we cannot approve that curious Enquiry, which *Plato*, however gave into, about the *imposition and original Etymology of Names*; as supposing them not given arbitrarily at first, but rationally and scientifically derived and deduced. This indeed is an elegant, and, as it were, a waxen subject; which may handsomely be wrought and twisted: But because it seems to search the very Bowels of Antiquity, it has an awful appearance; tho' attended with but little Truth and Advantage^b. But it would be a noble kind of a *Grammar*, if any one, well vers'd in numerous *Languages*, both the *learned* and *vulgar*, should treat of their various Properties; and shew wherein each of them excell'd, and fell short: for thus Languages might be enriched by mutual commerce; and one *beautiful Image of Speech, or one grand Model of Language, for justly expressing the Sense of the Mind*, form'd, like the *Venus of Apelles*, from the excellencies of several. And thus we should, at the same time, have some considerable Marks of the Genius and Manners of People, and Nations, from their respective Languages. *Cicero* agreeably remarks, that the *Greeks* had no word to express the Latin *INEPTUM*^c; because, says he, the fault it denotes was so familiar among them, that they could not see it in themselves: a *Censure* not unbecoming the *Roman Gravity*. And as the *Greeks* used so great a Licentiousness in compounding of Words, which the *Romans* so religiously abstained from; it may hence be collected,

A Philosophical Grammar deficient.

Directions for supplying it.

T 2

that

^a See the Account of *Cæsar's* Books *de Analogia*, given above in the PRELIMINARIES, Sect. III 65.

^b Those who are curious to look into this Matter, may find it succinctly treated in *Norhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. IV. Cap. 3. *de Lingua universali & primava*.

^c In *English*, unsuitable, childish, or trifling Behaviour.

that the *Greeks* were better fitted for *Arts*, and the *Romans* for *Exploits*: as variety of *Arts* makes compound Words in a manner necessary; whilst Civil Business, and the Affairs of Nations, require a greater simplicity of Expression. The *Jews* were so averse to these Compositions, that they would rather strain a Metaphor than introduce them. Nay, they used so few words and so unmix'd, that we may plainly perceive from their Language, they were a *Nazarite* People; and separate from other Nations. 'Tis also worth observing, tho' it may seem a little ungrateful to modern Ears, that the *ancient Languages* are full of Declensions, Cases, Conjugations, Tenses, and the like; but the later Languages, being almost destitute of them, slothfully express many things by Prepositions and auxiliary Verbs. For from hence it may easily be conjectured, that the Genius of former Ages, however we may flatter ourselves, was much more acute than our own. And there are things enow of this kind to make a Volume. It seems reasonable, therefore, to distinguish a PHILOSOPHICAL GRAMMAR from a simple *literary one*; and to set it down as *deficient*^a.

The Accidents
of Words be-
longing to
Grammar.

8. All the *Accidents of Words*, as *Sound, Measure, Accent*, likewise belong to GRAMMAR. But the primary Elements of simple Letters, or the Enquiry with what Percussion of the Tongue, Opening of the Mouth, Motion of the Lips, and Use of the Throat, the Sound of each Letter is produced, has no relation to Grammar; but is a part of the *Doctrine of Sounds*, to be treated under *Sense* and *sensible Objects*^b. The *Grammatical Sound* we speak of, regards only *Sweetness* and *Harshness*. Some *harsh* and *sweet* Sounds are *general*; for there is no Language but in some degree avoids the Chasms of concurring Vowels, or the Roughness of concurring Consonants. There are others particular or respective, and *pleasing* or *displeasing* to the Ears of different Nations. The *Greek Language* abounds in *Diphthongs*, which the *Roman* uses much more sparingly; and so of the rest.

The Measure
of Words the
Origin of Ver-
sification and
Profodia.

9. But the *Measure of Words* has produced a large body of Art; viz. POETRY, consider'd not with regard to its *Matter*, which was consider'd above^c, but its *Style*, and the Structure of Words; that is, *Versification*: which tho' held as trivial, is honoured with great and numerous Examples. Nor should this *Art*, which the *Grammarians* call *Profodia*, be confined only to teaching the kinds of Verse and Measure; but *Precepts* also should be added, as to what *kind of Verse is agreeable to every Subject*. The *Ancients* applied *Heroick Verse* to *Encomium*, *Elegy* to *Complaint*, *Iambick* to *Invective*, and *Lyrick* to *Ode* and *Hymn*; and the same has been prudently observed by the modern Poets, each in his own Language: only they deserve *Censure* in

^a Considerable Pains have been bestow'd upon this Subject by various Authors; an account whereof is given by *Morhof*, in his *Polyhistor*. See Tom. I. Lib. IV. Cap. 3, 4, 5. or more particularly, *Abraham Mylii de Lingua Belgica, cum aliis Linguis, communitate*; *Henrici Schaviï Dissertations Philologica de Origine Linguarum & quibusdam earum attributis*; *Thom. Hayne de Linguis in genere, & de variarum Linguarum Harmonia*, in the Appendix to his *Grammatica Latina Compendium*, and *Dr. Wallis's Grammatica Lingua Anglicana*.

^b This is the Subject which *J. Conrad. Amman* has prosecuted with great diligence, in his *Surdus loquens, and Dissertatio de Loquela*; the first printed at *Amsterdam*, in 1692, and the last in 1700.

§ Sect. II. of POETRY.

in this, that some of them, thro' affectation of Antiquity, have endeavoured to set the modern Languages to *ancient Measure*; as *Sapphick, Elegiack, &c.* which is both disagreeable to the Ear, and contrary to the structure of such Languages. And in these cases, the *Judgment of the Sense is to be preferred to the Precepts of Art.* Nor is this an *Art*, but the abuse of *Art*; as it does not perfect Nature, but corrupt her. As to *Poetry*, both with regard to its *Fable* and its *Verse*, 'tis like a luxuriant Plant, sprouting not from a Seed, but by the mere vigour of the Soil: whence it every where creeps up, and spreads itself so wide, that it were endless to be solicitous about its *Defects*. And as to the *Accents of Words*, there is no necessity for taking notice of so trivial a thing; only it may be proper to intimate, that these are observed with great exactness, whilst the ACCENTS OF SENTENCES are neglected: tho' it is nearly common to all mankind, to sink the Voice at the end of a Period; to raise it in Interrogation, and the like^a. And so much for that *Part of Grammar* which regards *Speaking*.

10. WRITING is practised either by means of the *common Alphabet*, now vulgarly received; or of a *secret and private one*, agreed upon betwixt particular persons, and called by the name of CYPHER. But here a Question arises about the *common Orthography*; viz. whether *Words should be wrote as they are pronounced, or after the common manner*? Certainly that *reformed kind of Writing*, according to the Pronunciation, is but an useles Speculation; because *Pronunciation* itself is continually changing; and the Derivations of Words, especially from the *foreign Languages*, are very obscure. And lastly, as Writing in the received manner, no way obstructs the manner of Pronunciation; but leaves it free; an *Innovation* in it is to no purpose.

Writing practised by Alphabet or Cypher.

11. There are *several kinds of CYPHERS*; as the *simple*; those *mixt* with Non-significants; those consisting of two kinds of Characters; *Wheel-Cyphers, Key-Cyphers, Word-Cyphers, &c.* There are three Properties required in *Cyphers*; viz. (1.) that they be easy to write and read; (2.) that they be trusty and undecypherable; and (3.) if possible, clear of suspicion. For if a *Letter* should come into the hands of such as have a power over the Writer, or Receiver; tho' the *Cypher* itself be trusty, and impossible to *Decypher*, 'tis still subject to Examination and Question; unless there be no room to suspect or examine it.

The Doctrine of Cyphers.

12. There is a new and useful *Invention to elude the Examination of a Cypher*; viz. to have *two Alphabets*, the one of significant, and the other of non-significant Letters; and folding up two Writings together; the one conveying the Secret, whilst the other is such as the Writer might probably send without danger. In case of a strict Examination about the *Cypher*, the Bearer is to produce the *non-significant Alphabet* for the *true*; and the *true* for the *non-significant*; by which means the *Examiner* would fall upon the out-

A Cypher to divers Examination.

^a The Stage having cultivated the *Accenting of Sentences* more than the *School*; the Rules of this Art might, perhaps, to advantage be borrow'd from thence; in order to form an early Habit of graceful Speaking.

outward Writing ; and finding it probable, suspect nothing of the inner ^a.

A Cypher void of Suspicion.

13. But to prevent *all Suspicion*, we shall here annex a *Cypher* of our own, which has the highest perfection of a *Cypher*; that of signifying OMNIA PER OMNIA; *any thing by every thing* ^b; provided only the matter included be five times less than that which includes it; without any other condition or limitation. The Invention is this; first *let all the Letters of the Alphabet be resolved into two only, by Repetition and Transposition*: for a Transposition of *two Letters, thro' five places*, or different arrangements, will denote *two and thirty differences*; and consequently fewer, or *four and twenty*, the number of Letters in our Alphabet; as in the following EXAMPLE.

A BILITERAL ALPHABET, consisting only of a and b changed through five Places, so as to represent all the Letters of the common Alphabet.

Example of a Biliteral Alphabet.

A = aaaaa
 B = aaaab
 C = aaaba
 D = aaabb
 E = aabaa
 F = aabab
 G = aabba
 H = aabbb
 I = abaaa
 K = abaab
 L = ababa
 M = ababb
 N = abbaa
 O = abbab
 P = abbba
 Q = abbbb
 R = baaaa
 S = baaab
 T = baaba
 V = baabb
 W = babaa
 X = babab
 Y = babba
 Z = babbb

} Thus, in order to write an *A*, you write five *a's*, or aaaaa; and to write a *B*, you write four *a's*, and one *b*, or aaaab; and so of the rest.

* The publishing of this *Secret* frustrates its intention; for the *Examiner*, tho' he should find the *outward Letter probable*; would doubtless, when thus advertised, examine the *inner*; notwithstanding its *Alphabet* were deliver'd him for *Non-significants*.

^b For this *Cypher* is practicable in all things that are capable of two differences.

14. And here, by the way, we gain no small advantage ; as this Contrivance shews a Method of expressing, and signifying one's Mind, to any distance, by objects that are either *visible* or *audible*; provided only the objects are but capable of two Differences ; as Bells, Speaking-trumpets, Fire-works, Cannon, &c. But for *Writing*, let the *included Letter* be resolved into this *biliteral Alphabet*: suppose that *Letter* were the word FLY ; it is thus resolved :

F L Y.
aabab ababa babba^a.

15. Let there be also at hand *two other common Alphabets*, differing only from each other in the make of their Letters ; so that, as well the *Capital* as the *Small* be differently shaped, or cut, at every one's discretion: as thus for Example, in *Roman* and *Italick* ; each *Roman Letter* constantly representing A, and each *Italick Letter* B.

The *first*, or *Roman* ALPHABET.

A, a.
B, b.
C, c.
D, d.
E, e.
F, f.
G, g.
H, h.
I, i.
K, k.
L, l.
M, m.
N, n.
O, o.
P, p.
Q, q.
R, r.
S, s.
T, t.
V, v.
U, u.
W, w.
X, x.
Y, y.
Z, z.

} All the Letters of this *Roman Alphabet* are read, or decyphered, by translating them into the Letter A, only.

The

^a Compare these different Combinations of *a* and *b*, with the *Biliteral Alphabet* above; and you will find they correspond to the Letters F, L, Y. that is, denote the Word *Fly*.

The *second*, or *Italick* ALPHABET.

A, a.
 B, b.
 C, c.
 D, d.
 E, e.
 F, f.
 G, g.
 H, h.
 I, i.
 K, k.
 L, l.
 M, m.
 N, n.
 O, o.
 P, p.
 Q, q.
 R, r.
 S, s.
 T, t.
 V, v.
 U, u.
 W, w.
 X, x.
 Y, y.
 Z, z.

{ All the Letters of this *Italick Alphabet* are
 read by translating them into the Letter
 B, only.

*An Example
 of adjusting
 the two Let-
 ters.*

16. Now adjust or fit any external *double-faced Writing*, letter by letter, to the *internal Writing*, first made *biliterate*; and afterwards write it down for the Letter, or EPISTLE, to be sent. Suppose the *external Writing* were STAY TILL I COME TO YOU; and the *internal one* were FLY: then, as we saw above, the word

Fly, resolved by means of the *Bilateral Alphabet*, is F L Y
 aabab ababa babba.

whereto I fit, letter by letter, the *Words*, STAY TILL I COME TO YOU; observing the use of my two *Alphabets of differently shaped Letters*: thus

aabab ababa babba

Stayt ilico me to you.

Having now adjusted my *Writing*, according to all my *Alphabets*, I send it to my Correspondent; who reads the secret Meaning, by translating the *Roman Letters* into a's, and the *Italick ones* into b's, according to the *Roman* and

Italick

Italick Alphabets; and comparing each combination of five of them with the *Bilateral Alphabet*^a.

17. This DOCTRINE OF CYPHERS has introduced another, relative to it; *viz.* the ART OF DECYPHERING, without the *Alphabet of the Cypher*, or knowing the Rules whereby it was form'd. This indeed is a Work of Labour and Ingenuity, devoted, as well as the former, to the secret service of Princes. Yet by a diligent Precaution it may be render'd *useless*; tho', as matters now stand, 'tis highly serviceable. For if the *Cyphers* in use were good and trusty, several of them would absolutely elude the Labour of the Decypherer; and yet remain commodious enough, so as to be readily wrote and read: But through the ignorance and unskillfulness of Secretaries and Clerks, in the Courts of Princes, the most important Affairs are generally committed to weak and treacherous CYPHERS^b. And thus much for the *Organ of Speech*.

The Art of decyphering may be eluded.

S E C T. XVII.

Of the METHOD of SPEECH.

1. THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE METHOD OF SPEECH, has been usually treated as a part of *Logic*: it has also found a place in *Rhetorick*, under the name of *Disposition*; but the placing of it in the train of other *Art*, has introduced a neglect of many useful things relating to it. We therefore think proper to advance a *substantial* and *casual* DOCTRINE of METHOD, under the general Name of TRADITIVE PRUDENCE^c. But as the *kinds of Method* are various, we shall rather *enumerate* than *divide* them; but for one *only Method*, and perpetual splitting and subdividing,

The Method of Speech considered as the Doctrine of Traditive Prudence.

^a The CYPHER here described, is of itself somewhat subtle, till it comes to be practis'd on *Paper*; but rendered much more difficult, by the inaccurate manner wherein it has been printed through all the Editions. We hope, however to have render'd the Invention intelligible; and to have express'd the Sense of the Author; tho' not directly as it stands in the Original. Those who desire a fuller Explanation may consult Bishop *Wilkins's secret and swift Messenger*; or rather Mr. *Falconer's Cryptomenyis Patrefacta*, or *Art of secret Information disclosed, without a Key*. The *trustiness* of this *Cypher* depends upon a dextrous use of two Hands, or two different kinds of Letters, in the same Writing; which the skilful Decypherer, being thus advertis'd of, will be quicksighted enough to discern; and consequently be able to *decypher*: tho' a *Foundation* seems here laid for several other *Cyphers*, that perhaps could neither be suspected nor decypher'd.

^b The Art of *Cyphering* is doubtless capable of great improvement. 'Tis said that King *Charles* the first had a *Cypher* consisting only of a strait Line, differently inclined; and there are ways of *Cyphering* by the mere punctuation of a *Letter*; whilst the Words of the Letter shall be Non-significants; or Sense, that leaves no room for Suspicion. It may also be worth considering, whether the *Art of decyphering*, could not be applied to *Languages*; so as to translate, for instance, a *Hebrew Book* without understanding *Hebrew*. See *Morhof de variis Scripturae Modis, Polihist.* Tom. I. Lib. IV. cap. 2. and Mr. *Falconer's Cryptomenyis Patrefacta*.

^c *Method*, in general, may be defined the Order wherein the Mind proceeds from known Principles to make farther Discoveries, in all the *Sciences*.

it scarce need be mention'd ; as being no more than a *light Cloud of Doctrine* that soon blows over : tho' it also proves *destructive to the Sciences* ; because the observers thereof, when they wrest Things by the Laws of their Method ; and either omit all that do not justly fall under their *Divisions* ; or bend them contrary to their own Nature ; squeeze, as it were, the Grain out of the *Sciences* ; and grasp nothing but the Chaff. Whence *this kind of Method* produces *empty Compendiums*, and loses the *solid Substance of the Sciences*^a.

Method distinguished into Doctrinal and Initiative.

2. Let the *first difference of METHOD* be, therefore, betwixt the *Doctrinal* and *Initiative*. By this we do not mean, that the *initiative Method* should treat only of the *Entrance into the Sciences* ; and the other their *entire Doctrine* : but, borrowing the word from *Religion*, we call that *METHOD initiative*, which opens and reveals the *Mysteries of the Sciences* ; so that as the *Doctrinal METHOD teaches*, the *Initiative METHOD* should *intimate* : the *Doctrinal Method* requiring a belief of what is deliver'd ; but the *Initiative* rather that it should be examin'd. The one deals out the *Sciences* to vulgar Learners ; the other as to the children of Wisdom : the one having for its End the Use of the *Sciences*, as they now stand ; and the other their Progress and farther Advancement. But this latter Method seems deserted. For the *Sciences* have hitherto been delivered, as if both the *Teacher* and the *Learner* desired to receive Errors by consent : the *Teacher* pursuing that *Method* which procures the greatest belief to his *Doctrine* ; not that which most commodiously submits it to examination : whilst the *Learner* desires present Satisfaction, without waiting for a *just Enquiry* ; as if more concerned not to doubt, than not to mistake. Hence the *Master*, thro' desire of Glory, never exposes the weakness of his own *Science* ; and the *Scholar*, thro' his aversion to Labour, tries not his own Strength. Whereas *Knowledge*, which is delivered to others as a Web to be further wove, should, if possible, be introduced into the Mind of another, in the manner it was first procured. And this may be done *in Knowledge acquired by Induction* ; but for that *anticipated and hasty Knowledge* we have at present, 'tis not easy for the Possessor to say by what road he came at it. Yet in a greater or less degree, any one might review his Knowledge ; trace back the steps of his own Thoughts ; content afresh ; and thus transplant his Knowledge into the Mind of another, as it grew up in his own. For 'tis in *Arts* as in *Trees* ; if a Tree were to be used, no matter for the Root ; but if it were to be transplanted, 'tis a surer way to take the Root, than the Slips. So the Transplantation now practis'd of the *Sciences*, makes a great show, as it were of Branches, that, without the Roots, may be fit indeed for the *Builder*, but not for the *Planter*. He who would promote the growth of the *Sciences*, should be less solicitous about the Trunk or Body of them ; and bend his care to preserve the Roots, and draw them out with some little Earth about them. Of this kind of *Transplantation* there is some resemblance in the *Method of Mathematicians*^b ; but in general we do not see that 'tis either used

The initiative Method deficient.

^a This is spoke with particular regard to *Ramus*, his *singular Method*, and *Dicotomies* ; of which see more below, §. 8.

^b To this purpose see *Holsius's Brevis Commentatio de Methodo Mathematica*, prefix'd to his *Elementa Matheos Universæ* ; as also his *Logicks* and *Metaphysics*.

used or enquired after: We therefore place it among the *Deficiencies*, under the name of the *TRADITIVE LAMP*, or, A *METHOD FOR POSTERITY*^a.

3. There is another *difference of Method*, bearing some relation to the former Intention; tho' in reality almost opposite to it: both of them have this in common, that they separate the *vulgar Audience* from the *select*; but herein they are opposite, that the former introduces a more open, and the other a more secret way of Instruction, than the common. Hence let them be distinguished, by terming the former *plain* or *open*, and the latter the *learned* or *CONCEALED METHOD*: Thus transferring to the manner of Delivery the difference made use of by the Ancients; especially in publishing their Books. This *concealed*, or *ENIGMATICAL METHOD*, was itself also employed by the Ancients with prudence and judgment^b; but is of late dishonoured by many, who use it as a false light to set off their counterfeit wares. The Design of it seems to have been, by the Veil of Tradition to keep the *Vulgar* from the *Secrets of the Sciences*; and to admit only such as had, by the help of a Master, attained to the interpretation of *dark Sayings*; or were able, by the strength of their own Genius, to enter within the Veil.

The concealed Method.

4. The next *difference of METHOD* is of great moment, with regard to the *Sciences*; as these are delivered either in the way of *Aphorism*, or *Methodically*. It highly deserves to be noted, that the general custom is, for men to raise, as it were, a formal and solemn *Art*, from a few *Axioms* and *Observations* upon any subject; swelling it out with their own witty *Inventions*; illustrating it by *Examples*; and binding the whole up into *Method*. But that other way of *Delivery*, by *Aphorisms*, has numerous *Advantages* over the *Methodical*. And *first*, it gives us a proof of the *Author's Abilities*; and shews whether he hath entered deep into his *Subject* or not. *Aphorisms* are ridiculous things, unless wrought from the central parts of the *Sciences*; and here all *Illustration*, *Excursion*, *Variety of Examples*, *Deduction*, *Connexion*, and particular *Description*, is cut off; so that *nothing besides an ample stock of Observations is left for the matter of Aphorisms*. And, therefore, no Person is equal to the forming of *Aphorisms*, nor would ever think of them, if he did not find himself copiously and solidly instructed for writing upon a Subject. But in *Methods*, so great a power have *Order*, *Connexion*, and *Choice*^c, that *methodical Productions* sometimes make a show of I know not what *specious Art*; which if they were taken to pieces, separated and undress'd, would fall back again almost to nothing. *Secondly*, a *methodical Delivery* has

The Advantages of Aphorisms over Methods.

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the

^a Perhaps M. Tschirnhaus's *Medicina Mentis, sive Tentamen genuina Logicæ, in qua differitur de Methodo detegendi incognitas Veritates*, may pave the way for supplying this *Desideratum*; as proceeding upon a *Mathematical and Algebraical Foundation*, to raise a Method of Discovering unknown Truths.

^b As by *Pythagoras*, who deliver'd the *Mysteries of the Sciences* in the way of *Numbers* and *Symbols*, or by a certain Notation instead of Letters. And somewhat of this kind has long prevailed among the *Chinese*; who by certain figur'd Lines express not only their physical, but their moral and political *Doctrines*. See *Martini's History of the Chinese*; and *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. I. Lib. II. cap. 7. *De Methodis variis*, pag. 394, 395.

^c *Tantum series juncturaque pollet;*
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

the Power of enforcing Belief and Consent, but directs not much to *practical Indications*; as carrying with it a kind of *Demonstration in Circle*, where the parts mutually enlighten each other; and so gratifies the Imagination the more: But as actions lie scattered in common Life, scattered Instructions suit them the best. Lastly, as *Aphorisms* exhibit only certain scraps and fragments of the *Sciences*; they carry with them an Invitation to others for adding and lending their Assistance: whereas *Methods* dress up the *Sciences* into Bodies; and make men imagine they have them compleat.

The Method by Questions and Answers to be used with discretion.

5. There is a farther *Difference of METHOD*; and that too very considerable. For as the *Sciences* are delivered either by *Affertions*, with their *Proofs*, or by *Questions*, with their *Answers*; if the latter *METHOD* be pursued too far, it retards the *Advancement of the Sciences*, no less than it would the march of an Army, to be sitting down against every little Fort in the way: whereas if the better of the Battle be gained, and the fortune of the War steadily pursued, such lesser places will surrender of themselves: tho' it must be allowed unsafe, to leave any large and fortified place at the back of the Army. In the same manner, *Confutations* are to be avoided, or sparingly used, in delivering the *Sciences*; so as only to conquer the greater Prejudices and Prepossessions of the Mind, without provoking and engaging the lesser Doubts and Scruples.

The Method to suit the Subject.

6. Another *Difference of METHOD* lies in suiting it to the *Subject*; for *Mathematicks*, the most abstract and simple of the *Sciences*, is deliver'd *one way*; and *Politicks*, the more compound and perplexed, *another*. For an *uniform Method* cannot be commodiously observed, in a variety of Matter. And as we approve of *particular Topics for Invention*; so we must, in some measure, allow of *particular Methods for Delivery*^a.

The Method of conquering Prejudice.

7. There is another *Difference of METHOD* to be used with judgment, in delivering the *Sciences*; and this is govern'd by the *Informations* and *Anticipations of the Science* to be delivered, that are before infused, and impressed upon the Mind of the Learner. For that *Science* which comes as an entire stranger to the mind, is to be delivered *one way*; and that which is familiarized by Opinions already imbibed and received, *another*. And therefore, *Aristotle*, when he thought to chastise, really commended *Democritus*, in saying, *if we would dispute in earnest, and not hunt after Comparisons, &c.* as if he would tax *Democritus* with being too full of *Comparisons*: whereas they whose *Instructions are already grounded in popular Opinion, have nothing left them but to dispute and prove*; whilst others have a double Task, whose *Doctrines transcend the vulgar Opinions; viz. first, to render what they deliver intelligible; and then to prove it.* Whence they must of necessity have recourse to Simily and Metaphor; the better to enter the human capacity^b. Hence we find in the more ignorant Ages, when Learning was in its

^a The *particular Topics for Invention* were treated above SECT. XIII. and for the particular *Method of Delivery*, which the Author approves, he has given us Instances of it, in his *Novum Organum, History of Life and Death, Winds, &c.*

^b The Reader will all along bear in mind, that this was the situation of the Author in his time; and on that score dispense with his *Figurative Style*: tho' it may not be altogether so necessary at present; when we are more accustom'd to think Philosophically and Freely.

its infancy, and those Conceptions, which are now trite and vulgar, were new, and unheard of; every thing was full of *Parables* and *Similitudes*: otherwise the things then proposed would either have been passed over without due notice and attention, or else have been rejected as *Paradoxes*. For 'tis a *Rule in the Doctrine of Delivery*, that every *Science* which comports not with *Anticipations* and *Prejudices*, must seek the assistance of *Similies* and *Allusions*. And thus much for the different kinds of *METHODS*; which have not hitherto been observed: But for the others, as the *Analytic*, *Systatic*, *Diaeretic*, *Cryptic*, *Homeric*, &c. they are already justly discovered and ranged^a.

8. *METHOD* has two parts, one regarding the *Disposition of a whole Work*, or the Subject of a Book; and the other, the *Limitation of Propositions*. For *Architecture* not only regards the *Fabrick of the whole Building*; but also the *Figure of the Columns, Arches, &c.* for *Method* is, as it were, the *Architecture of the Sciences*. And herein *Ramus* has deserved better, by reviving the ancient *Rules of Method*, than by obtruding his own *Dicotomies*. But I know not by what fatality it happens, that, as the Poets often feign, the *most precious things* have the *most pernicious keepers*. Doubtless the endeavours of *Ramus* about the reduction of *Propositions* threw him upon his *Escutomes*, and the *Flats and Shallows of the Sciences*. For it must be a fortunate and well-directed *Genius*, that shall attempt to *make the Axioms of the Sciences convertible*, and not at the same time *render them circular*; that is, keep them from returning into themselves. And yet the Attempt of *Ramus* in this way has not been usefess.

9. There are still two other *Limitations of Propositions*, besides that for making them convertible; the *one for extending*, and the *other for producing* them. For if it be just that the *Sciences* have two other *Dimensions*, besides *Depth*, viz. *Length* and *Breadth*, their *Depth* bearing relation to their *Truth* and *Reality*, as these are what constitutes their *Solidity*; their *Breadth* may be computed from one *Science* to another; and their *Length* from the highest Degree to the lowest, in the same *Science*: the one comprehends the *Ends* and true *Boundaries of the Sciences*; whence *Propositions* may be treated distinctly, and not promiscuously; and all *Repetition*, *Excursion* and *Confusion* avoided; the other prescribes a *Rule* how far, and to what particular Degree the *Propositions of the Sciences* are to be reduced. But no doubt something must here be left to *Practice* and *Experience*; for men ought to avoid the extreme of *Antoninus Pius*, and not mince *Cummin-seed* in the *Sciences*, nor multiply divisions to the utmost. And 'tis here well worth the enquiry, how far we should check ourselves in this respect. For we see that *too extensive Generals*, unless they be reduced, afford little *Information*; but rather expose the *Sciences* to the *ridicule of practical Men*; as being no more fitted for *practice*, than a general *Map of the World* to shew the road from *London to York*. The best *Rules* may well be compared to a *metalline Speculum*, which represents the images of things; but not before 'tis polish'd: For so *Rules* and *Precepts* are useful, after having undergone the *File of Experience*. But if these *Rules* could be made exact and clear from the first

Method divided in respect of the whole, and the Limitation of Propositions.

Three Limitations of Propositions.

^a See Morhof's *Polyhistor*, Tom. I. Lib. II. cap. 7. de *Methodis variis*,

first, it were better; because they would then stand in less need of Experience^a.

*Superficial
Methods.*

10. We must not omit that some men, rather ostentatious than learned, have labour'd about a certain *Method*, not deserving the name of a true Method; as being rather a kind of *Imposture*: which may nevertheless be acceptable to some busy minds. This Art so scatters the drops of the Sciences, that any pretender may misapply it for Ostentation; with some appearance of Learning. Such was the *Art of Lully*^b; and such the *Typocosmia* cultivated by some: for these are only a collection of *Terms of Art* heaped together, to the end that those who have them in readiness, may seem to understand the Arts whereto the Terms belong. Collections of this kind are like a *Piece-broker's Shop*; where there are many Slips, but nothing of great value. And thus much for the Science which we call TRADITIVE PRUDENCE^c.

S E C T. XVIII.

Of RHETORICK, or ORATORY.

*The difference
betwixt Wis-
dom and Elo-
quence.*

I. 1. WE next proceed to the *Doctrine of Ornament in Speech*, called by the name of RHETORICK or ORATORY. This, in itself, is certainly an excellent *Science*; and has been laudably cultivated by Writers. But to form a just Estimate, *Eloquence* is certainly inferior to *Wisdom*. The great difference between them appears in the words of God to *Moses*, upon his refusing, for want of *Elocution*, the Charge assign'd him: *Aaron shall be thy Speaker; and thou shalt be to him as God*. But for Advantage and popular Esteem, *Wisdom* gives place to *Eloquence*. *The wise in heart shall be called prudent; but the swiftest of tongue shall find greater things*, says *Solomon*: clearly intimating, that *Wisdom* procures a Name and Admiration; but that *Eloquence* is of greater efficacy in Business and civil Life.

*The cultivati-
on of Elo-
quence car-
ried to a great
height.*

2. And for the cultivation of this *Art*; the emulation betwixt *Aristotle* and the *Rhetoricians* of his time; the earnest study of *Cicero*; his long practice, and

^a The Author, in this *Section*, does not perhaps proceed altogether with his usual Solidity and Distinctness; as having not yet thoroughly digested the Design of his *Novum Organum*; which may be considered as a *Treatise upon Method*; and a reduction of this more loose *Doctrine*, to Rules.

^b *Viz.* the *transcendental Art*, which taught a Method of treating all Subjects, in an ostentatious, or affectedly learned manner.

^c The *Doctrine of Method* was diligently cultivated by *des Cartes*, in his Book *de Methodo*; who endeavoured to reduce the whole Business of it to four Rules; which however are found in the Precepts of *Aristotle*. *Johan. Beyer* undertook to write upon this Subject, in his *Filum Labyrinthi*, according to the Design of the Lord *Bacon*, but appears not to have understood the Author; and has rather obscured his *Doctrine* than improved it. But *M. Tschirnhaus* seems to have treated the Subject suitably to its merit, in his *Medicina Mentis*, mentioned above, in the Note to §. 2. A great variety of *Methods* have been advanced by different Authors; an ample Catalogue whereof we have in *Morhof's Polyhist.* Tom. I. Lib. II. cap. 7. *de Methodis variis*.

and utmost endeavour, every way to dignify Oratory, hath made these Authors even exceed themselves, in their books upon the Subject. Again, the great *Examples* of Eloquence found in the *Oration*s of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*; added to the perfection and exactness of their Precepts, have doubled its advancement. And therefore the *Deficiencies* we find in it, rather turn upon certain Collections belonging to its *Train*, than upon the *Doctrine* and Use of the Art itself.

3. But, in our manner, to open and stir the Earth a little about the Roots of this *Science*; certainly *Rhetorick* is subservient to the *Imagination*, as *Logick* is to the *Understanding*. And if the thing be well consider'd, the Office and Use of this Art, is but to apply and recommend the *Dictates of Reason to the Imagination*, in order to excite the *Affections* and *Will*. For the Administration of Reason is disturb'd three ways; viz. (1.) either by the Ensnaring of Sophistry, which belongs to *Logick*; (2.) the Delusion of Words, which belongs to *Rhetorick*; or (3.) by the Violence of the Affections, which belongs to *Ethicks*. For as, in transacting business with others, Men are commonly over-reach'd, or drawn from their own Purposes, either by *Cunning*, *Importunity*, or *Vehemence*; so in the inward business we transact with ourselves, we are either, (1.) undermined by the *Fallacy of Arguments*; (2.) disquieted and sollicitated by the *Affiduity of Impressions* and *Observations*; or (3.) shaken and carried away by the *Violence of the Passions*. Nor is the State of human Nature so unequal, that these *Arts* and *Faculties* should have power to disturb the *Reason*, and none to confirm and strengthen it: for they do this in a much greater degree. The End of *Logick* is to teach the Form of Arguments, for defending, and not for ensnaring the *Understanding*. The End of *Ethicks* is so to compose the *Affections*; that they may co-operate with *Reason*, and not insult it. And lastly, the End of *Rhetorick* is to fill the *Imagination* with such Observations and Images, as may assist *Reason*, and not over-throw it. For the Abuses of an Art come in obliquely only; and not for practice, but caution. It was therefore great injustice in *Plato*, tho' it proceeded from a just Contempt of the *Rhetoricians* of his time, to place *Rhetorick* among the *voluptuary Arts*; and resemble it to *Cookery*, which corrupted wholesome Meats, and, by variety of Sauces, made unwholesome ones more palatable. For Speech is, doubtless, more employ'd to adorn Virtue, than to colour Vice. This Faculty is always ready; for every Man speaks more virtuously, than he either thinks or acts. And 'tis excellently observed by *Thucydides*, that something of this kind was usually objected to *Cleon*; who, as he always defended the worst side of a Cause, was ever inveighing against *Eloquence*, and the Grace of Speech; well knowing that no Man could speak gracefully upon a base Subject; tho' every Man easily might upon an honourable one. For *Plato* elegantly observed, tho' the Expression is now grown trite, that if *Virtue could be beheld, she would have great Admirers*. But *Rhetorick*, by plainly painting Virtue and Goodness, renders them, as it were, conspicuous: for as they cannot be seen by the corporeal Eye; the next degree is to have them set before us as lively as possible, by the ornament of Words, and the strength of *Imagination*.
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The *Stoicks*, therefore, were deservedly ridiculed by *Cicero*, for endeavouring to inculcate *Virtue* upon the Mind, by short and subtile Sentences and Conclusions; which have little or no relation to the *Imagination*, and the *Will*.

its Power and Effects.

4. Again, if the *Affections* were orderly, and obedient to *Reason*, there would be no great use of Persuasion and Insinuation, to gain access to the Mind; it would then be sufficient, that Things themselves were nakedly and simply proposed and proved: but, on the contrary, the *Affections* revolt so often, and raise such Disturbances and Seditions, that *Reason* would perfectly be led captive, did not the Persuasion of *Eloquence* win over the *Imagination* from the side of the Passions; and promote an Alliance betwixt it and Reason, against the *Affections*. For we must observe, that the *Affections* themselves always aim at an apparent Good; and, in this respect, have something common with *Reason*. But here lies the difference; that the *Affections* principally regard a present Good; whilst *Reason*, seeing far before it, chuses also the future and capital Good. And, therefore, as present Things strike the *Imagination* strongest, *Reason* is generally subdued: But when *Eloquence*, and the *Power of Persuasion*, raise up remote and future Objects, and set them to view as if they were present; then *Imagination* goes over to the side of *Reason*, and renders it victorious. Hence we conclude, that *Rhetorick* can no more be accused of colouring the worst Part, than *Logick* of teaching *Sophistry*. For we know that the *Doctrines of Contraries* are the same; tho' their Use be opposite: And *Logick* does not only differ from *Rhetorick*, according to the vulgar Notion, as the first is like the Hand clenched, and the other like the Hand open; but much more in this, that *Logick* considers *Reason* in its natural State; and *Rhetorick*, as it stands in vulgar Opinion: whence *Aristotle* prudently places *Rhetorick* between *Logick* and *Ethicks*, along with *Politicks*, as partaking of them both. For the *Proofs* and *Demonstrations* of *Logick*, are common to all Mankind; but the *Proof* and *Persuasion* of *Rhetorick*, must be varied according to the Audience; like a Musician suiting himself to different Ears. And this *Application* and *Variation of Speech*, should, if we desire its Perfection, extend so far, that if the same things were to be deliver'd to different Persons; yet a different Set of Words should be used to each. Tho' 'tis certain that the greatest *Orators*, generally, have not this *political* and *sociable Eloquence* in private Discourse: for whilst they endeavour at Ornament, and elegant Forms of Speech, they fall not upon that ready Application, and familiar Style of Discourse, which they might with more advantage use to Particulars. And it were certainly proper to begin a new Enquiry into this Subject: we therefore place it among the *Deficiencies*, under the title of PRUDENTIAL CONVERSATION^a; which the more attentively

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^a This Subject has not, that I find, been profecured suitably to its Merit. The Author himself touches upon it below, *Sect. XXIII.* of *Civil Doctrine*; as also in his *Essay on Discourse*; and in that of *Negotiating*: but the *Art of Conversation, founded upon just Principles, and reduced to Rules*, seems still deficient. The Foundations for this are, in some measure, laid by the learned *Morhof*, in the Sketch of his *Homiletice Erudita*. See *Polyhist.* Tom. I. Lib. I. cap. 25. See also *Jo. Andr. Bossii de Prudentia & Eloquentia Civili comparanda*, Ed. Jenæ, 1698; & *Prudentia consultatoria in usum Auditorii Thomasi*, Ed. Halæ Magdeburg. 1721.

a Man considers, the higher Value he will set upon it: but whether this be placed under *Rhetorick* or *Politicks*, is of no great significance.

II. 5. We have already observed, that the *Defiderata* in this *Art*, are rather *Appendages* than *Parts of the Art* itself^a: and all of them belong to the *Repository* thereof; for the furnishing of *Speech* and *Invention*. To proceed in this View; *first*, we find no Writer that hath carefully followed the prudent Example of *Aristotl*, who began to collect *popular Marks, or Colours, of apparent GOOD and EVIL, as well simple as comparative*. These, in reality, are but *Rhetorical Sophisms*; tho' of excellent use, especially in *Business*, and *private Discourse*. But the Labour of *Aristotle* about these *Colours*, has three Defects; for (1.) tho' they are numerous, he recites but few; (2.) he has not annexed their *Redargutions*; and (3.) he seems not to have understood their full use: for they serve as well to *affect* and *move*, as to *demonstrate*. There are many *Forms of Speech*, which, tho' significative of the same things, yet affect Men differently; as a sharp Instrument penetrates more than a blunt one, supposing both of them urged with equal Force. There is nobody but would be more affected by hearing this Expression, *How your Enemies will triumph upon t'is*^b? than if it were simply said, *This will injure your Affairs*: therefore these *Stings* and *Goads of Speech* are not to be neglected. And since we propose this as a *Disferatum*, we will, after our manner, give a Sketch of it, in the way of *Examples*; for *Precepts* will not so well illustrate the Thing.

6. In *Deliberatives*, we enquire what is *Good*, what *Evil*; and of *Good*, which is the greater; and of *Evil*, which the less. Whence the Persuader's Task is to make things appear *good* or *evil*, and that in a higher or lower degree; which may be perform'd by true and solid Reasons, or represented by *Colours, popular Glosses, and Circumstances*, of such force as to sway an ordinary Judgment; or even a wise Man, that does not fully and considerately attend to the Subject. But besides this Power to alter the nature of the Subject in appearance, and so lead to Error, they are of use to quicken and strengthen such *Opinions* and *Persuasions* as are true; for *Reasons* nakedly deliver'd, and always after one manner, enter but heavily, especially with delicate Minds: whereas, when varied, and enliven'd by proper *Forms* and *Innuations*, they cause a stronger Apprehension, and often suddenly win the Mind to a Resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe Judgment, nothing can be of greater Use, and Preservation to the Mind, than the *Discovery and Reprehension of these Colours*; shewing in what cases they hold, and in what not: which cannot be done without a comprehensive Knowledge of Things; but when perform'd, it clears the Judgment, and makes it less apt to slip into Error^c.

^a See above. SECT. XVIII. 2.

^b *Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atrida.*

^c This Paragraph is taken from the FRAGMENT OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL, usually printed as an Appendix to the Author's *Essays*. That *Fragment* was reconsider'd, better digested, and finished by the Author, in order to fit it for this Place, in the DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM; to which himself assign'd it in the *Latin Edition*. The reason of its being called a *Fragment*, was, that the Author had made a large Collection of such kind of *Sophisms* in his youth; but could only find time in his riper years, to add the *Fallacies* and *Confutations* of the following twelve.

SOPHISM I.

Sophism 1. 7. *What Men praise and celebrate, is GOOD; what they dispraise and censure, EVIL.*

Its Detection. THIS *Sophism* deceives four ways; viz. either thro' *Ignorance, Deceit, Party, or the natural Disposition of the Praiser or Dispraiser.* (1.) Thro' *Ignorance*; for what signifies the Judgment of the Rabble, in distinguishing Good and Evil? *Phocion* took it right; who being applauded by the Multitude, asked, *What he had done amiss?* (2.) Thro' *Deceit*; for those who praise or dispraise, commonly have their own Views in it; and speak not their real Sentiments^a. *'Tis naught, 'tis naught, says the Buyer; but when he is gone, he besteth.* (3.) Thro' *Party*; for Men immoderately extol those of their own, and deprecate those of the opposite Party. (4.) Thro' *Disposition or Temper*; for some Men are naturally form'd servile and fawning; and others captious and morose: so that when such Persons praise or dispraise, they do but gratify their own Humour; without much regard to Truth.

SOPHISM II.

Sophism 2. 8. *What is commended, even by an Enemy, is a great Good; but what is censured, even by a Friend, a great Evil.*

Its Foundation THE *Fallacy* seems to lie here; that 'tis easily believ'd, the Force of Truth extorts from us what we speak against our Inclination.

Its Detection. This *Colour* deceives thro' the Subtlety both of *Friends and Enemies.* For Praises of *Enemies* are not always against their Will, nor forced from them by Truth; but they chuse to bestow them where they may create *Envy, or Danger,* to their Adversary. Again, this *Colour* deceives, because *Enemies* sometimes use Praises, like *Prefaces,* that they may the more freely calumniate afterwards. On the other side, it deceives by the *Craft of Friends;* who also sometimes acknowledge our Faults, and speak of them, not as compell'd thereto by any Force of Truth; but touch only such as may do little hurt, and make us, in every thing else, the best Men in the world. And lastly, it deceives, because *Friends* also use their Reproofs, as *Enemies* do their Commendations, by way of *Preface,* that they may afterwards launch out more fully in our Praises.

SOPHISM

^a *Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere, merces.*

SOPHISM III.

9. *To be deprived of a Good, is an Evil; and to be deprived of an Evil, a Good.* Sophism 3.

THIS Colour deceives two ways; viz. either by the comparison of Good and Evil; or by the Succession of Good to Good, or Evil to Evil. *Its Fallacies.*
 (1.) By *Comparison*: thus if it were Good for Mankind to be deprived of Acorns, it follows not that such Food was bad; but that Acorns were good, tho' Bread be better. Nor, if it were an Evil for the People of Sicily to be deprived of *Dionysius* the elder, does it follow that the same *Dionysius* was a good Prince; but that he was less evil than *Dionysius* the younger.
 (2.) By *Succession*: for the Privation of a Good does not always give place to an Evil, but sometimes to a greater Good; as when the Blossom falls, the Fruit succeeds. Nor does the Privation of an Evil always give place to a Good; but sometimes to a greater Evil. For *Milo*, by the Death of his Enemy *Clodius*, lost a fair Harvest of Glory.

SOPHISM IV.

10. *What approaches to Good, is Good; and what recedes from Good, is Evil.* Sophism 4.

TIS almost universal, that Things agreeing in Nature, agree also in Place; and that Things disagreeing in Nature, differ as widely in Situation: for all things have an Appetite of associating with what is agreeable; and of repelling what is disagreeable to them. *Observation.*

This Colour deceives three ways; viz. by *Depriving*, *Obscuring*, and *Protecting*. *Its Fallacies:*
 (1.) By *Depriving*: for the largest things, and most excellent in their kind, attract all they can to themselves, and leave what is next them destitute; thus the Under-wood growing near a large Tree, is the poorest Wood of the Field; because the Tree deprives it of Sap, and Nourishment. Whence 'twas well said, that the Servants of the Rich are the greatest Slaves. And it was witty of him, who compared the inferior Attendants in the Courts of Princes, to the Vigils of Feast-days, which, tho' nearest to Feast-days, are themselves but meagre.
 (2.) By *Obscuring*: for 'tis also the Nature of excellent things in their kind, tho' they do not impoverish the Substance of what lies near them, yet to overshadow and obscure it. Whence the Astrologers say, that tho' in all the Planets, Conjunction is the most perfect Amity; yet the Sun, tho' good in Aspect, is evil in Conjunction.
 (3.) By *Protecting*: for things come together, not only from a similitude of Nature; but even what is evil, flies to that which is good, especially in civil Society, for Concealment and Protection. Thus Hypocrisy draws near to Religion for Shelter^a: So Sanctuary-Men, who were commonly

^a Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

Malefactors, used to be nearest the *Priests* and *Prelates*: for the Majesty of good Things is such, that the Confines of them are Reverend. On the other side, Good draws near to Evil, not for Society, but for Conversation and Reformation. And hence Physicians visit the Sick more than the Sound: and hence it was objected to our Saviour, that he conversed with *Publicans* and *Sinners*.

SOPHISM V.

Sophism 5.

11. *As all Parties challenge the first place; that, to which the rest unanimously give the second, seems the best: Each taking the first place out of Affection to itself; but giving the second, where 'tis really due.*

Illustration.

THUS Cicero attempted to prove the *Academicks* to be the best *Seet*; for, saith he, ask a *Stoick* which Philosophy is best, and he will prefer his own: then ask him, which is next best, and he will confess, the *Academicks*. Ask an *Epicurean* the same Question, who can scarce endure the *Stoick*; and as soon as he hath placed his own *Seet*, he places the *Academicks* next him. So if a *Prince* separately examined several Competitors for a Place; perhaps the ablest, and most deserving man would have most second Voices.

Detection.

This Colour deceives in respect of *Envy*; for men are accustom'd next after themselves, and their own Faction, to prefer those that are *softest*, and most *pliable*; with intent to exclude such as would obstruct their Measures: whence this Colour of *Meliority* and *Prebeminence*, becomes a Sign of *Enervation* and *Weakness*.

SOPHISM VI.

Sophism 6.

12. *That is absolutely best, the Excellence whereof is greatest.*

Detection.

THIS Colour has these Forms: let us not wander in *Generals*: let us compare *Particular with Particular*, &c. and tho' it seem strong, and rather *Logical* than *Rhetorical*; yet it is sometimes a *Fallacy*: (1.) because many things are exposed to great danger, but if they escape, prove more excellent than others: whence their *Kind* is inferior, as being subject to *Accident* and *Miscarriage*; tho' more noble in the *Individual*. Thus to instance in the *Blossoms of March*, one whereof, according to the *French Proverb*, is, if it escape *Accidents*, worth ten *Blossoms of May*:^a; so that tho' in *general*, the *Blossoms of May* excel the *Blossoms of March*; yet in *Individuals* the best *Blossoms of March* may be prefer'd to the best of *May*. (2.) Because the Nature of things in some *Kinds*, or *Species*, is more equal, and in others more unequal. Thus warm *Climates* generally produce People of a sharper *Genius* than cold ones; yet the

extraor-

^a *Bourgeon de Mars, Enfans de Paris,*
Si un eschape, bien vaut dix.

extraordinary Genius's of cold Countries usually excel the extraordinary Genius's of the warmer. So in the case of Armies, if the Cause were tried by single Combat, the Victory might often go on the one side; but if by a pitched Battle, on the other: for *Excellencies and Superiorities are rather accidental Things; whilst Kinds are governed by Nature, or Discipline.* (3.) Lastly, *many Kinds have much Refuse; which countervails what they have of excellent: and therefore tho' Metal be generally more precious than Stone, yet a Diamond is more precious than Gold.*

SOPHISM VII.

13. *What keeps a Matter safe and entire, is Good; but what leaves no Retreat, is bad: for Inability to retire, is a kind of Impotency; but Power is a Good.* Sophism 7.

THUS *Æsop* feign'd, that two Frogs consulting together, in a time of Drought, what was to be done; the one propos'd going down into a deep Well, because probably the Water would not fail there: but the other answer'd, if it should fail there too, how shall we get up again? And the Foundation of the *Colour* lies here, that human Actions are so uncertain, and expos'd to Danger, that the best Condition seems to be that which has most *Outlets.* And this *Persuasion* turns upon such *Forms* as these: *You shall engage yourself: you shall not be your own Carver: you shall keep the matter in your own hands, &c.* Illustration.

The Fallacy of the *Sophism* lies here; (1.) Because Fortune presses so close upon human Affairs, that some Resolution is necessary: for *not to Resolve, is to Refuse:* so that Irresolution frequently entangles us in Necessities more than resolving. And this seems to be a Disease of the Mind, like to that of Covetousness; only transferr'd from the Desire of possessing Riches, to the Desire of possessing Free-will and Power: for as the covetous man enjoys no part of his Possessions, for fear of lessening them; so the unresolv'd Man executes nothing; that he may not abridge his Freedom, and Power of Acting. (2.) Because Necessity, and the Fortune of the Throw, adds a Spur to the Mind; whence that Saying, *in other respects equal, but in necessity superior.* Detection.

SOPHISM VIII.

14. *That Evil we bring upon ourselves, is Greater; and that proceeding from without us, Less.* Sophism 8.

BECAUSE Remorse of Conscience doubles Adversity: as a Consciousness of one's own Innocence is a great support in Affliction. Whence the Poets exaggerate those Sufferings most, and paint them leading to Despair, wherein the Person accuses and tortures himself^a. On the other side, Persons lessen, and almost annihilate their Misfortunes, by reflecting upon their own Innocence Illustration.

^a *Seque unam clamat causamque, caputque malorum.*

nocence and Merit. Besides, when the *Evil* comes from without, it leaves a Man to the full liberty of Complaint; whereby he spends his Grief, and eases his Heart: for we conceive indignation at human Injuries, and either meditate Revenge ourselves, or implore and expect it from the Divine Vengeance. Or if the Injury came from Fortune itself; yet this leaves us to an Expostulation with the Divine Powers^a. But if the *Evil* be derived from ourselves, the Stings of Grief strike inwards; and stab and wound the Mind the deeper.

Detection.

This *Colour* deceives, (1.) by *Hope*; which is the greatest Antidote of Evils: for 'tis commonly in our power to amend our *Faults*; but not our *Fortunes*. Whence *Demosthenes* said frequently to the *Athenians*, “*What is worst for the past, is best for the future; since it happens by Neglect and Misconduct, that your Affairs are come to this low Ebb. Had you indeed acted your parts to the best, and yet Matters should have thus gone backward; there would be no hopes of Amendment: but as it has happened principally thro' your own Errors, if these are corrected, all may be recovered.*” So *Epictetus*, speaking of the degrees of the Mind's tranquillity, assigns the lowest place to such as accuse others; a higher, to those who accuse themselves; but the highest, to those who neither accuse themselves nor others. (2.) By *Pride*, which so cleaves to the Mind, that it will scarce suffer men to acknowledge their Errors. And to avoid any such Acknowledgment, they are extremely patient under those Misfortunes, which they bring upon themselves: for as, when a Fault is committed, and before it be known who did it, a great stir and commotion is made; but if at length it appears to be done by a Son, or a Wife; the bustle is all at an end: and thus it happens when one must take a Fault to one's self. And hence we frequently see that Women, when they do any thing against their Friend's consent; whatever Misfortune follows, they seldom complain, but set a good face on it.

SOPHISM IX.

Sophism 9. 15. *The Degree of Privation seems greater than that of Diminution; and the Degree of Inception greater than that of Increase.*

Illustration. 'TIS a Position in *Mathematicks*, that there is no proportion between Something and Nothing; and therefore the degrees of *Nullity* and *Quiddity* seem larger than the Degrees of *Increase* and *Decrease*: as 'tis more for a *Monoculus* to lose an Eye, than for a Man who has two. So if a Man has lost several Children, it gives him more grief to lose the last, than all the rest; because this was the *Hopes of his Family*. Therefore, the *Sibyl*, when she had burned two of her three Books, doubled her Price upon the third; because the loss of this would only have been a degree of *Privation*, and not of *Diminution*.

The Fallacies of the first part.

This *Colour* deceives, (1.) in things, whose use and service lie in a Sufficiency, Competency, or determinate Quantity: Thus if a Man were to pay a large Sum upon a Penalty, it might be harder upon him to want
twenty

^a *Atque Deos, atque Astra, vocat crudelia, Mater.*

twenty Shillings for this, than ten Pounds for another occasion. So in running through an *Estate*; the *first* step towards it, *viz.* breaking in upon the Stock, is a higher degree of mischief than the *last*; *viz.* spending the last Penny. And to this *Colour* belong those common Forms; *'tis too late to pinch at the bottom of the Purse; as good never a whit, as never the better, &c.* (2.) It deceives from this Principle in Nature, *that the Corruption of one thing is the Generation of another*; whence the ultimate Degree of Privation itself, is often less felt; as it gives occasion, and a spur, to some new Course. So when *Demosthenes* rebuked the People, for hearkening to the dishonourable and unequal Conditions of King *Philip*, he called those Conditions the *Fool of their Sloth and Indolence*, which they had better be without; because then their Industry would be excited to procure other Remedies. So a blunt *Physician*, whom I knew, when the delicate Ladies complained to him, *they were they could not tell how*, yet could not endure to take Physick, he would tell them, *their way was to be sick, for then they would be glad to take any thing.* (3.) Nay, the Degree of Privation itself, or the extremest Indigence may be serviceable; not only to excite our Industry, but to command our Patience.

The *second* part of this *Sophism* stands upon the same Foundation; or the Degrees betwixt *Something* and *Nothing*; whence the *Common-place of extolling the beginnings of every thing: well begun is half done, &c.* And hence the Superstition of the *Astrologers*, who judge the Disposition and Fortune of a Man, from the instant of his Nativity or Conception.

This *Colour* deceives, (1.) because many Beginnings are but imperfect Offers and Essays, which vanish and come to nothing, without Repetition and farther Advancement; so that here the second Degree seems more worthy and powerful than the first; as the *Body-horse* in a Team draws more than the *Fore horse*: whence 'tis not ill said, *the second Word makes the Quarrel*; for the *first* might perhaps have proved harmless, if it had not been retorted: therefore the *first* gives the occasion indeed; but the *second* makes reconciliation more difficult. (2.) This *Sophism* deceives by *Weariness*, which makes *Perseverance* of greater dignity than *Inception*: for Chance or Nature may give a Beginning; but only settled Affection, and Judgment, can give Continuance. (3.) It deceives in things, whose Nature and common Course carries them contrary to the first Attempt; which is therefore continually frustrated, and gets no ground, unless the force be redoubled. Hence the common Forms: *not to go forwards, is to go backwards; running up hill; rowing against the stream, &c.* But if it be with the stream, or with the hill, then the degree of Inception, has by much the advantage. (4.) This *Colour* not only reaches to the degree of *Inception* from Power to Action, compared with the degree from Action to Increase; but also to the degree from Want of Power to Power, compared with the Degree from Power to Action: For the Degree from *want of Power to Power*, seems greater than that from *Power to Action*.

The second part of the Sophism illustrated.

And detected.

SOPHISM X.

Sophism 10. 16. *What relates to Truth, is greater than what relates to Opinion: but the measure and trial of what relates to Opinion, is what a Man would not do, if he thought he were secret.*

Illustration. SO the Epicureans pronounce of the Stoical Felicity, placed in Virtue, that it is the Felicity of a Player, who, left by his Audience, would soon sink in his Spirit; whence they in ridicule call Virtue a Theatrical Good: But 'tis otherwise in Riches^a and Pleasure^b, which are felt more inwardly.

Detection. The Fallacy of this Colour is somewhat subtle; tho' the Answer to the Example be easy; as Virtue is not chosen for the sake of popular Fame; and as every one ought principally to reverence himself: so that a virtuous man will be virtuous in a Desert, as well as a Theatre; tho' perhaps Virtue is made somewhat more vigorous by Praise; as Heat by Reflection. But this only denies the Supposition, and does not expose the Fallacy. Allowing then, that Virtue, joined with Labour, would not be chose, but for the Praise and Fame which usually attend it; yet it is no Consequence, that Virtue should not be desired principally for its own sake; since Fame may be only an impellent, and not a constituent or efficient Cause. Thus, if when two Horses are rode without the Spur, one of them performs better than the other; but with the Spur the other far exceeds; this will be judged the better Horse. And to say that his Mettle lies in the Spur, is not making a true Judgment: for since the Spur is a common Instrument in Horsemanship, and no Impediment or Burden to the Horse, he will not be esteemed the worse Horse that wants it; but the going well without it, is rather a point of Delicacy than Perfection. So Glory and Honour are the Spurs to Virtue; which tho' it might languish without them; yet since they are always at hand unsought, Virtue is not the less to be chosen for itself, because it needs the Spur of Fame and Reputation: which clearly confutes the Sophism.

SOPHISM XI.

Sophism 11. 17. *What is procured by our own Virtue and Industry, is a greater Good; and what by another's, or by the Gift of Fortune, a less.*

Illustration. THE Reasons are, (1.) *Future Hope*; because in the Favours of others, or the Gifts of Fortune, there is no great certainty; but our own Virtue and Abilities are always with us. So that when they have purchased us one Good, we have them as ready, and by use better edged, to procure us another. (2.) Because, what we enjoy by the benefit of others, carries with it an obligation to them for it; whereas what is derived from ourselves, comes without

^a *Populus me sibilat; ac mihi plaudo.*

^b *Grata sub imo*

Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.

without clog or encumbrance. Nay, when the Divine Providence bestows Favours upon us, they require Acknowledgment, and a kind of Retribution to the Supreme Being; but in the other kind, *Men rejoice*, as the *Prophet* speaks, and *are glad; they offer to their Toils, and sacrifice to their Nets.* (3.) Because, what comes to us unprocured by our own Virtue, yields not that Praise and Reputation we affect; for Actions of great Felicity may produce much Wonder; but no Praise. So *Cicero* said to *Cæsar*, *we have enough to admire, but want somewhat to praise*^a. (4.) Because, the Purchases of our own Industry are commonly joined with Labour and Struggle; which have not only some Sweetness in themselves, but give an Edge and Relish to Enjoyment. *Venison is sweet to him that kills it*^b.

There are four Opposites or *Counter-Colours* to this *Sophism*, and may serve as as *Confutations* to the four preceding Colours respectively. (1.) Because Felicity seems to be a work of the Divine Favour; and accordingly begets Confidence and Alacrity in ourselves, as well as Respect and Reverence from others. And this Felicity extends to casual things; which human Virtue can hardly reach. So when *Cæsar* said to the Master of the Ship in a storm, *Thou carriest Cæsar and his Fortune*; if he should have said, *thou carriest Cæsar and his Virtue*, it had been but a small support against the danger. (2.) Because those things which proceed from Virtue and Industry are imitable, and lie open to others; whereas Felicity is inimitable, and the Prerogative of a singular Person. Whence in general, Natural things are prefer'd to Artificial; because incapable of imitation. For whatever is imitable, seems common, and in every one's power. (3.) The things that proceed from Felicity, seem free Gifts, unprocured by Industry; but those acquired by Virtue, seem bought: whence *Plutarch* said elegantly of the *Successes of Timoleon*, (an extremely fortunate man) compared with those of his Contemporaries, *Agésilus* and *Epaminondas*, *that they were like Homer's Verses, and besides their other Excellencies, ran peculiarly smooth, and natural.* (4.) Because *what happens unexpectedly*, is more acceptable, and enters the Mind with greater pleasure: but this effect cannot be had in things procured by our own Industry.

Its Counter-Colours and Confutation.

SOPHISM XII.

18. *What consists of many divisible Parts is greater, and more One than what consists of fewer: for all things when viewed in their Parts, seem greater; whence also a plurality of Parts shews bulky: but a plurality of Parts has the stronger Effect, if they lie in no certain order; for thus they resemble Infinity, and prevent Comprehension.* Sophism 12.

THIS *Sophism* appears gross at first sight; for 'tis not plurality of Parts alone, without majority, that makes the Total greater: yet the Imagination is often carried away, and the Sense deceived with this *Colour*. Thus to the Eye the Road upon a naked Plain may seem shorter, than where there are Trees, Buildings, or other Marks, by which to distinguish and divide the

Explanation.

^a *Quæ miremur habemus; quæ laudamus expectamus.*

^b *Suavis cibus à venatu.*

Distance. So when a moried Man divides his Chests and Bags, he seems to himself richer than he was; and therefore a way to amplify any thing, is to break it into several parts, and examine them separately. And this makes the greater shew, if done without Order; for Confusion shews things more numerous than they are. But Matters ranged and set in order, appear more confined; and prove that nothing is omitted: whilst such as are represented in Confusion, not only appear more in number, but leave a suspicion of many more behind.

Confutation.

This *Colour* deceives, (1.) if the Mind entertain too great an opinion of any thing; for then the breaking of it will destroy that false Notion, and shew the thing really as it is; without Amplification. Thus if a Man be sick, or in pain, the time seems longer without a Clock than with one: for tho' the irksomness of Pain makes the time seem longer than it is; yet the measuring of it corrects the Error, and shews it shorter, than that false opinion had conceived it. And so in a naked Plain, contrary to what was just before observed, tho' the way, to the Eye, may seem shorter when undivided; yet if an Opinion hence arises, that 'tis much shorter than it will be found; the frustration of that false Expectation will afterwards cause it to appear longer than the Truth. Therefore, if a Man design to encourage the false Opinion of another, as to the greatness of a thing, let him not divide and split it, but extol it in the general. This *Colour* deceives, (2.) if the Matter be so far divided and dispersed, as not all to appear at one view. So Flowers growing in separate Beds, shew more than if they grow in one Bed; provided all the Beds are in the same Plot, so as to be viewed at once; otherwise they appear more numerous when brought nearer, than when scatter'd wider: and hence *landed Estates*, that lie contiguous, are usually accounted greater than they are: for if they lie in different *Countries*, they could not so well fall within Notice. (3.) This *Sophism* deceives, thro' the excellence of *Unity* above *Multitude*: for all Composition is an infallible sign of deficiency in Particulars^a. For if One would serve the turn, it were best; but Defects and Imperfections require to be pieced and helped out. So *Mirthes*, cumber'd about many things, was told that *One* was sufficient. And upon this Foundation *Aesop* invented the *Fable*, how the *Fox* bragg'd to the *Cat*, what a number of Devices and Stratagems he had to get from the *Hounds*; when the *Cat* said she had but one, and that was to climb a *Tree*: which in fact was better than all the *Saifts* of *Ryard*. Whence the Proverb, *Multa vocat vulpes, sed felis unum magnum*^b. And the Moral of the *Fable* is this; that 'tis better relying upon an able and trusty Friend in a difficulty, than upon all the *Fetches* and *Contrivances* of one's own Wit.

It were easy to collect a large number of this kind of *Sophisms*; whereto if their *Fallacies*, and *Distinctions* were annexed, it might be a work of considerable service; as launching into *Primary Philosophy*, and *Politics*, as well as *Rhetorick*^c. And so much for the popular marks, or *Colours* of apparent *Good* and *Evil*, both *single* and *comparative*.

III.

^a Et que non profunt singula multa juvant.

^b The Fox had many saifts: but the Cat a capital one.

^c One Reason why *stude* has been done towards supplying this *Deficiency*, is, perhaps, the difficulty

III. 19. A *second Collection* wanting to the *Apparatus of Rhetorick*, is that intimated by *Cicero*, when he directs a set of *Common-Places*, suited to both sides of the *Question*, to be had in readines. But we extend this Precept farther; so as to include, not only *judicial*, but also *deliberative* and *demonstrative Forms*. Our meaning is, that all the *Places of common use*, whether for *Proof, Confutation, Persuasion, Dissuasion, Praise, or Dispraise*; should be ready studied, and either exaggerated, or degraded, with the utmost effort of *Genius*, or, as it were, *perverse Resolution*, beyond all measure of *Truth*^a. And the best way of forming this *Collection*, both for *Conciseness* and *Use*, we judge to be that of contracting, and winding up these *Places* into certain acute, and short *Sentences*; as into so many *Clues*, which may occasion dily be wound off into larger *Discourses*. And something of this kind we find done by *Seneca*; but only in the way of *Suppositions* or *Cases*. The following *Examples* will more fully illustrate our *Intention*.

A Collection of such Arguments wanting in Rhetorick.

BEAUTY.

For.

20. The Deformed endeavour, by Malice, to keep themselves from Contempt.

Deformed Persons are commonly revenged of Nature.

Virtue is internal Beauty; and Beauty external Virtue.

Beauty makes Virtue shine; and Vice blush.

Against.

Virtue, like a Diamond, is best plain set.

As a good Dress to a deformed Person; so is Beauty to a vicious Man.

Those adorned with Beauty, and those affected by it, are generally shallow alike.

Examples for procuring this Collection.

Y 2

BOLDNESS.

difficulty that attends it. Numerous *Sophisms*, of great influence, might indeed be collected from Books of *Morality Policy, Physicks, Chemistry*, and many other parts of *Philosophy*, as well as from common *Conversation*; but to shew wherein the *Fallacy* of such *Sophisms* lies, and clearly to confute them, may often require a penetrating *Capacity*, and a considerable *Degree* of *Attention*. Whence a *Work* of this kind cannot be executed upon the *Plan* of the *Author*, but by men of general *Knowledge*, clear *Discernment*, *Mathematical Sagacity*, and strong *Judgment*. But if such a *Work* were extant in its due *Latitude*, it might afford an entertaining, as well as useful *Picture* of human *Nature*; and shew, that nearly all the *Arguments* in common use are but a kind of *Sophisms*: and thus defend the *Mind* against them.

^a Observe however, that these *Places* are still to be true and just, if taken in a *lower* or *higher Key*, otherwise they would be but mere *Sophisms* and *Imposture*. Thus the two sides of the *Question*, may by moderation be made to comport; for instance,

FOR.

Virtue, like a Diamond, is best plain set.

AGAINST.

Virtue, in a graceful Person shews to greater advantage.

These are *Antitheses*, or *Opposites*; but reconcilable by relaxing, or softening the *Rigour* of each *Position*: so that tho' *Virtue* shews well, when plain set; yet it shews better, when accompanied with *graceful Behaviour*. But in *Pleading* and *Persuading*, more regard is had to *Exaggeration* and strong *Expression* than to *Moderation* and exact *Truth*. The part of the *Judge* is to moderate, and balance, both sides of the *Question*.

BOLDNESS.

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
21. A bashful Suitor shews the way to deny him.	Boldness is the Verger to Folly.
Boldness in a Politician is like Action to an Orator; the first, second, and third Qualification.	Impudence is fit for nothing but Imposture.
Love the Man, who confesses his Modesty; but hate him who accuses it.	Confidence is the Fool's Empress, and the Wise Man's Buffoon.
A Confidence in carriage soonest unites Affections.	Boldness is a kind of Dulness, join'd with a Perverseness.
Give me a reserved Countenance, and open Conversation.	

CEREMONIES.

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
22. A graceful Deportment is the true Ornament of Virtue.	What can be more disagreeable than in common Life to copy the Stage?
If we follow the Vulgar in the use of Words, why not in Habit and Gesture?	Ingenuous Behaviour procures Esteem; but Affectation and Cunning, Hatred.
He who observes not Decorums in smaller matters, may be a great Man; but is unwise at times.	Better a painted Face and curled Hair, than a painted and curled Behaviour.
<i>Virtue</i> and <i>Wisdom</i> , without all Respect and Ceremony, are, like foreign Languages, unintelligible to the Vulgar.	He is incapable of great Matters, who breaks his Mind with trifling Observations.
He, who knows not the Sense of the People, neither by Congruity, nor Observation, is senseless.	Affectation is the glossy Corruption of Ingenuity.
<i>Ceremonies</i> are the translation of Virtue into our own Language.	

CONSTANCY.

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
23. Constancy is the Foundation of Virtue.	Constancy, like a churlish Portress, turns away many useful Informations.
He is miserable who has no Notion of what he shall be.	'Tis just that Constancy should endure Crosses; for it commonly brings them.
If Human Judgment cannot be constant to things; let it at least be true to itself.	The shortest Folly is the best.
Even Vice is set off by Constancy.	
Inconstancy	

Inconstancy of Fortune, with Inconstancy of Mind, makes a Dark Scene.

Fortune, like *Proteus*, is brought to herself by persisting.

CRUELTY.

For.

24. No Virtue is so often delinquent as *Clemency*.

Cruelty, proceeding from Revenge, is Justice; if from Danger, Prudence.

He who shews Mercy to his Enemy, denies it to himself.

Plebotomy is as necessary in the Body Politick, as in the Body Natural.

Against.

He who delights in Blood, is either a wild Beast, or a Fury.

To a good Man, Cruelty seems a mere Tragical Fiction.

DELAY.

For.

25. Fortune sells many things to the Hasty, which she gives to the Slow.

Hurrying to catch the Beginnings of things, is grasping at Shadows.

When things hang wavering, mark them; and work, when they incline.

Commit the beginning of Actions to *Argus*, with his hundred Eyes; the end to *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands.

Against.

Opportunity offers the Handle of the Bottle first, then the Belly.

Opportunity, like the *Sibyl*, diminishes the Commodity, but enhances the Price.

Dispatch is *Pluto's* Helmet.

Things undertaken speedily, are easily performed.

DISSIMULATION.

For.

26. Dissimulation is a short Wisdom. We are not all to say, tho' we all intend, the same Thing.

Nakedness, even in the Mind, is uncommonly.

Dissimulation is both a Grace and a Guard.

Dissimulation is the Bulwark of Counsels.

Some fall a Prey to Fair-Dealing.

The open Dealer deceives as well as the Dissembler: for many either do not understand him, or not believe him.

Open-dealing is a Weakness of Mind.

Against.

If we cannot think justly, at least let us speak as we think.

In shallow Politicians, Dissimulation goes for Wisdom.

The Dissembler loses a principal Instrument of Action, *Belief*.

Dissimulation invites Dissimulation.

The Dissembler is a Slave.

EMPIRE.

<i>For.</i>	27. To enjoy Happiness, is a great Blessing; but to confer it, a great r. Kings are more like Stars than Men; for they have a powerful Influence. To resist God's Vicegerents, is to war against Heaven.	<i>Against.</i>	'Tis a miserable State, to have few things to desire, and many to fear. Princes, like the celestial Bodies, have much Veneration, but no Rest. Mortals are admitted to <i>Jupiter's</i> Table, only for sport.
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ENVY.

<i>For.</i>	28. 'Tis natural to hate those who reproach us. Envy in a State, is like a wholesome Severity.	<i>Against.</i>	Envy has no Holidays. Death alone reconciles Envy to Virtue. Envy puts Virtue to the trial, as <i>Juno</i> did <i>Hercules</i> .
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EVIDENCE *against* ARGUMENTS.

<i>For.</i>	29. To rely upon Arguments, is the part of a Pleader, not a Judge. He who is sway'd more by Arguments than Testimony, trusts more to Wit than Sense. Arguments might be trusted, if Men committed no Absurdities. Arguments against Testimonies, make the Case appear strange, but not true.	<i>Against.</i>	If Evidence were to prevail against Arguments, a Judge would need no Sense but his Hearing. Arguments are an Antidote against the Poison of Testimonies. Those Proofs are safest believed, which seldom deceive.
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FACILITY.

<i>For.</i>	30. Give me the Man who complies to another's Humour without Flattery. The flexible Man comes nearest to the nature of Gold.	<i>Against.</i>	Facility is want of Judgment. The good Offices of easy Natures seem Debts, and their Denials, Injuries. He thanks only himself, who prevails upon an easy Man. All Difficulties oppress a yielding Nature; for he is engaged in all. Easy Natures seldom come off with credit.
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FLAT-

FLATTERY.

For.
 31. Flattery proceeds from Custom, rather than ill Design.
 To convey Instruction with Praise, is a Form due to the Great.

Against.
 Flattery is the Style of a Slave.
 Flattery is the Varnish of Vice.
 Flattery is fowling with a Bird Call.
 The Deformity of Flattery is Comedy; but the Injury, Tragedy.
 To convey good Counsel, is a hard Task.

FORTITUDE.

For.
 32. Nothing is terrible, but Fear itself.
 Pleasure and Virtue lose their Nature, where Fear disquiets.
 To view Danger, is looking out to avoid it.
 Other Virtues subdue Vice; but Fortitude even conquers Fortune.

Against.
 A strange Virtue that, to desire to destroy, to secure Destruction.
 A good Virtue truly, which even Drunkenness can cause.
 A Prodigal of his own Life, threatens the Lives of others.
 Fortitude is a Virtue of the Iron-Age.

FORTUNE.

For.
 33. Publick Virtues procure Praise; but private ones, Fortune.
 Fortune, like the *Musk-Way*, is a Clutter of small, twinkling, nameless Virtues.
 Fortune is to be honour'd and respected, tho' it were but for her Daughters, Confidence and Authority.

Against.
 The Folly of one Man, is the Fortune of another.
 This may be commended in Fortune, that if she makes no Election, she gives no Protection.
 The Great, to decline Envy, worship *Fortune*.

FRIENDSHIP.

For.
 34. Friendship does the same as Fortitude; but more agreeable.
 Friendship gives the Relish to Happiness.
 The worst Solitude, is to want Friends.
 'Tis just that the hollow-hearted should not find Friendship.

Against.
 To contract Friendship, is to procure Encumbrance.
 'Tis a weak Spirit, that divides Fortune with another.

H E A L T H .

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
35. The Care of Health subjects the Mind to the Body.	Recovery from Sickneſs, is Rejuvenefcency.
An healthy Body is the Tabernacle, but a ſickly one, the Priſon of the Soul.	Pretence of Sickneſs, is a good Excuſe for the Healthy.
A ſound Conſtitution forward Buſineſs ; but a ſickly one makes many Holidays.	Health too ſtrongly cements the Soul and Body.
	The Couch has govern'd Empires ; and the Litter, Armies.

H O N O U R S .

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
36. Honours are the Suffrages, not of Tyrants, but Divine Providence.	To ſeek Honour, is to loſe Liberty.
Honours make both Virtue and Vice conſpicuous.	Honours give command where 'tis beſt not to will ; and next, not to be able.
Honour is the Touchſtone of Virtue.	The Steps of Honour are hard to climb, ſlippery a-top, and dangerous to go down.
The Motion of Virtue is rapid to its place ; but calm in it : but the Place of Virtue is Honour.	Men in great Place borrow others Opinions, to think themſelves happy.

J E S T S .

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
37. A Jeſt is the Orator's Altar.	Hunters after Deformities and Compariſons, are deſpicable Creatures.
Humour in Converſation, preſerves Freedom.	To divert important Buſineſs with a Jeſt, is a baſe Trick.
'Tis highly politick to paſs ſmoothly from Jeſt to Earneſt, and <i>vice verſa</i> .	Judge of a Jeſt, when the Laugh is over.
Witty Conceits are Vehicles to Truths, that could not be otherwiſe agreeably convey'd.	Wit commonly plays on the Surface of things : for Surface is the Seat of a Jeſt.

I N G R A T I T U D E .

<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
38. Ingratitude is but perceiving the Cauſe of a Benefit.	The Sin of Ingratitude is not made penal here, but left to the Furies.
The deſire of being grateful, neither does Juſtice to others, nor leaves one's ſelf at liberty.	The Obligations for Benefits, exceed the Obligations of Duties ; whence Ingratitude is alſo unjuſt.

A

N O

A Benefit of an uncertain Value, | merits the less thanks.

No publick Fortune can exclude private Favour.

INNOVATION.

For.

39. Every Remedy is an Innovation.

He who will not apply new Remedies, must expect new Diseases.

Time is the greatest Innovator; and why may we not imitate Time?

Ancient Precedents are unsuitable, and late ones corrupt and degenerate.

Let the Ignorant square their Actions by Example.

As they who first derive Honour to their Family, are commonly more worthy than those who succeed them; so Innovations generally excel Imitations.

An obstinate adherence to Customs, is as turbulent a thing as *Innovation*.

Since things of their own course change for the worse, if they are not by prudence alter'd for the better; what End can there be of the Ill?

The Slaves of Custom are the Sport of Time.

Against.

New Births are deformed things.
No Author is accepted, till time has authoriz'd him.

All Novelty is Injury; for it defaces the present state of things.

Things authoriz'd by Custom, if not excellent, are yet conformable; and sort well together.

What Innovator follows the Example of Time, which insinuates new things so quietly, as to be almost imperceptible?

Things that happen unexpected, are less agreeable to those they benefit; and more afflicting to those they injure.

JUSTICE.

For.

40. Power and Policy are but the Appendages of Justice; for if Justice could be otherwise executed, there were no need of them.

'Tis owing to Justice, that Man to Man is a God; not a Wolf.

Tho' Justice cannot extirpate Vice, it keeps it under.

Against.

If Justice consist in doing to another what we would have done to ourselves; then Mercy is Justice.

If every one must receive his due; then surely Mortals must receive Pardon.

The common Justice of a Nation, like a Philosopher at Court, renders Rulers awful.

^a One can scarce help answering to this Question; *the Lord Bacon*: who has reformed the State of Learning so quietly, that his Country-men scarce perceive how or by whom it was effected.

KNOWLEDGE and CONTEMPLATION.

<i>For.</i>	41. That Pleasure only is according to Nature, which never cloyes. The sweetest Prospect is that below, into the Errors of others. 'Tis best to have the Orbits of the Mind concentrick with those of the Univerſe. All depraved Affections are falſe Valuations ; but Goodneſs and Truth are ever the ſame.	<i>Againſt.</i> A contemplative Life is but a ſpecious Lazineſs. To think well is little better than to dream well. Divine Providence regards the World ; but Man regards only his Country. A political Man ſows even his Thoughts.
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L A W.

<i>For.</i>	42. 'Tis not expounding, but divining, to recede from the Letter of the Law. To leave the Letter of the Law, makes the Judge a Legiſlator.	<i>Againſt.</i> Generals are to be conſtrued ſo as to explain Particulars. The worſt Tyranny is Law upon the rack.
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L E A R N I N G.

<i>For.</i>	43. To write Books upon minute Particulars, were to render Experience almoſt uſeleſs. Reading is converſing with the Wiſe ; but acting is generally converſing with Fools. Sciences of little ſignificance in themſelves, may ſharpen the Wit, and maſh the Thoughts.	<i>Againſt.</i> Men in Univerſities are taught to believe. What Art ever taught the reaſonable Uſe of Art? To be wiſe by Precept, and wiſe by Experience, are contrary Habits ; the one ſorts not with the other. A vain uſe is made of Art ; leſt it ſhould otherwiſe be unemploy'd. 'Tis the way of Scholars to ſhew all they know ; and oppoſe farther Information.
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L I F E.

<i>For.</i>	44. 'Tis abſurd, to love the Accidents of Life above Life itſelf. A long Courſe is better than a ſhort one, even for Virtue.	<i>Againſt.</i> The Philoſophers, by their great Preparation for Death, have only render'd Death more terrible. Men fear Death thro' Ignorance, as Children fear the Dark.
With-		There

Without a Compass of Life, we can neither learn, nor repent, nor perfect.

There is no Passion so weak, but, if a little urged, will conquer the Fear of Death.

A Man would wish to die, even thro' Weariness of doing the same things over and over again.

L O Q U A C I T Y.

For.

45. Silence argues a Man to suspect either himself or others.

All Restraints are irksome, but especially that of the Tongue.

Silence is the Virtue of Fools.

Silence, like the Night, is fit for Treacheries.

Thoughts, like Waters, are best in a running Stream.

Silence is a kind of Solitude.

He who is silent, exposes himself to Censure.

Against.

To speak little, gives Grace and Authority to what is deliver'd.

Silence is like Sleep; it refreshes Wisdom.

Silence is the Fermentation of the Thoughts.

Silence is the Style of Wisdom; and the Candidate for Truth.

L O V E.

For.

46. Every Man seeks, but the Lover only finds, himself.

The Mind is best regulated by the Predominancy of some powerful Affection.

He who is wise, will pursue some one Desire; for he that affects not one thing above another, finds all flat and distasteful.

Why should not one Man rest in one Individual?

Against.

The Stage is more beholden to Love, than civil Life.

I like not such Men as are wholly taken up with one thing.

Love is but a narrow Contemplation.

M A G N A N I M I T Y.

For.

47. When the Mind proposes honourable Ends; not only the Virtues, but the Deities are ready to assist.

Virtues proceeding from Habit, or Precept, are vulgar; but those that proceed from the End, heroical.

Against.

Magnanimity is a poetical Virtue.

NATURE.

For.

48. Custom goes in Arithmetical, but Nature in Geometrical Progression^a.

As Laws are to Custom in States; so is Nature to Custom in particular Persons.

Custom, against Nature, is a kind of Tyranny; but easily suppressed.

Against.

Men think according to Nature, speak according to Precept, but act according to Custom.

Nature is a kind of a School-Master; Custom, a Magistrate.

NOBILITY.

For.

49. Where Virtue is deeply implanted from the Stock; there can be no Vice.

Nobility is a Laurel confer'd by Time.

If we reverence Antiquity in dead Monuments; we should do it much more in living ones.

If we despise Nobility in Families, what difference is there betwixt Men and Brutes?

Nobility shelters Virtue from Envy, and recommends it to Favour.

Against.

Nobility seldom springs from Virtue; and Virtue seldom from Nobility.

Nobles oftener plead their Ancestors for Pardon, than Promotion.

New rising Men are so industrious, as to make Nobles seem like Statues.

Nobles, like bad Racers, look back too often in the Course.

POPULARITY.

For.

50. Uniformity commonly pleases wise Men; yet 'tis a Point of Wisdom to humour the changeable Nature of Fools.

To honour the People, is the way to be honour'd.

Men in place are usually awed, not by one Man, but the Multitude.

Against.

He who suits with Fools, may himself be suspected.

He who pleases the Rabble, is commonly turbulent.

No moderate Counsels take with the Vulgar.

To fawn on the People, is the basest Flattery.

PRAISE.

For.

51. Praise is the reflected Ray of Virtue.

Praise

Against.

Fame makes a quick Messenger, but a rash Judge.

What

^a That is, *Custom* gets ground slower than *Nature*.

Praise is the Honour obtain'd by free Voices.

Many States confer Honours; but Praise always proceeds from Liberty.

The Voice of the People hath something of Divine; else how should so many become of one mind?

No wonder if the Commonalty speak truer than the Nobility; because they speak with less danger.

What has a good Man to do with the Breath of the Vulgar?

Fame, like a River, buoys up Things light and swoln; but drowns those that are weighty.

Low Virtues gain the Praise of the Vulgar; ordinary ones astonish them: but of the highest, they have no feeling.

Praise is got by Bravery more than Merit; and given rather to the Vain and Empty, than to the Worthy and Substantial.

P R E P A R A T I O N.

For.

52. He who attempts great Matters with small Means; hopes for Opportunity, to keep him in Heart.

Slender Provision buys Wit, but not Fortune.

Against.

The first Occasion is the best Preparation.

Fortune is not to be fetter'd in the Chains of Preparation.

The interchange of Preparation and Action, are politick; but the separation of them ostentatious, and unsuccessful.

Great Preparation is a Prodigal; both of Time and Business.

P R I D E.

For.

53. *Pride* is inconsistent even with Vice: and as Poyson expels Poyson, so are many Vices expell'd by *Pride*.

An easy Nature is subject to other Men's Vices; but a proud one only to it's own.

Pride, if it rise from a contempt of others, to a contempt of itself, at length becomes *Philosophy*.

Against.

Pride is the Ivy of Virtue^a.

Other Vices are only Opposites to Virtues; but *Pride* is even contagious.

Pride wants the best Condition of Vice, Concealment.

A proud man, while he despises others, neglects himself.

R E A D I N E S S.

For.

54. That is unseasonable Wisdom, which is not ready.

Against.

That Knowledge is not deep fetch'd, which lies ready at hand.

He

Wis-

^a *Viz.* On account of creeping and twining about it.

He who errs suddenly, suddenly reforms his Error.

To be wise upon Deliberation, and not upon present Occasion, is no great Matter.

Wisdom is like a Garment ; lightest when readiest.

They whose Counsels are not ripened by Deliberation, have not their Prudence ripened by Age.

What is suddenly invented, suddenly vanishes.

REVENGE.

For.

55. Private Revenge is a kind of wild Justice.

He who returns Injury for Injury, violates the Law, not the Person.

The fear of private Revenge is useful ; for Laws are often asleep.

Against.

He who does the wrong, is the Aggressor ; but he who returns it, the Protractor.

The more prone men are to Revenge, the more it should be weeded out.

A revengeful Man may be slow in Time, tho' not in Will.

RICHES.

For.

56. They despise Riches, who despair of them.

Envy at Riches has made Virtue a Goddess.

Whilst Philosophers dispute whether all things should be refer'd to Virtue, or Pleasure ; let us be collecting the Instruments of both.

Riches turn Virtue into a common Good.

The Command of other Advantages are particular ; but that of Riches universal.

Against.

Great Riches are attended, either with Care, Trouble, or Fame ; but no Use.

What an imaginary Value is set upon Stones, and other Curiosities, that Riches may seem to be of some Service ?

Many who imagine all things may be bought by their Riches, forget they have sold themselves.

Riches are the Baggage of Virtue ; necessary, tho' cumbersome.

Riches are a good Servant, but a bad Master.

SUPERSTITION.

For.

57. They who err out of Zeal, tho' they are not to be approved, should yet be pitied.

Mediocrity belongs to Morality ; Extremes to Divinity.

A superstitious Man is a religious Formalist.

I should sooner believe all the Fables,

Against.

As an Ape appears the more deformed for his resemblance to Man ; so the similitude of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more odious.

What Affectation is in civil Matters, such is Superstition in divine.

It were better to have no Belief of a God, than such an one as dishonours him. It

bles and Absurdities of any Religion; than that the Universal Frame is without a Deity.

It was not the School of *Epicurus*, but the *Stoicks*, that disturbed the States of old.

The real Atheists are Hypocrites; who deal continually in holy things without feeling.

SUSPICION.

For.

58. Distrust is the Sinew of Prudence; and Suspicion a Strengthner of the Understanding.

That Sincerity is justly suspected, which Suspicion weakens.

Suspicion breaks a frail Integrity, but confirms a strong one.

Against.

Suspicion breaks the Bonds of Trust.

To be over-run with Suspicion, is a kind of Political Madness.

TACITURNITY.

For.

59. Nothing is concealed from a silent Man; for all is safely deposited with him.

He who easily talks what he knows, will also talk what he knows not.

Mysteries are due to Secrets.

Against.

From a silent Man all things are concealed; because he returns nothing but Silence.

Change of Customs, keeps Men secret.

Secrecy is the Virtue of a *Confessor*.

A close Man is like a Man unknown.

TEMPERANCE.

For.

60. To abstain and sustain, are nearly the same Virtue.

Uniformity, Concords, and the Measure of Motions, are things Celestial; and the Characters of Eternity.

Temperance, like wholesome Cold, collects and strengthens the Force of the Mind.

When the Senses are too exquisite and wandering, they want Narcoticks; so likewise do wandering Affections.

Against.

I like not bare negative Virtues; they argue Innocence, not Merit.

The Mind languishes, that is not sometimes spirited up by excess.

I like the Virtues, which produce the Vivacity of Action, not the Dullness of Passion.

The Sayings, "Not to use, that you may not desire;" "Not to desire, that you may not fear, &c. proceed from pusillanimous, and distrustful Natures.

VAIN-GLORY.

<i>For.</i>	61. He who seeks his own Praise ; at the same time seeks the Advantage of others. He who is so strait-laced, as to regard nothing that belongs to others, will perhaps account publick Affairs impertinent. Such Dispositions as have a mixture of Levity, more easily undertake a publick Charge.	<i>Against.</i> The Vain-glorious are always Factious, False, Fickle, and upon the Extreme. <i>Tbraso</i> is <i>Gnatbo's</i> Prey. 'Tis shameful in a Lover, to court the Maid instead of the Mistress ; but Praise is only Virtue's Hand-maid.
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UNCHASTITY.

<i>For.</i>	62. 'Tis Jealousy that makes Chastity a Virtue. He must be a melancholy Mortal, that thinks <i>Venus</i> a grave Lady. Why is a Part of Regimen, pretended Cleanness, and the Daughter of Pride, placed among the Virtues ? In Amours, as in Wild-fowl, there is no Property; but the Right is transferred with Possession.	<i>Against.</i> Incontinency is one of <i>Circe's</i> worst Transformations. The unchaste Liver has no reverence for himself ; which is slackening the Bridle of Vice. They who, with <i>Paris</i> , make Beauty their Wish, lose, as he did, Wisdom and Power. <i>Alexander</i> fell upon no popular Truth, when he said, that Sleep and Lust were the Earnest of Death.
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WATCHFULNESS.

<i>For.</i>	63. More Dangers deceive by Fraud, than Force. 'Tis easier to prevent a Danger, than to watch its approach. Danger is no longer light, if it once seem light.	<i>Against.</i> He bids Danger advance, who buckles against it. Even the Remedies of Dangers are dangerous. 'Tis better to use a few approved Remedies, than to venture upon many unexperienced Particulars.
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WIFE AND CHILDREN.

<i>For.</i>	64. Charity to the Common-wealth begins with private Families. Wife and Children are a kind of Discipline ; but unmarried Men are morose and cruel.	<i>Against.</i> He who hath Wife and Children, hath given Hostages to Fortune. Generation and Issue, are human Acts ; but Creation, and its Works, are divine.
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A

Issue

A single Life, and a childless State fit men for nothing but Flight.

He sacrifices to Death, who begets no Children.

The happy in other respects are commonly unfortunate in their Children; lest the human State should too nearly approach the divine.

Issue is the Eternity of Brutes; but Fame, Merit, and Institutions, the Eternity of Men.

Private Regards generally prevail over publick.

Some affect the Fortune of *Priam*, in surviving his Family.

YOUTH.

For.

65. The first Thoughts and Counsels of Youth, have somewhat divine.

Old Men are wise for themselves; but less for others, and the publick Good.

If it were visible, old Age deforms the Mind more than the Body.

Old Men fear all things, but the Gods.

Against.

Youth is the Field of Repentance.

Youth naturally despises the Authority of Age; that every one may grow wise at his peril.

The Counsels whereat Time did not assist, are not ratified by him.

Old Men commute *Venus* for the *Graces*^a.

66. The *Examples of Antitibets*, here laid down, may not perhaps deserve the place assign'd them: but as they were collected in my youth; and are really *Seeds*, not *Flowers*, I was unwilling they should be lost. In this they plainly shew a *juvenile Warmth*; that they abound in the *moral* and *demonstrative* kind, but touch sparingly upon the *deliberative* and *judicial*.

IV. 67. A third *Collection* wanting to the *Apparatus of Rhetorick*, is what we call *Lesser Forms*. And these are a kind of *Portals*, *Postern-doors*, *Outer-Rooms*, *Back-Rooms*, and *Passages of Speech*; which may serve indifferently for all Subjects: such as *Prefaces*, *Conclusions*, *Digressions*, *Transitions*, &c. For as in Building, a good Distribution of the *Frontispiece*, *Stair-cases*, *Doors*, *Windows*, *Entries*, *Passages*, and the like, is not only agreeable, but useful: so in Speech, if the *Accessories*, and *Under-parts*, be decently and skilfully contrived and placed, they are of great Ornament and Service to the whole Structure of the Discourse. Of these *Forms*, we will just propose one Ex-

A Collection of Lesser Forms, wanting in Rhetorick.

^a The Reader will find considerable Use made of this Collection by the *Author*, in his *Essays*; and other parts of his Works. It were easy to continue such a Collection, in the way of an *Alphabetical Common-place*: and the Usefulness of the Thing might well recommend it; as in most parts of Life, and both in writing and speaking, we have frequent Occasions for short and sententious Arguments; as well to defend ourselves, as to prevail upon others. There is also a more capital Use of such a Collection; viz. that of assisting the Understanding, and enabling the Mind to form a true Judgment of Things; when both sides of the Question are thus pleaded for with the utmost Strength. And some Collections of this kind, we find in several *School-Books*, used by the younger Scholars, as a Help in making their *Themes* or *Exercises*: But the Thing in its full extent, according to the View of the *Author*, is perhaps still wanting.

ample or two^a. For tho' they are Matters of no small use; yet because here we add nothing of our own, and only take naked Forms from *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, or other select Authors; they may seem of too trivial a nature, to spend time therein.

68. EXAMPLES OF LESSER FORMS.

A CONCLUSION IN THE DELIBERATIVE.

So the past Fault may be at once amended; and future Inconvenience prevented.

COROLLARY OF AN EXACT DIVISION.

That all may see I would conceal nothing by Silence; nor cloud any thing by Words.

A TRANSITION, WITH A CAVEAT.

But let us leave this Subject for the present; still reserving to ourselves the Liberty of a Retrospection.

A PREPOSSESSION AGAINST AN INVETERATE OPINION.

I will let you understand to the full, what sprung from the thing itself; what Error has tack'd to it; and what Envy has raised upon it.

And these few Examples may serve to shew our meaning as to the *Lesser Forms* of Speech^b.

S E C T. XIX.

CRITICISM, and SCHOOL-LEARNING.

Criticism and School-Learning, Appendages to the Doctrine of Delivery.

I. **T**Here remain two general APPENDAGES to the DOCTRINE OF DELIVERY; the one relating to CRITICISM; the other to SCHOOL-LEARNING. For as the principal part of *traditive Prudence*^c, turns upon the writing;

^a See the Lord *Shaftesbury's Advice to an Author*.

^b Tho' the Ancients may seem to have perfected *Rhetorick*; yet the Moderns have given it new Light. *Gerhard Vossius* bestow'd incredible Pains upon this Art; as appears by his Book *de Natura & Constitutione Rhetorices*; and still more by his *Institutiones Oratoriae*. See also *Wolfgang. Schoenfelder's Apparatus Eloquentiae*; *Tesmar's Exercitationes Rhetoricae*, &c. Several French Authors have likewise cultivated this Subject; particularly *Rapin*, in his *Reflexions sur l'Eloquence*; *Bohours*, in his *Maniere de bien Penfer dans les Ouvrages de l'Esprit*; and his *Pensées Ingenieuses*; *Father Lamy*, in his *Art de Parler*. See also *M. Cassander's French Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoricks*; the anonymous Pieces, entitled, *l'Art de Penfer*, and *l'Art de Persuader*; *Le Clerc's Historia Rhetorica*, in his *Arts Criticae*; and *Stollins de Arte Rhetorica*, in his *Introductio in Historiam Literariam*.

^c See above SECT. XVII. 1, 2, &c.

writing; so its *relative* turns upon the *reading of Books*. Now *Reading* is either regulated by the Assistance of a *Master*; or left to every one's *private Industry*: but both depend upon CRITICISM and SCHOOL-LEARNING.

2. CRITICISM regards, *first*, the exact *correcting and publishing of approved Authors*; whereby the Honour of such *Authors* is preserved; and the necessary Assistance afforded to the *Reader*. Yet the misapplied Labours and Industry of some, have in this respect proved highly prejudicial to Learning: for many *Criticks* have a way, when they fall upon any thing they do not understand, of *immediately supposing a Fault in the Copy*. Thus, in that Passage of *Tacitus*, where a certain *Colony* pleads a Right of Protection in the Senate, *Tacitus* tells us, they were not favourably heard; so that the Ambassadors distrusting their Cause, endeavoured to procure the Favour of *Titus Vinius* by a Present, and succeeded: upon which *Tacitus* has these Words; *Tum dignitas & antiquitas Coloniae valuit: Tben the Honour and Antiquity of the Colony had weight*; in allusion to the Sum receiv'd. But a considerable *Critick*, here expunges *Tum*, and substitutes *Tantum*; which quite corrupts the Sense. And from this ill practice of the *Criticks*, it happens, that the *most corrected Copies are often the least correct*. And to say the truth, unless a *Critick* is well acquainted with the *Sciences* treated in the Books he publishes, his Diligence will be attended with danger.

3. A second thing belonging to CRITICISM, is the *Explanation and Illustration of Authors*; by *Comments, Notes, Collections, &c.* But here an ill custom has prevailed among the *Criticks*, of skipping over the obscure Passages; and expatiating upon such as are sufficiently clear: as if their Design were not so much to illustrate their Author, as to take all occasions of shewing their own Learning and Reading. It were therefore to be wished, that every original Writer, who treats an obscure or noble Subject, would add his own *Explanations* to his own Work; so as to keep the Text continued and unbroken, by *Digressions or Illustrations*; and thus prevent any wrong Interpretation, by the Notes of others^a.

4. Thirdly, there belongs to *Criticism* the thing from whence its Name is derived; viz. a certain *concise Judgment, or Censure of the Authors published*; and a *Comparison of them with other Writers, who have treated the same Subject*. Whence the Student may be directed in the choice of his Books; and come the better prepared to their perusal: and this seems to be the ultimate Office of the *Critick*; and has indeed been honour'd by some greater Men in our Age, than *Criticks* are usually thought^b.

A a 2

5.

^a It were much to be wished, the Author had set an Example of this in his own *Philosophical Works*; which might then have been currently understood; and not have continued in a manner unknown, as they have done, except to a few. But the Misfortune may lie here, that an Author cannot always foresee what Parts of his Works will be least intelligible to his Readers the whole being generally become clear and strong to himself, by repeated *Thought or Experience*.

^b The Author has given us an uncommon *Specimen* of this part of *Criticism*, in his *Censure of the Works of the more eminent Philosophers*; which makes the TENTH SUPPLEMENT to the *Augmentis Scientiarum*. But the Subject of *Criticism* itself has been considerably changed, and improved,

since

School Learning to be taught in Colleges.

5. For the DOCTRINE OF SCHOOL-LEARNING, it were the shortest way to refer to the *Jesuits*; who, in point of Usefulness, have herein excell'd: yet we will lay down a few Admonitions about it. We highly approve the Education of Youth in *Colleges*; and not wholly in private Houses, or *Schools*^a. For in *Colleges*, there is not only a greater Emulation of the Youth, among their Equals, but the Teachers have a venerable Aspect and Gravity; which greatly conduces towards insinuating a modest Behaviour, and the forming of tender Minds from the first, according to such Examples: and besides these, there are many other Advantages of a *Collegiate Education*. But for the Order and Manner of Discipline, 'tis of capital Use to avoid too concise Methods, and too hasty an Opinion of Learning; which give a Pertness to the Mind; and rather make a show of Improvement, than procure it. But *Excursions of Genius* are to be somewhat favour'd; so that if a Scholar perform his usual Exercises, he may be suffer'd to steal time for other things, whereto he is more inclin'd.

Two ways of preparing the Genius.

6. It must also be carefully noted, tho' it has, perhaps, hitherto escaped Observation, that there are two correspondent ways of enuring, exercising, and preparing the Genius: the one, beginning with the easier, leads gradually on to more difficult things; and the other commanding and imposing such as are harder at first; so that when these are obtain'd, the easier may be more agreeably dispatch'd. For 'tis one Method to begin Swimming with Bladders; and another to begin Dancing with loaded Shoes. Nor is it easy to see how much a prudent Intermixture of these two ways, contributes to improve the Faculties both of Body and Mind^b.

Studies to suit the Genius.

7. Again, the suiting of Studies to the Genius, is of singular Use: which Masters should duly attend to; that the Parent may thence consider what kind of Life the Child is fittest for. And further, it must be carefully observed, not only that every one makes much greater Progress in those things whereto he is naturally inclin'd; but also, that there are certain Remedies in a proper Choice of Studies, for particular Indispositions of Mind. For example; Inattention, and a Volatility of Genius, may be remedied by *Mathematicks*; wherein, if the Mind wander ever so little, the whole Demonstration must be begun a-new^c.

8.

since his time; insomuch as to be reduced into the form of an *Art*; as particularly by the learned *M. le Clerc*, in his *Ars Critica*, who defines *Criticism* the *Art*, (1.) of *Interpreting the ancient Writers, whether profane or poetical*; and (2.) *distinguishing their genuine Writings from spurious*: Thus taking in a part omitted by the *Lord Bacon*. To which might also be added the Discovery of *Impositions, Interpolations, Prevarications, Piracies, Mutilations, and Suppressions, &c.* both of the ancient and modern Authors; with the ways of rectifying, adjusting, and supplying the same. In short, *Criticism*, according to the later Acceptation, is the *Art of Judging of Historical Facts, Monuments, Books, and their Authors*. And to take *Criticism* in this Light, the Books that have been written upon it, in the last, and the present Age, might furnish out a Library. Many of them are enumerated by *Morhof, Struvius, Stollius*, and other Writers upon *Polymathy, and Literary History*.

^a See *Osborn's Advice to a Son*.

^b The Author intended a Discourse upon this Subject, as appears by his Letter to Sir *Henry Saville*. See SUPPLEMENT V.

^c See the Author's ESSAY upon *Studies*; SUPPLEMENT XI.

8. EXERCISES, also, are of great Efficacy in teaching: but few have observed, that these should not only be prudently appointed; but prudently changed. For, as *Cicero* well remarks, *Faults, as well as Faculties, are generally exercis'd in Exercises*; whence a bad Habit is sometimes acquired, and insinuated together with a good one. 'Tis therefore safer, that *Exercises* should be intermitted, and now and then repeated, than always continued and follow'd. These things, indeed, may, at first sight, appear light and trivial; yet they are highly effectual, and advantageous. For as the great increase of the *Roman Empire* has been justly attributed to the Virtue and Prudence of those six Rulers, who had, as it were, the Tuition of it in its Youth; so proper Discipline, in tender Years, has such a Power, tho' latent and unobserved, as neither Time, nor future Labour, can any way subdue in our riper Age.

The proper Use of Academical Exercises.

9. It also deserves to be remarked, that even ordinary Talents in great Men, us'd on great Occasions, may sometimes produce remarkable Effects. And of this we will give an eminent Instance; the rather because the *Jesuits* judiciously retain the Discipline among them. And tho' the thing itself be disreputable in the Profession of it, yet it is excellent as a *Discipline*: we mean the *Action of the Theatre*; which strengthens the Memory, regulates the Tone of the Voice, and the Efficacy of Pronunciation; gracefully composes the Countenance and the Gesture; procures a becoming degree of Assurance; and lastly, accustoms Youth to the Eye of Men. The Example we borrow from *Tacitus*, of one *Vibulenus*, once a Player, but afterwards a Soldier in the *Pannonian Army*. This Fellow, upon the death of *Augustus*, raised a Mutiny; so that *Blesus*, the Lieutenant, committed some of the Mutineers: but the Soldiers broke open the Prison, and released them. Upon which, *Vibulenus* thus harangu'd the Army: "You, says he, have restored Light and Life to these poor Innocents: but who gives back Life to my Brother; or my Brother to me? He was sent to you, from the German Army, for a common Good; and that Man murder'd him last Night, by the hands of his Gladiators, whom he always keeps ready to murder the Soldiers. Answer, *Blesus*, where hast thou thrown his Corpse? Even Enemies refuse not the right of Burial. When I shall, with Tears and Embraces, have perform'd my Duty to him, command me also to Death; but let our Fellow-Soldiers bury us, who are murder'd only for our Love to the Legions." With which Words, he rais'd such a Storm of Consternation and Revenge in the Army, that unless the thing had presently appear'd to be all a Fiction, and that the Fellow never had a Brother, the Soldiers might have murder'd their Leader: but he acted the whole as a Part upon the Stage^a. And thus much for the LOGICAL SCIENCES^b.

The Action of the Stage recommended as a part of Discipline.

S E C T.

^a This Example is evidently produced, not for *Imitation*; but only to shew the Force of *Action* and *Elocution*, and what considerable things they are capable of effecting.

^b The Subject of *Scholastick Discipline* is the more lightly touched by the *Author*, because he refers us to the *Jesuits*, who are certainly great Masters in the Art of Education; but it does not appear that their Example is considerably follow'd in *England*: particularly as to the *Theatrical Exercises* here recommended. 'Tis true, in several of our capital Schools, the Scholars annually act some ancient or modern Comedy; but this they usually do after a childish manner; without

S E C T. XX.

Of ETHICKS, or MORALITY.

The Subject
and Office of
Ethicks.

1. **W**E next proceed to ETHICKS; which has the *human Will* for its *Subj^{ct}*. Reason governs the *Will*; but *apparent Good* seduces it. Its Motives are the Affections; and its Ministers, the Organs and voluntary Motions. 'Tis of this Doctrine that *Solomon* says, *Keep thy Heart with all diligence; for out of it are the Actions of Life*. The Writers upon this *Science*, appear like *Writing-Masters*, who lay before their Scholars a number of beautiful Copies; but give them no Directions how to guide their Pen, or shape their Letters: for so the Writers upon *Ethicks* have given us shining Draughts, Descriptions, and exact Images of Goodness, Virtue, Duties, Happiness, &c. as the true Objects and Scope of the human Will and Desire; but for obtaining these excellent and well-described Ends, or by what means the Mind may be broke and fashion'd for obtaining them, they either touch this Subject not at all, or slightly^a. We may dispute as much as we please, that *moral Virtues are in the human Mind, by Habit, not by Nature*; that *generous Spirits are led by Reason, but the Herd by Reward and Punishment*; that *the Mind must be set straight, like a crooked Stick, by bending it the contrary way, &c.* But nothing of this kind of *Glance* and *Touch*, can in any way supply the want of the thing we are now in quest of^b.

The great Im-
perfection of
this Doctrine.

2. The Cause of this Neglect I take to be, that latent Rock whereon so many of the *Sciences* have split; *viz.* the Aversion that Writers have to treat of trite and vulgar Matters, which are neither subtle enough for Dispute, nor eminent enough for Ornament^c. 'Tis not easy to see how great

^a without having been broke and form'd to an Audience, by a previous Course of *Exercises*; so as to give them the graceful Accent, the decent Deportment, and the ready Address, which recommend a Man to the Favour of the World, and fit him for Business: But this is a Point which the *Jesuits* principally labour; and accordingly their Pupils commonly have a much more manly and polite Behaviour, than other Pupils of equal standing; without that sheepish Modesty on the one side, and that pragmatistical Assurance on the other, so disadvantageous and disagreeable in civil Society. See this Affair more fully consider'd by *Morboz* in his *Polyhistor*; *de Curriculo Scholastico*; *de Curriculo Academico*; *de Pedagogiâ regiâ*; & *de Exercitationibus*. See also Mr. *Locke* of Education.

^b For the History of Morality, consult *Scheurlius's Bibliographia Moralis*, Ed. 1686. *Placcius's* Epitome *Bibliotheca Moralis*, *Paschius de variis Moralium tradendi modis formisque*, 1707. *Barbeyrac's* Preface to his French Translation of *Puffendorf de Jure Naturæ & Gentium*, and *Stolliz's Introductio in Historiam Literariam*, pag. 692—752.

^c *Viz.* The Cultivation, or Regulation, of the Mind, &c. See below, 3.

^e This is laid down as a general, or *fundamental Cause*; from whence naturally flow many particular ones, as Ignorance, Neglect, unruly Passions, &c. which *Vincent. Placcius* has drawn out into a *Table*; as imagining them omitted by the Author. See *Commentarium de Morali Scientia augenda*; of which, more in the subsequent Note^b.

a Misfortune hath proceeded hence; that Men, thro' natural Pride and Vain-glory, should chuse such Subjects and Methods of treating them, as may rather show their own Capacities, than be of use to the Reader. *Seneca* says excellently, *Eloquence is hurtful to those it inspires with a desire of itself, and not of things*: for Writings should make Men in love with the Subject; and not with the Writer. They, therefore, take the just Course, who can say of their Counsels as *Demosthenes* did; *If you put these things in execution, you shall not only praise the Orator for the present; but yourselves also soon after, when your Affairs are in a better posture.* But in *Ethicks*, the Philosophers have culled out a certain splendid Mass of Matter, wherein they might principally show their Force of Genius, or Power of Eloquence: but for other things, that chiefly conduce to Practice; as they could not be so gracefully set off, they have entirely dropt them. Yet so many eminent Men, surely, ought not to have despair'd of a like Success with *Virgil*; who procured as much Glory for Eloquence, Ingenuity, and Learning, by explaining the homely Observations of *Agriculture*, as in relating the heroick Acts of *Aeneas*. And certainly if Men were bent, *not upon writing at leisure, what may be read at leisure, but really to cultivate and improve active Life*; the *Georgicks* of the Mind ought to be as highly valued, as those heroical Portraits of *Virtue, Goodness, and Happiness*, wherein so much pains have been taken.

3. We divide ETHICKS into two principal *Doctrines*; the one of the *Ethicks divided into the Model or Image of Good*^a, the other of *the Regulation and Culture of the Mind*; which I commonly express by the word *Georgicks*^b. The first describes the *Nature of Good*; and the other *prescribes Rules for conforming the Mind to it.* The *Doctrin*e of the *Image of Good*, in describing the nature of Good, considers it either as simple, or compounded; and either as to the kinds or degrees thereof. In the latter of these, the *Christian Faith* has at length abolish'd those infinite Disputes and Speculations, as to the supreme degree of *Good*, call'd *Happiness, Blessedness, or the Summum bonum*; which was a kind of *heathen Theology*. For, as *Aristotle* said, *Youths might be happy, tho' only in Hope*; so, according to the Direction of Faith, we must put ourselves in the state of *Minors*; and think of no other Felicity, but that founded in *Hope*. Being therefore thus deliver'd from this ostentatious *Heaven* of the *Heathens*, we may, with less offence to *Truth* and *Sobriety*, receive much of what they deliver about the *Image of Good*. As for the *nature of positive and simple Good*, they have certainly drawn it beautifully, and according to the *Life*, in several Pieces, exactly representing the *Forms of Virtue and Duty*; their *Order, Kinds, Relations, Parts, Subjects, Provinces, Actions, and Dispen-* sations.

^a For the Reason of this Appellation, see Sect. XXI. 1.

^b This *Division of Ethicks* is thought too general by *Vincent. Placcius*, who has endeavour'd to improve the Author's *Doctrin*e of *Morality*. The Title of the Work is *de Morali Scientia augenda Commentarium. in Franc. Baconi, &c. de Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum Librum septimum; Ethica Doctrina Originem, Incrementa, Decrementa, Fortunamque per varias gentes variam, ab Orbe condito, hucusque summam exhibens, &c.* Francofurt. 1677. The *Division* this Writer would establish, is that hereafter intimated, Sect. XXII. 2. or the same as in *Medicine*, whence he uses the Terms *Physiologia Moralis, Nosologia Moralis, Semeiotica Moralis, Therapeutica Moralis*, and would introduce a kind of *Chirurgia Moralis*; thus making moral Philosophers the *Physicians of the Mind*.

of compar-
ative Good.

fations. And all this they have recommended and insinuated to the Mind, with great Vivacity and Subtily of Argument, as well as Sweetness of Persuasion: at the same time faithfully guarding, as much as was possible by Words, against depraved and popular Errors and Insults. And in deducing the nature of *comparative Good*, they have not been wanting; but appointed three Orders thereof; they have compared contemplative, and active Life together; distinguished between Virtue with reluctance, and Virtue secured and confirmed; represented the Conflict betwixt Honour and Advantage; ballanced the *Virtues*, to shew which over-weigh'd; and the like: so that this part of the *Image of Good*, is already nobly executed; and herein the Ancients have shewn wonderful Abilities. Yet the pious and strenuous Diligence of the *Divines*, exercised in weighing and determining *Studies, moral Virtues, Cases of Conscience*, and fixing the *Bounds of Sin*, have greatly exceeded them. But if the Philosophers, before they descended to the popular and received Notions of *Virtue and Vice, Pain and Pleasure, &c.* had dwelt longer upon discovering the Roots and Fibres of *Good and Evil*; they would, doubtless, have thus gain'd great Light to their subsequent Enquiries: especially if they had consulted the *nature of Things*, as well as *moral Axioms*, they would have shorten'd their *Doctrines*, and laid them deeper. But as they have entirely omitted this, or confusedly touch'd it, we will here briefly touch it over again; and endeavour to open and cleanse the *Springs of Morality*, before we come to the GEORGICKS^a OF THE MIND; which we set down as *deficient*.

Two Appetites
in all things;
viz. Self-Good,
and Good of
Communion.

4. All things are endued with an Appetite to two kinds of *Good*; the *one*, as the thing is a Whole in itself; the *other*, as 'tis a Part of some greater Whole: and this latter is more worthy and more powerful than the other; as it tends to the Conservation of a more ample *Form*. The first may be called *Individual or Self-Good*; and the latter, *Good of Communion*. Iron, by a particular Property, moves to the Loadstone; but if the Iron be heavy, it drops its Affection to the Loadstone, and tends to the Earth; which is the proper Region of such ponderous Bodies. Again, tho' dense and heavy Bodies tend to the Earth, yet rather than Nature will suffer a Separation in the Continuity of Things, and leave a *Vacuum*, as they speak; these heavy Bodies will be carried upwards, and forego their Affection to the Earth; to perform their Office to the World. And thus it generally happens, that the Conservation of the more general Form, regulates the lesser Appetites. But this Prerogative of the *Good of Communion* is more particularly impress'd upon Man, if he be not degenerate, according to that remarkable Saying of *Pompey*; who, being Governour of the *City-Purveyance*, at a time of Famine in *Rome*, and entreated by his Friends not to venture to Sea, whilst a violent Storm was impending; answer'd, *My Going is necessary, but not my Life*: so that the desire of Life, which is greatest in the Individual, did not with him outweigh his Affection and Fidelity to the State^b.

But

^a For the Meaning and Reason of this Expression, see above, 2. and hereafter, Sect. XXII. 1, 2, &c.

^b And thus Morality seems absolutely founded in the *Laws of Nature*. See Bishop *Cumberland's Disquisitio Philosophica de Legibus Natura*; the *Religion of Nature delineated*, by Mr. *Woolaston*; and the *Enquiry into our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, by Mr. *Hutchinson*.

But no *Philosophy, Sect, Religion, Law, or Discipline*, in any Age, has so highly exalted the *Good of Communion*, and so far depress'd the *Good of Individuals*, as the *Christian Faith*. Whence it may clearly appear, *that one and the same God gave those Laws of Nature to the Creatures, and the Christian Law to Men*. And hence we read, that some of the elect and holy Men, in an Extasy of Charity, and impatient Desire of the *Good of Communion*, rather wished their Names *blotted out of the Book of Life*, than that their Brethren should miss of Salvation.

5. This being once laid down, and firmly establish'd, will put an end to some of the sobrest Controversies in *moral Philosophy*. And first, it determines that *Question about the preference of a contemplative to an active Life*, against the Opinion of *Aristotle*: As all the Reasons he produces for a *contemplative Life*, regard only *private Good*, and the Pleasure or Dignity of an *individual Person*; in which respects the *contemplative Life* is, doubtless, best; and like the Comparison made by *Pythagoras*, to assert the Honour and Reputation of *Philosophy*: when being ask'd by *Hiero*, who he was, he answer'd, "I am a *Looker-on*; for as, at the *Olympick Games*, some come to try for the Prize, others to sell; others to meet their Friends, and be merry; but others again come merely as *Spectators*; I am one of the latter." But Men ought to know, that in the *Theatre of human Life*, 'tis only for God and Angels to be *Spectators*. Nor could any doubt about this matter have arisen in the *Church*, if a monastick Life had been merely *contemplative*, and unexercis'd in *ecclesiastical Duties*; as continual Prayer, the *Sacrifice of Vows*, *Oblations to God*, and the *writing of Theological Books*, for propagating the *Divine Law*, &c. But for a mere *contemplative Life*, which terminates in itself, and sends out no Rays either of Heat or Light into human Society; *Theology knows it not*.

Several Questions in Morality determin'd upon the preceding Foundation; viz. (1.) that an active, is preferable to a contemplative Life.

6. It also determines the *Question*, that has been so vehemently controverted between the Schools of *Zeno* and *Socrates*, on the one side, who placed *Felicity in Virtue*, simple or adorn'd; and many other Sects and Schools on the other; as particularly the Schools of the *Cyrenaics* and *Epicureans*, who placed *Felicity in Pleasure*: thus making *Virtue* a mere *Hand-maid*; without which, *Pleasure* could not be well served. Of the same side is also that other School of *Epicurus*, as on the reformed Establishment, which declared *Felicity to be nothing but Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind*. With these also join'd the exploded School of *Pyrrho* and *Herillus*, who placed *Felicity in an absolute exemption from Scruples*, and allowing of no fix'd and constant nature of *Good and Evil*; but accounting all Actions *virtuous or vicious*, as they proceed from the Mind by a pure and undisturbed Motion, or with Aversion and Reluctance. But 'tis plain, that all things of this kind relate to *private Tranquillity*, and Complacency of Mind; and by no means to the *Good of Communion*.

(2.) Whether Felicity is placed in Virtue or Pleasure.

7. Again, upon the Foundation above laid, we may confute the *Philosophy* of *Epicetus*, which rests upon supposing *Felicity placed in things within our power*, lest we should otherwise be expos'd to *Fortune and Contingence*: as if it were not much happier to fail of success in just and honourable De-

(3.) Whether Felicity be placed in Things within our power.

signs, when that Failure makes for the publick Good; than to secure an uninterrupted Enjoyment of those things, which make only for our private Fortune. Thus *Gonsalvo*, at the head of his Army, pointing to *Naples*, nobly protested, he had much rather, by advancing a step meet certain Death, than, by retiring a step prolong his Life. And to this agrees the wife *King*, who pronounces a good Conscience to be a continual Feast; thereby signifying, that the Consciousness of good Intentions, however unsuccessful, affords a Joy more real, pure, and agreeable to Nature, than all the other Means that can be furnished, either for obtaining one's Desires, or quieting the Mind.

(4.) Whether the Causes of Disquiet are to be avoided, or the Mind prepared against them.

8. It likewise censures that Abuse which prevail'd about the time of *Epictetus*, when Philosophy was turn'd into a certain Art, or Profession of Life; as if its design were not to compose and quiet Troubles, but to avoid and remove the Causes and Occasions thereof: whence a particular Regimen was to be enter'd into for obtaining this end, by introducing such a kind of Health into the Mind, as was that of *Herodicus in the Body*, mention'd by *Aristotle*; whilst he did nothing all his life long, but take care of his Health; and therefore abstain'd from numberless things, which almost deprived him of the use of his Body: whereas, if Men were determin'd to perform the Duties of Society; that kind of bodily Health is most desirable, which is able to suffer and support all sorts of Attacks and Alterations. In the same manner, that Mind is truly sound, and strong, which is able to break thro' numerous and great Temptations and Disorders: whence *Diogenes* seems to have justly commended the Habit which did not warily abstain, but courageously sustain; which could check the Sallies of the Soul on the steepest Precipice; and make it, like a well-broke Horse, stop and turn at the shortest warning.

(5.) Whether a Moralist should quit Society.

9. Lastly, It reproves that Delicacy and unfociable Temper observed in some of the most ancient Philosophers, of great repute; who too effeminately withdrew from civil Affairs, in order to prevent Indignities and Trouble to themselves; and live the more free, and unspotted in their own Opinions: as to which point, the Resolution of a true Moralist should be such as *Gonsalvo* requir'd of a Soldier; viz. not to weave his Honour so fine, as for every thing to catch and rend it^a.

^a It may be added, that the two seemingly opposite Systems of Morality, at present on foot, the one turning upon the Principle of Self-Love, the other upon the Principle of Benevolence, are easily adjusted upon the same Foundation. The modern Writers upon this Subject of Morality, are numerous; an account of which may be found in *Struvius's Bibliotheca Philosophica*, Cap. VI. de *Scriptoribus Philosophia Practica*, & segillatim *Ethicis*, pag. 205—261. And again, in *Stollius's Introductio in Historiam Literariam, de Disciplina Ethica*, pag. 798—823.



S E C T. XXI.

Of SELF-GOOD, and the GOOD OF COMMUNION.

I. 1. **W**E divide INDIVIDUAL, or SELF-GOOD, into *active* and *passive*. Self-Good divided into *active* and *passive*. This difference of *Good* is also found impress'd upon the Nature of all Things; but principally shews itself in two Appetites of the Creatures: *viz.* (1.) that of *Self-Preservation* and *Defence*; and (2.) that of *Multiplying* and *Propagating*. The latter, which is *active*, seems stronger and more worthy than the former, which is *passive*. For, throughout the Universe, the *celestial Nature* is the principal Agent; and the *terrestrial*, the Patient. And in the Pleasures of Animals, that of Generation is greater than that of Feeding; and the Scripture says, *'tis more blessed to give, than to receive*. And even in common life, no Man is so soft and effeminate, as not to prefer the performing and perfecting of any thing he had set his mind upon, before sensual Pleasures. The Preheminence of *active Good*, is also highly exalted from the consideration of the State of Mankind; which is mortal, and subject to Fortune. For if Perpetuity and Certainty could be had in human Pleasures, this would greatly inhanche them; but as the case now stands, *when we count it a Happiness to die late; when we cannot boast of tomorrow; when we know not what a Day may bring forth*; no wonder if we earnestly endeavour after such things, as elude the Injuries of Time: And these can be no other than our *Works*; accordingly in Scripture 'tis said, *their Works follow them*.

2. Another considerable Preheminence of *active Good* is given it, and supported, by that inseparable Affection of human Nature, the *Love of Novelty*, or *Variety*. But this Affection is greatly limited in the *Pleasures of the Senses*, which make the greatest part of *Passive Good*. To consider how often the same things come over in Life; as Meals, Sleep, and Diversion; it might make not only a resolute, a wretched, or a wise, but even a delicate Person wish to die. But in Actions, Enterprizes, and Desires, there is a remarkable Variety, which we perceive with great Pleasure; whilst we begin, advance, rest, go back to recruit, approach, obtain, &c. Whence 'tis truly said, that *Life without Pursuit is a vague and languid thing*: and this holds true both of the wise and unwise indifferently. So Solomon says, *even a brainick Man seeks to satisfy his Desire, and meddles in every thing*. And thus the most potent Princes, who have all things at command, yet sometimes chuse to pursue low and empty Desires; which they prefer to the greatest affluence of sensual Pleasures. Thus *Nero* delighted in the *Harp*, *Commodus* in

Bb 2

Fencing,

Fencing, Antoninus in Racing, &c. So much more pleasing is it to be active than in possession!

Individual active Good, differs from the Good of Communion.

3. It must however be well observed, that *active, individual Good*, differs entirely from the *Good of Communion*; notwithstanding they may sometimes coincide. For altho' this *individual active Good* often produces Works of Beneficence, which is a *Virtue of Communion*; yet herein they differ, that these *Works* are perform'd by most Men, not with a design to assist or benefit others, but wholly for their own Gratification or Honour; as plainly appears, when *active Good* falls upon any thing contrary to the *Good of Communion*. For that gigantick Passion, wherewith the great Disturber of the World are carried away; as in the case of *Sylla*, and others, who would render all their Friends happy, and all their Enemies miserable; and endeavour to make the World carry their Image; which is really warring against Heaven: this Passion, I say, aspires to an *active, individual Good*, at least in Appearance, tho' it be infinitely different from the *Good of Communion*.

Passive Good divided into Perfective,

4. We divide PASSIVE GOOD into *Conservative* and *Perfective*: for every thing has three kinds of Appetite, with regard to its own individual Good; the *first*, to preserve itself; the *second*, to perfect itself; and the *third*, to multiply or diffuse itself. The last relates to *active Good*, of which we have spoke already; and of the other two, the *Perfective* is the most excellent. For 'tis a less matter to preserve a thing in its State, and a greater to exalt it's Nature. But throughout the Universe are found some nobler Natures, to the Dignity and Excellence whereof inferior ones aspire; as to their Origins: whence the Poet said well of Mankind, that *they have an ethereal Vigour, and a celestial Origin*^a: for the Perfection of the human *Form* consists in approaching the Divine or Angelick Nature. The corrupt and preposterous Imitation of this *perfective Good*, is the Pest of human Life; and the Storm that overturns and sweeps away all things: whilst Men, instead of a true and essential exaltation, fly, with blind Ambition, only to a local one. For as Men in sickness tofs and roll from place to place, as if by change of situation they could get away from themselves, or fly from the Disease; so in Ambition, Men hurried away with a false Imagination of exalting their own Nature, obtain no more than change of Place, or eminence of Post.

And Conservative.

5. *Conservative Good* is the receiving and enjoying of things agreeable to our Nature. And this *Good*, tho' it be the most simple and natural, yet of all others it seems the lowest and most effeminate. 'Tis also attended with a Difference, about which the Judgment of Mankind has been partly unsettled, and the Enquiry partly neglected. For the Dignity and Recommendation of the *Good of Fruition* or *Pleasure*, as 'tis commonly called, consists either in the *Reality* or *Strength* thereof: the one being procured by *Uniformity*, and the other by *Variety*. The one has a less mixture of *Evil*; the other a stronger and more lively impression of *Good*: which of these is the best, is the *Question*. But whether human Nature be not capable of both at once, has not been examined.

6.

^a *Ignis est ollis vigor & celestis origo.* See *Virgil. Æneid. Lib. vi. v. 730.*

6. As for the *Question*; it began to be debated between *Socrates* and a *Sophist*. *Socrates* asserted, that *Felicity* lay in a constant Peace and Tranquillity of Mind; but the *Sophist* placed it in great Appetite and great Fruition. From reasoning they fell to railing; when the *Sophist* said, the Felicity of *Socrates* was the Felicity of a Stock or a Stone: *Socrates*, on the other hand, said, the Felicity of the *Sophist* was the Felicity of one who is always itching, and always scratching: and both Opinions have their Supporters. For the School even of *Epicurus*, which allowed that *Virtue* greatly conduced to Felicity, is on the side of *Socrates*. And if this be the case, certainly *Virtue* is more useful in appeasing Disorders, than in obtaining Desires. The *Sophist's* Opinion is somewhat favoured by the Assertion above mention'd; viz. that *Perfective Good* is superior to *Conservative Good*; because every obtaining of a Desire seems gradually to perfect *Nature*: which tho' not strictly true; yet a circular motion has some appearance of a progressive one.

7. As for the other point, whether human Nature is not at the same time capable both of Tranquillity and Fruition; a just determination of it will render the former Question unnecessary. And do we not often see the Minds of Men so framed and disposed, as to be greatly affected with present Pleasures, and yet quietly suffer the loss of them? Whence that Philosophical Progression, *Use not, that you may not wish; Wish not, that you may not fear*; seems an Indication of a weak, diffident, and timorous Mind. And, indeed, most Doctrines of the Philosophers appear to be too distrustful; and to take more care of Mankind than the Nature of the thing requires. Thus they increase the fears of Death, by the Remedies they bring against it. For whilst they make the Life of Man little more than a Preparation and Discipline for Death; 'tis impossible but the Enemy must appear terrible, when there is no end of the Defence to be made against him. The Poet did better for a Heathen, who placed the End of Life among the Privileges of Nature^a. Thus the Philosophers, in all cases, endeavour to render the Mind too uniform, and harmonical; without inuring it to extreme and contrary Motions. And the Reason seems to be, that they give themselves up to a private Life, free from disquiet and subjection to others: Whereas Men should rather imitate the Prudence of a Lapidary, who finding a Speck, or a Cloud, in a Diamond, that may be ground out without too much waste, takes it away; or otherwise leaves it untouched: and so the Serenity of the Mind is to be consulted, without impairing its Greatness. And thus much for the Doctrine of SELF-GOOD^b.

II. 8. The GOOD of COMMUNION, which regards *Society*, usually goes by the name of *Duty*; a word that seems more properly used of a Mind well-disposed towards others: whilst the Term *Virtue* is used of a Mind well formed and composed within itself. *Duty*, indeed, seems at first to be of political Consideration; but if thoroughly weighed, it truly relates to the rule

Whether Felicity consists in Tranquillity or Gratification.

Whether the Mind be at once capable of Tranquillity and Fruition.

The Good of Communion, how far treated; and how to be farther pursued.

^a *Qui spatium vita extremum inter munera ponat*
Natura

^b This Doctrine of *Self-Good* seems to be now generally considered under the Notion of *private*, and the Good of *Communion*, under that of *publick Virtue*. See the Lord *Shaftesbury's Characteristics*; and the *Enquiry into our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*.

rule and government of one's self, not others. And as in *Architecture*, 'tis one thing to fashion the Pillars, Rafters, and other Parts of the Building, and prepare them for the Work; and another, to fit and join them together: so the Doctrine of uniting Mankind in Society, differs from that which renders them conformable and well-affected to the Benefits of Society. This Part concerning *Duties*, is likewise divided into two; the one treating of the *Duties of Man in common*, and the other of *Respective Duties*; according to the *Profession, Vocation, State, Person and Degree of Particulars*^a. The first of these, we before observed^b, has been sufficiently cultivated, and explained, by the ancient and later Writers. The *other* also has been touched here and there; tho' not digested and reduced into any *Body of Science*^c. We do not, however, except to its being treated piece-meal; as judging it the best way to write upon this Subject in separate parts^d. For who will pretend he can justly discourse, and define upon the peculiar and relative Duties of all Orders and Conditions of Men? But for Treatises upon this Subject, which have no tincture of Experience, and are only drawn from general and Scholastick Knowledge; they commonly prove empty and useleſs Performances. For tho' a By-stander may sometimes see what escaped the *Player*; and altho' it be a kind of Proverb, more bold than true with regard to Prince and People, that *a Spectator in the Valley takes the best view of a Mountain*; yet it were greatly to be wished, that none but the most experienced Men would write upon Subjects of this kind. For the Contemplations of *Speculative Men* in *active Matters*, appear no better to those who have been conversant in Business, than the Differtations of *Pborinio* upon War appeared to *Hannibal*; who esteemed them but as Dreams and Dotage. One Fault, however, dwells with such as write upon things belonging to their own *Office or Art*; viz. that they hold no mean in recommending and extolling them.

The Doctrine of Frauds and Corruptions wanting in Morality.

9. To this Part of the *respective Duties of Vocations, and particular Professions*, belongs another, as a *Doctrine* relative, or opposite, to it; viz. the Doctrine of *Cautions, Frauds, Impostures, and their Vices*. For *Corruptions and Vices*, are opposite to Duties and Virtues: not but some mention is already made of them in Writings; tho' commonly but cursorily and satyrically, rather than seriously and gravely. For more Labour is bestowed in invidiously reprehending many good and useful things in Arts, and exposing them to ridicule; than in separating what is corrupt and vicious therein, from what is sound and serviceable. *Solomon* says excellently, *a Scornner seeks Wisdom, and finds it not; but Knowledge is easy to him that understands*. For whoever comes to a *Science*, with an intent to deride and despise, will doubtless

^a For the Modern Writers in this way, see *Morhof's Polyhistor*. Tom. III. Lib. I. *de Philosophia moralis Scriptoribus*; & *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam, de Philosophia generatim moralis*: in particular, consult *Puffendorf, de Officio Hominis & Civis*.

^b See above Sect. XX. 3.

^c This appears to be attempted by *Grotius*, in his Book *de Jure Belli ac Pacis*; and by *Puffendorf*, in his *de Jure Naturæ & Gentium*. See *M. Barbeyrac's* Translation of the latter into French, with *Annotations*.

^d Many Instances whereof, the Author has given us in his *Essays*, and the *Sapientia Veterum*.

less find things enow to cavil at; and few to improve by. But the serious and prudent treatment of the *Subjeſt* we ſpeak of, may be reckoned among the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of Virtue and Probity. For as 'tis fabulouſly related of the *Baſilisk*, that if he ſees a Man firſt, the Man preſently dies; but if the Man has the firſt glance, he kills the *Baſilisk*: ſo *Frauds*, *Impoſtures*, and *Tricks*, do no hurt, if firſt diſcovered; but if they ſtrike firſt, 'tis then they become dangerous, and not otherwiſe. Hence we are beholden to *Machiavel*, and Writers of that kind, who openly and unmasked declare what Men do in fact; and not what they ought to do^a. For 'tis impoſſible to join the *Wiſdom of the Serpent*, and the *Innocence of the Dove*; without a previous knowledge of the Nature of Evil: as without this, Virtue lies expoſed and unguarded. And farther; a *good* and *juſt* Man cannot correct and amend the *Vicious* and the *Wicked*, unleſs he has firſt ſearched into all the Depths and Dungeons of Wickedneſs. For Men of a corrupt and depraved Judgment, ever ſuppoſe that Honesty proceeds from Ignorance, or a certain ſimplicity of Manners; and is rooted only in a Belief of our Tutors, Inſtructors, Books, Moral Precepts, and Vulgar Diſcourſe. Whence unleſs they plainly perceive, that their perverſe Opinions, their corrupt and diſtorted Principles, are throughly known to thoſe who exhort and admoniſh them, as well as to themſelves, they deſpiſe all wholeſome Advice; according to that admirable Saying of *Solomon*: *A Fool receives not the words of the Wiſe, unleſs thou ſpeakeſt the very things that are in his heart.* And this part of MORALITY, concerning CAUTIONS, and RESPECTIVE VICIES, we ſet down as wanting; under the Name of SOBER SATYR, or the INSIDES OF THINGS^b.

10. To the *Doctrin*e of RESPECTIVE DUTIES, belong alſo the *mutual Duties between Husband and Wife, Parent and Child, Maſter and Servant*; as alſo the *Laws of Friendſhip, Gratitude, and the Civil Obligations of Fraternities, Colleges, Neighbourhoods, and the like*; always underſtanding that theſe things are to be treated, not as Parts of *Civil Society*, in which View they belong to *Politicks*; but ſo far as the Minds of Particulars ought to be inſtructed, and diſpoſed to preſerve theſe *Bonds of Society*^c.

11. The *Doctrin*e of the *Good of Communion*, as well as of *Self-Good*, treats *Good* not only *ſimply*, but *comparatively*; and thus regards the balancing of *Duty betwixt Man and Man, Caſe and Caſe, Private and Publick, Preſent and Future, &c.* So in the Diſcourſe betwixt *Brutus, Caſſius*, and others, as to the Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*; the Queſtion was artfully introduced, *whether it were lawful to kill a Tyrant*: The Company divided in their Opinions

The mutual Duties of Men belong to reſpective Duties.

Comparative Good of Communion.

^a Perhaps the Treatiſe of *Hieron. Cardan de Arcanis Prudentiæ Civilis*, is a capital Performance in this way; as expoſing numerous Tricks, Frauds, and Stratagems of Government; ſo as to prevent the honeſt-minded from being impoſed upon by them.

^b The *Author's* ESSAYS, in their *Latin Edition*, have the Title of *Sermones fideles, ſive Interiora Rerum*; as if intended to ſupply this DEFICIENCY; which in ſome meaſure they do: but the Deſign has not, perhaps, been duly proſecuted ſince. See the ELEVENTH SUPPLEMENT, to the *de AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM*.

^c This appears to be the Scheme of the *Whole Duty of Man*; tho' the Author there proceeds upon the Footing of Revelation, as well as the *Law of Nature*.

nions about it ; some saying it was lawful, and that Slavery was the greatest of Evils ; others denying it, and asserting Tyranny to be less destructive than *Civil War* ; whilst a third kind, as if Followers of *Epicurus*, made it an unworthy thing, that wise Men should endanger themselves for Fools. But the Cases of *comparative Duties* are numerous ; among which this Question frequently occurs ; *Whether Justice may be strained for the safety of one's Country, or the like considerable good in future?* As to which, *Jason the Theban* used to say, *some Things must be done unjustly, that many more may be done justly.* But the Answer is ready : *present Justice is in our power ; but of future Justice we have no security.* Let Men pursue those things which are good and just at present ; and leave Futurity to *divine Providence*². And thus much for the DOCTRINE OF THE IMAGE OF GOOD.

S E C T. XXII.

Of the CULTIVATION of the MIND.

The Doctrine of the Cure of the Mind deficient. I. WE next proceed to the CULTIVATION OF THE MIND ; without which the preceding Part of *Morality* is no more than an *Image* or beautiful *Statue*, without *Life* or *Motion*. *Aristotle* expressly acknowledges as much : “ ’Tis therefore necessary, says he, to speak of *Virtue* ; what it is, and whence it proceeds : for it were in a manner useless, to know *Virtue*, and yet be ignorant of the ways to acquire her.” And tho’ he has more than once repeated the same thing ; yet himself does not pursue it. And so *Cicero* gives it as a high Commendation to *Cato*, that he embraced *Philosophy*, not for the sake of disputing, as most do ; but of living *Philosophically*. And tho’ at present few have any great regard to the *Cultivation and Discipline of the Mind*, and a regular Course of *Life* ; whence this part may appear superfluous ; yet we cannot be persuaded to leave it untouched : but rather conclude with the Aphorism of *Hippocrates*, that *those who labour under a violent Disease, yet seem insensible of their pain, are disordercd in their Mind.* And Men in this case want not only a Method of Cure, but a particular Remedy, to bring them to their Senses. If any one shall object, that the *Cure of the Mind* is the Office of *Divinity* ; we allow it : yet nothing excludes *Moral Philosophy* from the train of *Theology* ; whereto it is as a prudent and faithful Hand-maid, attending and administering to all its wants. But tho’, as the *Psalmist* observes, *the Eyes of the Maid are perpetually waiting on the Hands of the Mistress* ; yet doubtless many things must be left to the Care and Judgment of the Servant. So *Etbicks* ought to be entirely subservient to *Theology*, and obedient to the Precepts thereof ; tho’ it may still contain many wholesome and useful Instructions,

² See the *Religion of Nature delineated*, by Mr. *Woolaston*.

Instructions, within its own limits. And therefore when we consider the excellence of this part of *Morality*, we cannot but greatly wonder 'tis not hitherto reduced to a *Body of Doctrine*: which we are oblig'd to note as deficient; and shall therefore give some Sketch for supplying it.

2. And *first*, as in all case of Practice, we must here distinguish the Things in our power, and those that are not: for the one may be altered, whilst the other can only be applied. Thus the Farmer has no command over the Nature of the Soil, or the Seasons of the Year; nor the Physician over the Constitution of the Patient, or the Variety of Accidents. In the *Cultivation of the Mind*, and the *Cure of its Diseases*, there are three things to be considered; *viz.* (1.) the different *Dispositions*, (2.) the *Affections*, and (3.) the *Remedies*: answering in Physick to the *Constitution*, the *Distemper*, and the *Medicines*. And of these three, only the last is in our power. Yet we ought as carefully to enquire into the things that are not in our power, as into those that are; because a clear and exact Knowledge thereof is to be made the Foundation of the *Doctrine of Remedies*; in order to their more commodious and successful Application. For Clothes cannot be made to fit, unless measure of the Body be first taken.

3. The first *Article* therefore of the *Culture of the Mind*, will regard the different *Natures* or *Dispositions* of Men. But here we speak not of the vulgar *Propensities to Virtues and Vices*; or Perturbations and Passions: but of such as are more internal and radical. And I cannot sometimes but wonder, that this Particular should be so generally neglected by the Writers both of *Morality* and *Politicks*; whereas it might afford great Light to both those Sciences. In *Astrological Traditions*, the *Natures* and *Dispositions* of Men are tolerably distinguished, according to the Influences of the Planets; whence some are said to be by Nature form'd for *Contemplation*, others for *Politicks*, others for *War*, &c. So likewise among the Poets of all kinds, we every where find Characters of *Natures*; tho' commonly drawn with excess, and bigger than the truth^a. And this Subject of the different Characters of *Dispositions*, is one of those things wherein the common Discourse of Men is wiser than Books: a thing which seldom happens. But much the best Matter of all for such a Treatise, may be derived from the more prudent *Historians*; and not so well from *Elogies* or *Panegyricks*, which are usually wrote soon after the Death of an illustrious Person; but much rather from a whole *Body of History*; as often as such a Person appears: for such an interwoven Account gives a better Description than *Panegyrick*. And such Examples we have in *Livy*, of *Africanus* and *Cato*; in *Tacitus*, of *Tiberius*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*; in *Herodian*, of *Septimius Severus*; in *Phillip de Comines*, of *Lewis the Eleventh*; in *Guicciardine*, of *Ferdinand of Spain*, the *Emperor Maximilian*, *Pope Leo*, and *Pope Clement*. For these Writers, having the Image of the Person to be described constantly before them, scarce ever mention any of their Acts, but at the same time introduce something of their *Natures*. So, likewise, some Relations which we have seen of the *Conclaves at*

The Things in our power to be distinguished with regard to that Cure.

A Work of the Characters, or Natures, of Persons deficient.

^a As particularly in *Homer*, the Characters of *Achilles*, *Hector*, *Briseis*, *Helen*, &c.

Rome, give very exact Characters of the Cardinals: as the Letters of Ambassadors do of the Counsellors of Princes. Let, therefore, an accurate and full Treatise be wrote upon this fertile and copious Subject. But we do not mean, that these Characters should be received in *Etbicks*, as perfect civil Images; but rather as Out-lines, and first Draughts of the Images themselves: which being variously compounded and mixed one among another, afford all kinds of *Portraits*. So that an artificial and accurate Dissection may be made of Mens Minds and Natures, and the secret Disposition of each particular Man laid open; that from a knowlegde of the whole, the *Precepts concerning the Cures of the Mind*, may be more rightly form'd^a.

4. And not only the Characters of *Dispositions impress'd by Nature*, should be received into this *Treatise*; but those also which are otherwise imposed upon the Mind by the *Sex, Age, Country, State of Health, Make of Body, &c.* And again, those which proceed from *Fortune*; as in *Princes, Nobles, common People, the Rich, the Poor, Magistrates, the Ignorant, the Happy, the Miserable, &c.* Thus we see *Plautus* makes it a kind of Miracle to find an old Man beneficent^b. And *St. Paul* commanding a Severity of Discipline towards the *Cretans*, accuses the Temper of that Nation from the Poet: *The Cretans are always Lyars, evil Beasts, and slow Bellies.* *Sallust* notes it of the Temper of Kings, *that 'tis frequent with them to desire Contradictories*^c. *Tacitus* observes, that *Honours and Dignities commonly change the Temper of Mankind for the worse*^d. *Pindar* remarks, that *a sudden Flush of good Fortune generally enervates and slackens the Mind*^e. The *Psalmist* intimates, that *'tis easier to hold a mean in the height, than in the increase of Fortune*^f. 'Tis true, *Aristotle*, in his *Rhetoricks*, cursorily mentions some such Observations; and so do others up and down in their Writings: but they were never yet incorporated into *moral Philosophy*; whereto they principally belong, as much as *Treatises of the difference of Soil and Glebe, belong to Agriculture*; or *Discourses of the different Complexions or Habits of the Body, to Medicine*. The thing must, therefore, be now procured; unless we would imitate the Rashness of *Empiricks*, who employ the same Remedies in all *Diseases and Constitutions*.

The Doctrine
of the Affec-
tions deficient.

5. Next to this *Doctrine of Characters*, follows the DOCTRINE OF AFFECTIONS AND PERTURBATIONS; which, we observed above, are the *Difficulties of the Mind*. For as the ancient Politicians said of *Democracies*, that the *People were like the Sea, and the Orators like the Wind*; so it may be truly

^a With this view, consult *les Caracteres des Passions, par M. de la Chambre, Ed. Amst. 1658.* *M. Clarmont de Conjectandis latentibus Animi affectibus*; reprinted by *Conringius*; *Neuheusii Theatrum Ingenii humani, seu de Hominum cognoscenda Indole & Animi Secretis, 1633*; *Mr. Evelyn's Digression concerning Physiognomy, in his Discourse of Medals*; *les Caracteres de Theophraste, avec les Mœurs de ce Siècle, par M. de la Bruyere, 1700.* See *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam, pag. 823.* See also more to this purpose above, *Sect. IV.*

^b *Benignitas quidem hujus oppido ut adolescentuli est.*

^c *Plerumque Regia voluntates, ut vehementes sunt; sic mobiles, saepeque ipsa sibi adversa.*

^d *Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.*

^e *Sunt qui magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt.*

^f *If Riches fly to thee, set not thy Heart upon them.*

truly said, that the nature of the Mind would be unruffled, and uniform, if the Affections, like the Winds, did not disturb it. And here again, we cannot but remember that *Aristotle*, who wrote so many Books of *Ethicks*, should never treat of the Affections, which are a principal Branch thereof; and yet has given them a place in his *Rhetoricks*, where they come to be but secondarily consider'd: for his *Discourses of Pleasure and Pain*, by no means answer the end of such a Treatise; no more than a *Discourse of Light, and Splendor*, would give the *Doctrine of particular Colours*. For *Pleasure and Pain* are to *particular Affections*, as *Light* is to *Colours*. The *Stoicks*, so far as may be conjectured from what we have left of them, cultivated this Subject better; yet they rather dwelt upon subtle *Definitions*, than gave any full and copious *Treatise* upon it. We also find a few short elegant Pieces upon some of the *Affections*; as upon *Anger*, false *Modesty*, and two or three more: But to say the truth, the *Poets* and *Historians* are the principal Teachers of this *Science*: for they commonly paint to the life in what particular manner the Affections are to be rais'd and inflamed; and how to be sooth'd and laid: how they are to be check'd and restrained from breaking into Action; how they discover themselves, tho' suppress'd and smother'd; what Operations they have; what turns they take; how they mutually intermix; and how they oppose each other, &c. Among which, the latter is of extensive use in moral and civil Affairs: I mean, how far one Passion may regulate another; and how they employ each other's assistance to conquer some one; after the manner of *Hunters* and *Fowlers*, who take Beast with Beast, and Bird with Bird; which Man, perhaps, without such Assistance, could not so easily do. And upon this Foundation rests that excellent and universal Use of Rewards and Punishments in civil Life. For these are the Supports of States; and suppress all the other *noxious Affections* by those two predominant ones, *Fear* and *Hope*. And, as in *civil Government*, one Faction frequently bridles and governs another; the case is the same in the internal *Government of the Mind*^a.

6. We come now to those Things which are within our own power, and work upon the Mind, and affect and govern the Will and the Appetite: whence they have great Efficacy in altering the *Manners*. And here Philosophers should diligently enquire into the *Powers and Energy of Custom, Exercise, Habit, Education, Example, Imitation, Emulation, Company, Friendship, Praise, Reproof, Exhortation, Reputation, Laws, Books, Studies, &c.* for these are the things which reign in Mens Morals. By these Agents, the Mind is form'd and subdu'd; and of these Ingredients, *Remedies* are prepared; which, so far as human Means can reach, conduce to the Preservation and Recovery of the Health of the Mind.

Cc 2

7.

^a Upon this Subject, consult *Laelius Peregrinus de noscendis & emendandis Animi affectionibus*, Ed. Lipsiæ 1714. *Placcius de Typo Medicina moralis*; *M. Perault de l'Usage des Passions*, 1668. *Johan. Francisc. Buddaus de Morbis mentis humana, de Sanitate mentis humana, & de Remediis morborum, quibus mens laborat*; in his *Elementa Philosophiæ Practicæ*. Lib. de Philosophiâ morali, Sect. III. Cap. 3, 4, 6. See *Stollii Introduct. in Historiam Literariam*, pag. 813, 814.

Examples
hereof in Cus-
tom and Ha-
bit.

7. To give an Instance or two in *Custom* and *Habit*; the Opinion of *Aristotle* seems narrow and careless, which asserts that *Custom* has no power over those *Actions* which are natural; using this Example, that if a Stone be a thousand times thrown up into the Air, yet it will acquire no tendency to a spontaneous Ascent. And again, that by often seeing or hearing, we see and hear never the better. For tho' this may hold in some things, where Nature is absolute; yet 'tis otherwise in things where Nature admits *Intension* and *Remission* in a certain latitude. He might have seen, that a strait Glove, by being often drawn upon the Hand, will become easy; that a Stick, by use and continuance, will acquire and retain a bend contrary to its natural one; that the Voice, by Exercise, becomes stronger and more sonorous; that Heat and Cold grow more tolerable by Custom, &c. And these two last Examples come nearer to the point, than those he has produced. Be this as it will; the more certain he had found it that Virtues and Vices depended upon Habit, the more he should have endeavour'd to prescribe Rules how such Habits were to be acquir'd, or left off: since numerous Precepts may be form'd, for the prudent directing of Exercises, as well those of the Mind, as the Body. We will here mention a few of them.

(1.) That
Tasks be duly
proportioned.

8. And the first shall be, that from the beginning we beware of imposing both more difficult, and more superficial Tasks than the thing requires. For if too great a Burden be laid upon a middling Genius, it blunts the cheerful Spirit of Hope; and if upon a confident one, it raises an Opinion, from which he promises himself more than he can perform; which leads to Indolence: and in both cases the Experiment will not answer Expectation. And this always dejects and confounds the Mind. But if the Tasks are too light, a great loss is sustain'd in the amount of the Progress.

(2.) That the
best and worst
state of Mind
be observed.

9. (2.) To procure a Habit in the Exercise of any Faculty, let two Seasons be principally observed; the one when the Mind is best, and the other when 'tis worst disposed for Business: that by the former, the greater dispatch may be made; and by the latter, the Obstructions of the Mind may be wore down with a strenuous Application: whence the intermediate times will slide away the more easily and agreeably.

(3.) To endeav-
our strenu-
ously against
Nature.

10. (3.) The third Example shall be the Precept which *Aristotle* transiently mentions; viz. to endeavour our utmost against that whereto we are strongly impell'd by Nature; thus, as it were, rowing against the Stream, or bending a crooked Stick the contrary way, in order to bring it strait.

(4.) That
things be not
directly im-
posed.

11. (4.) A fourth Precept may be founded on this sure Principle; that the Mind is easier, and more agreeably drawn on to those things which are not principally intended by the Operator, but conquer'd or obtain'd without premeditated Design; because our Nature is such, as in a manner hates to be commanded. There are many other useful Precepts for the regulating of Custom; and if Custom be prudently and skilfully introduced, it really becomes a second Nature: but if unskilfully and casually treated, it will be but the Ape of Nature, and imitate nothing to the life; or awkwardly, and with deformity.

12. So, with regard to *Books, Studies, and Influence* over our Manners, there are numerous useful Rules and Directions. One of the Fathers, in great severity, call'd *Poetry the Devil's Wine*; as indeed it begets many Temptations, Desires, and vain Opinions. And 'tis a very prudent Saying of *Aristotle*, deserving to be well consider'd, that *young Men are improper Hearers of Moral Philosophy*; because the Heat of their Passions is not yet allay'd, and temper'd, by time and experience. And to say the truth, the reason why the excellent *Writings and moral Discourses* of the Ancients have so little effect upon our Lives and Manners, seems to be, that they are not usually read by Men of ripe Age and Judgment; but wholly left to unexperienced Youths and Children. And are not young Men much less fit for *Politicks* than for *Ethicks*; before they are well seasoned with Religion, and the Doctrines of Morality and Civility? For being, perhaps, depraved and corrupted in their Judgment, they are apt to think that moral Differences are not real and solid; but that all things are to be measured by Utility and Success. Thus the *Poet* said, *successful Villany is called Virtue*^a. The Poets, indeed, speak in this manner satyrically, and thro' Indignation; but some Books of Politicks suppose the same positively, and in earnest. For *Machiavel* is pleas'd to say, "if *Cæsar* had been conquer'd, he would have become more odious than *Catiline*:" as if there was no difference, except in point of Fortune, betwixt a Fury made up of Lust and Blood, and a noble Spirit, of all natural Men the most to be admired, but for his Ambition. And hence we see how necessary it is for Men to be fully instructed in moral Doctrines, and religious Duties, before they proceed to *Politicks*. For those bred up from their youth in the Courts of Princes, and the midst of Civil Affairs, can scarce ever obtain a sincere and internal Probity of Manners. Again, Caution also is to be used even in *moral Instructions*, or at least in some of them, lest Men should thence become stubborn, arrogant, and unsociable. So *Cicero* says of *Cato*; *the divine and excellent Qualities we see in him are his own; but the things he sometimes fails in, are all derived, not from Nature, but his Instructors*. There are many other *Axioms and Directions*, concerning the things which Studies and Books beget in the Minds of Men; for 'tis true, that *Studies enter our Manners*; and so do *Conversation, Reputation, the Laws, &c.*

13. But there is another *Cure of the Mind*, which seems still more accurate, and elaborate than the rest; depending upon this Foundation, that *the Minds of all Men are, at certain times, in a more perfect, and at others in a more depraved State*. The design of this Cure is therefore to improve the good times, and expunge the bad. There are two practical Methods of fixing the good times; viz. (1.) *determined Resolutions*; and (2.) *Observances or Exercises*: which are not of so much significancy in themselves, as because they continually keep the Mind in its duty. There are also two ways of expunging the bad times; viz. by some kind of *Redemption*, or *Expiation* of what is past; and a new Regulation of Life for the future. But this

part

^a *Prosperum & felix Scelus, Virtus vocatur.*

And again,

Ille Crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic Diadema.

*The Conduct
requisite in
Studies.*

*The Cure of
the Mind de-
pending upon
its more and
less perfect
State.*

part belongs to *Religion*; whereto *moral Philosophy* is, as we said before, the genuine Hand-maid.

Charity the
Perfection of
Morality.

14. We will, therefore, conclude these *Georgicks of the Mind* with that Remedy, which, of all others, is the shortest, noblest, and most effectual for forming the Mind to *Virtue*, and placing it near a state of Perfection; viz. that we chuse and propose to ourselves just and virtuous Ends of our Lives and Actions; yet such as we have, in some degree, the Faculty of obtaining. For if the Ends of our Actions are good and virtuous, and the Resolutions of our Mind for obtaining them fix'd and constant, the Mind will directly mould and form itself, at once, to all kinds of Virtue. And this is certainly an Operation resembling the Works of Nature; whilst the others above-mention'd seem only manual. Thus the Statuary finishes only that part of the Figure upon which his Hand is employ'd; without meddling with the others at that time, which are still but unfashion'd Marble: Whereas Nature, on the contrary, when she works upon a Flower, or an Animal, forms the Rudiments of all the Parts at once. So when Virtues are acquir'd by Habit, whilst we endeavour at *Temperance*, we make but little advances towards *Fortitude*, or the other Virtues; but when we are once entirely devoted to just and honourable Ends, whatever the *Virtue* be, which those Ends recommend and direct, we shall find ourselves ready dispos'd, and possess'd of some Propensity to obtain and express it. And this may be that State of Mind which *Aristotle* excellently describes, not as *virtuous*, but *divine*. So *Pliny* proposes the Virtue of *Trajan*, not as an *Imitation*, but as an *Example* of the Divine Virtue; when he says, *Men need make no other Prayers to the Gods, than that they would be but as good and propitious to Mortals, as Trajan was.* But this favours of the prophane Arrogance of the Heathens; who grasp'd at Shadows larger than the Life. The *Christian Religion* comes to the point, by impressing *Charity* upon the Minds of Men: which is most appositely call'd the *Bond of Perfection*; because it ties up, and fastens all the Virtues together. And it was elegantly said by *Menander* of *sensual Love*, which is a bad *Imitation* of the *divine*, that *it was a better Tutor for human Life, than a left-handed Sophist*: intimating that the Grace of Carriage is better form'd by *Love*, than by an *awkward Preceptor*; whom he calls *left-handed*, as he cannot by all his operose Rules and Precepts, form a Man so dextrously and expeditiously, to value himself justly, and behave gracefully, as *Love* can do. So without doubt, if the Mind be possess'd with the Fervor of true *Charity*, he will rise to a higher degree of Perfection, than by all the *Doctrine of Ethics*; which is but a *Sophist* compar'd to *Charity*. And as *Xenophon* well observed, whilst the other Passions, tho' they raise the Mind, yet distort and discompose it, by their Extacies and Excesses; whilst *Love* alone, at the same time composes and dilates it: so all other human Endowment, which we admire; whilst they exalt and enlarge our Nature, are yet liable to Extravagance: but of *Charity* alone, there is no Excess. The Angels aspiring to be like God in power, transgress'd and fell; *I will ascend, and be like the most high*: and Man aspiring to be like God in Knowledge, transgress'd and fell; *ye shall be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil*: But in
aspiring

aspiring to be like God in *Goodness* or *Charity*, neither Man nor Angel can, or shall transgress. Nay, we are invited to an Imitation of it; *love your Enemies; do good to those that hate you; pray for those that despitefully use and persecute you; that ye may be the Children of your Father, which is in Heaven: for he maketh his Sun to rise upon the Good and upon the Evil; and sends his Rain upon the Just and upon the Unjust*^a. And thus we conclude this part of *Moral Doctrine*, relating to the *Georgicks of the Mind*.

15. There might, however, be added, by way of APPENDIX, this Observation; that *there is a certain Relation and Congruity found between the Good of the Mind, and the Good of the Body*. For as the *Good of the Body* consists in (1.) Health, (2.) Comeliness, (3.) Strength, and (4.) Pleasure: so the *Good of the Mind*, consider'd in a moral light, tends to render it (1.) sound and calm, (2.) graceful, (3.) strong and agile for all the Offices of Life, and (4.) possess'd of a constant quick Sense of Pleasure, and noble Satisfaction. But as the four former Excellences are seldom found together in the Body; so are the four latter seldom found together in the Mind^b. And thus we have finished that principal Branch of *human Philosophy*, which considers Man, out of *Society*, and as consisting of a *Body* and a *Soul*.

Appendix to
the Georgicks
of the Mind.

S E C T. XXIII.

Of CIVIL DOCTRINE; and first, of CONVERSATION
and DECORUM.

1. **T**HERE goes an old Tradition, that many *Grecian Philosophers* had a solemn Meeting before the Ambassador of a foreign Prince; where each endeavoured to shew his Parts, that the Ambassador might have somewhat to relate of the *Grecian Wisdom*: but one among the number kept silence; so that the Ambassador turning to him, ask'd, *But what have you to say, that I may report it?* he answered, *Tell your King, that you have found one among the Greeks who knew how to be silent*. Indeed I had forgot in this

The Art of
Silence.

Compendium

^a The Author, in making Morality terminate in the Christian Doctrine of Charity, has been followed by many, and thus occasion'd several Systems of *Christian Ethics*; among the principal whereof, are the *Ethica Christiana* of Lambertus Danæus; the *Ethica Sacra* of Dandinus; Placcius de *Fructu præcipuo Philosophiæ moralis genuino*; Joannis Cirelli *Ethica Christiana*; Dr. Henry More, in his *Enchiridion Ethicum*; Henricus Ernestius, in his *Introductio ad veram Vitam*; and several more. See Struvius's *Bibliotheca Philosophica*, Cap. 6. de *Scriptoribus Philosophiæ Practicæ, & sigillatim Ethicis*.

^b This Doctrine of the *Georgicks of the Mind*, is expressly endeavoured to be supplied by Professor Wessfeld, in the Book he entitles *Arnoldi Wessfeld. Georgica Animi & Vita, seu Pathologia practica, moralis nempe & civilis, ex physicis ubique fontibus repetita*. Fran. 1695, & 1712. Some Account of this Work is given in the *Acta Eruditorum. Mens. August. 1696*. See also *Joan. Franc. Budæus de Cultura Ingeniorum, Ed. Hala 1699*.

Compendium of Arts, to insert the *Art of Silence*. For as we shall now soon be led by the Course of the Work, to treat the Subject of *Government*; we cannot have a better occasion for putting the Art of Silence in practice^a. *Cicero* makes mention not only of an *Art*, but even of an *Eloquence* to be found in *Silence*; and relates in an *Epistle* to *Atticus*, how once in Conversation he made use of this Art: *On this occasion*, says he, *I assumed a part of your Eloquence; for I said nothing*. And *Pindar*, who peculiarly strikes the Mind unexpected, with some short surprizing Sentence, has this among the rest; *Things unsaid have sometimes a greater Effect than said*. And, therefore, I have determin'd either to be silent upon this Subject, or, what is next to it, very concise.

The Doctrine of Civil Policy in some respects less difficult than Ethics.

2. CIVIL KNOWLEDGE turns upon a Subject of all others the most immersed in Matter; and therefore very difficultly reduced to *Axioms*. And yet there are some things that ease the Difficulty. For (1.) as *Cato* said, *that the Romans were like Sheep, easier to drive in the Flock than single*; so in this respect the Office of *Ethicks* is, in some degree, more difficult than that of *Politicks*^b. (2.) Again, *Ethicks* endeavours to tinge and furnish the Mind with *internal Goodness*; whilst *civil Doctrine* requires no more than *external Goodness*; which is sufficient for *Society*^c. Whence it often happens, that a *Reign* may be good, and the *Times* bad. Thus we sometimes find in *sacred History*, when mention is made of good, and pious Kings, *that the People had not yet turn'd their Hearts to the Lord God of their Fathers*. And therefore in this respect also, *Ethicks* has the harder task. (3.) States are moved slowly, like great Machines; and with difficulty: and consequently not soon put out of order. For, as in *Egypt*, the seven years of Plenty supplied the seven years of Famine; so in Governments, the good Regulation of former Times, will not presently suffer the Errors of the succeeding, to prove destructive. But the Resolutions and Manners of particular Persons are more suddenly subverted: and this, in the last place, bears hard upon *Ethicks*, but favours *Politicks*.

Civil Knowledge divided into Prudence, (1.) of Conversation, (2.) Business, (3.) Government.

3. *Civil Knowledge* has three Parts; suitable to the three principal Acts of Society, viz. (1.) *Conversation*, (2.) *Business*, and (3.) *Government*. For there are three kinds of *Good*, that Men desire to procure by *Civil Society*; viz. (1.) *Refuge from Solitude*; (2.) *Assistance in the Affairs of Life*; and (3.) *Protection against Injuries*. And thus there are three kinds of *Prudence*, very different, and frequently separated from each other; viz. (1.) PRUDENCE IN CONVERSATION, (2.) PRUDENCE IN BUSINESS, (3.) PRUDENCE IN GOVERNMENT^d.

4.

^a The Author here makes a Complement of his Silence to King *JAMES*, as if he would not pretend to speak of the *Arts of Empire*, to one who knew them so well; but the true Reason appears to be, that he thought it improper to reveal the Mysteries of *State*. See below SECT. XXV. 1.

^b Viz. Harder to make Men *singly virtuous*, than *conformable in Society*; because as the Author elsewhere observes, 'tis a Principle in human Nature, to be more affected in publick than in private; as any one may be sensible, who has ever been at a *Rehearsal*, and a *Play*.

^c Hence there ought to be a due difference preserved betwixt *Ethicks* and *Politicks*, tho' many Writers seem to mix them together; and form a promiscuous Doctrine of the Law of *Nature*, *Morality*, *Policy*, and *Religion* together; as particularly certain scriptural Casuists and political Divines.

^d From a Mixture of these three parts of *Civil Doctrine*, there has of late been formed a new kind

4. CONVERSATION, as it ought not to be over-affected, much less should it be slighted: since a prudent Conduct therein, not only expresses a certain Gracefulness in Men's Manners; but is also of great assistance in the commodious Dispatch both of publick and private Business. For as *Action*, tho' an external Thing, is so essential to an *Orator*, as to be preferred before the other weighty, and more internal parts of that Art; so *Conversation*, tho' it consist but of Externals, is, if not the principal, at least a capital Thing in the Man of Business, and the prudent management of Affairs. What effect the Countenance may have, appears from the Precept of the Poet; *Contradiet not your Words by your Looks*^a. For a Man may absolutely cancel, and betray the Force of Speech, by his Countenance. And so may Actions themselves, as well as Words, be destroyed by the Look; according to *Cicero*, who, recommending Affability to his Brother towards the *Provincials*, tells him, it did not wholly consist in giving easy access to them, unless he also received them with an obliging Carriage. *'Tis doing nothing*, says he, *to admit them with an open Door, and a lock'd up Countenance*^b. But if the management of the Face alone, has so great an Effect; how much greater is that of *familiar Conversation*, with all its Attendance? Indeed the whole of *Decorum* and *Elegance of Manners*, seems to rest in weighing and maintaining, with an even ballance, the dignity betwixt ourselves and others; which is well expressed by *Livy*, tho' upon a different occasion, in that Character of a Person, where he says, that *I may neither seem arrogant nor obnoxious; that is, neither forget my own nor others Liberty*.

The Effect of
Decorum.

5. On the other side; a Devotion to *Urbanity*, and external Elegance, terminates in an awkward and disagreeable Affectation. For what is more preposterous than to copy *the Theatre in real Life*? And tho' we did not fall into this vicious Extreme, yet we should waste time, and depress the Mind too much, by attending to such lighter matters. Therefore, as in Universities, the Students, too fond of Company, are usually told by their Tutors, that *Friends are the Thieves of Time*; so the assiduous Application to the *Decorum of Conversation*, steals from weightier Considerations. Again, they who stand in the first rank for *Urbanity*, and seem born, as it were, for this alone;

The Rules of
Decency.

kind of Doctrine, which they call by the name of *Civil Prudence*. This Doctrine has been principally cultivated among the *Germans*; tho' hitherto carried to no great length. Yet *Hermannus Conringius* performed somewhat considerable in this way, in his Book *de Civili Prudentia*, published in the year 1662; and *Christian Thomasius* has treated it excellently in the little Piece entitled, *Prima linea, de Jure-consultorum Prudentia Consultatoria*, &c. first published in the year 1705, but the third Edition, with Notes, in 1721. The Heads it considers, are, (1.) *de Prudentia in genere*, (2.) *de Prudentia consultatoria*; (3.) *de Prudentia Juris-consultorum*; (4.) *de Prudentia computandi, intuitu actionum propriarum*; (5.) *de Prudentia dirigendi actiones proprias in conversatione quotidiana*, (6.) *de Prudentia in Conversatione selecta*; (7.) *de Prudentia intuitu Societatum domesticarum*; (8.) *de Prudentia in Societate Civili*; and (9.) *de Prudentia alios & aliis consulendi*. The little Piece also of *Andr. Bosius*, *de Prudentia Civili comparanda*, deserves the perusal. A few more *German* Authors have treated this Subject; but generally in their own Language. See *Morhof de Prudentia Civili Scripturis*; *Siruvii Bibliotheca Philosophica*, cap. 7. and *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam, de Prudentia Politica*.

^a Nec vultu deserne verba tuo.

^b Nil interest habere osium apertum, vultum clausum.

feldom take pleasure in any thing else ; and scarce ever rise to the higher and more solid Virtues. On the contrary, the consciousness of a defect in this particular, makes us seek a Grace from good Opinion ; which renders all things else becoming : but where this is wanting, Men endeavour to supply it by Good Breeding. And further ; there is scarce any greater or more frequent obstruction to Business, than an over-curious Observance of *external Decorum*, with its attendant, too sollicitous and scrupulous a choice of Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* admirably says, *be that regards the Winds, shall not sow ; and be that regards the Clouds, shall not reap.* For we must make Opportunities oftener than we find them. In a word ; *Urbanity* is like a *Garment to the Mind* ; and therefore ought to have the Conditions of a Garment ; that is, (1.) it should be fashionable ; (2.) not too delicate or costly ; (3.) it should be so made, as principally to shew the reigning Virtue of the Mind, and to supply or conceal Deformity : (4.) and lastly, above all things, it must not be too staight ; so as to cramp the Mind, and confine its Motions in Business. But this part of *Civil Doctrine*, relating to *Conversation*, is elegantly treated by some Writers ; and can by no means be reported as deficient ^a.

S E C T. XXIV.

The DOCTRINE of BUSINESS.

The Doctrine of Business divided into that of various Occasions, and Rising in Life. I. **W**E divide the DOCTRINE OF BUSINESS into the *Doctrine of various Occasions*, and the *Doctrine of Rising in Life*. The first includes all the possible variety of Affairs ; and is as the *Amanuensis to common Life* : but the other collects, and suggests, such things only, as regard the improvement of a Man's private Fortune ; and may, therefore, serve each person as a *private Register* of his Affairs.

No Books written upon the Doctrine of Business.

2. No one hath hitherto treated the *Doctrine of Business* suitably to its Merit ; to the great Prejudice of the Character both of *Learning* and *Learned Men* : for from hence proceeds the Mischief, which has fixed it as a Reproach upon

^a It seems of late more cultivated among the *French* and *Germans*, than among the *English* ; the *Morale du Monde* ; the *Modeles de Conversations* ; the *Reflexions sur le Ridicule, & sur les moyens de l'eviter* ; the *Politesse des Mœurs* ; the *Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* ; & *Frid. Gentzenius's Doctrina de Decoro*, in his *Systema Philosophia*, may deserve the perusal. This last Work, which is lately published in *Germany*, treats (1.) of the nature of *Decorum*, and its Foundation ; (2.) of *National Decorum* ; (3.) of *Human Decorum* ; (4.) the *Decorum of Youth and Age* ; (5.) the *Decorum of Men and Women* ; (6.) the *Decorum of Husband and Wife* ; (7.) the *Decorum of the Clergy* ; (8.) the *Decorum of Princes*, and (9.) the *Decorum of the Nobility, and Men of Letters*. See *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam, de Doctrina ejus quod est Decorum.* pag. 795, 796.

upon *Men of Letters*, that *Learning and Civil Prudence are seldom found together*. And if we rightly observe those three kinds of *Prudence*, which we lately said belong to *Civil Life*^a; that of *Conversation* is generally despised by *Men of Learning*, as a servile thing, and an Enemy to Contemplation; and for the *Government of States*, tho' learned Men acquit themselves well when advanced to the Helm, yet this promotion happens to few of them: but for the present Subject, the *Prudence of Business*, upon which our Lives principally turn, there are no Books extant about it; except a few *Civil Admonitions*, collected into a little Volume or two, by no means adequate to the Copiousness of the Subject. But if Books were written upon this Subject, as upon others; we doubt not that learned Men, furnished with *tolerable Experience*, would far excel the unlearned, furnished with much *greater Experience*; and outshoot them in their own Bow^b.

3. Nor need we apprehend that the *Matter of this Science* is too various, to fall under Precept; for 'tis much less extensive than the *Doctrine of Government*, which yet we find very well cultivated. There seem to have been some Professors of this kind of *Prudence* among the *Romans*, in their best days. For *Cicero* declares it was the Custom, a little before his time, among the Senators most famous for knowledge and experience; as *Coruncanius*, *Curius*, *Laelius*, &c. to walk the *Forum* at certain hours, where they offered themselves to be consulted by the People; not so much upon Law, but upon Business of all kinds; as the *Marriage of a Daughter*, the *Education of a Son*, the purchasing of an Estate, and other occasions of common Life. Whence it appears, that there is a certain Prudence of advising, even in private Affairs; and derivable from an universal Knowledge of Civil Business; Experience, and general Observations of similar Cases. So we find the Book which *Q. Cicero* wrote to his Brother, *de petitione Consulatus*, (the only Treatise, so far as we know, extant upon any particular Business;) tho' it regarded chiefly the giving of Advice upon that present Occasion; yet contains many particular *Axioms of Politicks*, which were not only of temporary use, but prescribe a certain permanent Rule for *popular Elections*. But in this kind, there is nothing found any way comparable to the *Aphorisms of Solomon*; of whom the Scripture bears Testimony, that *his Heart was as the Sands of the Sea*. For as the Sand of the Sea encompasses the extremities of the whole Earth, so his Wisdom comprehended all things, both human and divine. And in those *Aphorisms* are found many excellent Civil Precepts and Admonitions, besides things of a more theological Nature, flowing from the depth and innermost Bosom of Wisdom; and running out into a most spacious field of Variety. And as we place the *Doctrine of various Occasions* among the *Desiderata of the Sciences*, we will

This Doctrine reducible to Rule.

D d 2

here

^a See above Sect. XXIII. 3.

^b This may be extended to *Civil Knowledge* in general, so as to comprehend not only *Politics, Conversation, and Business*; but also *Commerce*, and the particular Arts of *Agriculture, Navigation, Architecture, War, Trades, &c.* For a Man of general Knowledge, such as the Author, or *Mr. Boyle* for instance, must needs be more capable of improving any particular Art or Science, than a person wholly bred up to, and employed about one Business only.

here dwell upon it a little ; and lay down an Example thereof, in the way of explaining some of these *Aphorisms*, or *Proverbs*, of *Solomon*.

*A Specimen
of it.*

A Specimen of the DOCTRINE OF VARIOUS OCCASIONS, in the common Business of Life ; by way of Aphorism and Explanation.

APHORISM I.

4. *A soft Answer appeases Anger.*

*The way of
Excusing a
Fault.*

IF the Anger of a *Prince*, or *Superior*, be kindled against you ; and it be now your turn to speak ; *Solomon* directs, (1.) that an Answer be made ; and (2.) that it be soft. The first Rule contains three Precepts ; viz. (1.) To guard against a melancholy and stubborn silence : for this either turns the fault wholly upon you, as if you could make no Answer ; or secretly impeaches your Superior, as if his Ears were not open to a just Defence. (2.) To beware of delaying the thing ; and requiring a longer day for your Defence : which either accuses your Superior of Passion ; or signifies that you are preparing some artificial turn, or colour. So that 'tis always best directly to say something for the present, in your own excuse, as the occasion requires. And (3.) To make a real Answer ; an *Answer* not a mere *Confession*, or bare Submission ; but a mixture of Apology and Excuse. For 'tis unsafe to do otherwise ; unless with very generous and noble Spirits, which are extremely rare. Then follows the second Rule ; that the *Answer* be mild and soft, not stiff and irritating^a

APHORISM II.

5. *A prudent Servant shall rule over a foolish Son, and divide the Inheritance among the Brethren.*

*The Conduct
of a wise Ser-
vant.*

IN every jarring Family there constantly rises up some Servant, or humble Friend, of sway, who takes upon him to compose their Differences, at his own discretion ; to whom, for that reason, the whole Family, even the Master himself, is subject. If this Man has a view to his own Ends, he foments and aggravates the Differences of the Family ; but if he prove just and upright, he is certainly very deserving. So that he may be reckoned even as one of the *Brethren* ; or at least have the direction of the Inheritance, in trust.

APHORISM

^a How the Author put this Doctrine in practice, appears by his Answer to the House of Peers. See the Letter, towards the End of the FIFTH SUPPLEMENT to this Work.

APHORISM III.

6. *If a wise Man contends with a Fool, whether he be in anger, or in jest, there is no quiet.*

WE are frequently admonished to avoid unequal Conflicts; that is, not to strive with the Stronger: But the admonition of *Solomon* is no less useful; that we should not strive with the Worthless: for here the Match is very unequal; where 'tis no Victory to conquer, and a great Disgrace to be conquer'd. Nor does it signify if, in such a contest, we should sometimes deal as in Jest; and sometimes in the way of Disdain and Contempt: For what course soever we take, we are losers; and can never come handsomely off. But the worst case of all is, if our Antagonist have something of the Fool in him; that is, if he be confident and headstrong.

The Folly of contending with the obstinate.

APHORISM IV.

7. *Listen not to all that is spoke, lest thou shouldst hear thy Servant curse thee.*

'TIS scarce credible what Uneasiness is created in Life, by an useless Curiosity, about the things that concern us: As when we pry into such Secrets, as being discovered, give us distaste; but afford no assistance or relief. For (1.) there follows Vexation and Disquiet of Mind; as all human things are full of Perfidiousness and Ingratitude. So that tho' we could procure some Magick-Glass, wherein to view the Animosities, and all that Malice which is any way at work against us; it were better for us to break it directly, than to use it. For these things are but as the rustling of Leaves; soon over. (2.) This Curiosity always loads the Mind with Suspicion; which is a violent Enemy to Counsels; and renders them unsteady and perplexed. (3.) It also frequently fixes the Evils themselves; which would otherwise have blown over. For 'tis a dangerous thing to provoke the Consciences of Men, who so long as they think themselves concealed, are easily changed for the better: but if they once find themselves discovered, drive out one Evil with another. It was therefore justly esteemed the utmost Prudence in *Pompey*, that he directly burnt all the Papers of *Sertorius*, unperused by himself, or others.

The Treachery of useless Curiosity.

APHORISM V.

8. *Poverty comes as a Traveller, but Want as an armed Man.*

THIS Aphorism elegantly describes how Prodigals, and such as take no care of their Affairs, make shipwreck of their Fortunes. For Debt, and Diminution of the Capital, at first steals on gradually, and almost imperceptibly, like a Traveller; but soon after, Want invades, as an armed Man; that

The way of securing an Estate.

that is, with a hand so strong and powerful, as can no longer be resisted: for 'twas justly said by the Ancients, that Necessity is of all things the strongest. We must, therefore, prevent the Traveller, and guard against the armed Man.

APHORISM VI.

9. *He who instructs a Scoffer, procures to himself reproach; and he who reproveth a wicked Man, procures to himself a Stain.*

The danger of reproving the Wicked.

THIS agrees with the Precept of our Saviour, not to throw Pearls before Swine. The Aphorism distinguishes betwixt the Actions of *Precept* and *Reproof*; and again betwixt the Persons of the *Scorner* and the *Wicked*: and lastly, the Reward is distinguished. In the former case, Precept is repaid by a loss of Labour; and in the latter, of Reproof, 'tis repaid with a Stain also. For when any one instructs and teaches a *Scorner*, he first loses his time; in the next place, others laugh at his Labour, as fruitless and misapplied; and lastly, the *Scorner* himself disdains the Knowledge delivered. But there is more Danger in reproving a wicked Man; who not only lends no Ear, but turns again, and either directly rails at his Admonisher, who has now made himself odious to him; or at least, afterwards traduces him to others.

APHORISM VII.

10. *A wise Son rejoices his Father, but a foolish Son is a Sorrow to his Mother.*

The Virtues and Vices of Children differently affect the Father from the Mother.

THE Domestick Joys and Grievs of Father and Mother from their Children, are here distinguished: for a prudent and hopeful Son is a capital pleasure to the *Father*; who knows the value of Virtue better than the *Mother*, and therefore rejoices more at his Son's disposition to Virtue. This Joy may also be heightened, perhaps, from seeing the good Effect of his own Management, in the Education of his Son; so as to form good Morals in him by Precept and Example. On the other hand, the *Mother* suffers and partakes the most, in the Calamity of her *Son*; because the maternal Affection is the more soft and tender: And again, perhaps, because she is conscious that her Indulgence has spoil'd, and depraved him.

APHORISM VIII.

11. *The Memory of the Just is blessed; but the Name of the wicked shall rot.*

The difference between the Fame of good and bad Men after Death.

WE have here that distinction between the Character of good and evil Men, which usually takes place after Death. For in the case of good Men, when Envy, that pursues them whilst alive, is extinguished, their Name presently flourishes; and their Fame increases every day. But the Fame of bad Men,

Men, tho' it may remain for a while, thro' the Favour of Friends and Faction; yet soon becomes odious; and at length degenerates into Infamy, and ends, as it were, in a loathsome odour.

APHORISM IX.

12. *He who troubles his own House, shall inherit the Wind.*

THIS is a very useful Admonition, as to Domestick Jars and Differences. For many promise themselves great matters from the separation of their Wives; the disinheriting of their Children; the frequent changing of Servants, &c. as if they should thence procure greater Peace of Mind, or a more successful Administration of their Affairs: But such hopes commonly turn to Wind; these Changes being seldom for the better. And such Disturbers of their Families, often meet with various Crosses and Ingratitude, from those they afterwards adopt and chuse. They, by this means also, bring ill Reports, and ambiguous Rumours upon themselves. For as Cicero well observes, *all Men's Characters proceed from their Domesticks.* And both these Mischiefs Solomon elegantly expresses, by the *Possession of the Wind*: for the frustration of Expectation, and the raising of Rumours, are justly compared to the Winds.

*The Folly of
changing Con-
ditions.*

APHORISM X.

13. *The End of a Discourse is better than the Beginning.*

THIS *Aphorism* corrects a common Error, prevailing not only among such as principally study Words, but also the more prudent; viz. that Men are more solicitous about the Beginnings and Entrances of their Discourses, than about the Conclusions: and more exactly labour their Prefaces and Introductions, than their Closes. Whereas they ought not to neglect the former; but should have the latter, as being Things of far the greater Consequence, ready prepared beforehand: casting about with themselves, as much as possible, what may be the last Issue of the Discourse; and how Business may be thence forwarded and ripened. They ought further, not only to consider the windings up of Discourses relating to Business; but to regard also such turns as may be advantageously and gracefully given upon departure; even tho' they should be quite foreign to the matter in hand. It was the constant practice of two great and prudent Privy-Counsellors, on whom the weight of the Kingdom chiefly rested, as often as they discoursed with their Princes upon Matters of State, never to end the Conversation with what regarded the principal Subject; but always to go off with a Jest, or some pleasant Device; and as the *Proverb* runs, *washing off their salt-water Discourses with fresh, at the Conclusion.* And this was one of the principal Arts they had.

*The Conclu-
sions of Con-
versations to
be agreeable.*

APHORISM XI.

14. *As dead Flies cause the best Ointment to yield an ill Odour; so does a little Folly to a Man in Reputation for Wisdom and Honour.*

Little Faults readily censured in wise Men.

THE Condition of Men eminent for Virtue, is, as this *Aphorism* excellently observes, exceeding hard and miserable; because their Errors, tho' ever so small, are not overlooked: But, as in a clear Diamond, every little grain, or speck, strikes the Eye disagreeably, tho' it would scarce be observed in a duller Stone; so in Men of eminent Virtue, their smallest Vices are readily spied, talk'd of, and severely censured; whilst in an ordinary Man, they would either have lain concealed, or been easily excused. Whence a little Folly in a very wise Man; a small Slip in a very good Man; and a little Indecency in a polite and elegant Man; greatly diminish their Characters and Reputations. It might, therefore, be no bad Policy, for Men of uncommon Excellencies, to intermix with their Actions a few Absurdities, that may be committed without Vice; in order to reserve a Liberty, and confound the Observation of little Defects.

APHORISM XII.

15. *Scornful Men ensnare a City; but wise Men prevent Calamity.*

The Capable undermined by the less capable.

IT may seem strange, that in the Description of Men, formed, as it were, by Nature, for the Destruction of States, *Solomon* should chuse the Character, not of a proud and haughty, not of a tyrannical and cruel, not of a rash and violent, not of a seditious and turbulent, not of a foolish or incapable Man; but the Character of a Scornor. Yet this choice is becoming the Wisdom of that King; who well knew how Governments were subverted, and how preserved. For there is scarce such another destructive thing to Kingdoms, and Commonwealths, as that the Counsellors, or Senators, who sit at the Helm, should be naturally Scorners; who, to shew themselves courageous Advisers, are always extenuating the greatness of Dangers; insulting, as fearful Wretches, those who weigh them as they ought; and ridiculing the ripening Delays of Counsel and Debate, as tedious Matters of Oratory, unserviceable to the general Issue of Business. They despise Rumours, as the Breath of the Rabble, and things that will soon pass over; tho' the Counsels of Princes are to be chiefly directed from hence. They account the Power and Authority of Laws, but as Nets unfit to hold great Matters. They reject, as Dreams and melancholy Notions, those Counsels and Precautions, that regard Futurity at a distance. They satyrize and banter such Men as are really prudent and knowing in Affairs; or such as bear noble Minds, and are capable of advising. In short, they sap all the Foundations of *Political Government* at once: a thing which deserves the greater

greater Attention, as 'tis not effected by open Attack, but by secret Undermining: nor is it, by any means, so much suspected among mankind as it deserves^a.

APHORISM XIII.

16. *The Prince who willingly hearkens to Lyes, has all his Servants wicked.*

WHEN a Prince is injudiciously disposed to lend a credulous Ear to
Whisperers and Flatterers; pestilent Breath seems to proceed from
him; corrupting and infecting all his Servants: and now some search into
his Fears, and increase them with fictitious Rumours; some raise up in him
the Fury of Envy, especially against the most deserving; some, by accusing
of others, wash their own Stains away; some make room for the Preferment
and Gratification of their Friends, by calumniating and traducing their
Competitors, &c. And these Agents are naturally the most vicious Servants
of the Prince. Those again, of better Principles and Dispositions, after
finding little Security in their Innocence; their Master not knowing how
to distinguish Truth from Falshood; drop their moral Honesty, go into the
eddy Winds of the Court, and servilely submit to be carried about with
them. For as *Tacitus* says of *Claudius*, *There is no safety with that Prince, into
whose Mind all things are infused and directed.* And *Comines* well observes,
that 'tis better being Servant to a Prince whose Suspicions are endless, than whose
Credulity is great.

Credulity very pernicious in Princes.

APHORISM XIV.

17. *A just Man is merciful to the Life of his Beast, but the Mercies of the Wicked are cruel.*

Nature has endowed Man with a noble and excellent Principle of Com-
passion, which extends itself even to the Brutes, that by divine Appoint-
ment are made subject to him. Whence this Compassion has some resem-
blance with that of a Prince towards his Subjects. And 'tis certain, that
the noblest Souls are most extensively merciful: For narrow and de-
generate Spirits think Compassion belongs not to them; but a great Soul,
the noblest part of the Creation, is ever compassionate. Thus under the
old Law there were numerous Precepts not merely ceremonial, as the or-
daining of Mercy, for example, the not eating of Flesh with the Blood
thereof; &c. So likewise the Sects of the *Essenes* and *Pythagoreans* totally
abstained from Flesh; as they do also to this day, with an inviolated Su-
perstition, in some parts of the Empire of *Mogul*. Nay the *Turks*, tho' a
cruel and bloody Nation, both in their Descent and Discipline, give Alms
to Brutes; and suffer them not to be tortured. But lest this Principle

Compassion to be limited.

^a The Author, perhaps, had his Eye upon publick as well as private Assemblies.

might seem to countenance all kinds of Compassion; *Solomon* wholesomely subjoins, *That the Mercies of the Wicked are cruel*; that is, when such great Offenders are spared, as ought to be cut off with the Sword of Justice. For this kind of Mercy is the greatest of all Cruelties; as Cruelty affects but particular Persons; whilst Impunity lets loose the whole Army of Evil-doers; and drives them upon the Innocent.

APHORISM XV.

18. *A Fool speaks all his Mind; but a wise Man reserves something for hereafter.*

Broken Discourse prefer'd so continued.

THIS *Aphorism* seems principally levell'd, not against the futility of light Persons, who speak what they should conceal; nor against the pertness with which they indiscriminately, and injudiciously, fly out upon Men and Things; nor against the talkative humour with which some Men disgust their hearers; but against a more latent Failing, *viz.* a very imprudent and impolitic management of Speech; when a Man in private Conversation so directs his Discourse, as, in a continued string of Words, to deliver all he can say, that any way relates to the Subject: which is a great prejudice to Business. For, (1.) Discourse interrupted and infused by parcels, enters deeper than if it were continued, and unbroke; in which case the weight of things is not distinctly and particularly felt, as having not time to fix themselves; but one Reason drives out another, before it had taken root. (2.) Again, no one is so powerful or happy in Eloquence, as at first setting out to leave the Hearer perfectly mute and silent; but he will always have something to answer, and perhaps to object, in his turn. And here it happens, that those things which were to be reserved for Confutation, or Reply, being now anticipated, lose their Strength and Beauty. (3.) Lastly, if a Person does not utter all his Mind at once, but speaks by starts, first one thing, then another, he will perceive from the Countenance and Answer of the Person spoke to, how each particular affects him; and in what Sense he takes it: and thus be directed, more cautiously, to suppress or employ the matter still in reserve.

APHORISM XVI.

19. *If the Displeasure of great Men rise up against thee, forsake not thy Place: for pliant Behaviour extenuates great Offences.*

The Method of recovering a Prince's Favour.

THIS *Aphorism* shews how a Person ought to behave, when he has incurred the Displeasure of his Prince. The Precept hath two parts, (1.) that the Person quit not his Post; and (2.) that he, with Diligence and Caution, apply to the Cure; as of a dangerous Disease. For when Men see their Prince incensed against them; what thro' Impatience of Disgrace; Fear of renewing their Wounds by fight; and partly to let their Prince behold

behold their Contrition and Humiliation; 'tis usual with them to retire from their Office or Employ; and sometimes to resign their Places and Dignities into their Prince's hands. But *Solomon* disapproves this Method, as pernicious. For, (1.) it publishes the Disgrace too much; whence both our Enemies and Enviars are more emboldened to hurt us; and our Friends the more intimidated from lending their assistance. (2.) By this means the Anger of the Prince, which perhaps would have blown over of itself, had it not been made publick, becomes more fixed; and having now begun to displace the Person, ends not but in his Downfall. (3.) This resigning carries something of Ill-will with it, and shews a dislike of the Times; which adds the Evil of Indignation to that of Suspicion. The following Remedies regard the Cure: (1.) Let him above all things beware how by any Insensibility, or Elation of Mind, he seems regardless of his Prince's Displeasure; or not affected as he ought. He should not compose his Countenance to a stubborn *Melancholly*; but to a grave and decent *Dejection*: and shew himself, in all his Actions, less brisk and chearful than usual. It may also be for his advantage to use the Assistance and Mediation of a Friend with the Prince; seasonably to insinuate, with how great a Sense of Grief the Person in disgrace is inwardly affected. (2.) Let him carefully avoid even the least occasions of reviving the thing which caused the Displeasure; or of giving any handle to fresh Distaste, and open Rebuke. (3.) Let him diligently seek all occasions wherein his service may be acceptable to his Prince; that he may both shew a ready Desire of retrieving his past Offence, and his Prince perceive what a Servant he must lose if he quit him. (4.) Either let him prudently transfer the Blame upon others; or insinuate that the Offence was committed with no ill design; or shew that their Malice, who accused him to the Prince, aggravated the thing above measure. (5.) Lastly, let him in every respect be watchful and intent upon the Cure.

APHORISM XVII.

20. *The first in his own Cause, is just: then comes the other Party, and enquires into him.*

THE first Information in any Cause, if it dwell a little with the Judge, How to conquer Prepossession in a Judge. takes root, tinges and possesses him so, as hardly to be removed again; unless some manifest Falsity be found in the matter itself; or some Artifice be discovered in delivering it. For a naked and simple Defence, tho' just and prevalent, can scarce balance the prejudice of a prior Information; or of itself reduce to an equilibrium the Scale of Justice that has once inclined. It is, therefore, safest for the Judge to hear nothing as to the Merits of a Cause, before both Parties are convened; and best for the Defendant, if he perceive the Judge prepossessed, to endeavour, as far as ever the Case will allow, principally to detect some Artifice, or Trick, made use of by the Plaintiff to abuse the Judge.

APHORISM XVIII.

21. *He who brings up his Servant delicately, shall find him stubborn in the end.*

The way of managing Subjects and Servants.

Princes and Masters are, by the Advice of *Solomon*, to observe Moderation in conferring Grace and Favour upon their Servants. This Moderation consists in three things. (1.) In promoting them gradually; not by sudden starts. (2.) In accustoming them sometimes to Denial. And, (3.) as is well observed by *Machiavel*, in letting them always have something further to hope for. And unless these particulars be observed, Princes in the end, will doubtless find from their Servants Disrespect and Obstinacy, instead of Gratitude and Duty. For from sudden Promotion arises Insolence; from a perpetual obtaining one's Desires, impatience of Denial; and if there be nothing further to wish, there's an end of Alacrity and Industry.

APHORISM XIX.

22. *A Man diligent in his Business shall stand before Kings; and not be ranked among the Vulgar.*

Dispatch, the Qualification most required by Princes.

OF all the Virtues which Kings chiefly regard and require, in the Choice of Servants, that of Expedition, and Resolution, in the dispatch of Business, is the most acceptable. Men of depth are held suspected by Princes; as inspecting them too close; and being able by their strength of Capacity, as by a Machine, to turn and wind them, against their Will, and without their Knowledge. Popular Men are hated; as standing in the light of Kings; and drawing the Eyes of the Multitude upon themselves. Men of Courage are generally esteemed turbulent, and too enterprising. Honest and just Men are accounted morose; and not compliable enough to the Will of their Masters. Lastly, there is no Virtue but has its Shade, wherewith the Minds of Kings are offended; but Dispatch alone in executing their Commands, has nothing displeasing to them. Besides, the Motions of the Minds of Kings are swift, and impatient of delay: for they think themselves able to effect any thing; and imagine that nothing more is wanting, but to have it done instantly. Whence Dispatch is to them the most grateful of all Things.

APHORISM XX.

23. *I saw all the living which walk under the Sun; with the succeeding young Prince, that shall rise up in his stead.*

The Folly of worshipping the next Heir.

THIS *Aphorism* points out the Vanity of those who flock about the next Successors of Princes. The Root of this, is the Folly naturally implanted in the Minds of Men; viz. their being too fond of their own Hopes. For scarce any one but is more delighted with Hope than with Enjoyment.

Again, Novelty is pleasing, and greedily coveted by human Nature: and these two things, *Hope* and *Novelty*, meet in the Successor of a Prince. The *Aphorism* hints the same that was formerly said by *Pompey* to *Sylla*, and again by *Tiberius* of *Macro*, that *the Sun has more Adorers rising than setting*. Yet Rulers in possession are not much affected with this, or esteem it any great matter; as neither *Sylla* nor *Tiberius* did: but rather laugh at the Levity of Men; and encounter not with Dreams: for *Hope*, as was well said, is but a waking Dream.

APHORISM XXI.

24. *There was a little City, mann'd but by a few; and a mighty King drew his Army to it, erected Bulwarks against it, and entrenched it round: now there was found within the Walls a poor wise Man, and he by his Wisdom delivered the City; but none remembered the same poor Man.*

THIS Parable describes the corrupt and malevolent Nature of Men, who in Extremities and Difficulties generally fly to the Prudent and the Courageous; tho' they before despised them: and as soon as the Storm is over, they shew Ingratitude to their Preservers. *Machiavel* had reason to put the Question, "*Which is the more ungrateful towards the well-deserving, the Prince or the People?*" tho' he accuses both of Ingratitude. The thing does not proceed wholly from the Ingratitude either of Princes or People; but it is generally attended with the Envy of the Nobility; who secretly repine at the Event, tho' happy and prosperous; because it was not procured by themselves. Whence they lessen the Merit of the Author, and bear him down.

The Reward of the more Deserving.

APHORISM XXII.

25. *The Way of the Slothful is a Hedge of Thorns.*

THIS *Aphorism* elegantly shews, that Sloth is laborious in the end. For diligent and cautious Preparation guards the foot from stumbling, and smooths the way, before 'tis trod; but he who is sluggish, and defers all things to the last Moment, must of necessity be at every step treading as upon Brambles and Thorns; which frequently detain and hinder him: and the same may be observed in the Government of a Family; where if due Care and Forethought be used, all things go on calmly, and, as it were, spontaneously, without Noise and Bustle: but if this Caution be neglected; when any great Occasion arises, numerous Matters crowd in to be done at once; the Servants are in confusion; and the House rings.

The advantage of contriving Business.

APHORISM XXIII.

26. *He who respects Persons in Judgment, does ill; and will forsake the Truth, for a piece of Bread.*

Facility of
Temper pernicious in a
Judge.

THIS *Aphorism* wisely observes, that Facility of Temper is more pernicious in a Judge than Bribery: for Bribes are not offer'd by all; but there is no Cause wherein something may not be found to sway the Mind of the Judge, if he be a Respector of Persons. Thus, one shall be respected for his Country; another for his Riches; another for being recommended by a Friend, &c. So that Iniquity must abound where Respect of Persons prevails; and Judgment be corrupted for a very trifling thing, as it were for a Moriel of Bread.

APHORISM XXIV.

27. *A poor Man, that by Extortion oppresses the Poor, is like a Land-flood that causes Famine.*

Rich Governours prefer'd
to poor ones.

THIS *Parable* was anciently painted by the Fable of the *Leech*, full and empty; for the Oppression of a poor and hungry Wretch is much more grievous than the Oppression of one who is rich and full; as he searches into all the Corners and Arts of Exaction, and Ways of raising Contributions. The thing has been also usually resembled to a Sponge; which sucks strongly when dry, but less when moist. And it contains an useful Admonition to Princes, that they commit not the Government of Provinces, or Places of Power, to indigent Men, or such as are in debt; and again to the People, that they permit not their Kings to struggle with Want.

APHORISM XXV.

28. *A just Man falling before the Wicked, is a troubled Fountain, and a corrupted Spring.*

Unjust and
publick Sentences worse
than private
Injuries.

THIS is a Caution to States, that they should have a Capital Regard to the passing an unjust or infamous Sentence, in any great and weighty Cause; where not only the Guilty is acquitted, but the Innocent condemned. To countenance private Injuries, indeed disturbs and pollutes the clear Streams of Justice, as it were, in the Brook; but unjust and great publick Sentences, which are afterwards drawn into Precedents, infect and defile the very Fountain of Justice. For when once the Court goes on the side of Injustice; the Law becomes a publick Robber, and one Man really a Wolf to another.

APHORISM

APHORISM XXVI.

29. *Contract no Friendship with an angry Man; nor walk with a furious one.*

THE more religiously the Laws of Friendship are to be observed amongst good Men, the more Caution should be used in making a prudent Choice of Friends. The Nature and Humour of Friends, so far as concerns ourselves alone, should be absolutely tolerated; but when they lay us under a Necessity, as to the Character we should put on towards others; this becomes an exceeding hard and unreasonable Condition of Friendship. 'Tis therefore of great moment to the Peace and Security of Life, according to the direction of *Solomon*, to have no Friendship with passionate Men; and such as easily stir up or enter into Debates and Quarrels. For such Friends will be perpetually entangling us in Strifes and Contentions; so that we must either break off with them, or have no regard to our own safety.

The Caution required in contracting Friendships.

APHORISM XXVII.

30. *He who conceals a Fault, seeks Friendship; but he who repeats a Matter, separates Friends.*

THERE are two ways of composing Differences, and reconciling the Minds of Men; the one beginning with Oblivion and Forgiveness; the other with a Recollection of the Injuries; interweaving it with Apologies and Excuses. I remember it the Opinion of a very wise Politician, "That he who treats of Peace without repeating the Conditions of the Difference, rather deceives the Mind with the sweetness of Reconciliation, than equitably makes up the Matter." But *Solomon*, a still wiser Man, is of a contrary Opinion; and approves of forgetting; but forbids a repetition of the Difference, as being attended with these Inconveniencies: (1.) that it rakes into the old Sore; (2.) that it may cause a new Difference; (3.) and lastly, that it brings the Matter to end in Excuses: Whereas both sides had rather seem to forgive the Injury, than allow of an Excuse.

The way of procuring Reconciliation.

APHORISM XXVIII.

31. *In every good Work, is Plenty; but where Words abound, there is commonly a Want.*

Solomon here distinguishes the Fruit of the Labour of the Tongue, and that of the Labour of the Hand; as if from the one came Want, and from the other Abundance. For, it almost constantly happens, that they who speak much, boast much, and promise largely, are but barren; and receive no Fruit from the things they talk of: being seldom indu-

The difference betwixt an effective and a verbose Person.

industrious or diligent in Works, but feed and satisfy themselves with Discourse alone, as with Wind : whilst, as the Poet intimates, He who is conscious to himself, that he can really effect, feels the Satisfaction inwardly, and keeps silent ^a : whereas, he who knows he grasps nothing but empty Air, is full of Talk and strange Stories.

APHORISM XXIX.

32. *Open Reproof is better than secret Affection.*

*The Reproof
due to Friends.*

THIS *Aphorism* reprehends the Indulgence of those who use not the Privilege of Friendship, freely and boldly to admonish their Friends, as well of their Errors as their Dangers. “ What shall I do? says an easy good-natured Friend, or what course shall I take? I love him as well as Man can do ; and would willingly suffer any Misfortune in his stead : but I know his Nature ; if I deal freely with him, I shall offend him : at least chagreen him ; and yet do him no Service. Nay, I shall sooner alienate his Friendship from me, than win him over from those things he has fixed his Mind upon.” Such an effeminate and useless Friend as this, *Solomon* reprehends ; and pronounces, that greater advantage may be received from an open Enemy : as a Man may chance to hear those things from an Enemy, by way of reproach ; which a Friend, thro’ too much Indulgence, will not speak out.

APHORISM XXX.

33. *A prudent Man looks well to his Steps ; but a Fool turns aside to Deceit.*

*That Honesty
is true Policy.*

THERE are two kinds of Prudence ; the one true and sound ; the other degenerate and false : the latter *Solomon* calls by the Name of Folly. The Candidate for the former has an eye to his Footings, looking out for Dangers, contriving Remedies, and by the Assistance of good Men defending himself against the bad : he is wary in entering upon Business, and not unprovided of a Retreat ; watchful for Opportunities ; powerful against Opposition, &c. But the Follower of the other is wholly patch’d up of Fallacy and Cunning ; placing all his hope in the circumventing of others, and forming them to his fancy. And this the *Aphorism* justly rejects, as a vicious, and even a weak kind of Prudence. For, (1.) ’Tis by no means a thing in our own power ; nor depending upon any constant Rule : but is daily inventing of new Stratagems, as the old ones fail and grow useless. (2.) He who has once the Character of a crafty, tricking Man, is entirely deprived of a principal Instrument of business, *Trust* ; whence he will find nothing succeed to his wish. Lastly, however specious and pleasing these Arts may seem, yet they are often frustrated ; as was well observed by *Tacitus*, when he said, that *crafty and bold Counsels, tho’ pleasant in the Expectation, are hard to execute ; and unhappy in the Event.*

APHORISM

^a *Qui silet est Firmus.*

APHORISM XXXI.

34. *Be not over-righteous, nor make thyself over-wise; for why shouldst thou suddenly be taken off?*

THERE are times, says Tacitus, wherein great Virtues meet with certain The danger of great Virtue in bad Times. Ruin. And this happens to Men, eminent for Virtue and Justice, sometimes suddenly; and sometimes after it was long foreseen. But if Prudence be also joined, so as to make such Men cautious, and watchful of their own safety; then they gain thus much, that their Ruin shall come suddenly; and entirely from secret and dark Councils: whence they may escape Envy, and meet Destruction unexpected. But for that over-righteousness expressed in the *Aphorism*; 'tis not understood of Virtue itself, in which there is no Excess, but of a vain and invidious Affectation, and Shew thereof; like what Tacitus intimates of *Lepidus*; making it a kind of Miracle, that he never gave any servile Opinion, and yet stood safe in severe times.

APHORISM XXXII.

35. *Give occasion to a wise Man, and his Wisdom will be increased.*

THIS *Aphorism* distinguishes between that Wisdom which has grown up and ripened into a true Habit, and that which only floats in the Brain; or is tost upon the Tongue, without having taken root. The former, when occasion offers, is presently roused, got ready, and distended, so as to appear greater than itself; whereas the latter, which was pert before, stands amazed and confounded, when occasion calls for it: so that the Person, who thought himself endowed with this Wisdom, begins to question whether his Præconceptions about it, were not meer Dreams, and empty Speculations. The difference betwixt shallow and sound Knowledge.

APHORISM XXXIII.

36. *To praise one's Friend aloud, rising early, has the same effect as cursing him.*

MODERATE and seasonable Praises, dropt occasionally, are of great service to the Reputation and Fortunes of Men; whilst immoderate, noisy and fulsome Praises, do no good, but rather hurt, as the *Aphorism* expresses it. For (1.) they plainly betray themselves to proceed from an excess of goodwill; or to be purposely designed, rather to gain Favour with the Person, by false Encomiums, than to paint him justly. (2.) Sparing and modest Praises generally invite the Company somewhat to improve them; but The Conduct to be observed in Praise.

profuse and immoderate ones, to detract, and take off from them (3.) The principal thing is, that immoderate Praises procure envy to the Person praised; as all extravagant Commendations seem to reproach others that may be no less deserving.

APHORISM XXXIV.

37. *As the Face shines in Water, so are Mens Hearts manifest to the Wife.*

The advantage of Knowledge.

THIS *Aphorism* distinguishes between the Minds of prudent Men, and those of others; by comparing the former to Water, or a Mirror, which receives the forms and images of things; whilst the latter are like Earth, or unpolished Stone, which reflects Nothing. And the Mind of a prudent Man is the more aptly compared to a Glass, because therein one's own Image may, at the same time, be viewed along with those of others; which could not be done by the Eye, without assistance: but if the Mind of a prudent Man be so capacious, as to observe and distinguish an infinite diversity of Natures and Manners in Men; it remains, that we endeavour to render it as various in the Application as 'tis in the Representation^a.

Farther Directions about the Method of treating this Subject.

38. And so much by way of Example of the *Doctrine of various Occasions*. For thus, it was not only usual among the Jews, but very common also among the wise Men of other ancient Nations, when they had, by observation, hit upon any thing useful in common Life, to reduce and contract it into some short Sentence, Parable, or Fable. Fables anciently supplied the defect of Examples; but now that times abound with variety of Histories, 'tis better, and more enlivening, to draw from real Life. But the method of writing best suited to so various and intricate a Subject, as the *different Occasions of Civil Business*, is that which *Machiavel* chose for treating Politicks; viz. by Observation, or Discourse, upon Histories and Examples. For the Knowledge which is newly drawn, and, as it were, under our own Eye, from Particulars, best finds the way to Particulars again. And doubtless, 'tis much more conducive to Practice, that the Discourse follow the Example, than that the Example follow the Discourse. And this regards not only the Order, but the Thing itself; for when an Example is proposed as the Basis of a Discourse, 'tis usually proposed with its whole Apparatus of Circumstances; which may sometimes correct and supply it; whence it becomes as a Model for Imitation and Practice: whilst Examples, produced for the sake of the Treatise, are but succinctly and nakedly quoted; and, as Slaves, wholly attend the Call of the Discourse.

The most commodious Method for the purpose.

39. 'Tis worth while to observe this difference; that as the Histories of Times afford the best matter for Discourses upon Politicks, such as those

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of

^a *Qui sapit, innumeris Moribus aptus erit.*

of *Machiavel*^a; so the Histories of Lives are most advantageously used for instructions of Business: because they contain all the possible variety of Occasions and Affairs, as well great as small. Yet a more commodious Foundation may be had for the Precepts of Business, than either of these Histories; and that is, the discoursing upon prudent and serious Epistles, such as those of *Cicero to Atticus*, &c. For Epistles represent Business nearer and more to the Life, than either Annals or Lives^b. And thus we have treated of the Matter and Form of the first part of the *Doctrine of Business*, which regards *Variety of Occasions*; and place it among the *Desiderata*^c.

S E C T. XXV.

Of SELF-POLICY; or the DOCTRINE of RISING IN LIFE.

I. 1. **T**HERE is another part of the DOCTRINE OF BUSINESS, differing as much from the former, as the *being wise in the general*, and *being wise for one's self*. The one seems to move, as from the Centre to the Circumference; and the other as from the Circumference to the Centre. For there is a certain Prudence of *giving Counsel to others*; and another of *looking to one's own Affairs*: both these indeed are sometimes found united, but ofteneft separate. As many are prudent in the Management of their own private Concerns; and weak in publick Administration, or the giving Advice: like the Ant, which is a wise Creature for itself, but pernicious in a Garden. This Virtue of *Self-Wisdom* was not unknown even to the *Romans*, those great Lovers of their Country: Whence says the Comedian, *the wise Man forms his own Fortune*^d; and they had it proverbial amongst them, *Every Man's Fortune lies in his own hand*^e. So *Livy* gives this Character of the elder *Cato*, “*Such was his Force of Mind and Genius, that where-ever he had been born, he seem'd formed for making his own Fortune.*”

2. But if any one publickly profess'd, or made open show of this kind of Prudence, 'twas always accounted, not only impolitick, but ominous and unfortunate; as was observed of *Timotheus the Athenian*, who after having

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performed

^a Especially his *Princeps*, with the Notes of *Conringius*, Ed. 1660.

^b See above of HISTORY, Sect. I. 36.

^c The Author's Essays, or *Sermones Fideles*, being short Discourses upon a variety of Moral, Political, and Oeconomical Subjects, may be esteemed a farther Attempt to supply this Deficiency in the Doctrine of *Various Occasions*. See SUPPLEMENT XI. to this Piece de *Augmentis Scientiarum*.

^d Nam pol sapiens fingit fortunam sibi.

^e Faber quisque fortuna propria.

performed many great Exploits, for the honour and advantage of his Country, and giving an account of his Conduct to the People, as the manner then was, he concluded the several Particulars thus; “*And here Fortune had no share:*” after which time, nothing ever succeeded in his hands. This was, indeed, too arrogant and haughty, like that of *Pharaoh* in *Ezekiel*; “*Thou sayest the River is mine, and I made myself;*” or that of *Habakkuck*, “*They rejoice, and sacrifice to their Net;*” or again, that of *Mezentius*, who called his *Hand and Javelin his God*^a; or lastly, that of *Julius Cæsar*, the only time that we find him betraying his inward Sentiments: for when the *Aruspex* related to him, that the *Entrails* were not prosperous, he mutter’d softly, “*They shall be better when I please;*” which was said not long before his unfortunate Death. And indeed this excessive confidence, as it is a profane thing; so it is always unhappy. Whence great, and truly wise Men think proper to attribute all their Successes to their Felicity; and not to their Virtue and Industry. So *Sylla* styled himself *happy*, not *great*; and *Cæsar*, at another time, more advisedly, said to the Pilot, “*Thou carriest Cæsar and his Fortune.*”

The Doctrine
of rising in
Life deficient.

3. But these Expressions, “*Every one’s Fortune is in his own hand; A wise Man shall controul the Stars; Every way is passable to Virtue, &c.*” if understood, and used, rather as Spurs to Industry, than as Stirrups to Insolence; and rather to beget in Men a Constancy and Firmness of Resolution, than Arrogance and Ostentation; they are deservedly esteemed sound and wholesome. And hence, doubtless, it is, that they find reception in the Breasts of great Men; and make it sometimes difficult for them to dissemble their Thoughts. So we find *Augustus Cæsar*, who was rather different from, than inferior to his Uncle, tho’ doubtless a more moderate Man, required his Friends, as they stood about his Death-bed, to give him their Applause at his Exit; as if conscious to himself, that he had acted his part well upon the Stage of Life. And this part of Doctrine also is to be reckoned as *deficient*: not but that it has been much used and beaten in Practice; tho’ not taken notice of in Books. Wherefore, according to our Custom, we shall here set down some Heads upon the Subject; under the Title of the SELF-POLITICIAN, or the ART of RISING IN LIFE.

An Example
of the way to
supply it.

4. It may seem a new and odd kind of thing, to teach Men how to make their Fortunes. A Doctrine which every one would gladly learn, before he finds the Difficulties of it. For the things required to procure Fortune, are not fewer or less difficult than those to procure Virtue. It is as rigid and hard a thing to become a true *Politician*, as a true *Moralist*. Yet the treating of this Subject nearly concerns the Credit, and Merit, of Learning. ’Tis of great importance to the Honour of Learning, that Men of Business should know, Erudition is not like a Lark, which flies high, and delights in nothing but singing; but that ’tis rather like a Hawk, which soars aloft indeed, but can stoop when she finds it convenient, and seize her Prey. Again, this also regards the Perfection of Learning; for the true Rule of a perfect

^a *Dextra mihi Deus, & Telum, quod missile libro,
Nunc adiunt*——

perfect Enquiry, is, that *nothing can be found in the material Globe which has not its correspondent in the Crystalline Globe, the Understanding*; or, that there is Nothing found in *Practise*, which has not *its particular Doctrine and Theory*^a. But Learning esteems the Building of a *private Fortune*, as a Work of an inferior kind. For no Man's *private Fortune* can be an End any way worthy of his Existence. Nay, it frequently happens, that Men of eminent Virtues renounce their Fortune, to pursue the Things of a sublimer Nature. Yet even *private Fortune*, as it is the instrument of Virtue, and doing good, is a *particular Doctrine*, worthy of Consideration.

II. 5. This *Doctrine* has its *Precepts*, some whereof are *summary or collective*, and others *scattered and various*. The *collective Precepts* are founded in a *just Knowledge*, (1.) of *ourselves*, and (2.) of *others*. Let this, therefore, be the first, whereon the Knowledge of the rest principally turns; *that we procure to ourselves, as far as possible, the Window once required by Momus*: who seeing so many Corners and Recesses in the Structure of the human Heart, found fault that it should want a Window; thro' which those dark and crooked turnings might be viewed. This Window may be procured by diligently informing ourselves of the particular Persons we have to deal with; their Tempers, Desires, Views, Customs, Habits; the Assurances, Helps, and Assurances, whereon they principally rely, and whence they receive their Power; their Defects and Weaknesses, whereat they chiefly lie open, and are accessible; their Friends, Factions, Patrons, Dependants, Enemies, Enviars, Rivals; their Times, and Manner of Access; their Principles, and the Rules they prescribe themselves, &c. But our Information should not wholly rest in the *Persons*, but also extend to the *particular Actions*, which from time to time come upon the Anvil; how they are conducted; with what Success; by whose Assistance promoted; by whom opposed; of what Weight and Moment they are; what their Consequences, &c. For a *Knowledge of present Actions*, is not only very advantageous in itself; but without it the *Knowledge of Persons* will be very fallacious and uncertain. For Men change along with their Actions; and are one thing whilst entangled and surrounded with Business; and another when they return to themselves. And these particular *Informations* with regard to *Persons*, as well as *Actions*, are like the minor Propositions in every active Syllogism: for no Truth, nor excellence of Observations, or Axioms, whence the *major political Propositions* are formed, can give a firm Conclusion, if there be an Error in the *minor Proposition*. And that such a kind of Knowledge is procurable, *Solomon* assures us; who says, that "*Counsel in the Heart of Man is like a deep Water; but a wise Man will draw it out*:" for altho' the Knowledge itself does not fall under *Precept*, because it regards Individuals; yet Instructions may be given, of use for fetching it out.

Collective Precepts, viz. the Information to be procured first of others, next of our selves.

6. Men may be known six different ways; *viz.* (1.) by their *Countenance*, (2.) their *Words*, (3.) their *Actions*, (4.) their *Tempers*, (5.) their *Ends*, and (6.) by the *Relation* of others. (1.) As to the *Countenance*, there is no great matter

Six ways of knowing Men. (1.) by the Countenance.

^b This is more fully explained and illustrated in the *Novum Organum*, where *Theory* and *Practise* are treated together, as constituting one inseparable *Doctrine*.

matter in that old Proverb, *Fronti nulla fides*: for altho' this may be said, with some truth, of the external and general Composure of the Countenance and Gesture; yet there lie concealed certain more subtle Motions, and Actions of the Eyes, Face, Looks and Behaviour; by which the Gate, as it were, of the Mind, is unlocked and thrown open. Who was more close than *Tiberius*? yet *Tacitus*, on several occasions, observes a Difference betwixt his Speech, and his inward Sentiments. And indeed 'tis hard to find so great, and masterly a Dissembler; or a Countenance, so well broke and commanded, as to carry on an artful and counterfeit Discourse, without some way or other betraying it.

(2.) *By Words.* 7. (2.) The *Words* of Men are full of Deceit: but this is well detected *two ways*; viz. either when Words are spoke on the *sudden*, or in *passion*. So *Tiberius* being suddenly surprized, and hurry'd beyond himself, with a stinging Speech from *Agrippina*, went a step out of his natural Dissimulation. For, says *Tacitus*, she thus drew an uncommon Expression from his secret Breast; and he rebuked her as being offended, because she did not rule. Whence the Poet, not unjustly calls these Perturbations, *Tortures*; Mankind being compell'd by them to betray their own Secrets^a. And Experience shews, that there are very few so true to their own Secrets, and of so close a temper, as not sometimes, thro' Anger, Ostentation, Love to a Friend, Impotence of Mind, or some other Affection, to reveal their inward Thoughts. But nothing searches all the Corners of the Mind so much, as *Dissimulation practis'd against Dissimulation*, according to the *Spanish* Proverb; *tell a Lye, and find a Truth*^b.

(3.) *By Facts.* 8. (3.) Even *Facts* themselves, tho' the surest Pledges of the human Mind, are not altogether to be trusted; unless first attentively view'd and consider'd, as to their Magnitude and Propriety. For 'tis certain, that Deceit gets itself a credit in small things, that it may practise to more advantage in larger. And the *Italian* thinks himself upon the Cross with the Cryer, or put up to sale, when, without manifest cause, he is treated better than usual. For small Favours lull Mankind, and disarm them both of Caution and Industry; whence they are properly call'd by *Demosthenes*, the *Baits of Sloth*. Again, we may clearly see the crafty and ambiguous nature of some Actions, which pass for Benefits, from that Trick practis'd by *Mucianus* upon *Antony*: for after a pretended Reconciliation, he most treacherously advanced many of *Antony's* Friends to *Lieutenancies, Tribuneships, &c.* and, by this Cunning, entirely disarm'd and defeated him, thus winning over *Antony's* Friends to himself^c.

(4.) *By sifting of Tempers;* and (5.) *discovers the Designs of Ends.* 9. But the surest Key for unlocking the Minds of others, turns upon searching and sifting, either their *Tempers* and *Natures*, or their *Ends* and *Designs*: and the more weak and simple, are best judged by their *Temper*; but the more prudent and close, by their *Designs*. It was prudently and wittily, tho', in my judgment, not substantially, advised by the Pope's *Nuncio*, as to the choice of another to succeed him, in his residence at a foreign Court; that

^a ———— *Vino tortus & ira.*

^b See the Author's *Essay upon Simulation and Dissimulation*, SUPPLEMENT XI.

^c See *Tacitus Histor.* Lib. IV. cap. 39.

that they should by no means send one remarkably, but rather tolerably wise; because a Man wiser than ordinary, could never imagine what the People of that Nation were likely to do. 'Tis, doubtless, a common Error, particularly in prudent Men, to measure others by the Model of their own Capacity. Whence they frequently over-shoot the Mark; by supposing that Men project and form greater things to themselves, and practise more subtil Arts, than ever enter'd their Minds. This is elegantly intimated by the *Italian Proverb*: *There is always less Money, less Wisdom, and less Honesty, than People imagine.* And therefore, in Men of small Capacities, who commit many Absurdities; a Conjecture must rather be form'd from the Propensity of their Nature, than from their Ends in view. Whence Princes also, tho' for a quite different reason, are best judged by their Tempers; as private Persons are by their Ends. For Princes, who are at the top of human Desires, have seldom any Ends to aspire after, with Ardor and Perseverance; by the Situation and Distance whereof, a Direction and Measure might be taken of their other Actions. And this, among others, is a principal reason why their *Hearis*, as the Scripture declares, are *unsearchable*. But every private Man is like a Traveller, who proceeds intently to the End of his Journey, where he sets up. Hence one may tolerably conjecture what a private Man will, or will not do; for if a thing be conducive to his Ends, 'tis probable he will do it; and *vice versa*. And this Information, from the diversity of the *Ends* and *Natures* of Men, may be taken comparatively, as well as simply; so as to discover what Humour or Disposition over-rules the rest. Thus *Tigellinus*, when he found himself outdone by *Turpilianus*, in administering and suggesting to *Nero's* Pleasures, search'd, as *Tacitus* says, into the Fears of *Nero*; and by this means got rid of his Rival^a.

10. As for that second-hand Knowledge of Mens Minds, which is had (6.) *By the Relation of others.* from the relation of others; it will be sufficient to observe of it, that *De-fects* and *Vices* are best learnt from Enemies; *Virtues* and *Abilities*, from *Friends*; *Manners* and *Times*, from *Servants*; and *Opinions* and *Thoughts*, from *intimate Acquaintance*: for popular Fame is light; and the Judgment of Superiors uncertain; before whom Men walk more masked, and secret. The truest Character comes from *Domesticks*.

11. But the shortest way to this whole Enquiry, rests upon three Particulars; *viz.* (1.) in procuring numerous Friendships, with such as have an extensive and general Knowledge, both of Men and Things; or, at least, in securing a Set of particular Friends, who, according to the diversity of Occasions, may be always ready to give a solid Information upon any point that shall turn up. (2.) In observing a prudent Mean, and Moderation, between the freedom of Discourse and Silence; using *Frankness* of Speech most frequently: but when the thing requires it, *Taciturnity*. For openness of Speech invites and excites others to use the same towards ourselves; which brings many things to our knowledge: whilst *Taciturnity* procures Trust, and makes Men willing to deposite their Secrets with us, as in their own Bosom. (3.) In gradually acquiring such a *Habit*, of Watchfulness and Intentness

A summary Reduction of the six preceding Rules.

^a See *Tacitus Annal.* Lib. XVI. Cap. 18, 19.

tentness in all Discourse and Action, as at once to promote the business in hand; yet take notice of incidental matters. For, as *Epietetus* would have a Philosopher say to himself, in every Action, “*I will do this, yet keep to my Rule.*” so a Politician should resolve with himself in every Business, “*I will drive this Point; and yet learn somewhat of future use.*” And therefore such Tempers as are wholly intent upon a present Business, without at all regarding what may intervene, which *Montaign* acknowledges was his own Defect, make excellent Ministers of State; but fail in advancing their private Fortunes. A principal Caution must also be had, to restrain the Impetuosity, and too great Alacrity of the Mind; lest much Knowledge should drive us on to meddle in many Matters: for nothing is more unfortunate and rash, than such a Procedure. Therefore, the variety of Knowledge, to be here procured of Men and Things, comes but to this; that we make a judicious Choice both of the Matters we undertake, and of the Persons whose Assistance we use; that we may thence know how to manage and dispose all things with the greater Dexterity and Safety.

The Knowledge to be procured of ourselves by Self-Examination.

III. 12. Next to the Knowledge of others, comes the *Knowledge of ourselves*: and it requires no less diligence, but rather more, to get a true and exact Information of ourselves, than of others. For that Oracle, *Know thy self*, is not only a Rule of general Prudence; but has also a principal place in *Politicks*. And *St. James* excellently observes of Mankind, that “*he who views his Face in a Glass, instantly forgets his Features.*” Whence we had need be often looking. And this also holds in *Politicks*. But there is a difference in Glasses: The *divine one*, wherein we are to behold ourselves, is the *Word of God*; but the *political Glass* is no other, than the *State of Things and Times wherein we live*. A Man, therefore, must make a thorough Examination, not partially like a Self-Lover, into his own Faculties, Powers, and Abilities; and again, into his Defects, Inabilities, and Obstacles: summing up the account, so as to make the latter constantly appear greater, and the former rather less than they are. And upon such an Examination, the following Particulars may come to be consider’d.

(1.) Whether the Temper suits the Times.

13. Let the *first Particular* be, *how far a Man’s Manners and Temper suit with the Times*: for if they agree in all respects, he may act more freely, and at large, and follow the bent of his Genius; but if there be any Contrariety, then he must walk more cautiously and covertly in the whole Scene of his Life; and appear less in publick: as *Tiberius* did; who, being conscious that his Temper suited not with the Age, never frequented the publick Shews; and for the last twelve Years of his Life, came not to the Senate. Whereas, *Augustus* lived continually in open sight.

(2.) Whether the reputable kinds of Life are agreeable.

14. Let the *second Consideration* be, *how a Man can relish the Professions, or Kinds of Life in use, and repute*; out of which he is to make a choice: so that if his Profession be not already enter’d upon, he may take that which is most suitable to his Genius: But if he be already got into a kind of Life, for which he is unfit; that he may, upon the first opportunity, quit it, and take to another. As *Valentine Borgia* did; who being educated by
his

his Father for the Priesthood, afterwards renounced it, follow'd his own Inclination, and appear'd in a military Character.

15. Let a *third Consideration* be, *how a Man stands, compared with his Equals and Rivals*, who may also probably be his Competitors in his Fortune; and let him hold that Course of Life, in which there is the greatest want of eminent Men, and wherein 'tis most likely that himself may rise the highest: as *Cæsar* did; who was first an Orator, a Pleader, and scarce any thing more than a Gown-man: but when he found that *Cicero*, *Hortensius*, and *Catulus* bore away the Prize of Eloquence; and that none had greatly signaliz'd themselves in War, except *Pompey*, he quitted the Gown; and taking a long farewell of Civil Power, went over to the Arts of the General and the Emperor; whereby he rose to the top Pinnacle of Sovereignty.

16. Let the *fourth Consideration* be, *to regard one's own Nature and Temper, in the choice of Friends and Dependants*. For different Men require different kinds of Friends: some, those that are grave and secret: others, such as are bold and ostentatious, &c. 'Tis worth observing, of what kind the Friends of *Julius Cæsar* were; viz. *Antony*, *Hirtius*, *Balbus*, *Dolabella*, *Pollio*, &c. who usually swore to *die, that he might live*^a; thereby expressing an infinite Affection for *Cæsar*, but an Arrogance and Contempt towards every body else. And they were all Men diligent in Business; but of no great Fame and Reputation.

17. Let a *fifth Consideration* be, *to beware of Examples, and not fondly square one's self to the Imitation of others*; as if what was atchieved by them, must needs be atchieved by us; without considering the difference there may be between our own Disposition and Manners, compared with theirs we propose to imitate. *Pompey* manifestly fell into this Error; who, as *Cicero* writes of him, had these Words often in his Mouth; *Sylla could do this; why shall not I?* In which particular, he greatly impos'd upon himself: For *Sylla's* Temper and Method of acting, differ'd infinitely from his; the one's being fierce, violent, and pressing to the end; the other's compos'd, mindful of the Laws, and directing all to Majesty, and Reputation: whence he was greatly curb'd, and restrain'd, in executing his Designs. And these Considerations may serve as a Specimen of the rest.

18. But 'tis not enough for a Man to know himself; he must also consider how he may most commodiously and prudently, (1.) *shew*, (2.) *express*, (3.) *wind and fashion* himself. (1.) As for *shew*; we see nothing more frequent in Life, than for the less capable Man to make the greater figure. 'Tis therefore no small excellence of *Prudence*, by means of a certain Art, and Grace, to represent one's best side to others; by setting out our own Virtues, Merits, and Fortune, to advantage; which may be done, without Arrogance, or rendring one's self disagreeable: And, on the other side, artificially concealing our Vices, Defects, Misfortunes, and Disgraces; dwelling upon the former, and turning them, as it were, to the light; but pal-

^a *Ita vivente Cæsare moriar.*

liating the latter; or effacing them by a well-adapted Construction, or Interpretation, &c. Hence *Tacitus* says of *Mucianus*, the most prudent Man of his Time; and the most indefatigable in Business; that “*he had an Art of showing the fair side of whatever he spoke or acted*.” And certainly it requires some Art, to prevent this Conduct from becoming fullsome, and despicable: yet Ostentation, tho’ to the first degree of Vanity, is a Fault in *Etbicks*, rather than in *Politicks*. For as ’tis usually said of Calumny, that if laid on boldly, some of it will stick: so it may be said of Ostentation, unless perfectly monstrous and ridiculous; “*paint yourself strongly, and some of it will last*.” Doubtless it will dwell with the Croud, tho’ the wiser sort smile at it; so that the Reputation procured with the number, will abundantly reward the Contempt of a few. But if this Ostentation be managed with Decency, and Discretion, it may greatly contribute to raise a Man’s Reputation; as particularly, if it carry the appearance of native Candour and Ingenuity; or be used in times surrounded with Dangers, as among the military Men in time of war, &c. Or again, if our own Praises are let fall, at it were by accident; and be not too seriously or largely insisted on; or if any one, in praising himself, at the same time mixes it with Censure and Ridicule; or lastly, if he does it not spontaneously, but is provoked to it by the Insolence and Reproach of others. And there are many who, being by Nature solid, and consequently wanting in this Art of spreading Canvas to their own honour, find themselves punished for their Modesty, with some diminution of their Dignity.

Keep up the
Esteem of Vir-
tue.

19. But, however Persons of weak Judgment, or too rigid Morals, may disallow this *Ostentation of Virtue*; no one will deny, that we should endeavour to keep *Virtue from being undervalued thro’ our neglect*; and less esteem’d than it deserves. This Diminution, in the Esteem of *Virtue*, happens three ways; viz. (1.) when a Person presents, and thrusts himself, and his Service into a Business unasked: for such Services are thought insufficiently rewarded by accepting them. (2.) When a Man, at the beginning of a Business, overexerts himself, and performs that all at once, which should have been done gradually: tho’ this, indeed, gains early Commendation, where Affairs succeed; but in the end it produces Satiety. (3.) When a Man is too quick, and light, in receiving the Fruit of his *Virtue*, in Praise, Applause, and Favour; and pleases himself therewith: against which, there is this prudent Admonition; “*beware lest thou seem unaccustom’d to great things, if such small ones delight thee*.”

And conceal
his own De-
fects.

20. A diligent *Concealment of Defects*, is no less important, than a prudent and artful Manifestation of *Virtues*. *Defects* are principally conceal’d and cover’d under three Cloaks, viz. (1.) *Caution*, (2.) *Pretext*, and (3.) *Affurance*. (1.) We call that *Caution*, when a Man prudently keeps from meddling in Matters, to which he is unequal; whilst, on the other hand, daring and restless Spirits are injudiciously busying themselves in things they are not acquainted with; and thereby publish and proclaim their own Defects. (2.) We call that *Pretext*, when a Man, with Sagacity, and Prudence,

paves.

³ See *Tacit. Histor. Lib. II. Cap. 80.*

paves and prepares himself a way, for securing a favourable and commodious Interpretation of his *Vices* and *Defects*; as proceeding from different Principles, or having a different Tendency, than is generally thought. For as to the *Concealment of Vices*; the Poet said well, *that Vice often skulks in the Verge of Virtue*^a. Therefore, when we find any *Defect* in ourselves, we must endeavour to borrow the Figure and *Pretext* of the neighbouring Virtue for a Shelter: thus the *Pretext* of *Dulness* is Gravity, that of *Indolence*, Considerateness, &c. And 'tis of service to give out some probable Reason for not exerting our utmost Strength; and to make a *Necessity* appear a *Virtue*. (3.) *Assurance*, indeed, is a daring, but a very certain and effectual Remedy; whereby a Man professes himself absolutely to slight, and despise those things he could not obtain; like crafty Merchants, who usually raise the Price of their own Commodities, and sink the Price of other Mens. Tho' there is another kind of *Assurance*, more impudent than this, by which a Man brazens out his own *Defects*, and forces them upon others for *Excellencies*; and the better to secure this end, he will feign a distrust of himself, in those things wherein he really excels: like Poets, who, if you except to any particular Verse in their Composition, will presently tell you, *that single Line cost them more pains than all the rest*; and then produce you another, as suspected by themselves, for your Opinion; whilst, of all the number, they know it to be the best, and least liable to Exception. But above all, nothing conduces more to the well-representing a Man's self, and securing his own Right, than not to disfarm one's self by too much *Sweetness*, and *Good-nature*; which exposes a Man to Injuries, and Reproaches; but rather, in all cases, at times, to dart out some Sparks of a free and generous Mind, that have no less of the Sting than the Honey. This guarded Behaviour, attended with a ready Disposition to vindicate themselves, some Men have from Accident and Necessity, by means of somewhat inherent in their Person or Fortune; as we find in the Deformed, Illegitimate, and Disgraced; who, if they do not want Virtue, generally prove fortunate.

21. (2.) The *expressing*, or *declaring of a Man's self*, is a very different thing from the *showing himself*; as not relating to Virtue, but to the particular Actions of Life. And here nothing is more politick, than to observe a prudent or sound Moderation, or Medium, in disclosing or concealing one's Mind, as to particular Actions. For tho' profound Silence, the hiding of Counsels, and managing all things by blind and deaf Artifice, is an useful and extraordinary thing; yet, it often happens, that Dissimulation produces Errors, which prove Snares. And we see, that the Men of greatest repute for Politicks, scruple not openly, and generously, to declare their Ends, without Dissimulation: thus *Sylla* openly declared, *he wissh'd all Mortals happy, or unhappy, as they were his Friends, or Enemies*. So *Caesar*, upon his first Expedition into Gaul, profess'd *he had rather be the first Man in an obscure Village, than the second at Rome*. And when the War was begun, he proved no Dissembler; if *Cicero* says truly of him, *that he did not refuse; but, in a manner, required to be called Tyrant, as he was*. So we find, in an

^a *Sapienter vitium proximitate boni.*

Epistle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, how little of a Dissembler *Augustus* was; who, at his first entrance upon Affairs, whilst he remain'd the Delight of the Senate, us'd to swear in this form, when he harangued the People; *ita Parentis Honores consequi liceat*: which was no less than Tyranny itself. 'Tis true, to save the matter a little, he would at those times stretch his Hand towards the Statue of *Julius Cæsar*, erected in the place; whilst the Audience smiled, applauded, admired, and cried out among themselves, *What does the Youth mean?* &c. but never suspected him of any ill Design, who thus candidly and ingenuously spoke his mind. And yet all these we have named, were prosperous Men. *Pompey*, on the other hand, who endeavour'd at the same Ends, by more dark and concealed Methods, wholly bent himself, by numberless Stratagems, to cover his Desires and Ambition; whilst he brought the State to Confusion; that it might then of necessity submit to him, and he thus procure the Sovereignty, to appearance against his will. And when he thought he had gain'd his Point, as being made *sole Consul*, which no one ever was before him, he found himself never the nearer; because those who would, doubtless, have assisted him, understood not his Intentions: so that at length he was obliged to go in the beaten Path; and under pretence of opposing *Cæsar*, procur'd himself Arms, and an Army: so slow, casual, and generally unsuccessful, are the Counsels cover'd with Dissimulation! And *Tacitus* seems to have had the same Sentiment, when he makes the *Artifice of Dissimulation* an inferior Prudence, compared with *Policy*; attributing the former to *Tiberius*, and the latter to *Augustus*: for speaking of *Livia*, he says, *she was well temper'd with the Arts of her Husband, and the Dissimulation of her Son.*

He must bend
and form his
Mind.

22. (3.) As for the bending and forming of the Mind, we should, doubtless, do our utmost to render it pliable, and by no means stiff and refractory, to Occasions and Opportunities; for *to continue the same Men, when we ought not, is the greatest Obstacle Business can meet with*: that is, if Men remain as they did, and follow their own Nature after the Opportunities are changed. Whence *Livy*, introducing the elder *Cato* as a most skillful Architect of his own Fortune, adds, that *he was of a pliant Temper*: and hence it is, that grave, solemn, and unchangeable Natures generally meet with more Respect than Felicity. This Defect some Men have implanted in them by Nature, as being in themselves stiff, knotty, and unfit for bending; but in others, 'tis acqui'd by Custom, which is a second Nature; or from an Opinion, which easily steals into Mens Minds; that they should never change the method of acting, they had once found good and prosperous. Thus *Machiavel* prudently observes of *Fabius Maximus*, that *he would obstinately retain his old inveterate Custom of delaying and protracting the War; when now the nature of it was changed, and required brisker Measures.* In others again, the same Defect proceeds from want of Judgment; when Men do not seasonably distinguish the Periods of Things and Actions; but alter too late, after the Opportunity is slipt. And something of this kind *Demosthenes* reprehended in the Athenians, when he said, *they were like Rustics in a Fencing-School, who always, after a Blow, guard the part that was hit, and not before*

fore. And lastly, this *Defect* happens in others, because they are unwilling that the labour they have taken in the way once entered, should be lost; and know not how to find a Retreat: but rather trust they shall conquer Occasions by Perseverance. But this stickage and restiveness of the Mind, from whatever Root it proceeds, is highly prejudicial to Business, and Mens private Fortunes: on the contrary, nothing is more politick, than to make the Wheels of the Mind concentrick with the Wheels of Fortune; and capable of turning together with them. And thus much of the two *summary or collective Precepts, for advancing one's Fortune.*

IV. 23. The *scatter'd Precepts for rising in Life*, are numerous: we shall single out a few by way of Example. The *first* is, that the *Builder of his Fortune properly use and apply his Rule*; that is, accustom his Mind to measure and estimate the Price and Value of Things, as they conduce more or less to his particular Fortune and Ends: and this with diligence, not by halves. 'Tis surprizing, yet very true, that many have the *Logical Part of their Mind set right, and the Mathematical wrong*; and judge truly of the Consequences of things, but very unskillfully of their Value. Hence some Men are fond of Access to, and Familiarity with *Princes*; others, of popular Fame; and fancy these to be great Enjoyments: whereas both of them are frequently full of Envy and Dangers. Others, again, measure things according to their difficulty, and the labour bestowed in procuring them; imagining themselves must needs have advanced as far as they have moved. So *Cæsar*, to describe how diligent and indefatigable the younger *Cato* was to little purpose, said in the way of *Irony*, *that he did all things with great labour.* And hence it happens, that Men frequently deceive themselves; when having the assistance of some great or honourable Personage, they promise themselves all manner of Success: whilst the truth is, they are not the *greatest*, but the *fittest Instruments that perform Business best and quickest.* For improving the true *Mathematicks of the Mind*, it should be principally noted, what ought to come first, what second, &c. in the raising and promoting a Man's Fortune. And, in the first place, we set down the *Emendation of the Mind*: for by removing the Obstacles, and levelling the Inequalities of the Mind, a way may be sooner open'd to Fortune; than the Impediments of the Mind be removed, with the assistance of Fortune. And, in the second place, we set down *Riches*; whereto most, perhaps, would have assign'd the first, as their use is so extensive. But we condemn this Opinion, for a reason like that of *Machiavel*, in a similar case: for tho' it was an establish'd Notion, that *Money is the Sinews of War*, he said, more justly, that *War had no Sinews, but those of good Soldiers.* In the same manner, it may be truly affirm'd, that the *Sinews of Fortune are not Money, but rather the Powers of the Mind*; Address, Courage, Resolution, Intrepidity, Perseverance, Moderation, Industry, &c. In the *third place*, come *Fame and Reputation*; and this the rather, because they have certain Tides and Seasons, wherein, if they be not opportunely used, 'twill be difficult to recover them again. For 'tis a hopeless Attempt, to recover a lost Reputation. In the last place, we set down *Honours*, which are easier acquir'd by any of the

Instances of miscellaneous Precepts for rising in Life; viz. to estimate things justly.

To amend the Mind.

To procure Wealth.

Fame.

Honours.

the former three, much more by a Conjunction of them all, than any one of them can be procured by Honours. But, as much depends upon observing the Order of Things; so likewise, in observing the Order of Time; in disturbing of which, Men frequently err, and hasten to the End, when they should only have consulted the Beginning: and suddenly flying at the greatest things of all, rashly skip over those in the middle; thus neglecting the useful Precept, *Attend to what is immediately before you.*

Not to encounter great Difficulties. 24. Our *second Precept* is, *to beware of being carried by Greatness, and Presumption of Mind, to things too difficult; and thus of striving against the stream.*

'Tis a prudent Advice, in the raising of one's Fortune, to yield to Necessity^a. Let us look all round us, and observe where things lie open; where they are inclosed, and blocked up; where they stoop, and where they mount; and not misemploy our Strength, where the way is impassable. In doing this, we shall prevent Repulse; not stick too long in Particulars; win a Reputation of being moderate; give little offence; and lastly, gain an opinion of Felicity: whilst the things that would probably have happen'd of themselves, will be attributed to our own Industry.

To make Opportunities.

25. A *third Precept*, which seems somewhat to cross the former, tho' not when well understood, is, *that we do not always wait for Opportunities; but sometimes excite and lead them.* This, *Demosthenes* intimates in a high Strain, when he says, "*that as 'tis a Maxim for the General to lead his Army; so a wise Man should lead things; make them execute his Will; and not himself be obliged to follow Events.*" And if we attend, we shall find two different kinds of Men, held equal to the management of Affairs: for some know how to make an advantageous use of Opportunities, yet contrive or project nothing of themselves; whilst others are wholly intent upon forming Schemes, and neglect the laying hold of Opportunities, as they offer: but either of these Faculties is quite lame, without the other.

To engage in no long Pursuits.

26. 'Tis a *fourth Precept* to *undertake nothing that necessarily requires much time; but constantly to remember, Time is ever on the Wing*^b. And the only reason why those who addict themselves to toilsome Professions, and Employments, as *Lawyers, Authors, &c.* are less versed in making their Fortune, is the want of time from their other Studies, to gain a knowledge of Particulars; wait for Opportunities; and project their own Rising. We see in the Courts of Princes, the most effectual Men in making their own Fortunes, and invading the Fortunes of others, are such as have no publick Employ; but are continually plotting their own Rise and Advantage.

To act nothing in vain.

27. A *fifth Precept* is, *that we, in some measure, imitate Nature, which does nothing in vain:* and this is not very difficult, if we skilfully mix and interlace our Affairs of all kinds. For, in every Action, the Mind is to be so instructed and prepared; and our Intentions to be so dependant upon, and subordinate to each other; that if we cannot gain the highest Step, we may contentedly take up with the second, or even the third. But if we can fix on no part of our Prospect; then we should direct the pains we have been at to some other End: so, as if we receive no benefit for the present, yet at least, to gain

^a *Fatis accede, Deisque.*

^b *Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus.*

gain somewhat of future advantage. But if we can obtain no solid Good from our Endeavours, neither in present nor in future, let us endeavour, at least, to gain a Reputation by it, or some one thing or other: always computing with ourselves, that, from every Action, we receive some advantage more or less; and by no means suffering the Mind to despond, or be astonish'd, when we fail of our principal End. For there is nothing more contrary to *political Prudence*, than to be wholly intent upon any single thing: as he who is so, must lose numberless Opportunities, which come side-ways in Business; and which, perhaps, would be more favourable and conducive to the things that shall turn up hereafter; than to those that were before pursued. Let Men, therefore, well understand the Rule; "*these things should be done; but those should not be omitted.*"

28. The *sixth Precept* is, that we do not too peremptorily oblige ourselves to any thing; tho' it seem, at first sight, not liable to contingency: but always reserve a Window open to fly out; or some secret back-door for Retreat.

29. A *seventh Precept* is, that old one of *Bias*, provided it be used not treacherously, but only by way of Caution and Moderation. "*Love as if you were once to Hate; and Hate as if you were once to Love.*" For it surprizingly betrays and corrupts all sorts of Utility, to plunge one's self too far in unhappy Friendships, vexatious and turbulent Quarrels, or childish and empty Emulations. And so much, by way of Example, upon the *Doctrine, or Art, of Rising in Life*.

30. We are well aware, that good Fortune may be had upon easier Conditions than are here laid down: for it falls almost spontaneously upon some Men; whilst others procure it only by diligence and Assiduity, without much Art, tho' still with some Caution. But as *Cicero*, when he draws the *perfect Orator*, does not mean that every *Pleader* either could or should be like him; and as in describing the *Prince*, or the *Politician*, which some have undertaken, the Model is form'd to the perfect Rules of Art; and not according to common Life: the same Method is observed by us, in this *Sketch of the Self-Politician*.

31. It must be observed, that the *Precepts* we have laid down upon this Subject, are all of them lawful; and not such immoral Artifices, as *Ma-chiavel* speaks of; who directs Men to have little regard for Virtue itself, but only for the shew, and publick reputation of it: "*because, says he, the Credit and Opinion of Virtue, are a Help to a Man; but Virtue itself a Hindrance.*" He also directs his *Politician* to ground all his Prudence on this Supposition, that *Men cannot be truly and safely worked to his purpose, but by Fear*; and therefore advises him to endeavour, by all possible means, to subject them to Dangers and Difficulties. Whence his *Politician* may seem to be what the *Italians* call a *Sower of Thorns*. So *Cicero* cites this Principle, "*let our Friends fall, provided our Enemies perish;*" upon which the *Triumvirs* acted, in purchasing the Death of their Enemies, by the Destruction of their nearest Friends. So *Catiline* became a Disturber and Incendiary of the State, that he might the better fish his Fortune in troubled Waters;

Waters; declaring, that if his Fortune was set on fire, he would quench it, not with Water, but Destruction. And so *Lysander* would say, that *Children* were to be decoy'd with Sweet-Meats; and Men by false Oaths: and there are numerous other corrupt and pernicious Maxims of the same kind; more indeed, as in all other cases, than of such as are just and sound. Now if any Man delight in this corrupt or tainted Prudence, we deny not but he may take a short cut to Fortune; as being thus disentangled, and set at large from all restraint of Laws, Good-nature and Virtue; and having no regard but to his own Promotion: tho' 'tis in Life as in a Journey, where the shortest Road is the dirtiest; and yet the better, not much about.

No Immoralities to be practis'd in raising a Fortune.

32. But if Men were themselves, and not carry'd away with the Tempest of Ambition, they would be so far from studying these wicked Arts, as rather to view them, not only in that general Map of the World, which shews all things to be Vanity and Vexation of Spirit; but also in that more particular one, which represents a Life separate from good Actions, as a Curse; that the more eminent this Life, the greater the Curse; that the noblest Reward of Virtue, is Virtue itself; that the extremest Punishment of Vice, is Vice itself: and that, as *Virgil* excellently observes, good Actions are rewarded; as bad ones also are punished, by the Consciouness that attends them^a. And, indeed, whilst Men are projecting, and every way racking their Thoughts, to provide and take care for their Fortunes, they ought, in the midst of all, to have an eye to the *Divine Providence*; which frequently over-turns, and brings to nought, the Machinations and deep Devices of the Wicked: according to that of the Scripture, *he has conceived Iniquity, and shall bring forth Vanity*. And altho' Men were not in this Pursuit to practise Injustice, and unlawful Arts; yet a continual, and restless search and striving after Fortune, takes up too much of their time, who have nobler things to regard. Even the Heathens observed, that Man was not made to keep his Mind always grovelling on the ground; and, like the Serpent, eating the Dust^b.

The Goods of the Mind to be first procured.

33. Some, however, may flatter themselves, that by what sinister means soever their Fortune be procured, they are determined to use it well when obtained; whence it was said of *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*, that "they ought never to have been born, or never to have died:" so much Evil they committed in aspiring, and so much Good they did when feared. But let such Men know, that this recompensing of Evil with Good, tho' it may be approved after the Action; yet is justly condemned in the Design.

Lastly,

^a *Quæ vobis, quæ digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
Præmia posse rear solvi? Pulcherrima primum
Dû moreque dabunt vestri*————

This seems to be the Foundation of all Morality, Virtue, and true Policy, and well deserves to be fully explained, deduced, and applied in Social, Civil, and Political Life. See the Lord *Shaftesbury* upon Virtue; and our Author upon ETHICS, Sect. XX, XXI. and in his Essays passim.

^b *Atque affigis humo Divinæ particulam Auræ.*

Again,

*Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit; & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

Lastly, it may not be amiss, in this eager Pursuit of Fortune, for Men to cool themselves a little with the Saying of *Charles the Fifth* to his Son; viz. “*Fortune is like the Ladies, who generally scorn and discard their over-earnest Admirers.*” But this last Remedy belongs to such, as have their Taste vitiated by a Disease of the Mind. Let Mankind rather rest upon the Corner-stone of *Divinity* and *Philosophy*; both which nearly agree in the thing that ought first to be sought. For *Divinity* says, *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all other things shall be added unto you*: so *Philosophy* directs us, first to seek the *Goods of the Mind*; and the rest will either be supplied, or not much wanted. For altho’ this Foundation, laid by human Hands, is sometimes placed upon the *Sand*; as in the case of *Brutus*, who, at his death, cried out, “*O Virtue, I have revered thee as a Being; but alas, thou art an empty Name!* yet the same Foundation is ever, by the Divine Hand, fixed upon a Rock. And here we conclude the *Doctrine of Rising in Life*; and the general *Doctrine of Business*, together^a.

^a The general *Doctrine of Business* has been but sparingly touched, since the time of our Author. The *Germans*, however, seem to have pursued it, in some tolerable degree, under the Title of *Oeconomical Prudence*; or the *Art of improving a private Fortune*: so as to bring it under a kind of Rules. Those who have applied themselves to the Improvement of *mechanical Arts, Agriculture, Navigation, Trade, Commerce, &c.* may also be reckoned in this number. Somewhat of the same kind seems to have been the original Design of the *Royal Society*: and the Learned *Morhof* judges it expedient, that *Professors* of this *Art* should be appointed in Universities. Doubtless, the Improvement and Introduction of useful and necessary *Arts*, is a ready and laudable way of advancing one’s private Fortune; as by the discovery of new *Machines*, to ease the Labour of the Hand; the raising of Water by Fire; the sawing of Timber by Wind-mills; the Invention of new Methods for shortening Works; the Cultivating and Transplanting of foreign Vegetables; the refining of Sugar; the making of Wines; the sweetening of Sea-Water, &c. according to the Design of the Author, in his new *Atlantis, Sylva Sylvarum*, and particular *Histories*. For the other Writers in this way, consult *Morhof’s Polyhistor Oeconomicus*, Tom. III. Lib. 3. *Struvius’s Bibliotheca Philosophica*, Cap. 9. *de Scriptoribus Oeconomicis*, and *Stollii Introductio in Historiam Literariam, de Arte Oeconomica*.



S E C T. XXVI.

*The DOCTRINE of GOVERNMENT: and first, of Extending the BOUNDS of EMPIRE.**The Art of Empire.*

1. **W**E come now to the ART of EMPIRE, or the *Doctrin* of *Governing a State*; which includes *Oeconomicks*^a, as a *City* includes a *Family*. But here, according to my former Resolution^b, I impose Silence upon myself; how well qualified soever I might seem to treat the Subject, from the constant course of my Life, Studies, Employs, and the publick Posts I have, for a long series of Years, sustained; even to the highest in the Kingdom; which, thro' his Majesty's Favour, and no Merit of my own, I held for four years. And this I speak to Posterity, not out of ostentation; but because I judge it may somewhat import the *Dignity of Learning*, to have a Man, born for Letters rather than any thing else, who should, by a certain Fatality, and against the bent of his Genius, be compelled into active Life; and yet be raised, by a prudent King, to the greatest Posts of Honour, Trust, and Civil Employ^c. And if I should hereafter have leisure to write upon *Government*; the Work will probably either be posthumous or abortive^d. But in the mean time, having now seated all the Sciences, each in its proper place; left such a high Chair as that of *Government*, should remain absolutely vacant; we here observe, that two parts of *Civil Doctrin*, tho' belonging not to the *Secrets of State*, but of a more open and vulgar Nature^e, are *deficient*; and shall therefore, in our manner, give *Specimens* for supplying them.

2.

^a The Art of *Governing a Family*.

^b See above, *Sect.* XXIII. 1.

^c That the Author's bent of Genius, was to Study and Contemplation, appears from several of his Letters to private Friends. See SUPPLEMENT, V.

^d It appears by several Intimations, that the Author frequently revolved the Subject of Government in his Mind; as if he wanted, or expected, to be called upon to treat it. See his LETTERS. And for a Specimen of his Abilities in this way, see the *Political Mythology*, in his *Sapientia Veterum*; his *Political Essays*; the *Prudent Statesman*, and the *Discourse of a War with Spain*. But for any direct *System*, or professed Discourse of Government, there was none published before his Death or after; whatever he might have written, either in order to supply the Deficiency of his *New Atlantis*, or the general Deficiency of mankind.

^e Here again is plainly intimated the reason why the Author does not treat the Subject of *Government*, as he has done the rest; *viz.* for fear of revealing what is not fit to be generally known. See above *Sect.* XXIII. 1. And yet an attentive Reader of his several Political Pieces, as that of *War*, the *Peace of the Church*, the *Prudent Statesman*, the *Political Mythology of the Ancients*, &c. will perhaps find abundantly more of this kind, than after such an Evasion could well be expected.

2. The *Art of Government* includes three *political Offices*; viz. (1.) the PRESERVATION; (2.) the HAPPINESS; and (3.) the ENLARGEMENT of a STATE. The two former have, in good measure, been excellently treated by some^a; but there is nothing extant upon the last: which we therefore note as *deficient*; and propose the following Sketch, by way of Example, for supplying it; under the Title of the MILITARY STATESMAN, or the DOCTRINE OF EXTENDING THE BOUNDS OF EMPIRE.

Divided with regard to (1.) the Preservation, (2.) the Happiness, and (3.) the Enlargement of States.

THE MILITARY STATESMAN:

or,

A SPECIMEN OF THE DOCTRINE OF ENLARGING THE BOUNDS OF EMPIRE.

The Military Statesman, or Doctrine of enlarging Empire, deficient.

3. The Saying of *Themistocles*, if applied to himself, was indecent and haughty; but if meant in general, contains a very prudent Observation, and as grave a Censure. Being asked, at a Feast, to touch a Lute; he answered, “*He could not fiddle; but he could raise a small Village to a great City.*” Which Words, if taken in a *political Sense*, excellently describe and distinguish two very different Faculties in those who are at the Helm of States. For upon an exact Survey, we shall find some, tho’ but very few, that being raised to the Council-board, the Senate, or other publick Office, can enlarge a small State, or City; and yet have little Skill in Musick: but many more, who having a good hand upon the Harp, or the Lute, that is, at the Trifles of a *Court*, are so far from enlarging a State, that they rather seem designed by Nature to overturn and ruin it; tho’ ever so happy and flourishing. And indeed those base Arts, and Tricks, by which many Counsellors, and Men of great place, procure the Favour of their Sovereign, and a popular Character, deserve no other name than a certain knack of *Fiddling*; as being things more pleasing for the present, and more ornamental to the Practitioner, than useful, and suited to enlarge the Bounds, or increase the Riches of the State, whereof they are Ministers. Again, there are, doubtless, Counsellors and Governours, who tho’ equal to Business, and of no contemptible Abilities, may commodiously manage Things so as to preserve them from manifest Precipices and Inconveniences; tho’ they by no means have the creative Power of building and extending an Empire. But whatever the Workmen be, let us regard the Work itself; viz. what is to be deemed the true Extent of Kingdoms and Republicks; and by what means this may be procured: a Subject well deserving to lie continually before *Princes*, for their diligent Meditation; lest by over-rating their own Strength, they should rashly engage in too difficult and vain Enterprizes; or, thinking too meanly of their Power, submit to timorous and effeminate Counsels.

The different Talents of Governours.

H h 2

4.

^a For an Account of these Writers, see *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. III. *de Prudentia Civilis Scriptoribus*; and *Stollis Introd. in Hist. Literar. Cap. V. de Prudentia Politica*.

The difference
of States.

4. The Greatness of an *Empire*, in point of Bulk and Territory, is subject to Mensuration; and for its Revenue, to Calculation. The number of Inhabitants may be known by Valuation or Tax; and the number and extent of Cities and Towns, by Survey and Maps: yet in all Civil Affairs, there is not a thing more liable to Error, than the making a true and intrinsic Estimate of the Strength and Riches of a State. The Kingdom of Heaven is compared, not to an Acorn, or any large Nut; but to a Grain of Mustard-seed; which tho' one of the least Grains, has in it a certain quick Property, and native Spirit, whereby it rises soon, and spreads itself wide: so some States of very large Compass, are little suited to extend their Limits, or procure a wider Command; whilst others of small Dimension, prove the Foundations of the greatest Monarchies.

The Greatness
of States, how
to be estimated.

5. Fortified Towns, well-stored Arsenals, noble Breeds of War-Horse, armed Chariots, Elephants, Engines, all kinds of Artillery, Arms, and the like, are nothing more than a Sheep in a Lion's Skin; unless the Nation itself be, from its Origin and Temper, stout and warlike. Nor is number of Troops itself of any great service, where the Soldiers are weak and enervate: for, as *Virgil* well observes, the Wolf cares not how large the Flock is. The *Persian Army* in the Plains of *Arbela*, appeared to the Eyes of the *Macedonians*, as an immense Ocean of People; insomuch that *Alexander's* Leaders being struck at the sight, counsell'd their General to fall upon them by night; but he replied, "I will not steal the Victory:" and 'twas found an easier Conquest than he expected. *Tigranes*, encamped upon a Hill, with an Army of four hundred thousand Men, seeing the *Roman Army*, consisting but of fourteen thousand, making up to him; he jested at it, and said, "Those Men are too many for an Embassy, but much too few for a Battle:" yet before Sun-set he found them enow to give him chase, with infinite Slaughter. And we have abundant Examples of the great inequality betwixt Number and Strength. This therefore may be first set down, as a sure and certain Maxim, and the capital of all the rest, with regard to the greatness of a State, that the People be of a Military Race; or both by Origin and Disposition warlike. The Sinews of War are not Money, if the Sinews of Men's Arms be wanting; as they are in a soft and effeminate Nation. 'Twas a just Answer of *Solon* to *Craesus*, who shewed him all his Treasure: "Yes, Sir, but if another should come with better Iron than you, he would be Master of all this Gold." And therefore, all Princes whose native Subjects are not hardy and military, should make a very modest estimate of their Power; as, on the other hand, those who rule a stout and martial People, may well enough know their own Strength; if they be not otherwise wanting to themselves. As to hired Forces, which is the usual Remedy when native Forces are wanting, there are numerous Examples, which clearly shew, that whatever State depends upon them, tho' it may perhaps for a time extend its Feathers beyond its Nest, yet they will mew soon after.

A People oppress'd with
Taxes unfit
for Rule.

6. The Blessing of *Judah* and *Issachar* can never meet; so that the same Tribe, or Nation, should be both the *Lion's Whelp*, and the *Ass under the Burden*: nor can a People, overburdened with Taxes, ever be stout and warlike. 'Tis true,

true, that Taxes levied by publick Consent, less dispirit, and sink the Minds of the Subject, than those imposed in absolute Governments; as clearly appears by what is called *Excise* in the *Netherlands*; and in some measure, by the Contributions called the *Subsidies* in *England*. We are now speaking of the *Minds*; and not of the *Wealth* of the People: for *Tributes by consent*, tho' the same thing with *Tributes imposed*, as to exhausting the Riches of a Kingdom; yet very differently affect the Minds of the Subject. So that this also must be a Maxim of State; *that a People oppressed with Taxes is unfit to rule.*

7. States and Kingdoms that aspire to Greatness, must be very careful that their Nobles and Gentry increase not too much; otherwise the common People will be dispirited, reduced to an abject State; and become little better than Slaves to the Nobility: As we see in Coppices, if the Staddles are left too numerous, there will never be clean Under-wood; but the greatest part degenerates into Shrubs and Bushes. So in Nations, where the Nobility is too numerous, the Commonalty will be base and cowardly; and at length, not one Head in a hundred among them prove fit for a Helmet; especially with regard to the Infantry, which is generally the prime Strength of an Army. Whence, tho' a Nation be full peopled, its Force may be small. We need no clearer Proof of this, than by comparing *England* and *France*. For tho' *England* be far inferior in extent, and number of Inhabitants; yet it has almost constantly got the better of *France* in War: for this reason, that the Rusticks, and lower sort of People in *England*, make better Soldiers than the Peasants of *France*. And in this respect 'twas a very political and deep foresight of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, to constitute lesser settled Farms, and Houses of Husbandry, with a certain fixed and inseparable Proportion of Land annexed; sufficient for a Life of Plenty: so that the Proprietors themselves, or at least the Renters, and not Hirelings, might occupy them. For thus a Nation may acquire that Character which *Virgil* gives of ancient *Italy*, "*a Country strong in Arms, and rich of Soil*". We must not here pass over a sort of People, almost peculiar to *England*, viz. the Servants of our Nobles and Gentry; as the lowest of this kind are no way inferior to the Yeomanry for Foot-service. And 'tis certain that the hospitable Magnificence and Splendor, the Attendance and large Train, in use among the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, add much to our Military Strength: as, on the other side, a close, retired Life among the Nobility, causes a want of Forces.

8. It must be earnestly endeavoured, that the *Tree of Monarchy*, like the *Tree of Nebuchadnezzar*, have its Trunk sufficiently large and strong, to support its Branches and Leaves; or that the *Natives be enow to keep the foreign Subjects under*: whence those States best consult their Greatness, which are liberal of Naturalization. For it were vain to think a handful of Men, how excellent soever in Spirit, and Counsel, should hold large and spacious Countries under the yoke of Empire. This indeed might perhaps be done for a season; but it cannot be lasting. The *Spartans* were reserved and difficult

^a *Terra potens Armis, atque ubere Gleba.*

ficult in receiving Foreigners among them; and therefore so long as they ruled within their own narrow Bounds, their Affairs stood firm and strong: but soon after they began to widen their Borders, and extend their Dominion farther than the *Spartan Race* could well command the foreign Crowd; their Power sunk of a sudden. Never did *Commonwealths* receive new Citizens so profusely as the *Roman*; whence its Fortune was equal to so prudent a Conduct: and thus the *Romans* acquired the most extensive Empire on the Globe. It was their Custom to give a speedy Denization, and in the highest degree; that is, not only a Right of Commerce, of Marriage, and Inheritance; but also a Right of Vote, and of standing Candidate for Places and Honours. And this not only to particular Persons; but they conferred it upon whole Families, Cities, and sometimes whole Nations at once. Add to this, their Custom of settling Colonies; whereby *Roman Roots* were transplanted in foreign Soil. And to consider these two Practices together; it might be said, that the *Romans* did not spread themselves over the Globe, but that the Globe spread itself over the *Romans*: which is the securest Method of extending an *Empire*. I have often wondered how the *Spanish* Government could with so few Natives inclose and curb so many Kingdoms and Provinces. But *Spain* may be esteemed a sufficiently large Trunk; as it contains a much greater Tract of Country than either *Rome* or *Sparta* did at first. And altho' the *Spaniards* are very sparing of Naturalization, yet they do what comes next to it; promiscuously receive the Subjects of all Nations into their Army: and even their highest Military Office is often conferred upon foreign Leaders. Nay, it appears that *Spain* at length begins to feel their want of Natives; and are now endeavouring to supply it.

The softer mechanic Arts to be left to Strangers.

9. 'Tis certain, that the sedentary Mechanick Arts, practis'd within doors; and the more curious Manufactures, which require the Finger rather than the Arm, are in their own nature opposite to a military Spirit. Men of the Sword, univerfally delight in exemption from Work; and dread Dangers less than Labour. And in this Temper they must be somewhat indulged; if we desire to keep their Minds in vigour. 'Twas, therefore, a great Advantage to *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and other ancient Republicks, that they had the use, not of Freemen, but generally of Slaves, for this kind of domestick Arts. But after the *Christian Religion* gained ground, the use of Slaves was in great measure abolished. What comes nearest this Custom, is to leave such Arts chiefly to Strangers; who for that purpose should be invited to come in; or at least be easily admitted. The *Native Vulgar* should consist of three kinds; viz. *Husbandmen*, *Free-servants*, and *Handycraftsmen*, used to the strong masculine Arts; such as Smithery, Masonry, Carpentry, &c. without including the Soldiery.

Arms to be studied and professed by a military Nation.

10. But above all 'tis most conducive to the greatness of Empire, for a Nation to profess the Skill of Arms, as its principal Glory, and most honourable Employ: for the things hitherto spoke of, are but preparatory to the use of Arms; and to what end this Preparation, if the thing itself be not reduced to Action? *Romulus*, as the Story goes, left it in charge to his People at his

his death, that of all things they should cultivate the Art of War; as that which would make their City the head of the World. The whole Frame and Structure of the *Spartan* Government, tended, with more Diligence indeed than Prudence, only to make its Inhabitants Warriors. Such was also the Practice of the *Persians* and *Macedonians*; tho' not so constant and lasting. The *Britons*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, &c. for some time also, principally cultivated Military Arts. The *Turks* did the same; being not a little excited thereto by their Law: and still continue the Discipline; notwithstanding their Soldierly be now on its decline. Of all *Christian Europe*, the only Nation that still retains and professes this Discipline, is the *Spanish*. But it is so plain, that every one advances farthest in what he studies most, as to require no enforcing. 'Tis sufficient to intimate, that unless a Nation professedly studies and practises Arms, and Military Discipline, so as to make them a principal Business, it must not expect that any remarkable Greatness of Empire will come of its own accord. On the contrary, 'tis the most certain Oracle of Time, that those Nations which have longest continued in the Study and Profession of Arms, as the *Romans* and the *Turks* have principally done, make the most surprizing Progress, in enlarging the Bounds of Empire. And again, those Nations which have flourished, tho' but for a single Age, in Military Glory; yet, during that time, have obtained such a greatness of Empire, as has remained with them long after, when their Martial Discipline was slackened.

11. It bears some relation to the foregoing Precept, that a State should have such Laws and Customs, as may readily administer just Causes, or at least That the Laws and Customs should afford Occasions of Pretexts, of taking Arms. For there is such a natural Notion of Justice imprinted in Men's Minds, that they will not make War, which is attended with so many Calamities, unless for some weighty, or at least some specious Reason. The *Turks* are never unprovided of a Cause of War; viz. the Propagation of their Law and Religion. The *Romans*, tho' it was a high Degree of Honour for their Emperors, to extend the Borders of their Empire, yet never undertook a War for that sole end. Let it, therefore, be a Rule to all Nations that aim at Empire, to have a quick and lively sensibility of any Injury, done to their frontier Subjects, Merchants, or publick Ministers. And let them not sit too long quiet, after the first Provocation. Let them also be ready and chearful in sending *Auxiliaries* to their Friends and Allies: which the *Romans* constantly observed; insomuch that if an Invasion were made upon any of their Allies, who also had a defensive League with others, and the former begg'd Assistance severally, the *Romans* would ever be the first to give it, and not suffer the Honour of the Benefit to be snatched from them by others. As for the Wars anciently waged from a certain Conformity, or tacit Correspondence of States, I cannot see on what Law they stood. Such were the Wars undertaken by the *Romans*, for restoring Liberty to *Greece*; such were those of the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, for establishing or overturning *Democracies*, or *Oligarchies*; and such sometimes are those entered into by Republicks or Kingdoms, under pretext of protecting the Subjects of other Nations; or deli-
vering

vering them from Tyranny. It may suffice for the present purpose, that no State expect any Greatness of Empire, unless it be immediately ready to seize any just occasion of a *War*.

*A Nation to
be always ready
for War.*

12. No one Body, whether Natural or Political, can preserve its Health without Exercise; and *honourable War* is the wholesome Exercise of a *Kingdom* or *Commonwealth*. *Civil Wars* indeed are like the Heat of a Fever; but a *War* abroad is like the Heat of Motion, wholesome: for Men's Minds are enervated, and their Manners corrupted by sluggish, and unactive Peace. And however it may be as to the Happiness of a State; 'tis doubtless best for its Greatness, to be, as it were, always in Arms. A *veteran Army*, indeed, kept constantly ready for marching, is expensive; yet it gives a State the disposal of things among its Neighbours; or, at least, procures it a great Reputation in other respects: as may be clearly seen in the *Spaniard*; who has now, for a long Succession of Years, kept a *standing Army*, tho' not always in the same part of the Country.

*The advantage of being
masters at Sea.*

13. The *Dominion of the Sea* is an *Epitome* of Monarchy. *Cicero*, in a Letter to *Atticus*, writing of *Pompey's* Preparation against *Cæsar*, says, the Designs of *Pompey* are like those of *Themistocles*; for he thinks they who command the Sea, command the Empire. And doubtless *Pompey* would have wearied *Cæsar* out, and brought him under, had he not, thro' a vain Confidence, dropt his Design. 'Tis plain, from many Examples, of how great consequence Sea-fights are. The Fight at *Actium* decided the Empire of the World: The Fight of *Lepanto* struck a Hook in the Nose of the *Turk*: And it has frequently happened, that Victories, or Defeats at Sea have put a final end to the War; that is, when the whole Fortune of it has been committed to them. Doubtless the being *Master of the Sea*, leaves a Nation at great liberty to act; and to take as much, or as little of the War as it pleases: whilst those who are superior in *Land Forces*, have yet numerous Difficulties to struggle with. And at present, amongst the *European Nations*, a *Naval Strength*, which is the Portion of *Great Britain*, is more than ever, of the greatest importance to *Sovereignty*; as well because most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* are not *Continents*, but in good measure surrounded by the Sea; as because the Treasures of both *Indies* seem but an Accessory to the Dominion of the Seas.

*The Soldiers to
be honourably
rewarded.*

14. The *Wars* of later times seem to have been waged in the dark, compared with the variety of Glory and Honour usually reflected upon the military Men of former Ages. 'Tis true, we have at this day, certain military Honours, designed perhaps as Incentives to Courage; tho' common to Men of the Gown, as well as the Sword: we have also some *Coats of Arms*, and publick Hospitals, for Soldiers worn out, and disabled in the Service: but among the Ancients, when a Victory was obtained, there were Trophies, Funeral Orations, and magnificent Monuments, for such as died in the Wars. *Civick Crowns*, and *Military Garlands*, were bestowed upon all the Soldiers. The very name of Emperor was afterwards borrowed by the greatest Kings, from Leaders in the Wars. They had solemn Triumphs for their successful Generals: They had *Donatives* and great *Largesses* for the Soldiers; when
the

the Army was disbanded: These are such great and dazzling Things in the eyes of Mortals, as to be capable of firing the most frozen Spirits, and enflaming them for War. In particular, the manner of Triumph among the *Romans* was not a thing of *Pageantry*, or empty Show; but deserving to be reckoned among the wisest and most noble of their Customs: as being attended with these three Particulars; *viz.* (1.) the Glory and Honour of their Leaders; (2.) the enriching of the Treasury with the Spoils; and (3.) Donatives to the Army. But their triumphal Honours were, perhaps, unfit for Monarchies; unless in the Person of the King or his Son: which also obtained at *Rome* in the times of its *Emperors*; who reserved the honour of the Triumph, as peculiar to themselves, and their Sons, upon returning from the Wars, whereat they were present; and had brought to a Conclusion: only conferring their Vestments, and Triumphal Ensigns upon the other Leaders.

15. But to conclude, tho' no Man, as the *Scripture* testifies, can, by taking care, *add one Cubit to his Stature*, that is, in the little Model of the human body; yet in the vast Fabrick of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, 'tis in the power of *Kings* and *Rulers* to extend and enlarge the Bounds of Empire: for by prudently introducing such *Laws*, *Orders*, and *Customs* as those above mentioned, and the like, they might sow the Seeds of Greatness, for Posterity and future Ages. But these Counsels seldom reach the Ears of *Princes*; who generally commit the whole to the Direction and Disposal of Fortune^a.

That Empires may be enlarged by Prudence.

^a Finding the *Doctrine of Government* more directly applied to *War*, in a Piece of the Author's, inscribed to *Prince Charles*, in the year 1624, on occasion of a War with *Spain*; it seems proper to make it Supplemental to this of the *Military Statesman*, under the Title of the TWELFTH SUPPLEMENT to this *general Work*. And observing also the general *Doctrine of Government*, farther extended, and enlarged by the Author, in his *Advice to Sir George Villiers*; it appeared suitable to the Design, that this likewise should be made Supplemental to the *Doctrine of Government*; as being a *Sketch* of the *Prudent Minister*, corresponding to the preceding one of the *Military Statesman*; tho' not indeed so well digested by the Author. See the THIRTEENTH SUPPLEMENT to this *general Work*.



S E C T. XXVII.

The DOCTRINE of UNIVERSAL JUSTICE: or, the
FOUNTAINS of EQUITY.

Politicians best qualified to treat the Subject of Justice. I. **T**HE other *Desideratum* we note in the *Art of Government*, is the DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSAL JUSTICE, or the *Fountains of Law*. They who have hitherto wrote upon Laws, write either as *Philosophers* or *Lawyers*. The *Philosophers* advance many things that appear beautiful in Discourse, but lie out of the road of Use: whilst the *Lawyers*, being bound and subject to the Decrees of the Laws prevailing in their several Countries, whether *Roman* or *Pontifical*, have not their Judgment free; but write as in Fetters. This *Doctrine*, doubtless, properly belongs to *Statesmen*; who best understand Civil Society, the Good of the People, Natural Equity, the Customs of Nations, and the different Forms of States. Whence they are able to judge of Laws by the Principles and Precepts, as well of natural Justice, as of Politicks. The present view, therefore, is to discover the Fountains of *Justice* and *Publick Good*; and, in all the parts of Equity, to give a certain Character and Idea of what is just; according whereto, those who desire it, may examine the *Laws* of particular Kingdoms and States; and thence endeavour to amend them. And of this *Doctrine*, we shall, in our usual way, give an Example aphoristically, in a single *Title*.

A SPECIMEN OF THE METHOD OF TREATING
UNIVERSAL JUSTICE:or,
THE FOUNTAINS OF EQUITY^a.

INTRODUCTION.

APHORISM I.

Three Fountains of Injustice.

2. Either *Law* or *Force* prevails in Civil Society. But there is some *Force* that resembles *Law*; and some *Law* that resembles *Force*, more than *Justice*. Whence there are three *Fountains of Injustice*; viz. (1.) *mere Force*, (2.) *malicious Ensnaring, under colour of Law*; and (3.) *the Severity of the Law itself*.

APHORISM II.

The Foundation of private Right.

3. The Ground of *private Right* is this. He who does an Injury, receives Profit or Pleasure in the Action; and incurs Danger by the Example: whilst others

^a Whoever would continue, or improve the Work here begun, may consult *Morhof's Polyhistor*, Tom. III. Lib. VI. *de Jurisprudentiâ universalis Scriptoribus*; *Seruvii Bibliothec. Philosoph.* Cap. 6, 7. *de Scriptoribus Politicis*; and *Stollii Introduct. in Hist. Liter.* pag. 753, &c. *de Jure Naturali*.

others partake not with him in that Profit or Pleasure; but think the Example concerns them: whence they easily agree to defend themselves by *Laws*, lest each Particular should be injured in his turn. But if it should happen, from the Nature of the Times, and a Communion of Guilt, that the greater or more powerful Part should be subject to Danger, rather than defended from it, by *Law*; Faction here disannuls the *Law*: and this case frequently happens.

APHORISM III.

4. But *private Right* lies under the Protection of *publick Laws*: for *Law* *Private Right*
guards the People, and Magistrates guard the Laws. But the Authority
of the Magistrate is derived from the Majesty of the Government, the
Form of the Constitution, and its fundamental Laws. Whence, if the po-
litical Constitution be just and right, the Laws will be of excellent use; but
if otherwise, of little Security. *to be protected
by publick
Law.*

APHORISM IV.

5. *Publick Law* is not only the Preserver of *private Right*, so as to keep *Publick Laws*
it unviolated, and prevent Injuries; but extends also to *Religion, Arms,* *extend to Re-
ligion, Arms,
&c.* *Discipline, Ornaments, Wealth,* and all things that regard the Good of a
State.

APHORISM V.

6. For the *End and Scope of Laws*, whereto all their Decrees and Sanc- *The End of
Laws.*
tions ought to tend, is the *Happiness of the People*: which is procurable,
(1.) by rightly instructing them in Piety, Religion, and the Duties of Mo-
rality; (2.) securing them by Arms against foreign Enemies; (3.) guarding
them by Laws against Faction, and private Injuries; (4.) rendering them
obedient to the Government and Magistracy; and (5.) thus causing them
to flourish in Strength and Plenty. But Laws are the Instruments and Si-
gnews for procuring all this.

APHORISM VI.

7. The *best Laws*, indeed, secure this good End: but many other Laws *The difference
of Laws.*
fail of it. For Laws differ surprizingly from one another; infomuch, that
some are, (1.) excellent; others, (2.) of a middle nature; and (3.) others
again absolutely corrupt. We shall, therefore, here offer, according to the
best of our Judgment, *certain Laws*, as it were, *of Laws*^a: from whence an
Information may be derived, as to what is well, or what is ill laid down,
or established by *particular Laws*.

^a As laying down the just Foundations, and Rules of the Law; for the Law itself is govern'd by Reason, Justice, and good Sense. But perhaps these Aphorisms of the Author follow the particular *Law of England* too close, to be allow'd, by other Nations, for the *Foundations of universal Justice*; which is a very extensive Subject. See *Struvii Bibliothec. Philosoph.* Cap. 8. *de Scripturis Juris Natura & Gentium.*

APHORISM VII.

A good Law, what.

8. But before we proceed to the Body of *particular Laws*^a, we will briefly touch upon the Excellencies and Dignities of *Laws in general*. Now that may be esteemed a *good Law*, which is, (1.) clear and certain in its Sense, (2.) just in its Command, (3.) commodious in the Execution, (4.) agreeable to the Form of Government, and (5.) productive of Virtue in the Subject^b.

TITLE I.

OF THAT PRIMARY DIGNITY OF THE LAW, CERTAINTY.

APHORISM VIII.

Certainty essential to a Law.

9. *Certainty* is so essential to a *Law*, that a *Law* without it cannot be just. For if the *Trumpet* gives an uncertain *Sound*, who shall prepare himself to the *Battle*? So if the *Law* has an uncertain *Sense*, who shall obey it? A *Law*, therefore, ought to give warning before it strikes: and 'tis a true Maxim, that the *best Law* leaves least to the *Breast* of the *Judge*; which is effected by *Certainty*.

APHORISM IX.

Two Uncertainties in Laws.

10. *Laws* have two *Uncertainties*; the one where no *Law* is prescribed; the other when a *Law* is ambiguous and obscure: wherefore we must first speak of *Cases omitted by the Law*; that in these also may be found some *Rules of Certainty*.

APHORISM X.

Three Remedies in Cases omitted by the Law.

11. The narrowness of human *Prudence* cannot foresee all the *Cases* that *Time* may produce. Whence *new Cases*, and *Cases omitted*, frequently turn up. And for these there are three *Remedies*, or *Supplies*; viz. (1.) by proceeding upon *Analogy*, (2.) by the use of *Precedents*, tho' not yet brought into a *Law*; and (3.) by *Juries*, which decree according to *Conscience* and *Discretion*; whether in the *Courts of Equity*, or of *Common Law*.

APHORISM XI.

Reason preferred to Custom.

12. (1.) In *Cases omitted*, the *Rule of Law* is to be deduced from *similar Cases*; but with *Caution* and *Judgment*. And here the following *Rules* are to be observed: Let *Reason* be esteemed a *fruitful*, and *Custom* a *barren thing*; so as to breed no *Cases*. And therefore what is received against the *Reason* of a *Law*, or where its *Reason* is obscure, should not be drawn into *Precedents*.

APHORISM XII.

Cases omitted to be governed by public Advantage.

13. A *great public Good*, must draw to itself all *Cases omitted*; and therefore when a *Law* remarkably, and in an extraordinary manner, regards and procures the *Good of the Publick*, let its *Interpretation* be full and extensive.

A P H O -

^a See hereafter, Sect. XXVII. 98.

^b These are so many several *Titles*, or *general Heads*, laid down by the Author, as if he intended a full *Treatise* upon the Subject: but he here only considers the first of them.

APHORISM XIII.

14. 'Tis a cruel thing to torture the Laws, that they may torture *The Laws not* Men: whence *penal Laws*, much less *capital Laws*, should not be extended *to be wrested.* to new Offences. But if the Offence be old, and known to the Law, and its Prosecution fall upon a new Case, not provided for by Law, the Law must rather be forsaken, than Offences go unpunished.

APHORISM XIV.

15. *Statutes* that repeal the *Common Law*, especially in common and *Statutes of settled Cases*, should not be drawn by Analogy to *Cases omitted*: For when *Repeal not to be extended to* the Republick has long been without an entire *Law*, and that in exprefs *Cases*, *Cases omitted.* there is little danger if *Cases omitted* should wait their remedy, from a new *Statute*.

APHORISM XV.

16. 'Tis enough for such *Statutes* as were plainly *temporary Laws*, enacted upon particular urgent Occasions of State, to contain themselves within their proper *Cases*, after those Occasions cease; for it were preposterous to extend them, in any measure, to *Cases omitted*.

APHORISM XVI.

17. There is no Precedent of a Precedent; but Extension should rest *No Precedent of a Precedent.* in immediate *Cases*: otherwise it would gradually slide on to dissimilar *Cases*; and so the Wit of Men prevail over the *Authority of Laws*.

APHORISM XVII.

18. In such *Laws* and *Statutes* as are concise, Extension may be more *Extension more allow-* freely allow'd; but in those which exprefs particular *Cases*, it should be *able in sum-* used more cautiously. For as Exception strengthens the Force of a *Law* in *mary Laws.* unaccepted *Cases*; so Enumeration weakens it in *Cases* not enumerated.

APHORISM XVIII.

19. An *Explanatory Statute* stops the Current of a precedent *Statute*; nor does either of them admit Extension afterwards. Neither should the Judge make a Super-Extension, where the Law has once begun one.

APHORISM XIX.

20. The *Solemnity of Forms* and *Acts*, admits not of *Extension* to si- *Solemnity ad-* milar *Cases*: for 'tis losing the nature of Solemnity, to go from Custom to *mits not of* Opinion; and the Introduction of new things, takes from the Majesty of the *Extension.* old.

APHORISM XX.

21. The *Extension of Law* is easy to *After-Cases*, which had no ex- *Extension to* istence at the time when the Law was made: for where a Case could not *After-Cases* be described, because not then in being, a Case omitted is deem'd a Case *easy.* expressed, if there be the same reason for it.

APHORISM XXI.

By Precedents under due Regulations. 22. (2.) We come next to *Precedents*; from which *Justice* may be derived, where the *Law* is deficient: but reserving *Custom*, which is a kind of *Law*, and the *Precedents* which, thro' frequent use, are pass'd into *Custom*, as into a tacit *Law*; we shall, at present, speak only of such *Precedents* as happen but rarely; and have not acquired the Force of a *Law*: with a view to shew how, and with what *Caution*, a *Rule of Justice* may be derived from them, when the *Law* is defective.

APHORISM XXII.

Precedents to be derived from good Times. 23. *Precedents* are to be derived from good and moderate *Times*; and not from such as are tyrannical, factious, or dissolute: for this latter kind are a spurious Birth of *Time*, and prove more prejudicial than instructive.

APHORISM XXIII.

Modern Precedents the safest. 24. *Modern Examples* are to be held the safest. For why may not what was lately done, without any inconvenience, be safely done again? Yet recent *Examples* have the less Authority: and, where things require a *Restoration*, participate more of their own *Times*, than of right Reason.

APHORISM XXIV.

Ancient Precedents to be cautiously admitted. 25. *Ancient Precedents* are to be received with *Caution* and *Choice*: for the *Course of Time* alters many things; so that what seems ancient, in time may, for *Disturbance* and *Unsuitableness*, be new at the present: and therefore the *Precedents* of intermediate *Times* are the best, or those of such *Times* as have most agreement with the present; which ancient *Times* may happen to have, more than later.

APHORISM XXV.

Precedents to be limited. 26. Let the *Limits* of a *Precedent* be observed, and rather kept within than exceeded; for where there is no *Rule of Law*, every thing should be suspected: and therefore as this is a dark *Road*, we should not be hasty to follow.

APHORISM XXVI.

Partial Precedents to be guarded against. 27. Beware of *Fragments*, and *Epitomes of Examples*; and rather consider the whole of the *Precedent*, with all its *Process*: for if it be absurd to judge upon part of a *Law*, without understanding the whole; this should be much rather observed in *Precedents*; the use whereof is precarious, without an evident *Correspondence*.

APHORISM XXVII.

The Transmission of Precedents to be regarded. 28. 'Tis of great consequence thro' what hands the *Precedents* pass, and by whom they have been allow'd. For if they have obtain'd only among *Clerks* and *Secretaries*, by the *Course of the Court*, without any manifest *Knowledge* of their *Superiors*; or have prevail'd among that Source of *Errors*, the *Populace*; they are to be rejected, or lightly esteem'd. But if they come before *Senators*,

tors, Judges, or principal Courts; so that of necessity they must have been strengthen'd, at least by the tacit Approval of proper Persons, their Dignity is the greater.

APHORISM XXVIII.

29. More Authority is to be allowed to those Examples, which, tho' less used, have been publish'd, and thoroughly canvass'd; but less to those that have lain buried, and forgotten, in the Closet, or Archives: for *Examples*, like Waters, are wholesomest in the running Stream.

APHORISM XXIX.

30. *Precedents in Law* should not be derived from History; but from publick Acts and accurate Traditions: for 'tis a certain Infelicity, even among the best Historians, that they dwell not sufficiently upon *Laws*, and judicial Proceedings; or if they happen to have some regard thereto, yet their Accounts are far from being authentick. *Precedents to be authentick.*

APHORISM XXX.

31. An *Example rejected* in the same, or next succeeding Age, should not easily be received again, when the same Case recurs: for it makes not so much in its favour, that Men sometimes used it; as in its disfavour, that they dropt it upon Experience. *Should not easily be admitted, after once rejected.*

APHORISM XXXI.

32. *Examples* are things of *Direction* and *Advice*, not Rules or Orders; and therefore should be so managed, as to bend the Authority of former times to the service of the present. *Precedents are Matter of Direction, not Rule.*

APHORISM XXXII.

33. (3.) There should be both *Courts*, and *Juries*, to judge according to *Conscience* and *Discretion*; where the *Rule of the Law* is defective: for *Laws*, as we before observed, cannot provide against all Cases; but are suited only to such as frequently happen: Time, the wisest of all things, daily introducing new Cases. *(3.) Courts and Juries, under their Regulations.*

APHORISM XXXIII.

34. But *new Cases* happen both in *criminal Matters*, which require Punishment; and in *civil Causes*, which require Relief. The Courts that regard the former, we call *Censorial*, or *Courts of Justice*; and those that regard the latter, *Prætorial*, or *Courts of Equity*. *The Censorial and Prætorial Courts.*

APHORISM XXXIV.

35. The *Courts of Justice* should have Jurisdiction and Power, not only to punish new Offences, but also to increase the Penalties appointed by the *Laws* for old ones, where the Cases are flagrant and notorious; yet not capital: for every enormous Crime may be esteemed as a new one. *Courts of Justice to have power of punishing new Offences.*

APHORISM XXXV.

Courts of Equity to have power of supplying the Law. 36. In like manner, the *Courts of Equity* should have Power, as well of abating the Rigour of the Law, as of supplying its Defects: for if a Remedy be afforded to a Person neglected by the Law; much more to him who is hurt by the Law.

APHORISM XXXVI.

Both to be confined to extraordinary Cases. 37. Both the *Censorial*, and *Prætorial Courts*, should absolutely confine themselves to enormous and extraordinary Cases; without invading the ordinary *Jurisdictions*: lest otherwise the *Law* should rather be supplanted, than supplied.

APHORISM XXXVII.

Jurisdictions to be lodged in supreme Courts. 38. These *Jurisdictions* should reside only in *supreme Courts*; and not be communicated to the lower: for a power of supplying, extending, or moderating the Laws, differs but little from a power of making them.

APHORISM XXXVIII.

Juries to consist of several 39. These *Courts of Jurisdiction* should not be committed to a single Person; but consist of several: and let not their Verdict be given in silence; but let the Judges produce the reasons of their Sentence openly, and in full audience of the Court; so that what is free in power, may yet be limited by regard to Fame and Reputation.

APHORISM XXXIX.

Sentence of Life and Death to proceed upon known Laws. 40. Let there be no *Records of Blood*, nor Sentence of capital Crimes passed in any Court, but upon known and certain Laws: *God* himself first pronounced, and afterwards inflicted Death. Nor should a Man lose his Life, without first knowing that he had forfeited it.

APHORISM XL.

That there be three Returns of the Jury. 41. In the *Courts of Justice*, let there be three *Returns of the Jury*; that the Judges may not only lie under no necessity of absolving, or condemning; but also have a liberty of pronouncing the Case not clear: And let there be, besides Penalty, a Note of Infamy, or Punishment, by way of admonishing others; and chastising Delinquents, as it were, by putting them to the blush, with Shame and Scandal.

APHORISM XLI.

The preparative Parts of great Crimes to be punished. 42. In *Courts of Justice*, let the first Overtures, and intermediate Parts of all great Offences, be punish'd; tho' the End were not accomplish'd. And this should be the principal use of such Courts: for 'tis the part of Discipline, to punish the first Buddings of Offences; and the part of Clemency, to punish the intermediate Actions, and prevent their taking effect.

APHORISM XLII.

43. Great regard must be had in *Courts of Equity*, not to afford Relief in those Cases, which the Law has not so much omitted, as despised for their Levity; or, for their Odioufness, judged unworthy of a Remedy. *Cases willingly omitted by the Laws, not to be relieved.*

APHORISM XLIII.

44. But above all, 'tis of the greatest moment to the *Certainty of the Laws* we now speak of, that *Courts of Equity* keep from swelling, and overflowing; lest, under pretence of mitigating the Rigour of the Law, they should cut its Sinews, and weaken its Strength, by wresting all things to their own disposal. *The Courts of Equity to be kept within Bounds.*

APHORISM XLIV.

45. No *Court of Equity* should have a right of decreeing against a *Statute*, under any Pretext of Equity whatever: otherwise the Judge would become the Legislator, and have all things dependent upon his Will. *No Equity-Court to decree against a Statute.*

APHORISM XLV.

46. Some conceive the *Jurisdiction* which decrees according to *Equity and Conscience*, and that which proceeds according to *strict Justice*, should be deputed to the same *Courts*; whilst others would have them kept distinct: which seems much the better way. There will be no distinction of Cases, where there is a mixture of *Jurisdictions*: but *Arbitration* will, at length, supersede the *Law*. *The Courts of Equity and Justice to be kept distinct.*

APHORISM XLVI.

47. The use of the *Prætor's Table* stood upon a good Foundation among the *Romans*, as that wherein he set down, and published, in what manner he would administer Justice. According to which Example, the Judges in *Courts of Equity*, should propose to themselves some certain Rules to go by, and fix them up to publick view: for as that Law is ever the best, which leaves least to the breast of the Judge; so is that Judge the best, who leaves least to himself^a. *The Judges in Equity to publish their own Rules.*

APHORISM XLVII.

48. There is also another way of supplying *Cases omitted*; viz. when one Law is made upon another, and brings the *Cases omitted* along with it. This happens in those *Laws, or Statutes*, which, according to the common Phrase, *look backwards*. But *Laws* of this kind are to be seldom used; and with great caution: for a *Janus-Face* is not to be admired in the *Law*. *Retrospective Laws to be used with discretion.*

APHORISM XLVIII.

49. He who captiously and fraudulently eludes, and circumscribes the Words or Intention of a *Law*, deserves to be hampered by a subsequent *Law*. *Are proper in fraudulent and evasive Cases.*

^a The Author made a Speech to this Effect, upon receiving the Seal, and taking his Place in Chancery. See SUPPLEMENT IV.

Law. Whence, in fraudulent and evasive Cases, 'tis just for Laws to carry a Retrospection; and prove of mutual assistance to each other: so that he who invents Loop-holes, and plots the Subversion of *present Laws*, may, at least, be awed by *future*.

APHORISM XLIX.

And for corroborating and confirming.

50. Such Laws as strengthen and confirm the true Intentions of *Acts* and *Instruments*, against the Defects of *Forms* and *Solemnities*, very justly include past Actions: for the principal Fault of a *retrospective Law*, is, its causing disturbance; but these *confirming Laws* regard the Peace and Settlement of Transactions. Care, however, must be had, not to disturb things once adjudged.

APHORISM L.

Laws regarding Futurity, may also be retrospective.

51. It should be carefully observed, that not only such Laws as look back to what is past, invalidate former Transactions; but such also as prohibit and restrain things future, which are necessarily connected with things past: so, if any *Law* should prohibit certain Artificers the Sale of their Wares in future; this *Law*, tho' it speaks for hereafter, yet operates upon times past; tho' such Artificers had then no other lawful means of subsisting.

APHORISM LI.

Declaratory Laws to be enacted where Retrospection is just.

52. All *Declaratory Laws*, tho' they make no mention of time past, yet are, by the very Declaration itself, entirely to regard past Matters: for the Interpretation does not begin with the Declaration; but, as it were, is made contemporary with the *Law* itself. And therefore *Declaratory Laws* should not be enacted, except in Cases where the *Law* may be retrospectively with Justice. And so much for the *Uncertainty of Laws*, where the *Law* is extant. We proceed to the other part, where the *Laws*, tho' extant, are perplex'd and obscure.

APHORISM LII.

The Obscurity of Laws from four Origins.

53. The *Obscurity of Laws* has four Sources; viz. (1.) an *Accumulation of Laws*; especially, if mix'd with such as are obsolete. (2.) An *ambiguous Description*, or want of clear and distinct Delivery. (3.) A *Neglect*, or *Failure*, in instituting the Method of interpreting Justice. (4.) And lastly, a *Clashing and Uncertainty of Judgments*.

APHORISM LIII.

Viz. Excessive Accumulation of Laws which may prove very pernicious.

54. The Prophet says, "It shall rain Snares upon them:" but there are no worse Snares, than the *Snares of Laws*; especially the penal: which growing excessive in number, and useless thro' time, prove not a *Lantern*, but *Nets*, to the Feet.

APHORISM LIV.

Two ways of making new Statutes.

55. There are two ways in use of making *new Statutes*; the one confirms and strengthens the former *Statutes* in the like Cases, at the same time adding or altering some Particulars: the other abrogates and cancels all that was enacted

acted before; and instead thereof, substitutes a new uniform Law. And the latter Method is the best. For in the former, the Decrees become complicate and perplex'd; and tho' the Business be perform'd, yet the Body of Laws, in the mean time, becomes corrupt: but in the latter, greater Diligence must be used, when the Law itself comes to be weigh'd a-new; and what was before enacted, to be reconsider'd, antecedent to its passing: by which means the future Agreement, and Harmony of the Laws, is well consulted.

APHORISM LV.

56. It was in use among the *Athenians*, for six Persons annually to examine the *contradictory Titles* of their Laws; and propose to the People such of them as could not be reconciled; that some certain Resolution might be taken about them. According to which Example, the Legislators of every State should once in three, or five Years, as it shall seem proper, take a review of these *Contrarieties in Law*: but let them first be inspected, and prepared, by Committees appointed for the Purpose; and then brought in, for the general Assembly to fix, and establish; what shall be approved by Vote.

The Contradictories in Law to be examined at proper Intervals.

APHORISM LVI.

57. But let not an over-diligent and scrupulous Care be used in reconciling the *contradictory Titles of Laws*, by subtle and far-fetched Distinctions: for this is the weaving of the Wit. And whatever appearance it may have of Modesty and Reverence, 'tis to be deem'd prejudicial; as rendering the whole Body of the Laws dissimilar, and incoherent. It were therefore much better to suppress the worst; and suffer the best to stand alone.

APHORISM LVII.

58. *Obsolete Laws*, that are grown into disuse, should, in the same manner, be cancel'd. For as an *express Statute* is not regularly abrogated by *disuse*; it happens that, from a Contempt of such as are obsolete, the others also lose part of their Authority. Whence follows that Torture of *Mezentius*, whereby the living Laws are kill'd in the Embraces of the dead ones. But above all things, a Gangreen in the Laws is to be prevented.

Obsolete Laws to be cancel'd.

APHORISM LVIII.

59. And let *Courts of Equity* have a right of decreeing contrary to *obsolete Laws, and Statutes* not newly enacted; for altho', as is well observed, no body should be wiser than the Laws; yet this should be understood of the Laws when they are awake, and not when they sleep. But let it be the Privilege, not of Judges in the Courts of Equity, but of Kings, solemn Counsels, and the higher Powers, to over-rule later Statutes found prejudicial to publick Justice; and to suspend the Execution thereof by Edicts, or publick Acts, till those Meetings are held which have the true power of repealing them; lest, otherwise, the Safety of the People should be endanger'd.

Courts of Equity to have a right of decreeing contrary to obsolete Laws.

APHORISM LX.

New Digests
of Laws how
to be undertaken.

60. But if Laws, heap'd upon Laws, shall swell to such a vast Bulk, and labour under such Confusion, as renders it expedient to treat them a-new, and reduce them into one sound and serviceable Corps; it becomes a Work of the utmost importance, deserving to be deem'd heroic: and let the Authors of it be ranked among Legislators, and the Restorers of States and Empires^a.

APHORISM LXI.

And effected.

61. Such an *Expurgation*, and *new Digest of Laws*, is to be effected by five Particulars; viz. (1.) by omitting all the obsolete Laws, which Justinian calls ancient Fables; (2.) by receiving the most approved Contradictories, and abolishing the rest; (3.) by expunging Laws of the same purport, and retaining only one, or the most perfect; (4.) by throwing out such Laws as determine nothing; only propose Questions, and leave them undecided: (5.) and lastly, by contracting and abridging those that are too verbose and prolix.

APHORISM LXI.

62. And it would be very useful in such a new *Digest*, separately to range and bring together all those Laws, received for *common Law*, which have a kind of immemorial Origin; and on the other side, the Statutes super-added from time to time: because in numerous Particulars in the *Practice of the Law*, the Interpretation and Administration of the *common Law* differs from the *Statute Law*. And this Method was observed by *Trebonianus*, in his *Digest* and *Code*.

APHORISM LXII.

63. But in such a second Birth of the Law, and such a Recomplement of the ancient Books and Laws, the very Words and Text of the Law it self should be retained; and tho' it were necessary to collect them by Fragments, and small Portions, they may afterwards be regularly wove together. For allowing it might perhaps be more commodious, and with regard to the true reason of the thing, better to do it by a new Text, than by such kind of Patch-work; yet in the *Law*, Style and Description are not so much to be regarded as Authority, and its Patron, *Antiquity*: otherwise this might rather seem a Work of mere Scholar-ship and Method, than a *Corps of majestic Laws*.

APHORISM LXIII.

64. 'Twere adviseable in making this new *Digest*, not utterly to abolish the ancient Volumes, and give them up to Oblivion; but suffer them at least to remain in some Library, tho' with a Prohibition of their common use: because in weighty cases it might be proper to consult and inspect the *Revolutions*

^a Else few will care to be concerned in so difficult and laborious an Undertaking; tho' a thing in itself of immense utility. See *Tancred's Essay for a general Regulation of the Law*. Ed. 2. 1727.

volutions and Series of ancient Laws. 'Tis also a solemn thing to intermix Antiquity with things present. And such a *new Body of Laws*, ought to receive the Sanction of all those who have any Legislative Power in the State; lest under a pretence of digesting the old Laws, new ones should be secretly obtruded.

APHORISM LXIV.

65. 'Twere to be wished, that such a *Recompilement of the Laws* might be undertaken in such times as excel the ancient, (whose Acts and Works they model a-new) in point of Learning and universal Knowledge: the contrary whereof happened in the Work of *Justinian*. For 'tis an unfortunate thing, to have the Works of the Ancients mangled, and set together again, at the discretion and choice of a less prudent, and less learned Age. But it often happens, that what is necessary, is not best.

APHORISM LXV.

66. Laws are *obscurely described* either (1.) thro' their *Loquacity and Superfluity of Words*; (2.) through *Over-Conciseness*; or (3.) through their *Preambles contradicting the Body of the Law*. *A perplexed and obscure Description of Laws.*

APHORISM LXVI.

67. We at present treat of the *Obscurity* which arises from their ill Description; and approve not the *Loquacity and Prolixity* now used in drawing up the *Laws*; which in no degree obtains what is intended by it; but rather the contrary: for whilst it endeavours to comprehend and express all particular Cases in apposite and proper Diction, (as expecting greater certainty from thence;) it raises numerous Questions about Terms: which renders the true and real Design of the Law more difficult to come at, thro' a huddle of Words. *The Verbosity of the Law to be retrenched.*

APHORISM LXVII.

68. Nor yet can we approve of a too concise and affected Brevity, used for the sake of Majesty and Authority; especially in this age; lest the *Laws* should become like the *Lesbian Rule*^a. A mediocrity therefore is to be observed, and a well-defined generality of Words to be found; which tho' it does not accurately explain the Cases it comprehends, yet clearly excludes those it does not comprehend.

APHORISM LXVIII.

69. Yet in the ordinary political *Laws* and *Edicts*, where Lawyers are seldom consulted, but the Politicians trust to their own Judgment; things ought to be largely explained, and pointed out to the Capacity of the *Vulgar*.

APHO-

^a The *Lesbians* are said to have made their Rules from their Buildings; so that if the Buildings were erroneous, the Rules they worked by became so too; and thus propagated the Error: so if the Laws were wrote concise, as if drawn up in perfect Times, or with an affectation of a sententious or majestic Brevity, they might propagate Errors, instead of correcting them.

APHORISM LXXIX.

The Preambles of Laws to be short.

70. Nor do we approve of tedious *Preambles* at the head of *Laws*: they were anciently held impertinent; as introducing *Laws* in the way of *Dispute*, not in the way of *Command*. But as we do not suit ourselves to the Manners of the Ancients; these *Prefaces* are now generally used of *Necessity*; not only as *Explanations*, but as *Persuasives* to the passing of the *Law* in the *Assemblies* of States; and likewise to satisfy the *People*: yet, as much as possible, let *Preambles* be avoided; and the *Law* begin with *commanding*.

APHORISM LXX.

The full Purport of the Law not always derivable from the Preamble.

71. Tho' the Intent and Mind of the *Law*, may be sometimes drawn from these *Preambles*; yet its Latitude and Extent should by no means be derived from them: for the *Preamble* frequently fixes upon a few of the more plausible and specious Particulars, by way of *Example*; whilst the *Law* itself contains many more: or, on the contrary, the *Law* restrains and limits many Things; the reason whereof it were not necessary to insert in the *Preamble*: wherefore the extent of the *Law* is to be derived from the *Body* of the *Law*; the *Preamble* often exceeding, or falling short of this Extent.

APHORISM LXXI.

A faulty Method in drawing up the Laws.

72. There is one very faulty Method of *drawing up the Laws*; viz. when the Case is largely set forth in the *Preamble*, and then by the force of the word *which*, or some such relative, the *Body* of the *Law* is reflected back upon the *Preamble*, and the *Preamble* inserted and incorporated in the *Body of the Law*; whence proceeds both *Obscurity* and *Danger*: because the same Care is not usually employed in weighing and examining the Words of the *Preamble*, as the Words of the *Law* itself.

APHORISM LXXII.

The ways of interpreting the Laws, and taking away their Ambiguity.

73. There are five *Ways of interpreting the Law*, and making it clear; viz. (1.) *By Recording of Judgments*; (2.) *By Instituting Authentick Writers*; (3.) *By auxiliary Books*; (4.) *By Readings*; and (5.) *By the Answers, or Counsel, of qualified Persons*. A due use of all these afford a great and ready Assistance in clearing the *Laws* of their *Obscurity*.

APHORISM LXXIII.

Viz. by recording Judgments.

74. And above all, let the *Judgments* of the supreme and principal Courts be diligently and faithfully recorded; especially in weighty Causes, and particularly such as are doubtful, or attended with *Difficulty* or *Novelty*. For *Judgments* are the *Anchors* of the *Laws*; as *Laws* are the *Anchors* of States.

APHORISM LXXIV.

75. And let this be the Method of taking them down. (1.) Write the Case precisely, and the *Judgments* exactly, at length. (2.) Add the *Reasons* alledged by the *Judges* for their *Judgment*. (3.) Mix not the *Authority*

riety of Cases, brought by way of Example, with the principal Case. (4.) And for the *Pleadings*, unless they contain any thing very extraordinary, omit them.

APHORISM LXXV.

76. Let those who take down these *Judgments* be of the most learned Counsel in the Law; and have a liberal Stipend allowed them by the Publick. But let not the Judges meddle in these *Reports*; lest favouring their own Opinions too much, or relying upon their own Authority, they exceed the Bounds of a Recorder.

APHORISM LXXVI.

77. Let these *Judgments* be digested in the *Order of Time*, and not in *Method* and *Titles*. For such Writings are a kind of Histories, or Narratives of the Laws: and not only the Acts themselves, but also their Times afford Light to a prudent Judge.

APHORISM LXXVII.

78. Let a Body of Law be wholly compiled, (1.) of the Laws that constitute the *common Law*; (2.) of the Statutes; and (3.) of the *Judgments on Record*: and besides these, let nothing be deem'd authentick; or else be sparingly received. *Authentick Writers.*

APHORISM LXXVIII.

79. Nothing conduces more to the Certainty of Laws, whereof we now speak, than that the *authentick Writings* should be kept within moderate Bounds; and that vast multitude of Authors, and learned Men in the Law excluded; which otherwise rend the Mind of the Laws, distract the Judge, make Law-suits endless: and the Lawyer himself, finding it impossible to peruse and digest so many books, hence takes up with Compendiums. Perhaps some good *Glossary*, a few of the exactest Writers, or rather a very few Portions of a few Authors, might be usefully received for Authentick. But let the Books be still reserved in Libraries; for the Judges and Counsel to inspect occasionally: without permitting them to be cited, in pleading at the Bar; or suffering them to pass into Authority.

APHORISM LXXIX.

80. But let not the Knowledge and Practice of the Law want its *auxiliary* *Auxiliary Books*; which are of six kinds: viz. (1.) *Institutes*; (2.) *Explanations of Words*; *Books.* (3.) the *Rules of Law*; (4.) the *Antiquities of Law*; (5.) *Summaries, or Abridgments*; and (6.) *Forms of Pleading*.

APHORISM LXXX.

81. Students are to be trained up to the Knowledge, and higher Parts of the Law, by *Institutes*; which should be wrote in a clear Method. Let the whole of private Right, or the Laws of *Meum* and *Tuum*, be gone over in these *viz. Institutes.*

these *Elements* ; not omitting some things, and dwelling too much upon others ; but giving a little taste of all : that when the Student comes to peruse the *Corps* of *Law*, he may meet with nothing entirely new, or without having received some previous Notion thereof. But the publick *Law* is not to be touched in these *Institutes* ; this being to be drawn from the Fountains themselves^a.

APHORISM LXXXI.

Explanations
of Terms.

82. Let a *Commentary* be made of the *Terms* of the *Law* ; without endeavouring too curiously and laboriously to give their full Sense and Explanation : the purport hereof being not to search the exact definitions of *Terms*, but to afford such Explanations only, as may open an easy way to reading the *Books* of the *Law*. And let not this *Treatise* be digested Alphabetically ; rather leave that to the *Index* : but place all those *Words* together which relate to the same thing ; so that one may help to the understanding of another.

APHORISM LXXXII.

Rules of the
Law.

83. It principally conduces to the *Certainty* of *Laws*, to have a just and exact *Treatise* of the different *Rules* of *Law* ; a work deserving the diligence of the most ingenious and prudent *Lawyers* : for we are not satisfied with what is already extant of this kind. Not only the known and *common Rules* are to be here collected ; but others also, more subtle and latent, which may be drawn from the *Harmony* of *Laws*, and *adjudged Cases* : such as are sometimes found in the best *Records*. And these *Rules*, or *Maxims*, are general Dictates of Reason, running thro' the different matters of *Law* ; and make, as it were, its Ballast^b.

APHORISM LXXXIII.

84. But let not the *Positions* or *Placits* of *Law* be taken for *Rules*, as they usually are very injudiciously ; for if this were received, there would be as many *Rules* as there are *Laws* : a *Law* being no other than a commanding *Rule*. But let those be held for *Rules*, which cleave to the very Form of Justice : Whence, in general, the same *Rules* are found thro' the *Civil Law* of different States ; unless they sometimes vary with regard to the Form of Government.

APHORISM LXXXIV.

85. After the *Rule* is laid down, in a short and solid expression, let *Examples* and clear *Decisions* of *Cases* be subjoined, by way of *Explanation* ; *Distinctions* and *Exceptions*, by way of *Limitation* ; and things of the same kind, by way of *Amplification* to the *Rule*.

APHO-

^a See above, *Aph.* I—V.

^b What the Author here intends. we have a Specimen of in the Piece he entitles, *A Collection of some principal Rules and Maxims of the Common Law, with their Latitude and Extent* : but as that Piece wholly regards the *Practice* and *Profession* of the *Law*, and is wrote in the direct *Law-manner*, we do not add it as a *Supplement* to this Work, tho' otherwise highly deserving.

APHORISM LXXXV.

86. 'Tis justly directed not to take *Laws* from *Rules*, but to make the *Rules* from the *Laws* in being: neither must the Proof be derived from the Words of the Rule, as if that were the Text of the Law; for the Rule, like the magnetic Needle, does not make, but indicate the *Law*.

APHORISM LXXXVI.

87. Besides the Body of the Law, 'tis proper to take a view of the *Antiquities of Laws*; which tho' they have lost their Authority, still retain their Reverence. Those Writings upon Laws and Judgements, whether published or unpublished, are to be held for *Antiquities of Law*, which preceded the Body of the Laws in point of time; for these *Antiquities* should not be lost; but the most useful of them being collected, and such as are frivolous and impertinent rejected, they should be brought into one Volume, without mixing *ancient Fables*, as *Trebonianus* calls them, with the *Laws* themselves.

APHORISM LXXXVII.

88. But for Practice, 'tis highly proper to have the *whole Law or Abridgments*, *derly digested under Heads and Titles*, whereto any one may occasionally turn on a sudden, as to a Store-house furnished for present use. These *Summaries* bring into order what lay dispersed; and abridge what was diffusive and prolix in the Law. But care must be had, lest these *Abridgments* should make men ready for practice, and indolent in the Science itself: for their Office is to serve but as Remembrancers; and not as perfect Teachers of the Law. And they are to be made with great Diligence, Fidelity and Judgment; that they may fairly represent, and not steal from the Laws.

APHORISM LXXXVIII.

89. Let *different Forms of Pleading* be collected in every kind; for this *Pleadings*, tends to Practice: and doubtless they lay open the *Oracles and Mysteries* of the Law; which conceals many such. And these are better, and more fully displayed in *Forms of Pleading*, than otherwise; as the Hand is better seen when opened.

APHORISM LXXXIX.

90. Some method ought to be taken for solving, and putting an end to *Answers and particular Doubts*, which arise from time to time: for 'tis a hard thing, if *Consultations*, they who desire to keep clear of Error, should find no one to set them right; but that their Actions must be still endangered, without any means of knowing the Law, before the Case is determined.

APHORISM XC.

91. But we approve not that the Answers of prudent Men, whether Counsellors, or Professors of Law, given to such as ask their Advice, should

have so great Authority, as that the Judge might not lawfully depart from their Opinion. Let Points of Law be taken from sworn Judges.

APHORISM XCI.

92. We approve not that Judgments should be tried by feigned Causes and Persons, with a View to predetermine what will be the *Rule of Law*: for this dishonours the Majesty of Laws; and should be judged as a Prevarication. Besides, 'tis monstrous for *Judgments* to copy the Stage.

APHORISM XCII.

93. Therefore let as well Judgments as Answers and Advice proceed from none but the Judges; the former in Suits depending; and the latter in the way of Opinion upon difficult Points of Law. But these Notices, whether in private or publick Affairs, are not to be expected from the Judges themselves; for that were to make the Judge a Pleader; but from the Prince or State: and let them recommend it to the Judges; who, invested with such Authority, are to hear the Arguments on both sides; and the Pleadings of the Counsel, employed either by those whom it concerns, or appointed by the Judges themselves, if necessary; and after the matter is weigh'd, let the Judges declare the Law, and give their Opinion: and such kind of Opinions should be recorded, and published among judged Cases; and be reckoned of equal Authority with them.

APHORISM XCIII.

Readings to be directed so as to terminate Questions.

94. Let the *Readings* upon the Law, and the Exercises of such as study it, be so instituted and order'd, that all things may tend to the resolving and putting an end, and not to the raising and maintaining of Questions and Controversies in the Law. But at present a School seems every where opened for multiplying Disputes, Wranglings, and Altercations, about the Laws; in the way of shewing the Wit of the Disputants: Tho' this is also an ancient Evil; for it was esteemed a piece of Glory of old to support numerous Questions of Law, as it were by Sects and Factions, rather than to end them. But this ought to be prevented.

APHORISM XCIV.

The Uncertainties of Judgments with their Remedies.

95. *Judgments prove uncertain*, either (1.) thro' an untimely and hasty passing of Sentence; (2.) the Emulation of Courts; (3.) a wrong and unskilful recording of Judgments; or, (4.) thro' a too easy and ready way opened for their Reversion. Therefore let Care be taken, (1.) that Judgments proceed upon mature deliberation; (2.) that Courts preserve a due Reverence for each other.; (3.) that Judgments be faithfully and prudently recorded; and (4.) that the Way for Reversing of Judgments be made narrow, craggy and thorny.

APHORISM XCV.

96. If Judgment be given upon a Cause, in any principal Court, and a like Cause come into another Court; proceed not to Judgment before a Consultation be held in some considerable Assembly of the Judges. For if Decrees are of necessity to be cut off; at least let them be honourably interred. *Decrees to be reversed with Solemnity.*

APHORISM XCVI.

97. For Courts to quarrel and contend about Jurisdiction, is a piece of *The Courts to* human Frailty; and the more, because of a childish Opinion, that 'tis the *maintain* Duty of a good and able Judge to enlarge the Jurisdiction of his Court: *Peace with one another.* whence this Disorder is increased, and the Spur made use of, instead of the Bridle. But that Courts, thro' this heat of Contention, should, on all sides uncontrollably reverse each other's Decrees, which belong not to Jurisdiction, is an intolerable Evil, and by all means to be suppress'd by Kings, the Senate, or Government. For 'tis a most pernicious Example that Courts, which make Peace among the Subjects, should quarrel among themselves.

APHORISM XCVII.

98. Let not too easy a Passage be opened for the *Repealing of Sentence*, by Appeal, Writ of Error, Re-hearing, &c. Some are of Opinion, that a Cause should be removed to a higher Court, as a new Cause; and the Judgment given upon it, in the lower, be entirely laid aside, and suspended: whilst others again would have the Judgment remain in its force, and only the Execution to be stopt. We approve of neither; unless the Court, where the Sentence pass'd, were of a very inferior nature: but would rather have both the Judgment stand, and its Execution proceed; provided a Caveat be put in by the Defendant, for Costs and Damages, if the Sentence should be reversed.

99. Let this *TITLE, of the Certainty of Laws*, serve for a *Specimen of that Digest* we propose and have in hand^a. And thus we conclude the *Head of Civil Doctrine*, and with it *Human Philosophy*; as with *Human Philosophy, Philosophy in general*.

100. And now standing still to breathe, and look back upon the Way we have pass'd, we seem all along to have been but turning and trying the *In-* *struments* of the *Muses*; for a *Confort* to be play'd upon them by other hands: or to have been grating Mens ears, that they may have the better

L 1 2

Mufick

^a The Scheme of this *Digest*, offer'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards to King *James the First*, we place as the *FOURTEENTH SUPPLEMENT* to this *general Work*; tho' the Design itself was not executed by the Author. Some Progress however was made in the *History of the Nature, Use, and Proceedings of the Laws of England*; which make the *FIFTEENTH SUPPLEMENT* to the present Work.

Mufick hereafter ^a. And indeed, when I fet before me the prefent State of the Times, wherein *Learning* makes her third Vifit to mankind ^b; and carefully reflect how well ſhe finds us prepared, and furniſhed with all kinds of Helps; the Sublimity and Penetration of many Genius's of the Age; thoſe excellent Monuments of the ancient Writings, which ſhine as ſo many great Lights before us; the Art of Printing, which largely ſupplies Men of all Fortunes with Books; the open Traffick of the Globe, both by Sea and Land, whence we receive numerous Experiments, unknown to former Ages, and a large Acceſſion to the maſs of *Natural Hiſtory*; the leiſure which the greateſt Minds in the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Europe* every where enjoy, as being leſs immerſed in Buſineſs than the ancient *Greeks*, by reaſon of their populous States, or the *Romans*, thro' the extenſivenes of their Empire; the Peace at preſent ſpread over *Britain, Spain, Italy, France*, and many other Countries; the exhaustion of all that can be invented or ſaid in Religious Controverſies ^c, which have ſo long diverted many of the beſt Genius's from the Study of other Arts; the uncommon Learning of his preſent *Britannic Majeſty* ^d, about whom, as about a Phoenix, the fine Genius's flock, from all quarters; and laſtly, the inſeparable Property of Time, which is daily to diſcloſe Truth: When all theſe things, I ſay, are conſidered by us, we cannot but be raiſed into a Perſuaſion, that this *third Period* of Learning may far exceed the two former of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; provided only that Men would well and prudently underſtand their own Powers, and the Defects thereof; receive from each other the *Lamps of Invention*, and not the *Firebrands of Contradiſtion*; and eſteem the ſearch after Truth, as a certain noble Enterprize; not a thing of Delight or Ornament; and beſtow their Wealth and Magnificence upon matters of real Worth and Excellence, not upon ſuch as are vulgar and obvious ^e. As to my own Labours, if any one ſhall pleaſe himſelf, or others, in reprehending them, let him do it to the full, provided he but weigh and conſider what he ſays ^f. And certainly the Appeal is juſt, tho' the thing perhaps may not require it, from Mens firſt Thoughts to their ſecond; and from the preſent Age to Poſterity ^g.

101.

^a Obſerve, that all hitherto done, is but in order to regulate and conduct *Enquiries* in future.

^b Alluding only to the two famous ones, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

^c This is ſpoke like one who was verſed in *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, and *polemical Divinity*; for ſcarce any Religious Diſpute can be raiſed, that has not been upon the Carpet before: but many have found the Art, by heat and warmth, to revive old Doctrines, Opinions, and Hereties, and paſs them upon the Crowd for new; as if *Religious Controverſies* were to be entailed upon Mankind, and deſcend from one Generation to another.

^d *Viz.* King *James I.*

^e See the way of doing this, pointed out in the Author's *New ATLANTIS*.

^f *Verbera ſed audi.*

^g This Appeal of the Author from Mens firſt Thoughts, to their ſecond; or from thence again to Poſterity; may well deſerve our Attention: as it appears, by numerous Inſtances, that he does not give us his own firſt crude immature Thoughts, upon any Subject he treats; but delivers the Reſult of his Enquiries, after long Experience, Meditation, and frequent Rejections of ſuperficial and popular Notions: ſo that if he errs, it is rather his Unhappineſs than his

101. We come, lastly, to that *Science*, which the two former Periods of Time were not blessed with; *viz. sacred and inspired Theology*: the Sabbath of all our Labours and Peregrinations.

S E C T. XXVIII.

The DOCTRINE of INSPIRED THEOLOGY, or
 DIVINITY.

1. **H**AVING now, with our small Bark of Knowledge, sailed over, and surrounded the Globe of the *Sciences*, as well the old World as the new, (let Posterity judge with what Success;) we should pay our Vows and conclude; did there not still remain another part to be viewed; *viz. sacred or inspired Theology*. But if we were disposed to survey it, we must quit the small Vessel of *human Reason*, and put ourselves on board the *Ship of the Church*; which alone possesses the *Divine Needle* for justly shaping the *Course*. Nor will the Stars of Philosophy, that have hitherto principally lent their Light, be of farther service to us: and therefore 'twere not improper to be silent also upon this Subject, as well as upon that of *Government*. For which reason, we will omit the just distributions of it, and only contribute, according to our slender Ability, a few Particulars in the way of *good Wishes*. And this we do the rather, because we find no Tract in the whole Region of Divinity, that is absolutely deserted or uncultivated: so great has the Diligence of Men been, in sowing either *Wheat* or *Tares*. We shall therefore only propose three *Appendages of Theology*; treating not of the Matter already form'd, or to be form'd by *Divinity*, but only of the *Manner of forming it*. Neither will we here, as we have hitherto practis'd, give any Sketches, annex any Specimens, or lay down any Precepts for these Treatises; but leave all this to *Divines*^a.

The Divisions and Cultivation of Divinity left to Divines.

2. The Prerogative of God extends over the whole Man, and reaches both to his *Will* and his *Reason*; so that Man must absolutely renounce himself, and submit to God: and therefore, as we are obliged to *obey the divine Law*, tho' our Will murmur against it; so are we obliged to *believe the Word of God*, tho' our Reason be shock'd at it. For if we should believe only such things as are agreeable to our *Reason*; we assent to the *Mat-*

The Prerogative of Revelation over the Light of Nature.

his Fau't; and would not have his Reader err along with him. This Conduct in an Author, doubtless requires, that the Reader should not be hasty, or judge off-hand; but duly weigh and consider, before he passes Censure.

^a The Address and Conduct of the Author, in this, and the succeeding Paragraph, will be manifest to those who are conversant in *Ecclesiastical History*; and apprized of the Mischiefs of *Infidelity*.

ter, and not to the *Author*: which is no more than we do to a suspected Witness. But the *Faith* imputed to Abraham for *Righteousness*, consisted in a Particular, laugh'd at by *Sarah*: who, in that respect, was an Image of the *natural Reason*. And therefore, *the more absurd and incredible any divine Mystery is, the greater honour we do to God in believing it*; and *so much the more noble the Victory of Faith*^a: As Sinners, the more they are oppress'd in Conscience, yet relying upon the Mercy of God for Salvation, honour him the more; for all Despair is a kind of reproaching the Deity. And, if well consider'd, *Belief is more worthy than Knowledge*; such Knowledge, I mean, as we have at present: for in *Knowledge*, the human Mind is acted upon by Sense, which results from material things: but in *Faith*, *the Spirit is affected by Spirit*; which is the more worthy Agent. 'Tis otherwise in the *State of Glory*: for then *Faith shall cease, and we shall know as we are known*. Let us therefore conclude, that *sacred Theology* must be drawn from the *Word and Oracles of God*; not from the *Light of Nature*, or the Dictates of Reason. 'Tis written, that *the Heavens declare the Glory of God*: but we nowhere find it, that *the Heavens declare the Will of God*; which is pronounced a *Law, and a Testimony, that Men should do according to it, &c.* Nor does this hold only in the great Mysteries of the Godhead, of *the Creation*, and of *the Redemption*; but belongs also to the true *Interpretation of the moral Law*. *Love your Enemies, do good to them that hate you, &c. that ye may be the Children of your heavenly Father, who sends his Rain upon the Just and the Unjust*. Which Words are *more than human*; and go beyond the *Light of Nature*. So the heathen Poets, especially when they speak pathetically, frequently expostulate with *Laws and moral Doctrines*, (tho' these are far more easy and indulgent than Divine Laws;) as if they had a kind of malignant Opposition to the freedom of Nature^b: according to the Expression of *Dendamis*, the *Indian*, to the Messengers of *Alexander*; "viz. that he had heard indeed *some-what of Pythagoras, and the other wise Men of Greece, and believed them to have been great Men*; but that they held a certain fantastical thing, which they called *Law and Morality, in too great veneration and esteem.*" We cannot doubt, therefore, that a large part of the Moral Law is too sublime to be attained by the *Light of Nature*: tho' 'tis still certain, that Men, even from the *Light and Law of Nature*, have some Notions of Virtue, Vice, Justice, Wrong, Good, and Evil.

Two Significations of the Light of Nature.

3. We must observe, that the *Light of Nature* has two Significations; (1.) as it arises from Sense, Induction, Reason and Argument; according to the *Laws of Heaven and Earth*: and (2.) as it shines in the human Mind, by internal Instinct; according to the *Law of Conscience*: which is a certain Spark, and, as it were, a Relique of our primitive Purity. And in this latter sense chiefly, the Soul receives some Light, for beholding and discerning the

^a On the Foundation here laid down, it cannot appear incredible, that the Author should write the *Characteristicks of a believing Christian. in Paradoxes, and seeming Contradictions*; which makes the SIXTEENTH SUPPLEMENT to this general Work; for he is here express, that *Reason and Faith* are Opposites: and if this Position be allow'd, *Revelation* will then, perhaps, stand on its just Foundation.

^b ————*Et quod natura remittit Invida jura negant*———

the Perfection of the moral Law; tho' this Light be not *perfectly clear*, but of such a nature, as rather to reprehend Vice, than give a full Information of Duty: whence *Religion*, both with regard to *Mysteries* and *Morality*, depends upon *divine Revelation*^a.

4. Yet the *Use of human Reason* in spiritual things, is various, and very extensive: for Religion is justly called a *reasonable Service*. The Types and Ceremonies of the *old Law*, were rational and significative; differing widely from the Ceremonies of Idolatry and Magick: which are a kind of deaf and dumb Shew; and generally uninstruative, even by *innuendo*. But the *Christian Faith*, as in all things else, excels in this, that it preserves the golden Mean in the use of Reason, and Dispute, the Child of Reason; between the Laws of the *Heathens*, and of *Mahomet*, which go into extremes: for the heathen Religion had no *constant Belief*, or Confession; and the *Mahometan* forbids all *Disputes in Religion*: whence one appears with the face of manifold Error; the other as a crafty and subtle Imposture: whilst the *sacred Christian Faith*, both receives and rejects the use of Reason and Dispute, under due limitation.

The Use of human Reason allowable in Religion.

5. The *Use of human Reason in Matters of Religion*, is of two kinds; the *one* consisting in the *Explanation of Mysteries*; the *other* in the *Deductions* from them. As to the *Explanation of Mysteries*, we find that God himself condescends to the Weakness of our Capacity; and opens his Mysteries, so as they may be best understood by us; inoculating, as it were, his Revelations into the Notions and Comprehensions of our Reason: and accommodating his Inspirations to the opening of our Understanding, as a Key is fitted to open the Lock. Tho', in this respect, we should not be wanting to ourselves: for as God makes use of our Reason in his Illuminations; so ought we likewise to exercise it every way; in order to become more capable of receiving and imbibing Mysteries: provided the Mind be enlarged, according to its Capacity, to the Greatness of the Mysteries; and not the Mysteries contracted to the Narrowness of the Mind.

This Use of Reason is of two Kinds; regarding, (1.) the Explanation of Mysteries.

6. With regard to *Inferences*; we must know, that we have a certain secondary and respective, not a primitive and absolute, use of Reason, and Arguing, left us about Mysteries. For after the Articles and Principles of *Religion* are so seated, as to be entirely removed from the Examination of Reason; we are then permitted to draw Inferences from them, agreeable to their Analogy. But this holds not in natural things, where *Principles* themselves are subject to Examination by *Induction*; tho' not by *Syllogism*: and have, besides, no repugnancy to Reason; so that both the first and middle Propositions, are derivable from the same Fountain. 'Tis otherwise in *Religion*, where the first Propositions are self-existent; and subsist of themselves, uncontrolled by that Reason which deduces the subsequent Propositions. Nor is this the case in *Religion* alone, but likewise in other Sciences, as well the serious as the light, where the *primary Propositions* are postulated; as things wherein the use of Reason cannot be absolute. Thus in *Chefs*, or other

And (2.) Inferences from them.

^a Hence Divines have justly applied themselves to the Proof and Demonstration of a *Revelation*; which being once established, the Doctrines it delivers are incontestable.

other Games of the like nature, the first Rules and Laws of the Play, are merely positive Postulates; which ought to be entirely received, not disputed: but the skilful playing of the Game, is a Matter of Art and Reason. So in human Laws, there are numerous Maxims, or mere *Placits of Law* received, which depend more upon Authority than Reason; and come not into dispute: But then for the Enquiry, what is not absolutely, but relatively most *just* herein; *viz.* in conformity with those Maxims: this, indeed, is a point of Reason; and affords a large Field for Dispute. Such, therefore, is that *secondary Reason* which has place in sacred Theology; and is founded upon the good-pleasure of God.

Two Excesses
of human
Reason in Di-
vinity.

7. And as the use of human Reason, in things divine, is of two kinds; so is it attended with two Excesses: (1.) the one, when it too curiously enquires into the manner of a Mystery; (2.) the other, when it attributes an equal Authority to the Inference, as to the Principles. For he may seem a Disciple of *Nicodemus*, who shall obstinately enquire, *How can a Man be born, when he is old?* But he can be esteemed no Disciple of *St. Paul*, who does not sometimes insert in his Doctrine, *I, not the Lord*, or, *according to my Judgment*; which is the Style that generally suits with Inferences. Whence it seems a thing of capital Use and Benefit, to have a sober and diligent TREATISE wrote, concerning the proper Use of human Reason in Divinity, by way of a DIVINE LOGICK. For this would be like an Opiate in Medicine; and not only lay asleep those empty Speculations which sometimes disturb the Schools; but also allay that Fury of Controversy which raises such Tumults in the Church. This TREATISE, therefore, we place among the things that are wanted, under the Name of THE MODERATOR; or the TRUE USE OF HUMAN REASON IN THEOLOGY*.

The first Ap-
pendage to
Theology wan-
ting; *viz.*
The Modera-
tor.

A Discourse
upon the De-
grees of Unity
among Chris-
tians, defi-
cient.

8. 'Tis of the utmost importance to the *Peace of the Church*, to have the *Covenant of Christians*, prescribed by our Saviour in two particulars, that seem somewhat contradictory, well and clearly explained: the one whereof runs thus; *he who is not with us, is against us*; and the other thus; *he who is not against us, is for us*: whence it plainly appears, that there are some Points wherein he who differs is to be excluded the *Covenant*; and others again, wherein Christians may differ, and yet keep Terms. The *Bonds of the Christian Communion* are *one Faith, one Baptism, &c.* not *one Ceremony, one Opinion, &c.* Our Saviour's Coat was seamless; but the Garment of the Church of many Colours. The Chaff must be separated from the Wheat; but the Tares in the Field are not to be hastily plucked up from the Corn. *Moses*, when he saw the *Egyptian* contending with the *Israelite*, did not say, *Why strive ye?* but drew his Sword, and kill'd the *Egyptian*: but when he saw two *Israelites* fighting together, tho' the Cause of one of them might have been unjust; yet he says to them, *Ye are Brethren, why strive ye?* All which being

* Many of the modern *rational Divines* have treated this Subject; particularly *Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston, &c.* or if more unexceptionable Writers are required, see *Mr. Boyle's Christian Virtuoso*, and *Things above Reason consider'd*; and *Mr. Locke on the Reasonableness of Christianity*. But the Point does not appear settled to general Satisfaction; nor Divines agreed upon it among themselves.

being well consider'd, it seems a thing of great use and moment, to define *what, and of how great Latitude those Matters are, which totally cut off Men from the Body of the Church; and exclude them the Communion of the Faithful.* And if any one shall imagine this done already, we advise him seriously to reflect, with what Justice and Moderation. But 'tis highly probable, that whoever speaks of *Peace*, will meet with that Answer of *Jehu* to the Messenger; *What has Peace to do with Jehu? What hast thou to do with Peace? Turn, and follow me.* For the Hearts of most Men are not set upon *Peace*, but *Party*. And yet we think proper to place among the things wanting,

The second Appendance to Divinity wanting; a Discourse of Unity.

A DISCOURSE UPON THE DEGREES OF UNITY IN THE CITY OF GOD, as a wholesome and useful Undertaking^a.

9. The holy *Scriptures* having so great a share in the Constitution of Theology, a principal regard must be had to their Interpretation. We speak not of the Authority of interpreting, establish'd by the *Consent of the Church*; but of the *manner of interpreting*: which is either *methodical*, or *loose*. For the pure Waters of Divinity are drawn, and employ'd, nearly in the same manner as the *natural Waters* of Springs; *viz.* (1.) either received in Cisterns, and thence derived thro' different Pipes, for the more commodious Use of Men; or (2.) immediately poured into Vessels for present Occasions. The former *methodical way* has produced the *scholastick Divinity*; whereby the *Doctrine of Theology* is collected into an Art, as in a Cistern; and thence distributed around, by the conveyance of *Axioms* and *Propositions*.

Two ways of interpreting Scripture; viz. the methodical, and the loose.

10. But the *loose way of interpreting* has two Excesses; the one supposes such a Perfection in the *Scriptures*, that all *Philosophy* should be derived from their Fountains; as if every other Philosophy were a profane and heathenish thing. And this Distemper principally reigned in the School of *Paracelsus*, and some others: tho' originally derived from the *Rabbies* and *Cabbalists*. But these Men fail of their End; for they do not, by this means, honour the *Scriptures*, as they imagine; but rather debase and pollute them. For they who seek a *material Heaven*, and a *material Earth*, in the Word of God; absurdly seek for *transitory things* among *eternal*. To look for *Theology* in *Philosophy*, is looking for the living among the dead; and to look for *Philosophy* in *Theology*, is to look for the dead among the living.

The loose way subject to two Excesses.

11. The other *Excess, in the manner of Interpretation*, appears, at first sight, just and sober; yet greatly dishonours the *Scriptures*, and greatly injures the Church, by *explaining the inspired Writings in the same manner as human Writings are explained*. For we must remember, that to God, the Author of the *Scriptures*, those two things lie open which are concealed from Men; the *Secrets of the Heart*, and the *Successions of Time*. Therefore, as the Dictates of Scripture are directed to the Heart, and include the Vicissitudes of all Ages, along with an eternal and certain Foreknowledge of all Heresies, Contradictions, and the mutable States of the Church, as well in general, as

^a This *Desideratum* the Author himself has endeavour'd to supply, in his Discourse of the *Peace of the Church*; which makes the SEVENTEENTH and last SUPPLEMENT to this *General Arrangement of Knowledge, and Method of improving the Sciences*.

in particulars; these Scriptures are not to be interpreted barely according to the obvious Sense of the Place; or with regard to the Occasion upon which the Words were spoken; or precisely by the Context, or the principal Scope of the Passage; but upon a knowledge of their containing, not only in gross or collectively, but also distributively, in particular Words and Clauses, numberless Rivulets and Veins of Doctrine, for watering all the parts of the Church, and all the Minds of the Faithful. For 'tis excellently observed, that the Answers of our Saviour are not suited to many of the Questions proposed to him; but appear, in a manner, impertinent: and this for two Reasons, (1.) because, as he knew the Thoughts of those who put the Question; not from their Words, as Men know them; but immediately, and of himself, he answer'd to their Thoughts, and not to their Words: and (2.) because he spoke not to those alone who were present, but to us also now living, and to the Men of every Age and Place, where the Gospel shall be preached. And this Observation holds in other parts of Scripture^a.

The third Appendix to Diversity wanted; viz. Notes and Observations upon particular Texts. 12. We find, among *Theological Writings*, too many *Books of Controversy*; a vast Mass of that we call *positive Theology*; *Common-Places*; *particular Treatises*; *Cases of Conscience*; *Sermons*; *Homilies*; and numerous prolix *Comments* upon the several Books of the Scriptures: But the thing we want and propose, as our third *Appendix to Theology*, is, A SHORT, SOUND, AND JUDICIOUS COLLECTION OF NOTES, AND OBSERVATIONS, UPON PARTICULAR TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE; without running into Common-place, pursuing Controversies, or reducing these Notes to artificial Method; but leaving them quite loose, and native: a thing we find sometimes done in the more learned kind of *Sermons*; which are seldom of long duration: tho' it has not hitherto prevail'd in Books, design'd for Posterity. But certainly, as those Wines which flow from the first treading of the Grape, are sweeter and better, than those forced out by the Press, which gives them the Roughness of the Husk and the Stone; so are those Doctrines best and wholesomest, which flow from a gentle Crush of the Scripture; and are not wrung into *Controversies* and *Common-place*. And this *Treatise* we set down as wanting, under the Title of the FIRST FLOWINGS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Conclusion. 13. And now we have finished our *small GLOBE of the intellectual World*, with all the Exactness we could; marking out and describing those parts of it, which we find either not constantly inhabited, or not sufficiently cultivated. And if, thro' the Course of the Work, we should any where seem to depart from the Opinion of the Ancients, we would have it remembered, that this is not done for the sake of Novelty, or striking into different Paths from them; but with a desire of improving. For we could neither act consistently with ourselves, nor the Design, without resolving to add all we could to the Inventions of others: at the same time wishing that our own Discoveries may be exceeded by those of Posterity. And how fairly we have

^a Hence those appear not to act injudiciously, who seek for an allegorical, and spiritual Meaning in the *Scriptures*; after the Example of *Origen*, and other learned Fathers of the Church. Tho' it is at present warmly disputed, whether the *Scriptures* are to be *literally* or *spiritually* interpreted.

have dealt in this matter, may appear from hence; that our Opinions are every where proposed naked and undefended; without endeavouring to bribe the Liberty of others by Confutations. For where the things advanced prove just, we hope, that if any Scruple or Objection arise in the first reading, an Answer will of itself be made in the second. And wherever we have erred, we are certain to have done no Violence to the Truth by litigious Arguments; the effect whereof, is the procuring Authority to Error, and detracting from what is well invented: for *Error receives Honour, and Truth a Repulse from Contention.*

14. And here I cannot but reflect, how appositely that Answer of *The-mistocles* may be applied to myself, which he made to the Deputy of a small Village, haranguing upon great things; "*Friend, thy Words require a City.*" For so it may be said of my *Views*, that they *require an Age*; perhaps a *whole Age* to prove^a, and *numerous Ages* to execute. But as THE GREATEST THINGS ARE OWING TO THEIR BEGINNINGS, 'twill be enough for me to have *sown for Posterity*, and the Honour of the *immortal Being*; whom I humbly entreat, thro' his Son, our Saviour, favourably to accept these, and the like *Sacrifices of the human Understanding*, season'd with Religion, and offer'd up to his Glory!

S E C T. XXIX.

The COAST of the NEW INTELLECTUAL WORLD: or, a RECAPITULATION of the DEFICIENCIES of KNOWLEDGE; pointed out in the preceding WORK, to be supplied by POSTERITY.

1. **T**HE HISTORY OF MONSTERS; or irregular Productions of Nature; in all the three Kingdoms, Vegetable, Animal, and Mineral.

2. *The* HISTORY OF ARTS; or *Nature* form'd and wrought by human Industry.

3. A *well-purged* HISTORY OF NATURE in her extent; or the *Phænomena of the Universe.*

M m 2

4.

^a The Age is now past; and in what state do we find ourselves? Certainly somewhat the more advanced in Knowledge by these Labours of the Author: tho' we still come far short of Perfection. The learned *Morhof* undertakes to shew, that all the modern Improvements made by our own Nation, in *Philosophy*, are owing to the Lord *Bacon*; who, as that Writer expresses it, *every where abounds with the Seeds of Things*; many whereof, we may add, were sown so deep, as not yet to have sprouted. See *Morhof's Polyhistor passim.*

4. INDUCTIVE HISTORY ; or *Historical Matters* consequentially deduced from Phænomena, Facts, Observations, Experiments, Arts, and the active Sciences.
5. AN UNIVERSAL LITERARY HISTORY ; or the Affairs relating to *Learning and Knowledge*, in all Ages and Countries of the World.
6. BIOGRAPHY ; or the Lives of all eminent Persons.
7. The HISTORY OF PROPHECY ; or the *Accomplishment of divine Predictions* ; to serve as a Guide in the *Interpretation of Prophecies*.
8. The PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANCIENT FABLES ; or a just Interpretation of the *Mythology of the Ancients*.
9. PRIMARY PHILOSOPHY ; or a Collection of *general Axioms*, subservient to all the *Sciences*.
10. PHYSICAL ASTRONOMY ; or a *Philosophical History of the Heavens*.
11. A JUST ASTROLOGY ; or the *real Effects of the Celestial Bodies upon the Terrestrial*.
12. A CALENDAR OF DOUBTS ; or *Natural Problems*, to be continued thro' all Ages ; along with a *Calendar of vulgar Errors*.
13. A COLLECTION OF THE OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
14. An *Enquiry* into the SIMPLE FORMS OF THINGS ; or that which constitutes their Essences, and Differences.
15. NATURAL MAGICK ; relative to the *Doctrine of Forms*.
16. AN INVENTORY OF KNOWLEDGE ; or an *Account of the Stock of Learning among Mankind*.
17. A CALENDAR OF LEADING EXPERIMENTS ; for the better Interpretation of Nature.
18. SHORT AND COMMODIOUS METHODS OF CALCULATION, in Business, Astronomy, &c.
19. The DOCTRINE OF GESTURE ; or the Motions of the Body : with a View to their Interpretation.
20. COMPARATIVE ANATOMY, BETWIXT DIFFERENT HUMAN BODIES.
21. *A Work upon* INCURABLE DISEASES ; to lessen their Number, and fix a true Notion of INCURABLE in Medicine.
22. The LAUDABLE MEANS OF PROCURING EASY DEATHS.
23. A SET OF APPROVED AND EFFECTUAL REMEDIES, *for Diseases*.
24. The WAYS OF IMITATING NATURAL SPRINGS, AND BATH-WATERS.
25. The FILUM MEDICINALE ; or PHYSICIANS CLUE, in Prescription.
26. A NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, fundamental to Physick.
27. The WAYS OF PROLONGING LIFE.
28. AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND SUBSTANCE OF THE SENSITIVE SOUL.
29. The DOCTRINE OF MUSCULAR MOTION ; or the Efficacy of the Spirits in moving the Body.
30. The DOCTRINE OF SENSE AND SENSIBILITY ; or the Difference betwixt *Perception and Sense*.

31. AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND FORM OF LIGHT; or *the Foundation of Opticks.*

32. THE ART OF INVENTING ARTS.

33. THE TRUE USE OF INDUCTION in *Philosophy.*

34. THE ART OF INDICATION, or DIRECTION, in *Philosophy.*

35. A LEARNED or SAGACIOUS KIND OF EXPERIENCE; different from the Vulgar, and leading to the direct Improvement of Arts.

36. A PARTICULAR TOPICAL INVENTION; directed by the Light of *leading Questions*, or proper Heads of Enquiry.

37. THE DOCTRINE OF IDOLS; or a Detection and Confutation of the *Prejudices, false Conceptions, and Errors of the Mind.*

38. A NEW ENGINE; or *Helps for the Mind corresponding to those of the Hand.*

39. AN APPENDIX TO THE ART OF JUDGMENT; assigning the Kinds of Demonstration proper to every Subject.

40. AN INTERPRETATION of the *Marks, Signatures, or Impressions of Things.*

41. A PHILOSOPHICAL GRAMMAR; or an Account of the *various Properties of different Languages, in order to form one perfect Pattern of Speech.*

42. THE TRADITIVE LAMP; or *the proper Method of delivering down the Sciences to Posterity.*

43. THE DOCTRINE OF PRUDENCE IN PRIVATE DISCOURSE; or *Colours of Good and Ill.*

44. A COLLECTION OF SOPHISMS; with their *Confutations.*

45. A COLLECTION OF STUDIED ANTITHETS; or *short and strong Sentences, on both sides of the Question; in a variety of Subjects.*

46. A COLLECTION OF LESSER FORMS OF SPEECH; for *all the Occasions of Writing and Speaking.*

47. SOBER SATYR; or the *INSIDES OF THINGS.*

48. THE GEORGICKS OF THE MIND; or the Means of *procuring the true moral Habit of Virtue.*

49. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTERS, or NATURES OF PERSONS.

50. THE DOCTRINE OF THE AFFECTIONS, PASSIONS, or PERTURBATIONS OF THE MIND.

51. THE SECRETARY TO THE USES OF LIFE; or *the Doctrine of various Occasions.*

52. THE DOCTRINE OF BUSINESS; or *Books upon all Kinds of Civil Employments, Arts, Trades, &c.*

53. SELF-POLICY; *the Doctrine of Rising in Life*; or the Means of advancing a Man's private Fortune.

54. THE MILITARY STATESMAN; or *the Political Doctrine of enlarging the Bounds of Empire.*

55. THE DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSAL JUSTICE; or *the Fountains of Equity.*

56. THE MODERATOR IN DIVINITY; or the true Use of human Reason in the Business of Revelation.

57. The DEGREES OF UNITY IN RELIGION, *adjusted*; with a View to preserve the *Peace of the Church*.

58. The FIRST FLOWINGS OF THE SCRIPTURE; or a Set of short, found, and judicious NOTES, upon particular Texts; tending to Use and Practice^a.

^a When these *Desiderata of Knowledge* shall be duly supplied; may we not reasonably expect a more serviceable Philosophy, and a happier *World*, than that we at present enjoy? The Misfortune lies here, that there is an almost *universal Indolence* in Mankind, with regard to those Things that have never yet been effected. And 'till the Intellect be thoroughly convinced of the Use and Practicability of such Things; and the Affections be won over to the side of Reason; there is no room to expect any very great Improvements, or Enlargements, in the present scanty, and superficial Set of *Arts and Sciences*. This were a large Field to enter upon; but the Author has contracted the whole, and brought it to a fixed Point of View, in his *NOVUM ORGANUM, or New Machine for the Mind*; to which we therefore refer. See, in particular, PART I. SECT. VI. of that Work.

END OF THE

DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM.



A GENERAL
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM:
OR, THE
Several PIECES of the AUTHOR,
Tending to Supply the
DEFICIENCIES of KNOWLEDGE,
Pointed out in that WORK.



P R E F A C E.

THE *Desiderata of Knowledge*, pointed out in the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, may require all the Assistance that can any way be procured to supply them. We, therefore, here range together the several lesser Works of the Author, that have a Tendency to this End; and place them in the Order they stand indicated by that general and leading Performance: which the Author appositely supposes a kind of Globe of the Intellectual World, where the Sum of Knowledge in his Time, is branched, and laid down from just Observation and Experience, under the several Sciences, or capital Heads of Learning; together with the Coasts and Roads that lead to the hitherto undiscovered Parts of Philosophy. Some of these Parts are brought to a nearer View, by the following Supplemental Pieces; which also afford particular Directions and Examples for enlarging or extending the Empire of Man over the Works of Nature. And tho' the whole of this Supplemental Part may appear considerably large, yet it falls infinitely short of executing the several Plans laid down in the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*: and possibly all the modern Improvements and Discoveries, however numerous they may be thought, would not go far in filling them up. The Designs of that Work are so vast, that perhaps many Ages are still required to execute them. If the present Sum of Knowledge were to be taken, in the Aphoristical Manner; that is, be nakedly set down, without Opinions, Incertainties, and foreign Ornaments; how much more bulky a Volume would it make than the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*: It is not, however, the Quantity, but the Quality

P R E F A C E.

lity of the Materials, that chiefly imports the Advancement of Philosophy. But let any Man soberly consider, whether the thing we commonly call by the name of Learning, be much more than the Husk or Foliage of solid, serviceable and effective Philosophy; whose entire Plants are Aphorisms; and whose Seeds are AXIOMS, pregnant with Works. To set this Truth in its proper Light, is the Author's principal Design, in most of the following Attempts.



S U P P L E M E N T I.

T H E

N E W A T L A N T I S :

O R, A

P L A N of a S O C I E T Y

F O R T H E

Promotion of **K**NOWLEDGE.

P R E F A C E.

THE present Piece has, perhaps, been esteemed a greater Fiction than it is: The Form of the History is purely imaginary; but the Things mentioned in it seem purely Philosophical; and, if Men would exert themselves, probably practical. But whilst our Minds labour under a kind of Despondency and Dejection, with regard to operative Philosophy; and refuse to put forth their strength; the Wings of Hope are clipped. And, in this Situation, the Mind seems scarce accessible but by Fiction. For plain Reason will here prove dull and languid; and even Works themselves rather stupefy than rouze and inform. Whence the prudent and seasonable use of Invention and Imagery, is a great Secret for winning over the Affections to Philosophy. We have here, as in miniature, a Summary of Universal Knowledge; Examples, Precepts and Models for improving the Mind in History, Geography, Chronology, Military Discipline, Civil Conversation, Morality, Policy, Physicks, &c. whence it appears like a kind of Epitome, and farther Improvement of the Scheme of the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*. The dignity and utility of the Design may appear from hence; that not only Mr. Cowley endeavoured to imitate it, in his Plan of a Philosophical Society; but even the Royal Society of London, and the Royal Academy of Paris, have, from their first Institution, employed themselves, and still continue employed, in its execution.

The

*The NEW ATLANTIS^a: or a Plan of a Society
for the Promotion of KNOWLEDGE.*

Delivered in the Way of Fiction.

S E C T I.

*A fictitious
Voyage, inti-
mating the
Discovery of a
new Country.*

1. **A**fter a twelvemonth's stay at *Peru*^b, we sailed from thence for *China* and *Japan*, by the *South-Sea*; and had fair Winds from the East, tho' soft and gentle, for above five Months: then the Wind changed and settled in the West, for several days; so that we made little way, and sometimes purposed to sail back. But now there arose strong Winds from the South, one point to the East, which carried us to the North: by which time our Provisions failed us. And being thus amidst the greatest wilderness of Waters in the World; we gave ourselves for lost. Yet lifting up our hearts to God, who *sheweth his wonders in the Deep*; we besought him, that as in the beginning he disclosed the face of the Deep, and made dry Land appear; so we might now discover Land, and not perish. The next day about Evening, we saw before us, towards the North, the appearance of thick Clouds, which gave us some hopes: for as that part of the *South-Sea* was utterly unknown; we judged it might have *Islands* or *Continents*, hitherto undiscovered. We, therefore, shaped our Course towards them; and in the dawn of the next day plainly discerned Land.

*The Ship's ar-
rival to an un-
known Port.
Their humane
Reception.*

2. After sailing an hour longer, we entered the Port of a fair City; not large, but well built, and affording an agreeable Prospect from the Sea. Upon offering to go on shore, we saw People with Wands in their hands, as it were forbidding us; yet without any Cry or Fierceness; but only warning us off by Signs. Whereupon we advised among ourselves what to do: when a small Boat presently made out to us, with about eight Persons in it; one whereof held in his hand a short, yellow Cane, tipped at both ends with blue; who made on board our Ship, without any shew of distrust. And seeing one of our number present himself somewhat at the head of the rest, he drew out, and delivered to him, a little Scroll of yellow polish'd Parch-

^a The Title is evidently taken from *Plato's Account of the Atlantis*; which some will have a Fable, and others a real History. And either way, the thing has somewhat of the marvellous; see *Plato's Timæus*. See also hereafter §. 26.

^b The Narration may be supposed delivered by a Philosophical *Spaniard*, the capital Person of the Ship's Company. See hereafter, §. 3, 11. &c.

Parchment^a, wherein were written in ancient *Hebrew*, ancient *Greek*, *Latin* of the *School*, and in *Spanish*, these Words: *Land ye not, and provide to be gone within sixteen days; except ye have farther time given you: but if ye want fresh Water, Provision, Help for your Sick, or Repair for your Ship, write down your Wants, and ye shall have what belongs to Mercy.* The Scroll was sealed with Cherubims Wings, and a Cross.

3. This being deliver'd, the Officer return'd, and left only a Servant to receive our Answer. Our Answer was, in *Spanish*, That our Ship wanted no Repair; for we had rather met with Calms and contrary Winds, than Tempests: but our Sick were many; so that if not permitted to land, their Lives were in danger. Our other Wants we set down in particular; adding, that we had some little store of Merchandize; which, if they pleased to traffick for, might supply our Wants, without being burdensome to them. We offered Money to the Servant; and a Piece of Crimfon Velvet to be presented the Officer: but the Servant took them not; and would scarce look upon them: so left us, and return'd in another little Boat that was sent for him.

4. About three Hours after our Answer was dispatch'd, there came to us a Person of Figure. He had on a Gown with wide Sleeves, a kind of Water-Camblet, of an excellent and bright Azure^b; his under Garment was green, so was his Hat, being in the form of a Turban, curiously made; his Hair hanging below the Brims of it. He came in a Boat, some part of it gilt, along with four other Persons; and was follow'd by another Boat, wherein were twenty. When he was come within Bow-shot of our Ship, Signals were made to us, that we should send out our Boat to meet him; which we presently did, manned with the principal Person amongst us but one, and four of our number with him. When we came within six Yards of their Boat, they bid us approach no farther: we obeyed; and thereupon the Person of Figure, before described, stood up; and, with a loud Voice, in *Spanish*, asked, *Are ye Christians?* We answered, yes; fearing the less, because of the Cross we had seen in the Signet. At which Answer, the said Person lift up his right Hand towards Heaven, and drew it softly to his Mouth; a Gesture they use when they thank God, and then said; *If ye will swear by the Merits of the Saviour, that ye are no Pirates; nor have shed Blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty Days past; ye have Licence to come on shore.* We said, we were all ready to take the Oath. Whereupon, one of those that were with him, being, as it appear'd, a *Notary*, made an entry of this Act. Which done, another of the Attendants in the same Boat, after his Lord had spoke to him, said aloud; *My Lord would have ye know, that it is not out of Pride, or Greatness, that he does not come on board your Ship; but as in your Answer, you declare you have many sick among you, he was warned by the CITY-CONSERVATOR OF HEALTH to keep at a distance.* We bowed ourselves, and answered, we accounted what was already done a great Honour, and

*The Officers
take no Fees.*

*A superior Of-
ficer examines
them.*

^a They have a Paper of this kind in the *East-Indies*.

^b Observe, that this was a Colour, till of late, wanting in *Europe*; particularly in the Art of *Callico Printing*, and staining of *Linen*.

and singular Humanity; but hoped, that the Sickness of our Men was not infectious. Then he returned.

*A Notary
comes on board
them.*

5. A while after came the *Notary* on board our Ship; holding in his hand a Fruit of that Country, like an Orange; but of a Colour between Orange-tawny and Scarlet, and of an excellent Odour. This he used as a Prefervative against Infection. He gave us our Oath, by the name of *Jesus*, and his Merits: and told us, that the next day, by six in the Morning, we should be brought to the HOUSE OF STRANGERS; so he call'd it; and be there accommodated. At his leaving us, we offer'd him a Present; but he smiling, said, he must not be twice paid for one Labour: meaning, that he had a Salary sufficient from the State for his Service. For, as we found afterwards, they call an Officer who takes Rewards, *twice paid*.

*Part of their
Number go on
shore.*

6. Next Morning early, we were visited by the same Officer as at first, with his Cane; who said, he came to conduct us to the HOUSE OF STRANGERS; and that he had prevented the Hour, to allow us the whole Day for our Business. For, said he, if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you, to view the Place, that it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your Sick, and the rest of your number intended to come on shore. We thanked him, and answer'd, that this care he took of desolate Strangers, God would reward. So six of us went with him: and when we came to land, he walk'd before; first turning to us, and saying he was but our Servant, and our Guide. He led us thro' three fair Streets; and all the way we went, were gather'd People on both sides, standing in a row; but in so civil a manner, as if it had been, not to wonder at, but to welcome us: and many of them, as we pass'd by, spread their Arms a little; which is their Gesture, when they bid welcome^a.

*A Description
of the House
of Strangers.*

7. The HOUSE OF STRANGERS is fair and spacious, built of Brick, of a bluer Colour than our Brick^b; with curious Windows, some of Glafs, some of oiled Cambrick^c. He brought us first into a fair Parlour, above stairs; then asked us, what number of Persons we were? And how many sick? We answer'd, we were in all fifty one; whereof our Sick were seventeen. He desired us to have patience, and stay till he returned; as he did about an hour after; then led us to see the Chambers, provided for us, which were nineteen in number: so contriv'd, that four better than the rest, might receive four principal Men of our Company, and lodge them separate; and the other fifteen, lodge two and two together. The Chambers were handsome, chearful, and decently furnished. Then he led us to a long Gallery; where he shew'd us on one side seventeen neat Cells, with Partitions of Cedar. These Cells, being in all forty, were design'd as
an

^a The Good-breeding conspicuous in this Fable, is no less than its Morality, Civil Policy, and Philosophy; which renders it an excellent Lesson. that might have its use in *Universities* and *Schools*. With which view, perhaps, it was that the Author seems to have intended a *Latin Edition* of it; as may be suppos'd from Dr. *Rawley's Preface*: and 'tis pity but a more elegant *Latin* Version were given of it, than that which usually goes along with the Author's *Latin* Works.

^b Blue Bricks might prove a Curiosity in Building; and seem not difficult to make. If Earth that turns blue in burning, cannot be procur'd; the *blue Glazing* is common.

^c Which makes excellent Blinds.

an INFIRMARY. He told us also, that as any of our Sick recovered, they might be removed from the Cells to the Chambers: for which purpose there were appointed ten spare Chambers, besides those already mentioned.

8. He then brought us back to the Parlour; and lifting up his Cane a little, as they do when they give any Charge, or Command, said to us; *The Strangers are to know, the Custom of the Country requires, that after this day and to-morrow, which we give you for removing your People from your Ship; ye are to keep within doors for three Days. But let it not trouble you, nor think yourselves restrain'd; but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our People appointed to attend you; for any Business you may have abroad.* We gave him thanks, with due Affection, and Respect; and said, God surely is manifested in this Land. We also offer'd him a considerable Present; but he smil'd, and only said, What? *twice paid!* And so he left us.

9. Soon after this, our Dinner was served in; which we thought better than any collegiate Diet we had known in *Europe*. We had also Liquors of three sorts, all wholesome and excellent; viz. Wine of the Grape; Drink of Grain, or a Liquor like Ale with us, but finer^a; and a kind of Cyder, made of a Fruit of that Country; an extremely pleasant and refreshing Liquor^b.

10. There were also brought us, for our Sick, plenty of those scarlet Oranges^c; which, they said, were an assured Remedy for Sickness taken at Sea^d. They gave us likewise certain small grey, or whitish Pills, whereof they desired our Sick would take one every Night, before sleep; which Medicine, they said, would hasten their Recovery^e.

11. The next Day, after the trouble of removing our Men, and Goods, from the Ship, was somewhat over, I called our Company together; and said to them, *My dear Friends, let us know ourselves, and how it stands with us. We are Men cast on Land, as Jonas was, out of the Whale's Belly; when we were as buried in the deep: and now we are on shore, we seem to be but between Death and Life; for we are beyond both the old World and the new: and whether we shall ever see Europe again, God only knows. A kind of Miracle has brought us hither; and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore, in regard of our Deliverance past, and our Danger present, and to come, let us look up to God; and every Man reform his own ways. Besides, we are here come among a Christian People, full of Piety and Humanity: let us not bring such confusion of face upon ourselves, as to shew our Vices, or Unworthiness, before them. There is still more: for they have by Command, tho' in form of Curtesy, cloyster'd*

^a See the Author's *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles DRINKS, FOODS, CLARIFICATION, and MATURATION.

^b The Improvements that may still be made in *potable Liquors*, are very considerable. This also is touched upon in several Parts of the *Sylva Sylvarum*. See in particular the Article SUGAR.

^c See above, §. 5.

^d 'Tis usual in *France*, and other Countries, to hold a Lemmon in the hand; and frequently apply it to the Nose, when Persons visit disagreeable or infectious Places.

^e Those who would know the simple kind of Medicine here intimated, may, perhaps, be enabled to conjecture it from the Author's *History of Life and Death*.

us within these Walls for three Days: Who knows whether it be not to make some trial of our Manners? And if they find them bad, to banish us directly; if good, to give us farther time. For the Men they have appointed to attend us, may have an eye upon us. Therefore, let us so behave ourselves, that we may be at peace with God; and find favour in the eyes of this People.

Their Answer. 12. Our Company, with one Voice, thanked me for my Admonition; and promis'd me to live soberly and decently, without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three Days agreeably, and at ease; in expectation of what should follow.

The Recovery of their Sick. 13. During this time, we had fresh Joy every hour from the Recovery of our Sick; who thought themselves cast into some *divine Pool of Healing*; they mended so favourably, and so fast^a.

The Company visited by the Governour of the House of Strangers. 14. After our three Days were expired, there came to us a Person we had not seen before, cloathed in blue, as the former; only his Turban was white, with a small red Cross on the top. He had also a Tippet of fine Linen. At his coming in, he bended to us a little, and spread his Arms. We saluted him in a very submissive manner; as expecting from him Sentence of Life or Death. He desired to speak with some few of us: whereupon six only stay'd, and the rest quitted the Room. He said, *I am, by Office, Governour of this House of Strangers; by Vocation, a Christian Priest; and come to offer you my service as Strangers, but chiefly as Christians. The State has given you leave to stay six Weeks on shore: and let it not trouble you, if your Occasions should require farther time; for the Law, in this particular, is not strict: and I myself hope to obtain more time for you, if it be convenient. The House of Strangers is at this time rich; for it has laid up Revenue these thirty-seven Years; it being so long since any Stranger arrived in this part: therefore take ye no care; the State will bear your Expence during your Continuance: nor shall you stay one Day the less for that. As for any Merchandize ye have brought, ye shall be fairly dealt with, and have your return either in Merchandize, or in Gold and Silver: for to us it is all the same. And if you have any other Request to make, conceal it not. For we shall not make your Countenance fall by our Answer. Only this I tell you, that none of you must go above a Karan, that is, a Mile and an half, from the Walls of the City, without special Leave.*

Their Answer. 15. We answered, after looking a while upon one another, admiring this Civility, that we could not well tell what to say; as wanting Words to express our Thanks; and that his generous Offers left us nothing to ask: That we seem'd to have before us a Picture of our Salvation; as we, who were but lately within the Jaws of Death, were now brought to a place, where we found nothing but Consolations. For the Command laid upon us; that we would not fail to obey it; tho' it was impossible but our Hearts should desire to tread farther upon this happy Ground. We added, that our Tongues should first cleave to the Roofs of our Mouths, e'er we should forget, either his reverend Person, or this whole Nation, in our Prayers. We also humbly besought him to accept of us as his true Servants, by as just a right as ever Men on Earth were bound; laying and presenting both our Persons, and all we

^a When shall this be the happy State of Physick in Europe? See the Author's *History of Life and Death.*

we had, at his feet. He said he was a Priest, and looked for a Priest's Reward; which was our brotherly Love; and the Good of our Souls and Bodies^a. So he went from us, not without Tears of Tenderness in his Eyes; and left us also confuted with Joy; saying among ourselves, that we were come into a Land of Angels; who appeared to us daily, and prevented us with Blessings which we thought not of, much less expected.

16. Next day, about ten, the Governour came to us again; and, after Salutations, told us familiarly, he was come to visit us; and calling for a Chair, sat him down; and about ten of us, the rest being either of the meaner sort, or gone abroad^b, sat down with him, when he began thus. *We of this Island of Bensalem, (so they call it in their Language,) have this advantage, by means of our solitary Situation, the Laws of Secrecy enacted for our Travellers, and our seldom admitting of Strangers; that we know most Parts of the habitable World, yet remain ourselves unknown. Therefore, because he who knows least is the fittest to ask Questions; it seems more reasonable, that ye ask me, than that I ask you.*

The Company revisited by the Governour, who entertains them with an account of the Island.

17. We humbly thanked him for giving us the leave, as conceiving, by the taste we had already, there was no worldly thing more worthy to be known, than the State of their happy Country. But above all, since we were met from several ends of the Earth, and hoped assuredly to meet one day in Heaven, we desired to know who was the Apostle of that Nation; and how it was converted to the Faith? He seem'd to be well-pleas'd at the Question; and said, *Ye knit my Heart to you, by asking this first; for it shews, that you first seek the Kingdom of Heaven: and I shall gladly satisfy you.*

Its Conversion to Christianity.

18. *About twenty Years after the Ascension of our Saviour, there was seen in the night, by the People of Rensufa, (a City upon the Eastern Coast of our Island,) in appearance some Miles off at Sea, a great Pillar of Light; not conical, but in the form of a Cylinder; rising from the Sea, a great height towards Heaven: on the top of it was a large Cross of Light, more resplendent than the Body of the Pillar. At this strange Sight, the People of the City flocked together upon the Sands; then put themselves into a number of small Boats, in order to approach it nearer. But when the Boats were come within some small distance of the Pillar, they could row no farther. Now, there was in one of the Boats a wise Man of SOLOMON'S COLLEGE^c, which is the very Eye of this Kingdom; who having a while attentively view'd, and devoutly contemplated this Pillar and Cross, fell upon his face; then raising himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, he prayed in this manner.*

The Miracle whereby it was wrought.

19. *Lord God of Heaven and Earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy Grace to those of our Order, to know thy Works of Creation, and the Secrets thereof; and to discern between divine Miracles, the Works of Nature, the Works of Art, and*

The Prayer of a Fellow of Solomon's College at the sight of the Miracle.

^a Is it not in the nature of Things, that Men might imitate this Example?

^b Having now leave; see above, §. 14.

^c Observe here the true nature of a Miracle: all Flame naturally rises pyramidal from the Earth; on account of the pressure of the Atmosphere; so that a Cylindrical Pillar of Light is, upon Earth, supernatural. See below, §. 19.

^d See more of this College hereafter, Sect. II.

Impostures and Illusions of all sorts^a: I do here acknowledge, before this People, that the thing we now see is thy Finger, and a true MIRACLE: And, for as much as we learn in our Books, that thou never workest Miracles, but to a divine and excellent end; the Laws of Nature being thy own Laws, which thou exceedest not but upon great occasions; we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great Sign; to give us the INTERPRETATION, and Use thereof, in mercy; which thou dost, in part, secretly promise by sending it to us.

The Process of the Miracle; and its Consummation; in the delivery of a Book containing the Old and New Testament.

20. His Prayer being thus ended, he presently found the Boat he was in moveable again; whilst the rest remained still fast: and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the Boat to be GENTLY, AND WITH SILENCE, rowed towards the Pillar^b. But before he came up to it, the Pillar, with the Cross of Light, burst, and diffused itself abroad, as it were into a Firmament of Stars; which also vanished soon after: and there was nothing left but a small Chest of Cedar, not at all wet, though it floated^c. In the fore part of it, which was next him, there grew a small green Branch of Palm. When the wise Man had taken it, with all reverence, into his Boat, it opened of itself; and there were found in it a BOOK and a LETTER; both written on fine Parchment, and wrapped in fine Linen. The BOOK contained all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, as you have them; (for we know what your Churches receive;) with the Apocalypse itself; and some other Books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written^d: and for the Letter, it was in these Words.

The Epistle of St. Bartholomew.

21. I Bartholomew, a Servant of the Highest, and Apostle of JESUS CHRIST, was warned by an Angel in a Vision of Glory, that I should commit this Ark to the Sea. Therefore I testify and declare, unto that People, where God shall ordain this Ark to come; that in the same day comes unto them Salvation, and Peace, and Good-will, from the Father, and the Lord JESUS.

A farther Miracle, both in the Book and Letter.

22. There was also a great Miracle wrought both in the Book and the Letter, conformable to that in the Gift of Tongues: For not only the Natives, but the Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, at that time in the Island, read every one the Book and Letter, as if wrote in his own Language. And thus was this Land saved from Infidelity, by an Ark, through the apostolical and miraculous annunciation of St. Bartholomew. Here he paused, and a Messenger called him from us.

The Conversation with the Governour renewed.

23. Next day he came to us again, soon after Dinner, and excused himself, that he was called from us so abruptly; but now proposed to make amends, if we held his Company agreeable. We answer'd, that we held it so pleasing, as to forget both Dangers past, and Fears to come, whilst we heard him; and that an Hour spent with him, was worth Years of our former Life.

^a The Distinctions here made, cannot, perhaps, be too exactly observed by Philosophers.

^b Observe how DIVINE MYSTERIES are to be approached.

^c The Miracle seems all of a piece; not Patch-work, which is a Characteristick of false Miracles.

^d St. *Clement's Epistles* suppose, those of St. *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and some Parts of the *Constitutions*: But this were a surprizing Addition to the Miracle, and an incontestible Proof of its being Divine, that Books should be anticipated, and received before they were written; or the human Authors of them, perhaps, in being. See the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. XXVIII. of the *Doctrine of Inspired Theology, or Divinity*.

Life. He bowed; and after we were seated again, he said; Well, the Questions are on your part.

24. One of our number, after a short Pause, observed, there was a matter we were no less desirous to know, than afraid to ask; lest we should presume too far: but, encouraged by his Humanity, we would venture to propose it; beseeching him, if he thought not fit to answer, yet to pardon and reject it. We said, we well observed, what he was pleased to relate, that this happy *Island*, tho' known to few, yet was itself acquainted with most Nations of the World; which we found true, considering they had the Languages of *Europe*, and a knowledge of our State and Affairs; whilst we in *Europe* never had any glimpse of this *Island*. The Governour here returned a gracious Smile, and said; we did well to postulate pardon for a Question, which might imply we thought this a Country of Magicians, that sent out Spirits into all parts, to bring them Intelligence of other Countries. We answered with all possible Humility, yet with an air of certainty^a, that we knew he spoke this only in the way of pleasantry; that we were apt enough to think there was something supernatural in the *Island*, but rather *argelical* than *magical*: yet to let his Lordship truly know, what made us tender in asking the Question, it was no such opinion; but only because he had before intimated, that this Country had certain *Laws of Secrecy*, with regard to Strangers^b. He answered, you remember right; and therefore, in respect of what I shall now say, I must reserve some Particulars, which are not lawful for me to reveal; but there will enough be left to give you satisfaction.

The Question put, how this Island became acquainted with all the World, whilst itself remain'd unknown.

25. About three thousand Years ago, the Navigation of the World, for remote Voyages, was greater than at this day^c: nor are we ignorant, how much it is of late increased with you. But whether the Example of the Ark, that saved the Remnant of Men from the universal Deluge, gave them Courage to venture upon the Deep, or what it was, such is the Truth. The *Phenicians*, and especially the *Tyrians*, had great Fleets. The *Carthaginians* had their Colony, which is still farther West. Towards the East, the Shipping of *Aegypt*, and of *Palestine*, was likewise great. *China* also, and the great *Atlantis*, which you call *America*, tho' they have now only Junks and Canoes, abounded then with tall Ships. This *Island*, as appears by faithful Registers, had, at that time, fifteen hundred stout Ships of Burthen. There is little History of all this with you; but we have ample knowledge of it^d.

The Governour's Answer.

The ancient Shipping.

26. At that time, this Country was frequented by the Ships of all the Nations above-mentioned; and frequently brought hither Men of other Countries, as *Ben-falem*, anciently, much resorted to by all Nations.

^a Here is a great Secret in *Civil Conversation* exemplified.

^b See above, §. 14.

^c There seem to be some obscure Intimations of this in *History*: and the Particulars hereafter deliver'd, may deserve the Consideration of those that are best versed in ancient *History*, *Geography*, and *Chronology*. For a more particular Knowledge of the historical Facts here intimated, consult the *Universal History*; from the earliest Accounts of Time, to the present: some considerable Parts whereof are already published.

^d There are many Historical Passages in the *Turkish Spy*, rarely to be met with in other Authors, that may give some light to several of these Intimations; which are not so far fabulous, as to be destitute of all Authority; or a considerable degree of Probability.

tries, that were no Navigators; viz. *Persians, Chaldeans, and Arabians*; so that nearly all the Nations of Fame resorted to us: and of these we have some Remains, and little Tribes to this day. And for our own Ships; they made many Voyages, as well to your *Streights*, which you call the *Pillars of Hercules*, as to other parts of the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantick*; viz. *Peguin*, or *Chambalaine*, and *Quinzy*, up the *East Seas*, as far as the Borders of *East-Tartary*.

The ancient
State of Ame-
rica.

Two grand
Expeditions of
the Mexicans
and Peru-
vians.

26. At the same time, and for an age after, the People of the great *Atlantis* flourished. For tho' the Description made of it by a great Man with you^a, as if the Descendants of *Neptune* settled there, be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the great *Atlantis*, as well *Peru*, then called *Coya*, as *Mexico*, then called *Tyrambol*, were potent Kingdoms, in Arms, Shipping, and Riches: so that nearly at the same time, they both made two great Expeditions; the *Mexicans* thro' the *Atlantick* to the *Mediterranean*, and the *Peruvians* thro' the *South-Sea* upon this our Island. And for the former Expedition, which was into *Europe*, the same Author amongst you, seems to have had some relation of it from the *Ægyptian* Priest he introduces: for such a thing there assuredly was. But whether the ancient *Athenians* had the Glory of repelling, and destroying those Forces, I can say nothing: but certain it is, there never returned Ship, or Man, from that Voyage^b. Nor would the *Mexican Expedition*, upon ourselves, have proved more successful, if they had not met with Enemies of greater Clemency. For the King of this Island, by name *Atabin*, a wise Man, and a great Warrior, knowing both his own Strength, and that of his Enemies, cut off their Land-Forces from their Ships, beset their Navy, and their Camp, with a greater Force than theirs, and compell'd them to surrender, without striking stroke: and after they were at his mercy, contented himself with their Oath only, that they would no more bear Arms against him, and dismiss'd them in safety^c.

Follow'd by an
Inundation of
their Coun-
tries.

27. But the Divine Vengeance soon over-took these aspiring Enterprizes. For within less than an hundred Years, the great *Atlantis* was utterly lost and destroy'd: not by an Earthquake, as some imagined; for that whole Tract is little subject to Earthquakes; but by a particular *Deluge*, or *Inundation*; those Countries having, at this day, much greater Rivers, and higher Mountains to pour down Waters, than any part of the old World. It is true, this *Inundation* was not deep, nor above forty foot in most places; so that, tho' it destroy'd Man and Beast in general, yet some few wild Inhabitants of the Woods escaped. Birds also were saved, by flying to the high Trees.

28.

^a The great Man here meant, I suppose, is *Plato*; who, in his *Timaus*, introduces a Discourse betwixt *Solon* and an *Ægyptian* Priest, giving *Solon* an account of the *Grecian* Antiquities, of which the *Greeks* themselves had no Tradition. And among the rest, relates the Particulars of the great *Atlantis*, their *Kings*, *Forces*, *Inundations*, &c. which here seem considerably improved by our Author. See *Plato's Timaus*.

^b The several Parts of the following Relation, being taken together, seem to give a juster, or more rational Account of the ignorant and barbarous State of *America*, at its first Discovery by the *Europeans*, than we generally meet with in Histories.

^c Here is an eminent Example of *military Prudence*, mixed with *Christian Compassion*.

28. As for the Inhabitants, tho' they had Buildings in many places higher than the Waters; yet the Inundation continued so long in the Vales, that those who were not drown'd, perish'd for want of Food and Necessaries. Whence, no wonder that *America* should be thin peopled, and the Inhabitants rude and ignorant; as being *younger by a thousand Years, than the rest of the World*; the distance between the universal Deluge, and their particular Inundation^a. For the poor Remnant of Men left in the Mountains, peopled the Country again but slowly; and being simple and savage, (not like *Noah* and his Sons, the chief Family of the Earth,) they were unable to leave *Letters, Arts, and Civility* to their Posterity: and having likewise, in their mountainous Habitations, been us'd to clothe themselves with the Skins of Beasts; when they afterwards came down into the Valleys, and found the Heats intolerable, and knowing no lighter Apparel, they were obliged to go naked. Only they greatly delighted in the Feathers of Birds; a Custom they also received from their Ancestors of the Mountains: invited to it by the infinite Flights of Birds, that came up to the high Grounds, while the Waters remain'd below. And by this great accident of time, we lost our Traffick with the *Americans*; among whom, as lying nearest to us, we had most Commerce^b.

The Consequences thereof upon the Inhabitants.

29. For the other Parts of the World; it is manifest, that in the succeeding Ages, Navigation every where decay'd; especially remote Voyages were wholly dropp'd. Whence People of other Nations came not to us, unless by accident; as you have done. But yet as our Shipping, for Number, Strength, Mariners, Pilots, &c. is as great as ever; you will wonder why we should sit indolent at home: whence I am now led to answer your principal *Question*.

The Decay of Navigation in succeeding Ages.

30. About nineteen hundred Years ago, there reign'd in this Island a King, whose Memory, of all others, we most adore; not superstitiously, but as being a divine Instrument, tho' a mortal Man. His Name was *Solomona*; and we esteem him the *Law-Giver* of our Nation. This King had a large Heart, *inscrutable for Goodness*; and was wholly bent upon making his Kingdom flourishing, and his People happy^c. Taking it therefore into consideration, (1.) how sufficient his Country was to maintain itself, without any foreign assistance^d; being five thousand six hundred Miles in Circuit, and of great Fertility: (2.) finding also that his Shipping might be advantageously employ'd in Fishing, Transportation, and trading to certain small Islands near us, and under our own Laws: and (3.) weighing the then flourishing Con-

Why the Inhabitants of Ben-salem remain at home.

An account of their King Solomona.

^a We have here a Specimen of the Author's Sagacity, in *interpreting* the Works of Nature from Phenomena: and where only Conjecture can be had, it might be proper to deliver it in the way of Fiction; so as to preserve *certain Philosophy* distinct from *conjectural*: which have too often been disadvantageously mixed together.

^b Does not this Account of *America* seem, in some respects, confirm'd by the *Periplus*, or Circumnavigation of *Hanno*? See Dr. *Hook's Discourse of Earthquakes*, pag. 373—375.

^c This carries an oblique Instruction to King *James the First*; whom the Author frequently styles the *English Solomon*; and counselled to become the Law-Giver of his Country, by undertaking a *just Recompense of the Laws of England*; and many other noble Acts of Beneficence, Glory, and Perpetuity.

^d See the *Thirteenth SUPPLEMENT* to the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*.

Condition of his Country, which might be a thousand ways altered for the worse; but scarce any one way for the better: he judged nothing wanting to his noble and heroidal Intentions, but to give perpetuity to what in his time was so happily established ^a.

The Laws he enacted against the entrance of Strangers.

31. Amongst his other fundamental Laws, he made the Prohibitions we have against the entrance of Strangers; at that time, tho' after the Calamity of *America*, frequent; in order to prevent Innovations, and mixtures of Manners. Indeed the like Law, against the admission of Strangers, without Licence, is ancient in *China*, and still continues ^b; but it is there a trivial thing: our *Law-Giver* made his Act of another temper. For, *first*, he has preserved all the Points of Humanity; in providing for the Relief of Strangers distressed. *Here we all rose up and bowed. He went on.* Our King also still desiring to join *Humanity* and *Policy* together ^c; and thinking it contrary to *Humanity*, that Strangers should be detained against their wills; and contrary to *Policy*, that they should return, and discover their knowledge of our *State*; he ordain'd, that of the Strangers permitted to land, as many might, at all times, depart as desired it: but then those who were willing to stay, should have fair Conditions, and the means of living afforded them by the State. In which Particular his Fore-sight reached so far, that now, so many Ages since, we have no Records of any one Ship that ever returned; and but of thirteen Persons only, at several times, who chose to return in our own Bottoms. What these few may have reported abroad, I know not: but you must think, whatever they have said, could be taken for no other than a *Dream* ^d.

The Law regarding the travelling of the Natives.

32. With regard to our own visiting of foreign Countries, our *Law-Giver* thought fit wholly to restrain it. But it is not so among the *Chinese*, who sail where-ever they can: which shews that their *Law for keeping out Strangers*, is a Law of Pusillanimity and Fear. But this Restraint of ours, has only one Exception, which is admirable; as preserving the Good arising from a Communication with Strangers, and avoiding the Inconvenience. I will open it to you; tho' I shall seem a little to digress; but you will soon find it pertinent.

The Institution of Solomon's House; or, a Philosophical Society.

33. Among the excellent Acts of our King, that which holds the pre-eminence, was the Institution of an *Order*, or SOCIETY, which we call SOLOMON'S-HOUSE; the noblest *Foundation* upon Earth, and the Luminary of this Kingdom ^e. It is dedicated to the Contemplation of the Works and Creatures

^a What this was, will soon appear.

^b The Jesuits have found means to enter; chiefly under the Characters of *Physicians, Astronomers, Mathematicians, &c.*

^c We have here an admirable Lesson for *Princes*.

^d One can here scarce forbear reflecting how easy it is for a Man of Genius, to give the most improbable Thing an Air of Truth; and, at the same time, cut off all the means of Detection. Whence Fiction is a dangerous thing in Philosophy, unless it be used *professedly*. If it had been thus used by certain *Philosophers, Travellers, &c.* *Common Sense* might have been a more common Thing, than we find it at this day.

^e The whole *Fable* appears to have been principally invented for the sake of the following Plan of a *Philosophical Society*; the *Designation* whereof shews a most penetrating and comprehensive Genius. See hereafter, *Sett. II.*

Creatures of God. Some think it bears the Founder's Name, a little corrupted; as if it should be called *Solomona's House*. But our Records write it as it is spoken: whence it seems to denote the wise King of the *Hebrews*, who is famous with you, and no stranger to us; for we have some parts of his Works which you have not, particularly the *Natural History* he wrote of all the Plants, from the Cedar to the Moss; and of all things that have Life and Motion. This leads me to think, that our King, finding himself, in many respects, like that wise King of the *Hebrews*; honoured him with the Title of this Foundation. And I the rather incline to this Opinion, because I find, in ancient Records, this *Order*, or *Society*, is sometimes called by the name of SOLOMON'S HOUSE, and sometimes the COLLEGE OF THE SIX DAYS WORKS: whence I am satisfied, that our excellent King had learned from the *Hebrews*, that God created the World, and all that therein is, in the space of six Days; and therefore instituting this House for discovering the true Natures of all things, he gave it also that second Name. But now to our purpose.

34. When the King forbid his People to sail to any part, not under his own Dominion, he ordained, that every twelve Years two Ships should be sent on different Voyages, each Ship having on board a *Mission* of three Fellows of *Solomon's House*; whose sole Office it should be to bring back accounts of the Affairs and State of those Countries to which they were appointed; with a more immediate regard to the *Sciences, Arts, Manufactures, and Inventions* of the World: and also to procure for us *Books, Instruments, and Models* in every kind. These Ships, after they had landed the Fellows, were to return; and the Mission to continue abroad till the new one was sent ^a. These Ships, besides the necessary Provision, are only freighted with Treasure, to remain with the Fellows for purchasing such Things, and rewarding such Persons, as they think proper. To say how the ordinary Sailors are kept undiscovered at land; how they conceal themselves under the Names of different Nations; to what places these Voyages have been designed; the Rendezvous appointed for the new Missions, &c. is forbid me. But thus, you see, we maintain a Traffick, not for Gold, Silver, Jewels, Silks, or Spices; but for God's first Creature LIGHT; that is, to procure Light, as to the Growth and Improvement of all Parts of the World ^b. And when he had said this, he was silent: so were we all; being indeed astonished to hear such strange things related with such probability. And he perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, courteously prevented us, by Questions about our Voyage, and Successes; and in the end concluded, that we might do well to consider what time of stay to require; desiring us not to

The Missions of the Fellows of this Society.

^a Is not something of this kind practised by the *Jesuits*? And can Philosophy thrive in all its Branches, unless the same Course be taken by Philosophical Countries? See the *Preliminaries* to the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. IV.

^b Here lies, perhaps, the greatest Obstacle to the Advancement of Knowledge; the predominant Passion of Gain: to be serious upon which Head, is almost sufficient to render a Man's Sense suspected. And yet, till Gain shall become only a secondary Consideration, there is reason to believe that the greatest Advantages of Philosophy will remain unreaped. See the Fable of *Atlanta* explained in the *Sapientia Veterum*.

stint ourselves; for that he would procure as much as we wished. Upon which we all rose up, and presented ourselves to kiss the Skirt of his Tippet; but he would not permit us; so took his leave.

The Effect of this Nation's offering Conditions to Strangers.

35. Our People being now informed, that the State used to offer Conditions to such Strangers as would continue among them, we could scarce get any of the Company to look after the Ship; or prevent them from going directly to the Governour to crave Conditions. But, with much difficulty, we restrained them, till we might agree among ourselves what Course to take.

S E C T. II.

A general Character of the Nation.

1. **W**E now took ourselves to be free, apprehending no danger, and passed the time delightfully; viewing what was to be seen in the City, and Places adjacent; and making acquaintance with many of the better sort; in whom we found such Humanity, Freedom, and Affection to Strangers, as might have made us forget all that was dear to us in our own Countries. We continually met with Things worthy of Observation: and indeed, if there be a Mirror in the world to detain Mens Eyes, it is that Country; which, by all the accounts we received, is not to be equalled for its *Laws, Customs, Policy, Morality, and Philosophy*^a.

The Company admitted into the Presence of a Father of Solomon's College.

2. One thing very extraordinary happen'd whilst we continued there; viz. one of the *Fathers of SOLOMON'S HOUSE*, for some secret Reason, visited the City; a thing that had not been seen among them for twelve Years before. He entred with a decent and solemn Pomp and Ceremony; and in three days after, sent us word he would admit all our Company into his Presence; and hold a private Conference with one of us. The time being fix'd, we were introduced; and found him richly and gravely clothed, seated upon a low Throne, with a Cloth of State over his Head, of blue Sattin, embroider'd: attended only by two Pages of Honour, richly dressed, in white^b. At our entrance we bowed low, as we were instructed to do; and as we approached his Chair, he stood up, and held out his naked Hand in a Posture of Blessing. Each of us stooped, and kissed the Hem of his Tippet. This being over, the rest departed; and I remain'd, as was intended^c: then ordering

^a Possibly the Author intended to have enriched this Fable, not only with a *Body of Laws*; but a Set of *Customs*, and moral *Doctrines*; all tending to render a Nation happy, and politically philosophical. 'Tis sufficiently evident, that the whole Design is not executed. Perhaps several Particulars here wanting might be supplied from Sir *Thomas More's Utopia*. With regard to a *Body of Laws* for this purpose, see *A Continuation of the New Atlantis*; printed at London, in 1660.

^b Observe, that the Author all along makes a grave and decent Use of Wealth, to be an Attendant upon Knowledge; in whose power it certainly is, to obtain not only Riches, but every other human Blessing.

^c By thus making the rest of the Company depart, the Author intimates, that the following Account is not suited to vulgar Ears.

dering the Pages out of the Room, he caused me to sit down by him, and thus spoke to me in *Spanish*.

3. God bless thee, my Son: I will give thee the greatest Jewel I have, and impart to thee, for the Love of God and Men, an account of SOLOMON'S HOUSE. I will relate, (1.) the End of our Institution; (2.) the Apparatus and Instruments for our Works; (3.) the Functions and Employments of our Fellows; and (4.) the Rites and Ordinances we observe.

The Father's Discourse to the chief Man of the Company.

4. The End of our Foundation is the KNOWLEDGE OF CAUSES; the secret Motions of Things; and the Enlargement of the Empire of Man; by the effecting of all Things possible^a.

The End of the Institution of Solomon's College.

5. Our Apparatus and Instruments are these. *Large Caves*, of different depths: some of them six hundred Fathom; and others running under great Hills and Mountains, three Miles together. For we find that the Height of a Hill, and the Depth of a Cave from the Flat, is the same thing; both being defended alike from the Sun, and the open Air. These Caves we call the *Lower Region*; and we use them for all sorts of *Coagulations, Indurations, Refrigerations, and Conservations* of Bodics. We employ them likewise for imitating *natural Mines*; and producing new artificial Metals, by Compositions, and certain Materials, which we suffer to lie in them for many Years. Sometimes also we use them for *curing Diseases*; and *prolonging Life* in certain Hermits, who voluntarily chuse to live in them; where they are well accommodated with all things necessary: and thus they not only lengthen their Days, but give us Informations of many considerable Particulars^b.

Its Apparatus of Caves.

6. We practise *Burials* in different kind of *Earths*, where we lay up several *Cements*; as the *Chinese* do their Porcellane^c. But we have them in greater variety than they; and some that are much finer. We have also a great variety of *Composts, and Soils*, for making the Earth fruitful^d.

Burials.

7. We have *tall Towers*; the highest about half a Mile tall: some likewise stand upon very high Mountains; so as to reach three Miles perpendicular from the Earth's Surface. And these Places we call the *UPPER REGION*; accounting the Air between the high Places and the low, as a *MIDDLE*

Towers and Observatories.

P p 2

REGION.

^a Let this, and all that succeeds, be well compared with the Author's Doctrine laid down in the *Nozum Organum*; whereby not only the bare Possibility, but the Practicability of the whole Scheme will, in great measure, appear. And for a further proof hereof, see the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, the *Sylva Sylvarum*, the *Scala Intellectus*: and remember that all these were the Works of one Man, whose whole Life was taken up with civil Business; except the five last Years.

^b Is not something of this kind, tho' inferior in its Design, practised in the Salt-Mines of *Wilizza*, in *Poland*; where a whole People continue to live under-ground? But the Intimations here given by the Author, go beyond the *common Philosophy*; and tend to establish another of a much nobler and more serviceable kind. The Cave at the Royal Observatory at *Paris* may, in some measure, shew the nature of this Design.

^c See the Article *Burials* in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^d Every Article here is so pregnant with *grand philosophical Views*, and *Directions for further Discoveries*, that a large *Comment* were requisite to unfold and draw them out for popular Use. As they here lie close wedged, in the *aphoristical, or axiomatical manner*; they will probably affect only the first-rate Philosophers. It seems a just Observation, that the generality of Readers, like the generality of Game, are only to be caught by Nets wide spread; *viz.* by the *Asiatick Style*, rather than the *Laconic*. And on this account, concise Hints and Intimations are always most acceptable to the Intelligent; as larger Discourses, and full Explanations, are to the less knowing.

REGION. We use these *Towers*, according to their several Heights and Situations, for *Insolation*, *Refrigeration*, *Consevation*, and the *Observation* of *Meteors*; as *Winds*, *Rain*, *Snow*, *Hail*; and some of the *fiery Meteors*. Upon several of these *Towers* are Dwelling-places for *Hermits*, whom we sometimes visit, and instruct what to observe^a.

Lakes. 8. We have great *Lakes*, both salt and fresh, for Fish and Fowl^b. We use them also for the Burials of some natural Bodies: for we find a difference betwixt things buried in *Earth*, or in Air below the Earth; and those that are buried in Water. We have also *Pools*; some whereof strain fresh Water out of Salt; and others, by Art, turn fresh Water into salt^c.

Rocks. 9. We have likewise *Rocks* in the midst of the Sea; and certain *Bays* upon the Shore, for particular Works, which require the Air and Sea-Vapour^d.

Contrivances for Wind and Water Engines. 10. Again, we have violent Streams and Cataracts, which serve us for numerous Motions: and likewise *Engines* for multiplying and increasing the force of Winds; to set various Machines in motion^e.

Artificial Springs. 11. We have many *artificial Springs* and Fountains, made in imitation of the natural Sources and Baths, impregnated with different Minerals^f.

Wells for Infusions. 12. We have *little Wells*, for making Infusions of many Things, where the Waters take the Virtue quicker, and better, than in Vessels or Basins^g. And amongst the rest, we have a Water, which we call the WATER OF PARADISE; being, by something we do to it, made sovereign for Health, and the prolongation of Life^h.

Meteor-Houses. 13. We have *spacious Houses*, where we imitate, and exhibit *Meteors*; as Snow, Hail, Rain, certain artificial Rains, of other Bodies besides Waterⁱ; Thunders, Lightenings, &c. as also various Generations of Bodies in Air; as Frogs, Flies, &c.

Chambers of Health. 14. We have certain Chambers, which we call CHAMBERS OF HEALTH; where we qualify the Air, as we judge proper, for the Cure of many Diseases, and the Preservation of Health^k.

15.

^a This were using the Humour of the ancient *Hermits*, *Stylites*, &c. to some good purpose. The *modern Observatories* seem, in a considerable degree, to execute this part of the Author's Design.

^b See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Article *Fish*.

^c See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Article *Percolation*.

^d As in the making of *Bay-Salt*, for example; and other more curious Purposes, in the way of *Congelation*, *Inspissation*, *Exhalation*, *Impregnation*, &c.

^e See the Author's *History of Winds*.

^f To this purpose, see *New Experiments and Observations upon Mineral Waters*, by Dr. Hoffman; printed at London, 1731.

^g See the Article *Infusion*, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^h See the Author's *History of Life and Death*; and his *Methusalem Water*, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Article *Medicine*.

ⁱ Of which there have been many Instances in Nature; viz. Showers of Mud, Fish, &c. See Mr. Boyle's Works, and the *Philosophical Transactions*.

^k This is a noble Intimation for Physicians, if they were bent upon improving their Art. The Air is a general Menstruum, capable of receiving, and being impregnated with the *Effluvia*, *Fumes*, and *Exhalations* of all kinds of Drugs, or Simples; and of thus conveying them in Respiration into the Lungs and Blood; perhaps to better advantage than any other way. And thus Death and Sickness are frequently convey'd, by the same way that Health and long Life possibly might be. But what Society is set a-part for making Experiments of this kind? Or what has all Europe done, for these hundred Years, towards executing the entire Scheme of Solomon's College?

15. We have also large and elegant Baths, of several Mixtures, for the *Artificial* Cure of Diseases; or restoring the Body from Dryness occasion'd by Age: and *Baths.* others for confirming it, in its vital Parts, and recruiting it in its Strength, Juices, and Substance^a.

16. We have many large *Orchards* and *Gardens*, wherein we do not so much regard Beauty, as variety of Ground and Soil, proper for different Trees and Plants. Some of these Places are very extensive, and planted with Vines, Fruit-Trees, and Shrubs, that bear Berries for making several kinds of Drinks, besides Wine. Here also we try Experiments of grafting and inoculating, as well of Wild-Trees as Fruit-Trees; which produce many Effects^b. Here likewise, by Art, we make Trees, and Flowers, to come earlier or later than their Seasons; and to shoot and bear abundantly out of their natural Courses. By Art we also render them larger, and their Fruit bigger, sweeter, and more different in Taste, Smell, Colour, and Figure, than Nature alone produces them. And others we so order, that they become of singular medicinal Use^c.

17. We have also Methods of making *Plants rise by Mixtures of Earths*, *Plants growing without Seeds.* without Seeds^d; and likewise of making new Plants, differing from the vulgar; and of converting one Plant into another^e.

18. We have *Parks* and *Enclosures* for all sorts of *Beasts* and *Birds*; which we keep not only for Curiosity and Entertainment, but for Dissections and Experiments; with a view to discover what may be wrought upon the human Body. And by these means we become Masters of many strange Effects; such as the continuing of Life, tho' several Parts, which you account vital, be perished, and cut away; the recovering of some Creatures after they seem dead, and the like^f. We also try Poisons, and other Medicines upon them; as well with regard to *Chirurgery*, as *Physick*^g. By Art, likewise, we make Animals larger, or taller, than their kind; and contrariwise stint their Growth^h. We also make them more fruitful, than their kind; and again barren, or not generative. We likewise make them differ several ways; in Colour, Shape, and Activity. We have Methods of making Commixtures, and Copulations of different sorts; which produce many new kinds, and those not barren; contrary

^a See the Article *Baths*, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*: see also the *History of Life and Death*.

^b See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Vegetables* and *Vegetation*.

^c Tho' Gardening, and the Subject of Vegetation, in general, has received considerable Improvements of late; yet there seems to be wanting a skilful Sagacity in this Art, to direct the proper Experiments both of Light and Profit. This Sagacity might, in good measure, be learnt from a due Knowledge and Prosecution of the Author's *Doctrine of Learned Experience*. See *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. XII.

^d This Particular may appear strange; but it is countenanced by the *Growth of Mushrooms*, and several other Experiments in the *French Memoirs*, &c. tending to shew, that the Seeds of all material Things, are every where diffused in the Earth, and Atmosphere.

^e Many Experiments of this kind still remain to be tried. See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Article *Vegetables* and *Vegetation*.

^f This kind of *Anatomy* has certainly not been prosecuted as it deserves.

^g Here is a rational, and almost unexceptionable Method chalked out for discovering the Cures of certain Diseases, vulgarly accounted incurable. See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Medicine*, *Plague*, &c.

^h See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Animals*, *Growth*, &c.

trary to your general Opinion^a. We produce numberless kinds of Serpents, Worms, Flies, and Fishes, by means of *Putrefaction*; some whereof advance to be perfect Creatures, like Beasts or Birds; and propagate. Neither is this the Effect of Chance; but we know before-hand, from what Matter and Commixture, and of what kind these Creatures will arise^b.

Ponds for Experiments upon Fish.

19. We have particular *Ponds*, where we make Trials upon Fishes; after the same manner as I said of Beasts and Birds^c.

Breeding-Places for Insects.

20. We have Breeding-Places for those kinds of Worms, and Flies, which are of particular use; such as your *Silk-worms*, and *Bees*^d.

Particular Brew-Houses, Bake-Houses, &c.

21. I will not detain you by recounting our *Brew-Houses*, *Bake-Houses*, and *Kitchens*; where we make different kinds of *Drinks*, *Breads*, and *Meats* of extraordinary Virtues. Here we make, not only Wines of the Grape; but Drinks of other Juices of Fruits, Grains and Roots; and with Mixtures of *Honey*, *Sugar*, *Manna*, and Fruits dry'd and preserved; as also of the Tears or Tappings of Trees, and of the Pulp of Canes^e. And these *Drinks* are of several Ages; some forty Years old. We also brew Drinks with several Herbs, Roots, and Spices; and again, with several kinds of Flesh and White-Meats: and some of these Drinks are, in effect, both *Meat* and *Drink*; so that many, especially the aged, desire to live upon them, with little or no use of Meat or Bread^f. And above all, we endeavour to prepare Drinks of extremely thin and fluid Parts; that they may insinuate into the Body; yet without all sharpness or fretting: for some of them being laid upon the back of the Hand, will soon pass thro' to the Palm; yet taste mild in the Mouth^g. We have also *Waters*, which we ripen so, that they become nourishing; and prove such excellent Drink, that many will use no other.

Drinks of various kinds.

22. We have also *Breads* of several Grains, Roots, and Kernels; some of dried Flesh, and Fish, with different kinds of Seasonings. Some of these Breads greatly provoke the Appetite; and others nourish: so that many will live upon them, without any other Meat.

23.

^a Experiments of this kind have been extremely rare in *Europe*: on account, perhaps, of the prevalency of the vulgar Opinion here mentioned.

^b Here is a pitch of Perfection, to which, in the general Opinion, *Natural Philosophy* will never arrive. But this, perhaps, is a greater Argument of our Indolence, than of our Knowledge.

^c See the Articles *Fish*, *Flesh*, &c. in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^d See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Caterpillars*, *Insects*, *Putrefaction*, &c.

^e These are very useful Intimations. See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Clarification*, *Drinks*, *Manna*, *Percolation*, *Sugar*, and *Wines*.

^f See the *History of Life and Death*, and the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Article *Foods*.

^g This will, doubtless, seem incredible; yet there are *Instances* that might serve to render it probable. We see the same thing done in Metals, where a Liquor will pass thro' the Substance of them, without corroding their Parts; as Oil will do thro' Iron. And so some Medicines are extremely penetrating, and active in the Body; yet innocent, and without any corrosive Virtue. But for a *fermented Liquor* so subtle and penetrating as that here intimated, perhaps it has not yet been made; nor, indeed, can it well be expected, till Men shall become better acquainted with the *Nature* and *Management of Fermentation*; and the ways of applying it to *fermentable Matters* less gross than the common. It is worth enquiring, *whether a fermented Liquor, or Wine, can be prepared, which, instead of shooting Tartar, shall strike a neutral, or alkaline Salt to the Sides of the containing Vessel*. An active, penetrating Wine, of this kind, might possibly, by continued use, dissolve the Stone in the Bladder.

23. For *Meats*; we have some that are made so soft and tender, and yet without any Corruption, that a weak Stomach may convert them into good Juices; as well as a strong one would *Meats of various kinds.* *Meats* otherwise prepared. We have also certain *Food*s, and likewise *Breads*, and *Drinks*, which enable Men to fast long after using them; and others that make the *Flesh* of the Body more hard and tough; and the *Strength* far greater than natural ^a.

24. We have *Dispensaries*, or *Shops of Medicines*; wherein, as our variety of *Plants* and *Animals* is much greater than with you in *Europe*; so our variety of *Simples*, *Drugs*, and medicinal *Ingredients*, must consequently be greater: and these we have of different *Ages*, and long *Fermentations* ^b. And, for our *Preparations*, we have not only all manner of exquisite *Distillations*, and *Separations*, especially those by gentle *Heats*, and *Percolations* thro' different *Strainers*, and gross *Substances*; but also EXACT FORMS OF COMPOSITION; whereby the *Ingredients* incorporate almost as if they were natural *Simples* ^c.

25. We have many *mechanic Arts*, which you have not; and a variety of *Stuffs* made by their *Means*; such as *Papers*, *Linens*, *Silks*, *Tissues*; *Works* in *Feathers*, of great *Beauty* and *Lustre*, excellent *Dyes* ^d, &c. We have likewise *Shops*, as well for such *Manufactures* and *Productions* as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know, that tho' many of the *Things* before enumerated are grown into common use throughout the *Kingdom*; yet, when they were of our own *Invention*, we constantly retain not only *Samples*, *Models*, or *Patterns* thereof, but also *Principals* ^e.

26. We have *Furnaces* of great diversity, and for different *Heats*; as fierce and quick; strong and constant; soft and mild; blown; quiet; dry; moist; and the like. But above all, we have *Heats* in imitation of the Sun's Heat, that operate with several *Inequalities*; and, as it were, periodically, by way of progress and return; whereby we produce extraordinary *Effects* ^f. Besides these, we have *digesting Heats*, by means of *Dunghills*, the *Bellies*, *Stomachs*, *Blood*, and *Bodies* of living *Creatures*; and again, of *Hay*, and *Herbs* laid up moist; of *Quick-Lime*, &c. We have likewise *Instruments* that generate *Heat* by *Motion*; *Places* for strong *Insulations*; and others under the *Earth*, which yield us *Heats* either by *Nature*, or *Art*. All these different *Heats* we use, as the *Nature* of our *Operations* require ^f. 27.

^a Certainly these things are not altogether impracticable, even with the slender degree of Knowledge we have at present; but Men are so enamour'd with the talkative Philosophy, that the active one finds few *Votaries*.

^b By means, suppose, of particular *Methods* of preserving them from the *Air*, and other *Injuries*.

^c The *Rule* here intimated seems to have been little consider'd in *Pharmacy*; where the numerous *Mixtures* made, are generally slight, gross, and imperfect.

^d See the *Catalogue* of particular *Histories* required for the Interpretation of *Nature*. Introduction to the *Sylva Sylvarum*, Sect. II.

^e This *Direction* for imitating the Sun's periodical *Heat* in chemical *Operations*, is more fully insisted on by the Author in other places. See the *Novum Organum*, Part II. Sect. I. & alibi passim. See also the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Flame* and *Heat*.

^f Here are excellent *Intimations* for the Improvement of *Chemistry*; which has hitherto been confined to a small variety of *Heats*. Whoever would imitate *Nature* in her various *Productions*,

Optick-Houfes. 27. We have *Optick-Houfes*, where we make Experiments upon Light and Colours; and out of things, in themselves uncoloured and transparent, represent diversities of Colours; not barely by Refractions, or in the way of Rainbows, as by means of Gems and Prisms of Glass; but singly and simply ^a. We likewise represent all kinds of Multiplications of Light, which we convey to great distances; and thus become able to discern extremely small Points and Lines. Here we exhibit the various kinds of Light, Delusions, and Deceptions of the Sight, in Figures, Magnitudes, Motions, Colours, and the Phænomena of Shadows. We have also several ways, yet unknown to you, of producing Light, originally from various Bodies ^b. We are able to see Objects distinctly at an immense Distance, both in the Heavens, and upon the Earth; and can represent all things near us, as if they were far off; and things afar off, as if they were near; thus making imaginary Distances. We have also *Helps for the Sight*, greatly exceeding the Spectacles and Reading-Glasses in use with you ^c. We have means of seeing extremely minute Bodies, with great distinctness; as the smallest Flies, Mites, &c. the Grains and Flaws in Gems, &c. which could not otherwise be discovered: and thus we are enabled to make certain Observations upon Urine, Blood, &c. that were not practicable without this assistance ^d. We have artificial Rainbows, Halo's, and Circles about Lights. We exhibit all manner of Reflections, Refractions, and Multiplications of the Rays of Light ^e.

*Collections of
Gems and
Fossils.*

28. We have *Precious Stones* of all kinds; many of great Beauty, and to you unknown; Crystals likewise, and Glasses of different sorts; and among the rest, some of vitrified Metals, and other Materials; besides those of which you make your Glass in *Europe*. We have likewise great numbers of *Fossils*, and imperfect Minerals; which you have not. We have Load-stones of prodigious Virtues; and other scarce and valuable Stones, both natural and artificial ^f.

Sound-Houfes.

29. We have also *Sound-Houfes*, where we practise and produce all kinds of *Sounds*. We have *Harmonies*, unknown to you, of *quarter Sounds*, and lesser *Slides of Sounds*. We have many different *Musical Instruments*, some of them sweeter than any of yours; and also curious Bells, and Sets or Rings thereof.

tions, should, as near as possible, use the same kind of Heats and Processes, as she employs. See the Article *Heat* in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^a Here are some Intimations for farther Discoveries in Opticks, than any hitherto made; how much soever this Subject may have been cultivated.

^b As Glass, suppose, by Friction, Quicksilver by Agitation, &c.

^c This may, perhaps, be thought a thing spoke at random: but certainly the best Methods of helping the Sight are not hitherto generally practised. By the best Methods I mean such as improve and strengthen the Organ; and enable the Eye at length to perform its Office, without assistance. And in this view, let full Trial, and due Improvement, be made of *short Tubes*, without Glasses; after the manner recommended in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N^o 37.

^d We have here a general Direction to the Microscope; but something farther is still wanted in Philosophy.

^e If this *Fable* had been wrote since the time of Mr. Boyle, Dr. Hook, and Sir Isaac Newton, its physical Part would, doubtless, have appeared as if taken from them.

^f Perhaps the Foundation of that excellent Collection of *Fossils*, and other natural and artificial Curiousities, belonging to the *Royal Society* of London, was laid in this Paragraph.

thereof. We can represent *small Sounds*, as great and *deep*; and loud ones, as little and weak. We make many different Tremblings and Warblings of Sounds, which are entire in their Origin. We represent and imitate all articulate Sounds, Letters, and the Voices and Notes of Beasts and Birds. We have certain Helps, which, applied to the Ear, greatly improve the Hearing. We have many strange and artificial Echoes, that reflect the Voice a great number of times; and, as it were, toss it from one part to another: and some that give back the Voice louder than it came; some shriller, and some deeper; and some again that render the Voice different in the Letters, or articulate Sounds, from what they receive it. We also practise certain ways of conveying Sounds by Trunks, and Pipes, in a strange variety of Lines, to surprising Distances^a.

30. We have *Perfume-Houses*, wherein we also pursue the Business of *Taste*. We multiply Smells; which may seem strange^b. We imitate Odours, and make them breathe out of other Mixtures than those that naturally yield them. We make many Imitations of *Tastes*, so as to deceive any Man. And in this House we have also a *Confectionary*; where we make all kinds of Sweet-Meats, dry and moist; several pleasant Wines, Milks, Broths, and Sallads, in far greater variety than you have them^c.

31. We have *Engine-Houses*, where we make Engines and Instruments for all sorts of Motions. Here we employ much more violent Powers than any you have; and make, and multiply them more easily, and with small Force, by the means of Wheels, and other Contrivances: so as to exceed the Force of your largest Cannon^d. We here exhibit Ordnance, the Instruments of War, and Engines of all kinds. Here we try and preserve our new Mixtures and Compositions of Gun-Powder, unquenchable Fires, and Fire-Works of infinite variety, both for Pleasure and Use^e. We here also imitate the Flights of Birds. We practise some degree of flying in the Air^f. We have Ships and Boats for going under Water^g, and living at Sea; as also Swimming-Girdles, and Supporters. We have divers Clocks, and other Machines of

^a The Author has, with considerable Diligence, prosecuted this whole Enquiry, in his *Sylva Sylvarum*. See the Article *Sounds*. But to bring it to the degree of Perfection here intimated, may require a considerable number of Hands, and a length of Time. And if due Application were used, I conceive that no one Particular here intimated is impracticable.

^b Suppose by Reflexion, or rather by the Condensation of Air; which is the Medium or Vehicle of Odours, as well as Sounds.

^c The Particulars intimated in this Paragraph, have been but little pursued in the way of pure philosophical Enquiry; tho' capable of adding greatly to the innocent Pleasures of Life, and the laudable Gratification of the Sense and Appetite.

^d The Author here seems to intimate certain Combinations of the mechanical Powers; as the Lever, the Wedge, the Pulley, and the Screw; but then the Effect will be slow. Perhaps he also had in view certain *destructive Explosions*; of which we have some Examples in Chemistry.

^e This Direction seems not to have been follow'd so far as it might, both in the way of Entertainment, and Service in Life. Perhaps it were practicable to imitate the Phenomena of the Sun and Day-light, and of the Moon and Stars, at any time, in a spacious Room; so as to require no other Illumination.

^f See the Article *Flying*, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^g *Cornelius Drebbel* is said to have made a Vessel of this kind, and to have experienced it in the River *Thames*.

return; and some kinds of *perpetual Motions*^a. We imitate the Motions of Animals, in Images of Men, Beasts, Birds, Fishes and Serpents. We have also great numbers of other different Motions, surprizing for their Fineness, Subtilty, and Uniformity^b.

A Mathematical House.

32. We have a *Mathematical House*, where we exhibit all kinds of Instruments, exquisitely made; as well for the service of Geometry, as Astronomy.

Houses of Deception.

33. We have *Deception-Houses*, for imposing upon the Senses; where we exhibit all the Feats of Juggling, false Apparitions, Impositions, Illusions, and their Fallacies. And you will easily believe, that we who have so many things truly natural, which raise the Admiration, could, in abundance of particulars, deceive the Senses; if we were disposed to disguise those natural Things, and endeavour to make them appear more miraculous. But we abominate Imposture and Falshood; insomuch, that all our Fellows are strictly forbid, under pain of Ignominy and Fines, to shew any natural Work, or Thing, adorned and pompous, or otherwise than pure and simple, as it is in itself; without the least Affectation of Wonder and Strangeness^c.

The Employments and Offices of the Fellows.

These are, my Son, the Riches of *Solomon's House*.

Twelve Merchants of Light.

34. For the several Employments and Offices of our *Fellows*; we have *twelve*, who sail into foreign Countries, under the Names of other Nations; and bring us the Books, Abstracts, and Models of Experiments of all other Parts of the World. These we call **MERCHANTS OF LIGHT**^d.

Three Depredators.

35. We have three who collect the *Experiments* contained in Books. These we call **DEPREDATORS**.

Three Mystery-Men.

36. We have three that collect the Experiments of all mechanical Arts, liberal Sciences, and Practices not yet brought into Arts. These we call **MYSTERY MEN**^e.

Three Miners.

37. We have three that try new Experiments; such as themselves think proper. These we call **PIONEERS, OR MINERS**^f.

Three Compilers.

38. We have three that draw the Experiments of the former Sets into *Titles and Tables*, to give the better light for the deduction of **OBSERVATIONS** and **AXIOMS** from them^g. These we call **COMPILERS**.

39.

^a Imperfect ones suppose, as a Piece of Clock-Work, for instance, that might be wound up by the *flowing Tide*, &c. But for a perfectly self-moving Engine, the Author gives no Intimations about it.

^b The Doctrine of Mechanicks has been considerably cultivated of late; but still comes short of Perfection.

^c This Injunction is of the utmost Importance, for guarding the Understanding, and preserving common Sense. For want of a Check of this kind, many Authors, instead of delivering plain natural Truths, have utter'd strange Doctrines, in the way of Miracle; and thus sometimes insatuated whole Nations. Doubtless, if it were practicable, it should be made penal, thus to corrupt Mens Minds, and ruin common Sense, by imposing false Notions, and propagating Superstition and Delusion thro' a People.

^d The great Sagacity and Justness, shewn in directing the following Particulars, and their vast Utility, will scarce be discerned; unless the Reader has a tolerable Knowledge of the Scheme and Tendency of the Author's *Novum Organum*.

^e See the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. IV.

^f See the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. III. 8.

^g See the *Novum Organum*, Part II. Sect. I.

39. We have three that look into the Experiments of their Fellows, and cast about, how to draw out of them Things of practical Use for Knowledge and the service of Life; that is, as well for *Works*, as for the *plain Demonstration of Causes*, the means of *natural Divinations*, and the easy and clear discovery of the Virtues and Powers of Bodies. These we call DOWRY-MEN, or BENEFACTORS. *Three Benefactors.*

40. Then, after divers *Meetings* and *Consultations* of our whole Number, to consider of the former Labours and Collections, we have three, whose Care and Business it is, to direct from the whole *New Experiments of a sublimer kind*, that penetrate farther into Nature than the former. These we call LAMPS. *Three Lamps.*

41. We have three others that perform the *Experiments* so directed; and report them. These we call INOCULATORS. *Three Inoculators.*

42. We have three that raise the former Discoveries, by Experiments, into larger *Observations*, *Aphorisms*, and *Axioms*. These we call INTERPRETERS OF NATURE^a. *Three Interpreters of Nature.*

43. We have also, as you will easily imagine, Pupils and Learners, that the Succession may not fail^b; besides a great number of Servants and Attendants, both Men and Women. *Pupils and Servants.*

44. We likewise hold *Consultations*, as to which of our new *Inventions* and *Experiments* should be published, and which not; and all take an Oath of Secrecy, for concealing of those we think proper to keep secret: tho' part of these we sometimes reveal to the State, and sometimes not^c. *Consultations.*

45. For our *Rites* and *Ordinances*, we have two very long and beautiful *Galleries*; in one whereof we place Samples and Models of all the more excellent Inventions; in the other, the *Statues* of all *principal Inventors*. Here we have the Statue of *Columbus*, who discovered the *West-Indies*; that of the *Inventor of Ships*; your *Monk that invented Ordnance and Gun-Powder*; the *Inventor of Musick*; the *Inventor of Letters*; the *Inventor of Printing*; the *Inventor of Astronomical Observations*; the *Inventor of Works in Metal*; the *Inventor of Glass*; the *Inventor of Silk*; the *Inventor of Wine*; the *Inventor of Corn and Bread*; the *Inventor of Sugars*: and all these by more certain Tradition than you have them. We have likewise the Statues of many Inventors among ourselves, who discover'd excellent Works; which, since you have not seen, it were too tedious to describe them: besides, you might easily err in the understanding of my Descriptions. In short, upon every *Invention*

Qq 2

of

^a We have here a most serviceable Lesson in Philosophy, shewing the way wherein Knowledge is to be gather'd, like Honey, from several Flowers; and treasured up for use. Without a Metaphor, the whole Process of the Mind, in philosophical Enquiries, is here exactly described.

^b Thus the pensionary Members of the *Royal Academy of Sciences* at *Paris* have their *Eleves*.

^c Perhaps this Reserve of a Power of with-holding certain Discoveries from the State, tho' a thing in itself extremely wise and prudent, (because Governours are not always good moral Philosophers.) may be the greatest Objection against the founding of such a College as is here modell'd out. Certainly, as the Author intimates above, it requires a Prince of a large Heart, and a Philosophical People, to execute this Plan in all its Parts. It has, however, been executed to advantage, in some of its Parts: witness the *Royal Society* of *London*, and the *Royal Academy* of *Paris*; and possibly may in more hereafter.

of Value, we erect a Statue to the Inventor; and give him a liberal and honourable Reward^a. These Statues are some of Brass; some of Marble; some of Cedar gilt, other and curious gilt Woods; some of Iron; some of Silver; some of Gold.

Their Religious Ceremonies. 46. We have certain Hymns and Services, which we daily repeat, of Praise and Thanks to God for his marvellous Works: and Forms of Prayers, imploring his Aid and Blessing for the Illumination of our Labours; and the turning of them to good and pious Uses.

Their Visitations. 47. Lastly; we have our Progresses, or Visitations, to several principal Cities of the Kingdom; where we publish such new profitable Inventions, as we think proper. We also give out *natural Divinations* of Diseases, Plagues, Swarms of hurtful Creatures, Scarcity, Tempests, Earthquakes, Inundations, Comets, the Temperature of the Year, &c. and add our Advice to the People upon these Occasions; directing them as to what they shall do, either by way of Prevention, or Remedy^b.

Conclusion. 48. When he had said this, he stood up: and I, as I had been taught, kneel'd down; then he laid his right Hand upon my Head, and said; *God bless thee, my Son; and God bless this Relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other Nations; being ourselves a happy People, in a Land unknown.* Here he left me: but assign'd a noble Bounty to our whole Ship's Company. For they are extremely liberal where-ever they come^c.

^a Perhaps there could be no greater Spur to Inventions of all kinds, than thus to have the Inventor honoured and rewarded. This Subject is touched by the Author on several other Occasions.

^b Natural Philosophy must be considerably improv'd, beyond what it is at present, before any such Prediction can be made, and such Directions given. See the Article *Divination*, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

^c Here again we have a sufficient Intimation, that Wealth might easily be made the Attendant of Knowledge, and practical Philosophy. The Author appears to have propos'd a Scheme of this kind to King *James the First*; shewing him a way of becoming immensely rich, without being burdnesome to his Subjects. This way was, so far as I can discover, by making great Improvements in Mineral Works, and the Draining of Lands and Mines. But no great stress can be laid upon Mr. *Bushell's Account* of this Matter. For tho' that Gentleman was long a Domestick to the Author, and probably knew many of his Lord's Designs; yet when he wrote the *Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions*, he appears not to have had the perfect use of his Reason; perhaps on account of his Misfortunes in Life.



SUPPLEMENT II.

A

SPECIMEN

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

T H E

Beginning of a HISTORY

O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N ^a.

1. **B**Y the decease of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Issue of King *Henry VIII.* failed; being spent in one Generation, and three Successions. For that King, tho' one of the goodliest Persons of his time, yet left by his six Wives but three Children; who reigning successively, and dying childless, made place for the Line of *Margaret*, his eldest Sister, married to *James IV.* of *Scotland*. There succeeded, therefore, to the Kingdom of *England*, *James VI.* then King of *Scotland*; descended of the same *Margaret*, both by Father and Mother: so that by an extraordinary Event in the Pedigree of Kings, it seemed as if the Divine Providence, to extinguish all Envy, and Note of a Stranger, had doubled upon his Person, within the Circle of one Age, the Royal Blood of *England* by both Parents.

The Succession of the Crown of England devolves upon James VI. of Scotland.

2. This Succession drew the Eyes of all Men towards it; being one of the most memorable Accidents that had appear'd for a long time in the Christian World. For the Kingdom of *France* having been reunited the Age before, in all the Provinces thereof, which were formerly dismembred; and the Kingdom of *Spain*, being of later date united, and made entire, by the annexing of *Portugal*, in the Person of *Philip II.* there remained but this third and last Union for balancing the Power of these three great Monarchies; and disposing of the Affairs of *Europe* to a more assured and universal Peace.

The Effect of this Succession, as to the Peace of Europe.

3. This Event was the more admired, because the Island of *Great Britain*, England and Scotland never united under one King before.

^a The Design of the following *Specimen*, or *Beginning* of the History of *Great Britain*, may be learnt from the Author's Letters to the Lord Chancellor, and the King himself, on this Subject. See SUPPLEMENT V. Sect. I. See also *De Augment. Scientiar.* Sect. I. 26.

one King; notwithstanding the People are of one Language; and not separated by Mountains, or great Waters: and notwithstanding also, that the uniting of them had been in former times industriously attempted, both by War and Treaty.

A Work of Providence, accomplishing certain Prophecies.

4. It therefore seem'd a manifest Work of Providence, reserved for these Times; infomuch that the Vulgar conceived there was now an end to superstitious Prophecies, (the Belief of Fools, but the Talk sometimes of wise Men;) and to an ancient tacit Expectation, which had by tradition been strongly infused into Mens Minds^a. But as *the best Divinations, and Predictions, are the probable and political Conjectures, and Foresight of wise Men*; so the Foresight of King *Henry VII.* was now in all Mens mouths; who, being one of the deepest, and most prudent Princes in the world, had, upon the Deliberation concerning the Marriage of his eldest Daughter into *Scotland*^b, shewed himself, by his Discourse, sensible, and almost prescient of this Event.

The Reputation of this Succession augmented by many extraordinary Circumstances.

5. A concurrence likewise of several uncommon, external Circumstances, gave great Reputation to this Succession. A King in the strength of his Years, supported with great Alliances abroad; established with royal Issue at home; at peace with all the World; and practised in the Government of such a Kingdom, as might rather afford variety of Accidents to a King, than corrupt him with Affluence, or Vain-Glory; and one who, besides his universal Capacity and Judgment, was thoroughly versed in Matters of Religion, and the Church; which in these times, by the confused use of both Swords, are become so intermixed with Considerations of State, that most Councils of sovereign Princes, or Republicks, depend upon them.

The Unanimity and Tranquillity at the King's entrance.

6. But nothing fill'd foreign Nations more with admiration, and expectation of this Succession, than the wonderful and unexpected Consent of all the Subjects of *England*, to receive the King without the least Scruple, Pause, or Question. For it had been generally dispersed by the Fugitives beyond the Seas, that after Queen *Elizabeth's* decease, there must follow in *England* nothing but Confusions, Interreigns, and Perturbations of State, greater than the ancient Calamities of the *Civil Wars* between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*; as the Dissensions were likely to be more mortal and bloody, when foreign Competition should be added to domestick; and Divisions in Religion, to Matters of Title to the Crown.

The seditious Book of Parsons the Jesuit.

7. And in particular, *Parsons* the Jesuit, under a disguised Name, had, not long before, published an exprest Treatise; wherein, whether his Malice made him believe his own Fancies; or whether he thought it the fittest way to move Sedition, (like evil Spirits, which seem to foretel the Tempest they mean to raise;) he laboured to display and colour all the vain Pretences and Dreams of Succession he could devise: and had thus possess'd many abroad, who knew not the Affairs at home, with his Vanities.

8.

^a The Prophecy here meant, seems to be this: When *HEMPE* is spun, *England's* dens. See the Author's *Essay on Prophecies*, SUPPLEMENT XI.

^b See above, §. 1.

8. There were also within the Kingdom divers Persons, both wise and well-affected, who, tho' they question'd not the Right, yet setting before themselves the Waves of Peoples Hearts, guided no less by sudden and temporary Winds, than by the natural Course and Motion of the Waters, dreaded the Event. For Queen *Elizabeth* being a Princess of extreme Caution, and yet one who loved Admiration above Safety; and knowing the Declaration of a Successor might, in point of Safety, be disputable, but in point of Admiration and Respect, assuredly to her disadvantage; had from the beginning set it down for a Maxim of State, to impose a silence as to the Succession^a. Nay, it was not only reserved as a Secret of State, but restrain'd by severe Laws; that no Person should presume to give opinion, or argue about the same: so that tho' the evidence of the Right drew all the Subjects of the Land to think one thing; yet the fear of the Law, made no Man privy to others Thoughts. It therefore rejoiced all Men to see so fair a Morning of a Kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured against former Apprehensions; as when a Man wakes out of a frightful Dream.

9. And thus not only the Consent, but the Applause and Joy was infinite, and inexpressible, throughout the Kingdom, upon this Succession. The Consent may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the Right; but the general Joy, Alacrity, and Gratulation, were the Effects of differing Causes. For Queen *Elizabeth*, altho' she had many Virtues, and used many Demonstrations, that might draw and knit the Hearts of her People to her; yet carrying a close hand in Gifts, and a high one in points of Prerogative, did not fully content either her Servants or Subjects; especially in her later days, when the continuance of her Reign, which extended to five and forty Years, might discover in People their natural desire and inclination to change: so that a new Court, and a new Reign, were not unwelcome to many. Numbers rejoiced, and especially those of settled Estates and Fortunes, that their Fears and Uncertainties were blown over. Others, who had made their way with the King, or offered their service in the Reign of the Queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared: and generally all such as had any dependance upon the late Earl of *Essex*, (who had mixed the Service of his own Ends, with the popular pretence of advancing the King's Title,) thought their Cause better'd.

10. Again, such as might suspect they had given the King any occasion of distaste, endeavour'd by their Forwardness and Confidence, to shew it was but their Firmness to the former Government; and that those Affections ended with the Time. The Papists fed their Hopes, by comparing the Case of the Papists in *England*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, with that of the Papists in *Scotland*, under the King; construing their Condition in *Scotland* the less grievous, and forming Conjectures of the King's Government here accordingly: besides the Comfort they ministred to themselves, from the Memory of the Queen his Mother. The Ministers, and those who stood for the Presbytery, thought their Cause sympathized more with the Discipline of *Scotland*.

^a See the Character of this Queen, SUPPLEMENT III.

land, than with the Hierarchy of *England*; and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their Desires. Thus all Conditions of Persons promis'd themselves some future Advantage; which they might, perhaps, over-rate, according to the nature of Hope; yet not without some probable ground of Conjecture.

*The King's
Book published
at his En-
trance.*

II. At this time also came forth in print the King's Book, entitled βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: containing Matter of Instruction to the Prince his Son, as to the Office of a King; which Book falling into every Man's hand, fill'd the whole Kingdom as with a good Perfume, or Incense, before the King's coming in: for being excellently written, and having nothing of Affectation, it not only satisfied better than particular Reports of the King's Disposition; but far exceeded any formal or curious Edict, or Declaration, which could have been devised, of that nature wherewith Princes, in the beginning of their Reigns, usually grace themselves; or at least, express themselves gracious in the eyes of their People^a. And thus much for the general State and Constitution of Mens Minds upon this Change: the Actions themselves pass'd in the following manner^b.

^a The Author seems to have wrote this *Specimen* to oblige the King; to whom it was presented.

^b For the continuation of the History here begun, see *Burnet, Herbert, Thuanus, Larrey, &c.*



SUPPLEMENT III.

Containing the

L I V E S,

O R,

CIVIL CHARACTERS

O F

JULIUS CÆSAR.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

King HENRY VII. and,

Queen ELIZABETH.

P R E F A C E.

THE Four following Pieces, are all that the Author appears to have wrote in the way of Character or Biography. The Advantages of this kind of Writing are shewn, and the Practice of it recommended, in the *de Augmentis Scientiarum* ^a. It is a Practice that now seems to obtain pretty generally in Europe; and affords us the Lives of many eminent Persons, both publick and private. Whether the Author had any particular View in drawing the Civil Characters of Julius and Augustus Cæsar; or whether he intended to have gone through with the Twelve Cæsars in the same manner, does not appear.

The Character of King Henry the Seventh is taken from the Recapitulation of the English History of that Prince; collated with the Author's Latin Version: and the rest are new translated from the Latin Originals.

^a See Sect. I. 27. of that Piece.



I.

A Civil Character of JULIUS CÆSAR.

*The general
Fortune and
Temper of
Cæsar.*

1. *J*ulius Cæsar, at the first encountered a rugged Fortune; which turned to his advantage: for this curbed his Pride, and spurr'd his Industry. He was a Man of unruly Passions, and Desires; but extremely clear and settled in his Judgment and Understanding: as appears by his ready Address, to extricate himself both in Action and Discourse; for no Man ever resolved quicker, or spoke clearer. But his Will and Appetite were restless, and ever launched out beyond his Acquisitions; yet the Transitions of his Actions were not rash, but well concerted: for he always brought his Undertakings to compleat and perfect Periods. Thus, after having obtained numerous Victories, and procured a great degree of Security in *Spain*; he did not slight the Remains of the Civil War in that Country; but having, in Person, seen all things fully composed and settled there, he immediately went upon his Expedition against the *Parthians*.

*His Views
selfish.*

2. He was, without dispute, a Man of a great and noble Soul; tho' rather bent upon procuring his own private advantage, than good to the Publick: for he referred all things to himself; and was the truest Centre of his own Actions. Whence flowed his great and almost perpetual Felicity and Success: for neither his Country, nor Religion, neither good Offices, Relations, nor Friends, could check or moderate his Designs. Again, he was not greatly bent upon preserving his Memory; for he neither established a State of things, built lasting Monuments, nor enacted Laws of perpetuity; but worked entirely for his own present and private Ends; thus confining his Thoughts within the Limits of his own Times. 'Tis true, he endeavoured after Fame and Reputation, as he judged they might be of service to his Designs; but certainly, in his Heart, he rather aimed at Power, than Dignity; and courted Reputation and Honours only as they were Instruments of Power and Grandeur. So that he was led, not by any laudable Course of Discipline, but by a kind of natural Impulse, to the Sovereignty; which he rather affected to seize, than appear to deserve.

3. This

3. This Procedure ingratiated him with the People, who had no Dignity to lose; but, among the Nobility and Gentry, who desired to retain their Honours, it gained him the Character of a bold, aspiring Man. And certainly they judged right; for he was naturally very audacious, and never put on the Appearance of Modesty, but to serve a turn. Yet this daring Spirit of his was so tempered, that it neither subjected him to the Censure of Rashness, or intolerable Haughtiness; nor rendered his Nature suspected: but was taken to proceed from a certain Simplicity, and Freedom of Behaviour, joined with the Nobility of his Birth. And in all other respects he had the Reputation, not of a cunning and designing, but of an open and sincere Man. And tho' he was a perfect Master of Dissimulation, and wholly made up of Art, without leaving any thing to Nature but what Art had approved; yet nothing of Design or Affectation appeared in his Carriage: so that he was thought to follow his own natural Disposition. He did not, however, stoop to any mean Artifices, which Men unpractised in the World, who depend not upon their own Strength, but the Abilities of others, employ to support their Authority: for he was perfectly skilled in all the ways of Men; and transacted every thing of consequence in his own Person, without the Interposition of others.

Favoured by the People, but not the Nobles, for his haughtiness.

4. He had the perfect Secret of extinguishing Envy; and thought it proper in his Proceedings to secure this Effect, tho' with some diminution of his Dignity. For being wholly bent upon real Power, he almost constantly declined, and contentedly postponed all the empty Show, and gaudy Appearance of Greatness; till at length, whether satiated with Enjoyment, or corrupted by Flattery, he affected even the Ensigns of Royalty; the Style and Diadem of a King: which proved his ruin. He entertained the thought of Dominion from his very youth: and this was easily suggested to him by the Example of *Sylla*, the Affinity of *Marius*, the Emulation of *Pompey* and the Corruption and Troubles of the Times. But he paved his way to it in a wonderful manner: first, by a popular and seditious, and afterwards by a military and imperial Force. For at the entrance he was to break thro' the Power and Authority of the Senate; which remaining entire, there was no passage to an immoderate and extraordinary Sovereignty. Next, the Power of *Crassus* and *Pompey* was to be subdued; which could not be but by Arms. And therefore, like a skilful Architect of his own Fortune, he begun and carried on his first Structure by Largeesses; by corrupting the Courts of Justice; by renewing the Memory of *Caius Marius*, and his Party; whilst most of the Senators and Nobility were of *Sylla's* Faction: by the *Agrarian* Laws; by seditious Tribunes, whom he instigated; by the Fury of *Catiline*, and his Conspirators, whom he secretly favoured; by the Banishment of *Cicero*, upon whom the Authority of the Senate turned; and other the like Artifices: but what finished the Affair, was the Alliance of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, joined with himself.

His Thirst of Power.

The means whereby he obtained it.

5. Having thus secured all Matters on this side, he directly turned to the other; he was now made Proconsul of *Gaul* for five years, and afterwards continued for five more; he was furnished with Arms, Legions, and

Wrote on it of the

commanded a warlike Province, adjacent to *Italy*. For he knew, that after he had strengthened himself with Arms, and a military Power, neither *Crassus* nor *Pompey* could make head against him; the one trusting to his Riches, the other to his Fame and Reputation; the one decaying in Age, the other in Authority; and neither of them resting upon true and solid Foundations. And all this succeeded to his Wish; especially as he had bound, and obliged all the Senators, Magistrates, and those who had any Power, so firmly to himself, by private Benefits, that he feared no Conspiracy, or Combination against his Designs; till he had openly invaded the State. And tho' this was ever his Scheme, and at last put in execution, yet he did not unmask; but what by the reasonableness of his Demands, his Pretences of Peace, and moderating his Successes, he turned the whole load of Envy upon the opposite Party; and appeared to take Arms of necessity, for his own Preservation and Safety. The Emptiness of this Pretence manifestly appeared, when the Civil Wars were ended; all his Rivals, that might give him any disturbance, slain; and he possessed of the Regal Power: for now he never once thought of restoring the Republick; nor so much as pretended it. Which plainly shewed, as the Event confirmed, that his Designs were all along upon the Sovereignty; and accordingly he never seized Occasions as they happened, but rais'd and worked them out himself.

His great Talents in Military Affairs.

6. His principal Talent lay in military Matters; wherein he so excell'd, that he could not only lead, but mould an Army to his Mind. For he was as skilful in governing Men's Passions, as in conducting Affairs: and this he did not by any ordinary Discipline, that taught his Soldiers Obedience, stung them with Shame, or awed them by Severity; but in such a manner, as raised a surprizing Ardour and Alacrity in them, and made them confident of Victory and Success; thus endearing the Soldiery to him, more than was convenient for a free State. And as he was well versed in War of all kinds, and as he joined Civil and Military Arts together; nothing could come so suddenly upon him, but he had an Expedient ready for it; nothing so adverse, but he drew some advantage from it.

His Conduct in War.

7. He had a due regard to his Person; for in great Battles he would sit in his Pavilion, and manage all by Adjutants. Whence he received a double advantage; as thus coming the seldomer in Danger; and in case of an unfortunate turn, could animate and renew the Fight, by his own Presence, as by a fresh Supply. In all his Military Preparations he did not square himself to Precedents only; but ever with exquisite Judgment, took new Measures, according to the present Exigence.

His Friendships.

8. He was constant, singularly beneficent, and indulgent in his Friendships: but made such choice of Friends, as easily shewed that he sought for those who might forward, and not obstruct his Designs. And as he was both by Nature and Habit led, not to be eminent among great Men, but to command among Inferiors, he made Friends of mean and industrious Persons, to whom he alone gave Law. As for the Nobility, and his equals, he contracted Friendship with them just as they might serve his turn; and admitted none to his Intimacies, but such whose whole Expectations centered upon him.

9. He

9. He was tolerably learned ; but chiefly in what related to Civil Policy. *His Learning.* For he was well versed in History ; and perfectly understood both the Edge and Weight of Words ^a : and because he attributed much to his good Stars, he affected to be thought skilful in Astronomy. His Eloquence was natural to him, and pure.

10. He was given to Pleasures, and profuse in them ; which served at his first setting out as a Cloak to his Ambition : for no Danger was apprehended from one of this cast. Yet he so governed his Pleasures, that they were no prejudice to himself, nor business ; but rather whet than blunted the Vigour of his Mind. He was temperate in Diet ; not delicate in his Amours ; and pleasant and magnificent at publick Shews. *His Pleasures.*

11. This being his Character, the same thing at last was the means of his Fall, which at first was a step to his Rise ; *viz.* his Affectation of Popularity : for nothing is more popular than to forgive our Enemies ^b. Thro' which virtue, or cunning, he lost his Life. *His End.*

II.

A Civil Character of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

IF ever Mortal had a great, serene, well-regulated Mind, it was *Augustus Cæsar* : as appears by the heroical Actions of his early Youth. For men of a turbulent nature commonly pass their youth in various Errors ; and in their middle age, first begin to shew themselves : but those of a sedate and calm Disposition may shine even in the bud. And as the perfection of the Mind, like that of the Body, consists in Health, Gracefulness, and Strength ; in the latter he was inferior to his Uncle *Julius* ; but in Beauty and Health of Mind superior. For *Julius Cæsar* being of a restless, discomposed Spirit, as those generally prove who are troubled with the falling-sickness, yet cleared the way to his own Ends, with the utmost Address and Prudence. His Error was the not rightly fixing his Ends ; but with an insatiable and unnatural Appetite still pursuing farther Views. Whereas *Augustus*, sober and mindful of his Mortality, seemed to have thoroughly weigh'd his Ends ; and laid them down in admirable order. For first he desired to have the Sovereign Rule ; next he endeavoured to appear worthy of it ; then thought it but reasonable, as a Man, to enjoy his exalted Fortune ; and lastly, he turned his Thoughts to such Actions, as might perpetuate his Name, and transmit some Image and Effect of his Government to Futurity. Hence in his Youth he affected Power ; in his middle Age, Dignity ; in his Decline of Life, Pleasure ; and in his old Age, Fame, and the Good of Posterity.

^a See some of his Sayings in SUPPLEMENT VI. under the Article *Cæsar*. See also the *de Augusti Scientiarum*. Prelim. Sect. III. 65.

^b See the Author's *Essay on Charity*. SUPPLEMENT XI. Sect. I.

III.

A Civil Character of King HENRY VII.

*This King a
Mirror for the
Wise.*

1. **T**HIS King was that kind of Miracle, which affects wise Men; but does not strike the ignorant. There are numerous Particulars, both in his Virtues and his Fortune, not so fit for Common-place, as for grave and prudent Observation.

*His Religion
and Acts of
Charity.*

2. He was certainly religious, both in his Temper and Behaviour. And as he could see clearly, for those times, into Superstition; so he would be blinded now and then thro' Policy. He promoted Ecclesiasticks; and was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, tho' they caused him so much mischief. He built and endowed many Religious Houses, besides his memorable Hospital of the *Savoy*: yet he was a great Alms-giver in secret; which shews, that his Works in publick, were dedicated to God's Glory, not his own.

*His love of
Peace.*

3. He always professed to love and seek Peace; and it was his usual Preface in his Treaties, *That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of it, Peace was bequeathed.* This could not be imputed to fear, or softness in him, being a martial and active Man; but was doubtless a truly Christian and Moral Virtue. Yet he knew the way to Peace was not to seem too desirous of it: and therefore he would frequently raise Reports, and feign Preparations for War, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace.

*His great Suc-
cess in War.*

4. It was also remarkable, that being so great a lover of Peace, he should be so successful in War. For both his foreign and domestick Wars were so fortunate, that he never knew a Disaster. The War at his coming in, and the Rebellions of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Awdley*, he terminated by Victory: the Wars of *France* and *Spain* by Peace, fought at his hands: the War of *Britain*, by the accidental Death of the Duke: the Insurrection of the Lord *Lovel*; and that of *Perkin* at *Exeter*; and in *Kent*, by the Flight of the Rebels, before they came to blows: so that his Felicity in Arms was still peculiar and inviolate; perhaps chiefly because in suppressing Rebellions he ever appeared in person. The First of the Battle he would sometimes leave to his Lieutenants; reserving himself to second the Onset: but he was ever in some part of the Action. Yet this proceeded not from Warmth or Bravery in him; but partly from a Distrust of others.

*His regard to
the Laws.*

5. He always greatly countenanced the Laws of the Kingdom, and would seem to maintain them by his own Authority; tho' this he did, without any way falling short of his Ends: for he held the Reins of the Laws so commodiously, as to lose no part either of his Revenue or Prerogative. And yet, as he would sometimes wind up the Laws to his Prerogative; so he would, at others, purposely lower his Prerogative to his Parliament. For tho' the Regu-
lation

lation of the Mint, Treaties of Peace, and the Affairs of the Army, are matters of absolute Right, yet he would often refer these to Parliament.

6. Justice was well administered in his Time; except where the King was *The Administration of Justice* Party; and excepting also, that the Privy-Council intermeddled too much in Cases of *Meum and Tuum*. For the Council was then a mere Court of Justice; especially in the beginning of his Reign. But in that part of Justice and Policy, which is durable, and carved, as it were, in Brass, and Marble, *viz. The making of good Laws*, he greatly excelled.

7. His Justice also was mixed with Mercy; for in his Reign but three of *His Mercy* the Nobility suffered capitally; *viz. the Earl of Warwick*, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Awdley*. Tho' the two former were as numbers, in respect to the Virulence and Hatred of the People. But never were such great Rebellions known to be expiated with so little Blood, shed by the Sword of Justice, as the two extraordinary ones of *Exeter* and *Blackheath*. His general Pardons to the Rebels ever went both before and after his Sword. But then he had a strange method of interchanging ample, and unexpected, Pardons with severe Executions. Which, considering his Wisdom, could not be attributed to any Inconstancy, or Wavering; but either to some secret Reason; or to a certain Rule he had prescribed himself, *to try both Corrosives and Lenitives, by turns*.

8. But the less Blood he drew, the more Treasure he usually took; and, *His Covetousness and Oppressions* as some maliciously construed it, he was sparing in the one, that he might squeeze the more in the other: for to have taken both, would indeed have been intolerable. Doubtless he was naturally inclined to hoarding; and admired Riches too much for one in so high a sphere. And indeed he was touched with Remorse at his death, for having oppressed his People, and extorted Money, by ways of all kinds. This Excess of his had, at that time, many Interpretations. Some were of opinion, that the perpetual Rebellions wherewith he had been harassed, drove him to hate his People; some, that it tended to abate the Fierceness of his Subjects, by keeping them low; others, that he intended to leave a *Golden Fleece* to his Son; and others, in fine, that he had some secret design of a foreign War. But those, perhaps, come nearest the Truth, who impute it to Nature, Years, Peace, and a Mind taken up with no other Ambition, or Pursuit. Whereto may be added, that having frequent occasion to observe the Necessities and Shifts which other Princes were drove to for Money; this strongly shewed him the Felicity that attends full Coffers.

9. In expending of Treasure, he kept this Rule, never to spare any *His Expences*. Charge his Affairs required. In his Buildings he was magnificent; in his Rewards close-handed: so that his Liberality extended rather to what regarded himself, and his own Memory, than to the rewarding of Merit.

10. He was of a high and exalted Mind; a lover of his own Opinion, and his own Way; as one that revered himself, and would reign alone. Had he been a private Man, doubtless he would have been termed proud. But in a wise Prince, it was no more than keeping a just and due distance between himself and his Subjects; which he constantly did towards all; not admitting any one a near Approach, either to his Authority, or Secrets. For he was

governed by none about him. His Consort, the Queen, who had blessed him with several Children, and with a Crown also, tho' he would not acknowledge it, could do little with him. His Mother he indeed revered much; but seldom admitted her to a share of his Counsels. He had no Person agreeable to him for Conversation; unless we should account for such, Bishop *Fox* and *Bray* and *Empson*; because they were frequently with him; but it was as the Tool is with the Workman. He had as little Vain-glory as any other Prince; tho' without any diminution of State and Majesty, which he ever kept up to the height; being sensible, that the Reverence of Majesty holds the People in Obedience: whilst Vain-glory, if rightly considered, prostitutes Princes to popular Breath.

His Alliances.

11. He was just and constant to his Confederates, but close and cautious. He searched into them so much, yet kept himself so close, and reserved, that they stood as it were in the Light to him, and he in the Dark to them. But this was carried without any appearance of Secrecy; and rather with the shew of Frankness and Familiarity, as one who communicated his own Affairs to others, and at the same time enquired into theirs.

*His Behaviour
in Business and
his Character
abroad.*

12. As for the little Envy and Emulations, which usually pass between Princes, to the detriment of their Affairs; he had nothing of them; but went earnestly and substantially about transacting his Business. His Reputation, tho' great at home, was still greater abroad. For Foreigners, who could not see the Conduct, and particular Passages of his Affairs, but only the Conclusions and general Issues of them, observed that he was ever in strife, and ever superior. It was partly occasioned also by the Letters and Relations of foreign Ambassadors, who attended his Court in great numbers; for these he not only pleased by Courtesy, Reward, and familiar Conversation; but also raised their Admiration, by discovering an universal Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*. Which, tho' he had chiefly drawn from the Ambassadors themselves, and their Informations; yet what he had gathered from them all, seemed extraordinary to every particular. So that they always wrote to their Superiors in high Terms, of his Wisdom, and Policy. Nay, when returned to their several Countries, they frequently gave him Intelligence by Letter, of all Occurrences that happen'd worthy of note; such a Talent he had, at ingratiating himself with foreign Ministers.

His Intelligence.

13. He was solicitous to procure, by all Methods, Intelligence from every quarter; for which end, he not only used the Industry of foreign Ministers, residing here, and of his own Pensioners, which he kept at the Court of *Rome*, and the Courts of other Princes; but the Vigilance likewise of his own Ambassadors abroad. And with this view, his Instructions were exact, even to Curiosity, and orderly digested into Articles; more of which generally regarded Enquiry than Negotiation; and required distinct and particular Answers.

His Emiffaries.

14. As for his Emiffaries, which he secretly employed both at home and abroad, to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were on foot against him; they seem, in his case, to have been exceedingly necessary: he had so many Moles, as it were, perpetually at work, to undermine him. Neither

can

can this be accounted unlawful. For if Spies are approved in War, against lawful Enemies, much more against Conspirators and Traitors. His Industry, in thus employing Emissaries, had this good Effect, that as many Conspiracies were detected by their means; so the Fame and Suspicion of his Spies, doubtless kept many others from being attempted.

15. He was no uxorious Husband, nor indulgent; yet complaisant, companionable, and free from Jealousy. He was affectionate to his Children, and careful of their Education; for he aspired to procure their Advancement: he was careful also, that all the Honour and Respect becoming their Quality, should be paid them; but not greatly desirous, to have them exalted in the eyes of the People.

His Domestick Character.

16. He referred most of his Business to his Privy-Council, and often presided among them in person; well knowing this to be the right and solid way both to strengthen his Authority, and inform his Judgment. To which end also he was patient of their Liberty, as well in advising, as voting, till he had declared his own Opinion; which he usually reserved to the end of the Debates.

His Conduct in the Council.

17. He kept a strict hand upon the Nobility; and chose rather to advance to his Service such Clergymen and Lawyers, who were more obsequious to him, and less gracious with the People; which made for his Authority, but not for his Safety: insomuch that I am fully persuaded, this Method of his was a principal cause of the frequent Commotions that happened in his Reign; because the Nobility, tho' loyal and obedient, did not cheerfully co-operate with him; but left his Designs rather to take their Chance, than urged their Accomplishment.

Promoted the Clergy and Lawyers, to the neglect of the Nobility.

18. He was never afraid of his Servants and Ministers, tho' Men of the brightest Parts and greatest Abilities; as *Lewis XI.* was. But on the contrary, made use of the most eminent of his time: otherwise his Affairs could not have prospered as they did. Neither did he care how crafty and subtle they were, for he thought himself even here their superior.

His choice of able Ministers.

19. And as he shewed great Judgment in the choice of his Ministers, he was as constant in protecting those he had once chose. It is strange, that tho' he was a dark, close Prince, excessively suspicious, his Reign turbulent, and full of Conspiracies; yet in twenty four Years, he never displaced, or discomposed Counsellor, or near Servant, except *Stanley*, the Lord-Chamberlain.

His Constancy in protecting his Servants.

20. For the Disposition of his Subjects towards him; as there are three Affections, which naturally tie the Hearts of the People to their Sovereign; *viz. Love, Fear, and Reverence*; he had their Reverence in a high degree; much of their Fear; but so little of their Love, as to be beholden to the other two, for his security.

How respected by his Subjects.

21. He was a sober, serious, thoughtful Prince, full of Cares and secret Observations; and had Notes and Memorandums always ready by him; written with his own hand; particularly relating to the choice of Persons for employ; those he designed to reward, enquire about, or beware of; those

His exact and scrupulous Diligence in taking Notes, &c.

those who were nearly link'd together, either by Faction, or good Offices ; those who had formed into Parties, and the like ; thus keeping a kind of Diary of his own Thoughts. There goes a pleasant Story, that his Monkey, provoked to it, as was imagined, by one of the Bed-chamber, once tore his principal Note-book to pieces, as it lay somewhat carelessly exposed : whereat the Court, which liked not that scrupulous Diligence, were ready to burst with Laughter.

His Suspicions.

22. But tho' he abounded in Apprehensions and Suspicions, yet as he easily took them up, he as easily laid them down ; and made them submit to his Judgment : Whence they were rather troublesome to himself, than dangerous to others. Yet it must be acknowledged, that his Thoughts were so numerous, and so complicated, that they could not often consist together ; but that which was of service one way, proved hurtful another. Neither was it possible for him to be wise, or happy, so much beyond the Condition of Mortals, as always to weigh things truly, in their exact Proportions. Certainly, the rumour that raised him so many, and so great Troubles, viz. That the Duke of York was saved, and still alive, did, at the beginning, get strength and credit from himself ; being desirous of having it believed, in hopes of softening the Imputation of reigning in his own Right, and not in the Right of his Wife.

His Affability and Persuasion.

23. He was affable, and soothingly eloquent ; so as to use strange Sweetness and Insinuation in his Speech ; where he would persuade, or effect any thing that he earnestly desired.

Learning.

24. He was rather studious than learned ; reading, for the most part, Books wrote in *French*. Yet he understood *Latin*, as appears from hence, that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others who were well acquainted with *French*, yet always wrote to him in *Latin*.

Pleasures.

25. For his Pleasures, there is no mention found of them. Yet by his Instructions to *Marsin* and *Stile*, with regard to the Queen of *Naples*, it appears he could very skilfully interrogate upon Beauty, and the Parts thereof. He did by Pleasures, as great Princes do by Banquets of Sweet-meats ; look upon them a little, and go away. For never was Prince more immersed in his own Affairs ; being wholly taken up with them, and himself wholly in them : infomuch, that at Jufts, Tournaments, or other Mock-fights, Masks, and the like publick Assemblies, he seemed to be rather a princely and grave Spectator, than much delighted.

How affected by Royalty.

26. Doubtless, as in all other Men, and particularly in Kings, his Fortune influenced his Nature ; and his Nature again influenced his Fortune. He ascended to the Throne, not only from a private Fortune, which might teach him Moderation ; but also from the Fortune of an exil'd Man, which had given him the Spurs of Industry and Sagacity. And his Government being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his Confidence by Success ; but in the mean time almost corrupted his Nature by perpetual Vexations. This Prudence, by his frequent Escapes from Dangers (which had taught him to rely upon extempore Remedies) was turned rather into a Dexterity at extricating himself from Misfortunes, when they pressed him, than into

a Foresight to prevent and remove them at a distance. Thus, the Eyes of his Mind were not unlike the corporeal Eyes of those who see strong near at hand, but weak at a distance. For his Prudence was suddenly roused by the occasion; and the more, if the occasion were sharpened by Danger.

27. These Influences his Fortune had upon his Nature; nor were there wanting, on the other hand, certain Influences, which his Nature had upon his Fortune. For whether it were the Shortness of his Foresight, or the Obstinacy of his Will, or the dazzling of his Suspicions, or what; certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles in his Fortune, could not have arisen without some great Defects in his Nature, and rivetted Errors in the radical Constitution of his Mind: which he was obliged to salve and correct by a thousand little Industries, and Arts; all which best appear in the *History* itself.

How his Nature influenced his Fortune.

28. But to take him with all his defects, and compare him with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, his Contemporaries, we shall find him more politick than *Lewis XII.* of *France*; and more faithful and sincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*. But to change *Lewis XII.* for *Lewis XI.* who reigned a little before; the Comparisons will be more suitable, and the Parallels more exact. For these three, *Lewis XI. Henry,* and *Ferdinando*, may be esteemed as the three *Magi* among the Kings of that Age. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was his own fault; for what he undertook, he compassed.

Compared with his Contemporaries the Kings of France and Spain.

29. He was comely in Person; a little above the just Stature; well and frait limbed; but slender. His Countenance struck a Reverence, somewhat resembling that of an Ecclesiastick. And as it was not gloomy or supercilious, so neither was it winning or pleasing; but like the Face of one composed and sedate in Mind: tho' this was not happy for the Painter; as being best when he spoke.

His Person.

30. He had the Fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great King; in living exercised, and dying penitent. So that he triumphed victoriously, as well in Spirituals as Temporals: and succeeded in both Conflicts, that of *Sin*, and that of the *Cross*.

His Death.

31. He was born at *Pembroke Castle*; and buried at *Westminster*, in one of the noblest Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chapel, and the Sepulchre. So that he dwells more richly dead, in the Monument of his Tomb, than when alive, either at *Richmond*, or any other of his Palaces. I could wish he might do the like in this *Monument* of his *Fame*.

And Funeral.

^a For a fuller Account of this extraordinary Prince, consult the Author's *History of his Reign*.

IV.

Some ACCOUNT of the FELICITIES attending the LIFE and REIGN of Queen ELIZABETH ^a.

This Subject requires an able Statesman to write upon it.

The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth both the present Subject.

Was raised from a private Life to a Crown.

The Misfortune of her Mother as Rec- flection upon herself.

1. BOTH Nature and Fortune conspired to render Queen *Elizabeth* the Ambition of her Sex, and an Ornament to Crown'd Heads. This is not a Subject for the Pen of a Monk, or any such cloister'd Writer. For such Men, tho' keen in Style, are attach'd to their Party; and transmit things of this nature unfaithfully to Posterity. Certainly this is a Province for Men of the first Rank; or such as have fate at the Helm of States; and been acquainted with the Depths and Secrets of Civil Affairs.

2. All Ages have esteem'd a Female Government a Rarity; if prosperous, a Wonder; and if both long and prosperous, almost a Miracle. But this Lady reign'd forty-four Years compleat; yet did not out-live her *Felicity*. Of this *Felicity* I purpose to say somewhat; without running into Praises: For Praise is the Tribute of Men, but *Felicity* the Gift of God.

3. And *first*, I account it a part of her *Felicity*, that she was advanced to the Throne, from a private Fortune. For it is implanted in the Nature of Men, to esteem unexpected Success an additional *Felicity*. But what I mean, is, that Princes educated in Courts, as the undoubted Heirs of a Crown, are corrupted by Indulgence; and thence generally render'd less capable, and less moderate in the management of Affairs. And therefore we find those the best Rulers, who are disciplin'd by both Fortunes. Such was, with us, King *Henry VII.* and with the *French*, *Lewis XII.* who both of them came to the Crown almost at the same time; not only from a private, but also from an adverse and rugged Fortune: and the former proved famous for his Prudence; the other for his Justice. In the same manner this Princess also had the dawn of her Fortune chequered; but in her Reign it proved unusually constant and steady. From her Birth she was entitled to the Succession; but afterwards disinherited, and then postpon'd. In the Reign of her Brother, her Fortune was more favourable and serene; but in the Reign of her Sister, more hazardous and tempestuous. Nor was she advanced on a sudden, from a Prison to the Throne; which might have made her haughty and vindictive; but being restored to her liberty, and still growing in hopes, at last in a happy Calm, she obtain'd the Crown without Opposition or Competitor. And this I mention to shew, that Divine Providence intending an excellent Princess, prepared and advanced her by such degrees of Discipline.

4. Nor ought the Misfortunes of her Mother to sully the Glory of her Birth; especially because 'tis evident that King *Henry VIII.* was engaged in a new Amour before his Rage kindled against Queen *Anne*; and because the Temper of that King is censured by Posterity, as exceedingly prone both to Amours and Jealousies, and violent in both, even to the effusion of Blood. Add to this, that she was cut off thro' an Accusation manifestly improbable,

^a For the Occasion and Design of this Piece, see the Author's Letter to Sir *George Carew*, SUPPLEMENT V. Sect. 1.

improbable, and built upon slight Conjectures, as was then secretly whisper'd; and Queen *Anne* herself protested her innocence, with an undaunted greatness of mind, at the time of her death. For by a faithful and generous Messenger, as she supposed, she, just before her Execution, sent this Message to the King; *That his Majesty constantly held on in his purpose of heaping new Honours upon her; for that first he had raised her from a private Gentlewoman, to the Honour of a Marchioness; next advanced her into a Partnership of his Bed, and Kingdom; and when now there remain'd no bigger earthly Honour, he design'd to promote her an Innocent to the Crown of Martyrdom.* But the Messenger durst not carry this to the King, now plunged in a new Amour; tho' Fame, the Asserter of Truth, has transmitted it to Posterity.

5. Again; 'tis no inconsiderable part of Queen *Elizabeth's* Felicity, that the course of her Reign was not only long, but fell within that Season of her Life, which is fittest for governing. Thus she begun her Reign at twenty-five; and continued it to the seventieth Year of her Age. So that she neither felt the Harshness of a Minority, the Checks of a Governour's Power, nor the Inconveniencies of extreme old Age; which is attended with Miseries enough in private Men; but in Crown'd Heads, besides the ordinary Miseries, it usually occasions a decay of the Government, and ends with an inglorious *Exit*. For scarce any King has lived to extreme old Age, without suffering some Diminution in Empire and Esteem. Of this we have an eminent Instance in *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*; a potent Prince, and admirably versed in the Arts of Government; who, in the decline of Life, was throughly sensible of this Misfortune: and therefore wisely submitted to the necessity of things; voluntarily quitted his Acquisitions in *France*, establish'd a firm Peace with that Kingdom, and attempted the like with others; that so he might leave all quiet and compos'd to his Successor. Queen *Elizabeth's* Fortune, on the contrary, was so constant and fix'd, that no declension of Affairs follow'd her lively, tho' declining Age: nay, for an assured Monument of her *Felicity*, she died not till the Rebellion of *Ireland* ended in a Victory, lest her Glory should otherwise have appeared any way ruffled or incomplete.

6. It should likewise be consider'd over what kind of People she reign'd. For had her Empire fallen among the *Palmyrenians*, or in soft unwarlike *Asia*, it had been a less wonder; since a Female in the Throne would have suited an effeminate People: but in *England*, a hardy military Nation, for all things to be directed and govern'd by a Woman, is a matter of the highest Admiration.

7. Yet this Temper of her People, eager for War, and impatient of Peace, did not prevent her from maintaining it all her Reign. And this peaceable Disposition of hers, join'd with Success, I reckon one of her chiefest Praises: as being happy for her People, becoming of her Sex, and a Satisfaction to her Conscience. Indeed about the tenth Year of her Reign, there rose a small Commotion in the North of her Kingdom; but it was presently suppressed. The rest of her Reign pass'd in a secure and profound Peace. And

I judge it a glorious Peace, for two reasons; which, tho' they make nothing to its Merit, yet contribute much to its Honour. The one, that it was rendered more conspicuous and illustrious, by the Calamities of our Neighbours, as by so many Flames about us. The other, that the Blessings of Peace were not unattended with the Glory of Arms; since she not only preserved, but advanced the honour of the *English* Name for martial Greatness. For what by the Supplies she sent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; the Expeditions by Sea to the *Indies*; and some of them round the World; the Fleets sent to infest *Portugal*, and the Coasts of *Spain*; and what by the frequent Conquests and Reductions of the *Irish* Rebels; we suffered no decay in the ancient military Fame and Virtue of our Nation.

The Aids she afforded to foreign Princes. 8. It is likewise a just addition to her Glory, that neighbouring Princes were supported in their Thrones by her timely Aids; and that suppliant States, which, thro' the Misconduct of their Kings, were abandoned, devoted to the Cruelty of their Ministers, the Fury of the Multitude, and all manner of Desolations, were relieved by her.

The Counsels she gave them. 9. Nor were her Counsels less beneficent than her Supplies; as having so often interceded with the King of *Spain*, to reconcile him to his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, and reduce them to obedience, upon some tolerable Conditions. And she with great Sincerity importun'd the Kings of *France*, by repeated Admonitions, to observe their own Edicts, that promised Peace to their Subjects. 'Tis true, her Advice proved ineffectual: for the common Interest of *Europe* would not allow the first; lest the Ambition of *Spain* being uncurbed, should fly out, as Affairs then stood, to the prejudice of the Kingdoms and States of *Christendom*: and the latter was prevented by the Massacre of so many innocent Men, who with their Wives and Children, were butchered in their own Houses, by the Scum of the People, arm'd and let loose, like so many Beasts of Prey, upon them by publick Authority. This Blood-shed cry'd aloud for Vengeance, that the Kingdom stain'd by so horrible an Impiety, might be expiated by intestine Slaughter. However, by interposing, she perform'd the part of a faithful, prudent, and generous Ally.

The Peace of her Reign owing to herself. 10. There is also another reason for admiring this peaceful Reign, so much endeavour'd and maintain'd by the Queen; *viz.* that it did not proceed from any Disposition of the Times, but from her own prudent and discreet Conduct. For as she struggled with Faction at home, upon account of Religion; and as the Strength and Protection of this Kingdom was a kind of Bulwark to all *Europe*, against the extravagant Ambition and formidable Power of *Spain*; there wanted no occasions of War: yet with her Force and Policy, she surmounted these Difficulties. This appeared by the most memorable Event, in point of *Felicity*, that ever happen'd thro' the whole course of Affairs in our time. For when the *Spanish Armada* enter'd our Seas, to the Terror of all *Europe*, and with such assurance of Victory, they took not a single Boat of ours, nor burnt the least Cottage, nor touched our Shore; but were defeated in the Engagement, dispersed by a miserable Flight.

Flight, and frequent Wrecks; and so left us at home in the enjoyment of an undisturbed Peace ^a.

11. Nor was she less happy in disappointing Conspiracies, than in sub-^{Her Success in}ducing the Forces of her open Enemies. For several Plots against her Life ^{discovering}were fortunately discovered, and defeated. And yet upon this account, she ^{and defeating}was not the more fearful or anxious of her Person; for she neither doubled her ^{Conspiracies.}Guards, nor confined herself to her Palace; but appeared in publick as usual; remembering her Deliverance, but forgetting her Danger.

12. The nature of the Times wherein she flourished, must also be con-^{Ruled in a}sider'd. For some Ages are so barbarous and ignorant, that Men may be ^{learned Age,}as easily govern'd as Sheep. But this Princess lived in a learned and politic ^{over a know-}Age; when it was impossible to be eminent without great Parts, and a singu-^{ing People.}lar Habit of Virtue.

13. Again, Female Reigns are usually eclipsed by Marriage; and all the ^{Ruled without}Praises thus transfer'd upon the Husband: whilst those who live single, ap-^{Consort.}propriate the whole Glory to themselves. And this is more peculiarly the case of Queen *Elizabeth*; because she had no Supporters of her Government, but those of her own making: she had no Brother, no Uncle, nor any other of the Royal Family to partake her Cares, and share in her Administration. And for those she advanced to Places of Trust, she kept such a tight Rein upon them, and so distributed her Favours, that she laid each of them under the greatest Obligation and Concern to please her; whilst she always remain'd Mistress of herself.

14. She was indeed childless, and left no Issue behind her: which has been ^{Left no Chil-}the case of many fortunate Princes; as of *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Cæsar*, ^{dren.}*Trajan*, &c. and is a disputed point; some taking it for a diminution of *Felicity*, as if Men could not be compleatly happy, unless bless'd both in their own Persons, and in their Children; and others accounting it the Perfection of *Felicity*; which then alone seems to be compleat, when Fortune has no more power over it: which, if Children are left behind, can never be the case.

15. She had likewise her outward Embellishments; a tall Stature, a grace-^{Her Person}ful Shape and Make, a most majestick Aspect, mixed with Sweetness, and ^{graceful, and}a happy State of Health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to ^{her Death}the last; never experienced a reverse of Fortune, nor felt the Miseries of old ^{easy.}Age; and obtain'd that complacency in Death, which *Augustus Cæsar* so passionately desired, by a gentle and easy *Exit*. This is also recorded of that excellent Emperor *Antoninus Pius*; whose Death resembled a sweet and gentle Slumber. So likewise in the Distemper of the Queen, there was nothing shocking, nothing presaging, nothing unbecoming of human Nature. She was not desirous of Life, nor impatient under Sicknes, nor racked with Pain. She had no dire or disagreeable Symptom; but all things were of that kind, as argued rather the Frailty, than the Corruption or Disgrace of Nature. Being emaciated by an extreme dryness of Body, and the Cares that attend a Crown, and never refresh'd with Wine, or with a full and

^a For a more particular Account of this memorable Event, see SUPPLEMENT XII.

plentiful Diet, she was, a few Days before her Death, struck with a Dead-Palsy; yet, what is unusual in that Distemper, retain'd, in some degree, her Speech, Memory, and Motion. In this condition she continued but a little while; so that it did not seem the *last Act* of her *Life*, but the *first Step* to her *Death*. For to live long after our Faculties are impair'd, is accounted miserable; but for Death to hasten on with a gradual loss of the Senses, is a gentle, a pleasing, and easy Dissolution.

Her Ministers able Men. 16. To fill up the measure of her *Felicity*, she was exceeding happy, not only in her own Person, but also in the Abilities and Virtues of her Ministers of State. For she had the fortune to meet with such, as perhaps this Island never before produced at one Time. But God, when he favours Princes, raises up, and adorns the Spirits of their Ministers also.

Her posthumous Felicities, viz. her next Successor. 17. There remain two *posthumous Felicities*; which may seem more noble and august, than those that attended her living: the one is that of her *Successor*, and the other of her *Memory*. For she had such a Successor, who, tho' he may exceed and eclipse her Greatness, by his masculine Virtues, his Issue, and a new Accession of Empire; yet is zealous of her Name and Glory; and gives a kind of Perpetuity to her Acts; having made little change either in the choice of Ministers, or the method of Government: so that a Son rarely succeeds a Father with less Alteration or Disturbance.

And her Fame. 18. As for her *Memory*, 'tis so much in the mouths, and so fresh in the minds of Men, that Envy being extinguish'd, and her Fame light up by Death, the *Felicity* of her Memory seems to vie with the *Felicity* of her Life. For if thro' Party-Zeal, or difference in Religion, a factious Report be spread abroad; it is neither true, nor can be long-lived. And for this reason in particular, I have made the present *Collection* of her *Felicities*, and the Marks of the Divine Favour towards her; that no malicious Person might dare to curse, where God has so highly blessed.

These Felicities owing to herself. 19. If it should be here objected, as *Cicero* objected to *Cæsar*, *we have matter enough to admire, but would gladly see something to praise*; I answer, that true Admiration is a superlative degree of Praise. Nor could that *Felicity* above-described be the Portion of any, but such as are remarkably supported and indulged by the Divine Favour; and, in some measure, worked it out by their own Morals and Virtues. I shall, however, add a word or two as to the Morals of the Queen; but only in such Particulars, as have occasion'd some malicious Tongues to traduce her.

Her Religion. 20. As to her *Religion*; she was pious, moderate, constant, and an Enemy to Novelty. And for her Piety, tho' the Marks of it are most conspicuous in her Acts and Administrations; yet there were visible Marks of it, both in the course of her Life, and her ordinary Conversation. She was seldom absent from divine Service, and other Duties of Religion, either in her Chapel, or Closet. She was very conversant in the Scriptures, and Writings of the Fathers, especially *St. Augustine*. Herself composed certain Prayers upon some emergent Occasions. When she mention'd the name of God, tho' in ordinary Discourse, she generally added the Title of *Creator*; and composed both

both her Eyes and Countenance to some sort of Humility and Reverence ; which I have myself often observed.

21. As to what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of Mortality, so as not to bear the mention of Old-Age or Death ; it is absolutely false : for several Years before her Death, she would often facetiously call herself *the old Woman* ; and discourse about what kind of Epitaph she liked : adding, that she was no lover of pompous Titles ; but only desired her Name might be recorded in a Line or two, which should briefly express *her Name, her Virginity, the Time of her Reign, the Reformation of Religion under it, and her Preservation of Peace.* 'Tis true, in the Flower of her Age, being importuned to declare her Successor, she answered, *That she could by no means endure a Shroud to be held before her Eyes, while she was living.* And yet some Years before her Death, at a time when she was thoughtful, and probably meditating upon her Mortality, one of her Familiars mentioning in Conversation, that several great Offices and Places in the State were kept vacant too long ; she rose up and said, with more than ordinary Warmth, *That she was sure her Place would not be long vacant.*

22. As to her Moderation in Religion, it may require some pause ; because of the severity of the Laws, made against her Subjects of the *Romish* Persuasion : but I will mention such things as were well known, and carefully observed by myself. 'Tis certain, she was, in her Sentiments, averse to the forcing of Consciences : yet, on the other hand, she would not suffer the State to be endangered, under the pretence of Conscience and Religion. Hence she concluded, that to allow a Liberty and Toleration of two Religions, by publick Authority, in a military, and high-mettled Nation, that might easily fall from Difference in Judgment to Blows, would be certain Destruction. Thus in the beginning of her Reign, when all things look'd suspicious, she kept some of the Prelates, who were of a more turbulent and factious Spirit, Prisoners at large ; tho' not without the warrant of the Law : but to the rest of both Orders, she used no severe Inquisition, but protected them, by a generous Connivance. And this was the Posture of Affairs at first. Nor did she abate much of this Clemency, tho' provoked by the Excommunication of Pope *Pius Quintus* ; which might have raised her Indignation, and driven her to new Measures ; but still she retained her own generous Temper. For this prudent and courageous Lady was not moved with the Noise of those terrible Threats ; being secure of the Fidelity and Affection of her Subjects, and of the Inability of the *Popish* Faction within the Kingdom to hurt her, unless seconded by a foreign Enemy.

23. But about the three and twentieth year of her Reign, the Face of Affairs changed. This Difference of the Times is not artfully feigned, to serve a turn ; but stands expressed in the Publick Records, and engraven, as it were, in Leaves of Brass. For before that year, none of her Subjects of the *Romish* Religion, had been punished, with any Severity, by the Laws formerly enacted. But now the ambitious and monstrous Designs of *Spain*, to conquer this Kingdom, began by degrees, to open themselves.

A principal part of which was, by all publick Ways and Means, to raise a Faction, in the Heart of the Kingdom, of such as were disaffected, and desirous of Innovation; in order to join the Enemy upon the Invasion. Their Hopes of effecting this, were grounded upon the Difference there was amongst us in Religion; whence they resolved to labour this Point effectually. And the Seminaries at that time budding, Priests were sent into *England*, to sow and raise up an Affection for the *Romish* Religion; to teach and inculcate the Validity of the Pope's Excommunication, in releasing Subjects from their Allegiance; and to awaken and prepare Mens Minds to an Expectation of a Change in the Government.

*And the Irish
Rebellion.*

24. About the same time *Ireland* was attempted by an Invasion; and the Name and Government of Queen *Elizabeth* vilified and traduced by scandalous Libels: in short, there was an unusual swelling in the State; the Prognostick of a greater Commotion. Yet I will not affirm, that all the Priests were concerned in the Plot; or privy to the Designs then carrying on: but only that they were corrupt Instruments of other Men's Malice. 'Tis however attested by the Confession of many, that almost all the Priests sent into this Kingdom, from the Year abovementioned, to the thirtieth Year of the Queen, wherein the Design of *Spain*, and the Pope, was put in execution by the *Armada*, had it in their Instructions, among other Parts of their Function, to insinuate, *That Affairs could not possibly continue long as they were; that they would soon put on a new face; that the Pope and the Catholick Princes would take care for the English State, provided the English were not their own hindrance.* Again, some of the Priests had manifestly engaged themselves in Plots and Contrivances, which tended to the undermining and subverting of the Government: and what was the strongest Proof, the whole Train of the Plot was discovered by Letters intercepted from several Parts; wherein it was expressly mentioned, *That the Vigilancy of the Queen and her Council, in respect of the Catholicks, would be baffled; because the Queen only watched, that no Nobleman, or Person of Distinction, should rise to head the Catholick Faction: whereas the Design they laid was, that all things should be disposed and prepared by private Men, of an inferior Rank, without their conspiring or consulting together; but wholly in the secret way of Confession.* And these were the Artifices then practised, which are so familiar and customary to that Order of Men.

*Priests of necessity forbid
the Kingdom,
on pain of
Death.*

25. In such an impending Storm of Dangers, the Queen was obliged, by the Law of Necessity, to restrain such of her Subjects as were disaffected, and rendred incurable by these Poisons; and who in the mean time began to grow rich by Retirement, and Exemption from publick Offices: and accordingly some severer Laws were enacted. But the Evil daily increasing, and the Origin thereof being charged upon the *Seminary Priests*, bred in Foreign Parts, and supported by the Bounty and Benevolence of Foreign Princes, the professed Enemies of this Kingdom; which Priests had lived in Places, where the Name of Queen *Elizabeth* was always tacked to the Titles of *Heretick, Excommunicated, and Accursed*; and who, tho' they themselves were not engaged in the treasonable Practices, yet were known to be the intimate Friends of such as had set their hands to Villanies of that kind; and who, by their Arts and poisonous Insinuations, had infected the whole Body of the
Catho-

Catholicks, which before was less malignant; there could no other Remedy be found, but the forbidding such Persons all entrance into this Kingdom, upon pain of Death: which at last, in the twenty seventh Year of her Reign, was accordingly enacted.

26. Yet the Event itself, which followed soon after, when so violent a Storm fell upon this Kingdom, with all its Weight, did not, in the least, abate the Envy and Hatred of these Men; but rather increased it; as if they had divested themselves of all Affection to their Country. And afterwards, indeed, tho' our Fears of *Spain*, the occasion of this Severity, were abated; yet because the Memory of the former times was deeply imprinted in Mens Minds; and because it would have looked like Inconstancy, to have abrogated the Laws already made; or Remissness to have neglected them; the very Constitution and Nature of Affairs suggested to the Queen, that she could not with safety return to the State of Things, that obtained before the three and twentieth Year of her Reign.

27. To this may be added, the Industry of some to increase the Revenues of the *Exchequer*; and the Earnestness of the Ministers of Justice, who usually regard no other Safety of their Country, but what consists in the Laws; both which called loudly for the Laws to be put in execution. However, the Queen, as a Specimen of her Good-nature, so far took off the Edge of the Law, that but a few Priests, in proportion, were put to death. And this, we say, not by way of Defence, for the Case needs none; as the Safety of the Kingdom turned upon it; and as the Measure of all this Severity came far short of those bloody Massacres, that are scarce fit to be named among Christians, and have proceeded, rather from Arrogance and Malice, than from Necessity, in the Catholick Countries. And thus we think, we have made it appear, that the Queen was moderate in the Point of Religion; and that the Change which ensued, was not owing to her Nature, but to the Necessity of the Times.

28. The greatest Proof of her Constancy in Religion, and Religious Worship, is, that notwithstanding Popery, which in her Sister's Reign had been strenuously established by publick Authority, and the utmost Diligence, began now to take deep root, and was confirmed by the Consent and Zeal of all those in Office, and Places of Trust; yet because it was not agreeable to the Word of God, nor to the primitive Purity, nor to her own Conscience, she, with much Courage, and with very few Helps, extirpated and abolished it. Nor did she do this precipitantly, or in a heat; but prudently and seasonably: as may appear from many Particulars; and among the rest, from a certain Answer she occasionally made. For upon her first Accession to the Throne, when the Prisoners, according to Custom, were released; as she went to Chappel, a Courtier, who took a more than ordinary freedom, whether of his own Motion, or set on by a wiser Head, delivered a petition into her Hand; and in a great Concourse of People, said aloud; "That there were still four or five Prisoners unjustly detained; that he came to petition for their Liberty as well as the rest; and these were the four Evangelists, and the Apostle *St. Paul*, who had been long imprisoned in an unknown Tongue, and not suffered to converse with the
" People."

“ People.” The Queen answered, with great Prudence, *That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to be released or no.* And by thus striking a surprizing Question, with a wary, doubtful Answer, she reserved the whole Matter entirely in her own Breast.

The Prudence shown in bringing about the Reformation.

29. Nor yet did she introduce this Alteration timorously, and by Fits and Starts, but orderly, gravely, and maturely; after a Conference betwixt the Parties, and calling a Parliament: and thus at length, within the Compass of one Year, she so ordered, and established all things belonging to the Church, as not to suffer the least Alteration afterwards, during her Reign. Nay, almost every Session of Parliament, her publick Admonition was, that no Innovation might be made in the Discipline or Rites of the Church. And thus much for her *Religion.*

Her Levities.

30. Some of the graver sort may perhaps aggravate her Levities; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have Love-Poems made on her; and continuing this Humour longer than was decent for her Years: yet to take even these Matters in a milder Sense, they claim a due Admiration; being often found in fabulous Narrations; as that of “ a certain Queen in the fortunate Islands, in whose Court Love was allowed, but Lust banished.” Or if a harsher Construction can be put upon them, they are still to be highly admired; as these Gaities did not much eclipse her Fame, nor in the least obscure her Grandeur, nor injure her Government, nor hinder the Administration of her Affairs: for things of this sort are rarely so well tempered and regulated in Princes.

Her moral Virtues.

31. This Queen was certainly good and moral; and as such she desired to appear. She hated Vice, and studied to grow famous by honourable Courses. Thus, for example, having once ordered an Express to be written to her Ambassador, containing certain Instructions, which he was privately to impart to the Queen-Mother of *France*, her Secretary inserted a Clause for the Ambassador to use, importing, “ That they were two Queens, from whose Experience, and Arts of Government, no less was expected than from the greatest Kings.” She could not bear the Comparifon; but ordered it to be struck out; saying, “ She used quite different Arts and Methods of Government, from the Queen-Mother.”

Her desire of appearing eminent, tho' she had lived private.

32. She was also not a little pleased, if any one by chance had dropt such an Expression as this, “ That tho' she had lived in a private Station, her Excellencies could not have passed unobserved by the Eye of the World.” So unwilling was she, that any of her Virtue, or Praise, should be owing to the height of her Fortune.

Her great Talent for Government.

33. But if I should enter upon her Praises, whether moral or political, I must either fall into a Common-place of Virtues, which would be unworthy of so extraordinary a Princess; or if I would give them their proper Grace and Lustre, I must enter into a *History of her Life*; which requires more Leisure, and a richer Vein than mine. To speak the Truth, the only proper Encomiast of this Lady is *Time*; which, for so many Ages as it has run, never produced any thing like her, of the same Sex, for the Government of a Kingdom.

SUPPLEMENT IV.
SELECT
SPEECHES,
ON
Particular Occasions ;
CIVIL, JUDICIAL, and MORAL.^a

^a See the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, Sect. I. 36.

1870

1871

1872

P R E F A C E.

THE Author's Character as a Speaker, is no less extraordinary, than as a Writer. His Contemporary Mr. Johnson, the celebrated Poet, tells us, "His Hearers could not cough, or look aside from him without loss; that he commanded where he spoke; and had his Judges angry and pleased at his devotion; that the Fear of every Man, who heard him was, lest he should make an end, &c.^a" A late learned Prelate, thought it no strained Compliment to say, "That it was well for Cicero, and the Honour of his Orations, that the Lord Bacon composed his in another Language^b." And other eminent Men have declared as much^c. To speak moderately of these Speeches, they are studied full, strong and definitive; no way sophistical; but as honest and hearty, as they are learned and political.

The Number he left behind him, including his Charges, is considerable. They were published by Dr. Rawley, after the Author's death. We have here selected the more capital; ranged them in some Order; and left them nearly in their old English Dress; which seems to suit them better than a new one.

^a See Mr. Johnson's Discoveries, pag. 101.

^b See Archbishop Tennison's Account of all the Lord Bacon's Works, pag. 62.

^c See Tatler, N^o 267. and Spectator N^o 554.



S E C T. I.

SPEECHES ON CIVIL OCCASIONS.

S P E E C H I.

Upon presenting a Petition of the House of Commons, to his Majesty; for regulating the Purveyors^a.

TIS well known to your Majesty, that the Emperors of *Rome*, for their better Glory and Ornament, used in their Titles the additions of the Countries and Nations where they had obtained Victories: as *Germanicus*, *Britannicus*, and the like. But after all those Names, followed, as in the higher place, the Name of *Pater Patriæ*, as the greatest Title of all human Honour, immediately preceding the Name of *Augustus*; whereby they meant to express some affinity they had, in respect of their Office, with divine Honour. Your Majesty might, with good reason, assume many of those other Names; as *Germanicus*, *Saxonicus*, *Britannicus*, *Francicus*, *Danicus*, and others, as appertaining to you, not by Bloodshed, as they bore them; but by Blood: your Majesty's Royal Person being a noble confluence of Streams and Veins, wherein the Royal Blood of many Kingdoms of *Europe* are met, and united. But no Name is more worthy of you, nor may more truly be ascribed to you, than that of *Father of your People*; which you may bear and express, not in the formality of your Style; but in the real Course of your Government. We ought not to say to you, as was said to *Julius Cæsar*, *That we have already for what to admire you, and that now we expect somewhat for which to commend you*: for we may justly acknowledge, that we have found in your Majesty, great cause both of Admiration and Commendation. For great is the Admiration wherewith you have possessed us since this Parliament began, in those two Cases, wherein we have had access to you; that of the return of *Sir Francis Goodwin*, and that of the *Union*; whereby it seems to us, that one of these being so subtle a Question of Law, and the other so high a Cause of State, that, as the Scripture says of the wisest of Kings, *His Heart was as the Sands of the Sea*; which tho'

^a This Speech was made, and the Petition presented, the first Session of Parliament in the Reign of King *James I.*

tho' it be one of the largest Bodies, yet consists of the smallest Portions: so in those two Examples, it appears to us, that God has given your Majesty a rare sufficiency, both to compass and fathom the greatest Matters, and to discern the least. And for matter of Praise and Commendation, which chiefly belongs to Goodness, we cannot but with great thankfulness profess, that your Majesty, within the Circle of one year of your Reign, has endeavoured to unite your Church, which was divided; to supply your Nobility, which was diminished; and to ease your People, where they were burdened and oppressed.

Under the last of these, *viz.* the ease and comfort of your People, falls the Message I now bring to your Majesty, concerning the great Grievance arising by the manifold abuses of *Purveyors*; differing, in some degree, from most of the things wherein we deal and consult. For 'tis true, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, are a representative Body of your Commons, and third State; and in many Matters, altho' we apply ourselves to perform the Trust of those that choose us; yet it may be, we speak much out of our own Sense and Discourse. But in this Grievance, being of that nature whereto the poor People is most exposed, and Men of Quality less; we most humbly desire your Majesty to conceive, that you do not hear our Opinions or Senses, but the very Groans and Complaints themselves of your Commons, more truly and lively than by Representation. For there is no Grievance in your Kingdom so general, so continual, so sensible, and so bitter to the common Subject, as this wherof we now speak; wherein it may please your Majesty to vouchsafe me leave, *first*, to set forth to you the dutiful and respectful carriage of our Proceeding; *next*, the Substance of our Petition; and *thirdly*, some Reasons and Motives, which in all humbleness we offer to your Majesty's Royal Consideration; assuring ourselves, that never King reigned who had better Notions of Head, and Motions of Heart, for the Good and Comfort of his loving Subjects. For the *first*; in the Course of Remedy which we desire, we intend not in any sort, to derogate from your Majesty's Prerogative; nor to touch, diminish, or question any of your Majesty's Regalities or Rights. For we seek nothing but the Reformation of Abuses, and the Execution of former Laws, whereto we are born. And altho' it be no strange thing in Parliament, for new Abuses to crave new Remedies; yet in those Abuses we content ourselves with the old Laws: only desire a Confirmation, and quickening of them in their Execution; so far are we from any Humour of Innovation or Encroachment.

As to the *Court of the Green-Cloth*, ordained for the provision of your Majesty's most honourable Household, we hold it ancient and reverend. Other Courts respect your political Person; but that respects your natural Person. Yet, to use that Freedom, which to Subjects that pour out their Grievances before so gracious a King, is allowable, we may very well alledge, a Comparison used by one of the Fathers in another Matter; and not unfitly representing our Case, in this Point: *viz.* that of the Leaves and Roots of Nettles; the Leaves are venomous and stinging, where they touch; the
Root

Root not so; but without Venom or Malignity: and yet 'tis the Root that bears and supports all the Leaves.

As to the Subtance of our Petition; 'tis no other, than by the Benefit of your Majesty's Laws to be relieved of the Abuses of Purveyors: which Abuses naturally divide themselves into three sorts: the *first*, they take in kind what they ought not to take; the *second*, they take in quantity a far greater Proportion than comes to your Majesty's use; the *third*, they take in an unlawful manner, directly and expressly prohibited by divers Laws. For the *first* of these, I am a little to alter their Name; for instead of *Takers*, they become *Taxers*; instead of taking Provision for your Majesty's Service, they *tax* your People, *ad redimendam vexationem*: imposing upon them; and extorting from them Sums of Money, sometimes in gross, sometimes in the nature of Stipends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be freed and eased of their Oppression. Again, they take *Trees*, which by Law they cannot do; Timber-trees, which are the Beauty, Countenance, and Shelter of Men's Houses; that Men have long spared from their own Purse and Profit; that Men esteem, for their Use and Delight, above ten times the Value; that are a loss, which Men cannot repair or recover. These they take, to the defacing and spoiling of your Subjects Mansions and Dwellings; except they may be compounded with to their own Appetites. And if a Gentleman be too hard for them, while he is at home, they will watch their time, when there is but a Bailiff or a Servant remaining; and put the Ax to the Root of the Tree, before the Master can stop it. Again, they use a strange and most unjust Exaction, in causing the Subjects to pay a Poundage of their own Debts, due from your Majesty to them: so that a poor Man, when he has had his Hay, or his Wood, or his Poultry, which perhaps he was loth to part with, and reserved for the Provision of his own Family, taken from him, and that not at a just Price, but under the Value, and comes to receive his Money, he shall have after the rate of Twelve Pence in the Pound abated, for Poundage, of his due Payment, upon so hard Conditions. Nay farther, they are grown to that Extremity, as to take double Poundage; once when the Debenture is made, and again when the Money is paid.

As to the *second Point*, *viz.* that the *quantity* they take is far above what answers to your Majesty's use; they are the greatest Multipliers in the world. For 'tis affirmed to me, by Gentlemen of good Report, and Experience in these Causes, as a Matter which I may safely avouch before your Majesty, that there is no Pound Profit which redounds to your Majesty in this Course, but induces three Pound Damage upon your Subjects, besides the Discontent. And to the end they may make their Spoil more securely; whereas divers Statutes strictly provide, that whatsoever they take, shall be registred and attested; that by making a Comparison of what is taken from the Country, and what is answered above, their Deceits might appear; they, to obscure their Deceit, utterly omit the Observation of this, which the Law prescribes.

The *third* Abuse, *viz.* the unlawful manner of their taking, is so manifold, as rather requires an enumeration of some of the Particulars, than a Prosecution of all. For the Price; by Law, they ought to take as they can agree with the Subject; but by Abuse they take at an imposed and enforced Price: by Law they ought to make but one Appraisement, by Neighbours in the Country; by Abuse they make a second Appraisement at the Court-Gate; and when the Subjects Cattle come up many Miles, lean, and out of plight, by reason of their Travel, then they rate them anew at an abated Price. By Law they ought to take between Sun and Sun; by Abuse they take in the Twilight, and in the Night-time; a time well chosen for Malefactors: by Law they ought not to take in the Highways, a Place by your Majesty's high Prerogative protected, and by Statute in special Words excepted; by Abuse they take in the Ways, in contempt of your Majesty's Prerogative and Laws: by Law they ought to shew their Commission, and the Form of Commission is by Law set down: the Commissions they bring, are against the Law; and because they know so much, they will not shew them. A number of other Particulars there are, whereof I have given your Majesty a taste; and the chief of them, upon deliberate Advice, are set down in Writing, by the Labour of certain Committees, and Approbation of the whole House, more particularly and lively than I can express them; myself having them at the second hand, by reason of my abode in *London*. But this Writing is a Collection of theirs who dwell among the Abuses of these Offenders, and Complaints of the People; and such must needs have a more perfect understanding of all Circumstances of them.

It remains only that I use a few Words, the rather to move your Majesty in this Cause: and a very few will suffice; for such great Enormities neither require any aggravating; nor so great Grace, as uses of itself to flow from your Majesty's Princely Goodness, any artificial Persuading. There are two things only, which I think proper to set before your Majesty; the one the Example of your most noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, who from the first King that endowed this Kingdom with the great Charters of their Liberties until the last, have ordained most of them in their several Reigns, some Laws or Law against this kind of Offenders; and especially the Example of one of them, that King, who for his Greatness, Wisdom, Glory, and Union of several Kingdoms, resembles your Majesty most, both in Virtue and Fortune, King *Edward III.* who in his time only, made Ten several Laws against this Mischief.

The second is the Example of God himself; who said and pronounced, *That he will not hold them guiltless that take his Name in vain.* For all those great Misdemeanors are committed in and under your Majesty's Name; and therefore we hope your Majesty will hold them twice guilty, that commit these Offences; once for oppressing the People, and again for doing it under the Colour and Abuse of your Majesty's most dreaded, and beloved Name. So that I will conclude with the Saying of *Pindar*, *optima res Aqua*; not for the excellency, but the common use of it; and so contrariwise the

Matter of Abuse in the Purveyance, if not the most heinous Abuse, yet certainly is the most common and general Abuse of all others in this Kingdom.

It remains, that according to the command laid upon me, I do in all humility present this Writing to your Majesty's royal hands; with most humble Petition, on behalf of the Commons, that as your Majesty has been pleased to vouchsafe your gracious Ear to hear me; so you would be pleased to enlarge your Patience to hear this Writing read, which is more material.

SPEECH II.

Upon the general NATURALIZATION of the SCOTISH NATION^a.

Mr. SPEAKER;

MY Design is to answer the Inconveniencies alledged, if we should give way to this Naturalization; which I suppose you will not find so great as they are made; but that much Dross is put into the Balance to help the Weight.

1. *The first Inconvenience is, that there may ensue from this Naturalization, a Surcharge of People upon England; which is supposed to have already its full Charge.*

A grave Objection, Mr. Speaker, and dutiful; for it proceeds not from any Unkindness to the *Scotish* Nation, but from a Natural Fastness to our selves: for that Answer of the Virgins, *ne sorte non sufficiat vobis & nobis*, proceeds not out of any Envy, but out of Providence, and the original Charity which begins with ourselves.

To this so weighty and so principal Objection, I shall offer three several Answers; every one of them being, to my Understanding, of itself sufficient.

(1.) *The first* is, that the Opinion of the Number of the *Scotish* Nation, likely to plant themselves among us, will be found a thing rather in Conceit than Event; for, you will find, those plausible Similitudes of a Tree thriving better, if removed into the more fruitful Soil, and of Sheep or Cattle finding a Passage open, will leave the more barren Pasture, and get into a better, to be but superficial Arguments, that have no sound Resemblance with the transplanting or transferring of Families: for the Tree we know, by Nature, as soon as 'tis set in a better Ground, can fasten upon it, and take Nutriment from it; and a Sheep, as soon as he gets into a better Pasture, will feed. But there belongs more to a Family, or particular Person, that shall remove from one Nation to another: for if they have not Stock, Means, Acquaintance, Customs, Habitations, Trades, Countenance, and the like,

^a This Speech was made in the *House of Commons*, the fifth Year of King *James I.*

like, they will starve in the midst of the rich Pasture; and are far from grazing at their pleasure: therefore in this point, which is conjectural, Experience is the best Guide for the time past, and a Pattern of the time to come. I think no Man doubts, but his Majesty's first coming in, was the greatest Spring-Tide for the Confluence and Entrance of that Nation. Now I would fain know, in these four Years, and the Fulness and Strength of the Court and Tide, how many Families of *Scotsmen* are planted in the Cities, Boroughs, and Towns of this Kingdom; for I assure myself, that more than some Persons of Quality, about his Majesty's Person here at Court, and in *London*, and some other inferior Persons, that have a dependance upon them, the Return and Certificate, if such a Survey should be made, would be of a number extremely small. I appeal to all your private Knowledges of the Places you inhabit. Now, Mr. *Speaker*, I am sure, there will be no more such Spring-tides.

But you will tell me of a multitude of Families of the *Scottish* Nation in *Polonia*; and if they multiply in a Country so far off, how much more at hand? So that you must of necessity impute it to some special accident of Time and Place, that draws them thither. For you see plainly, before your Eyes, that in *Germany*, which is much nearer, and in *France*, where they are invited with Privileges, and with this very Privilege of Naturalization, yet no such Number can be found; so that neither Nearness of Place, nor Privilege of Person, can be the Cause. But to speak what I think, of all Places in the World, they will never take that Course of Life in this Kingdom, which they content themselves with in *Poland*; for the Nature of all Men is rather to discover Poverty abroad, than at home. No Gentleman, who has over-reached himself in Expences, and must therefore abate his Countenance, but will rather travel, and do it abroad, than at home; and we know they have good high Stomachs; and have ever stood in some Terms of Emulation with us: and therefore they will never live here, except they can live in good Fashion. So that I assure you, Mr. *Speaker*, I am of opinion, that the fear we now have to admit them, will prove like that Contention between the Nobility and People of *Rome*, for admitting of a *Plebeian* Consul; which in passing was very vehement, and mightily stood upon, but when the People had obtained the Point, they never made any *Plebeian* Consul for sixty Years after: and so will this be for many Years, as I am persuaded, rather a Matter in Opinion and Reputation, than in Use or Effect. And this is my first Answer to this main Inconvenience, pretended from a Surcharge of People.

(2.) My *second* Answer to the Objection is this. I must have leave to doubt, that *England* is not yet peopled to the full; for certainly the Territories of *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and some great part of *Germany*, do in equal space of Ground bear and contain a far greater quantity of People, if they were mustered by the Poll. Neither can I see, that this Kingdom is so much inferior to those in Fruitfulness, as 'tis in Population: which makes me conceive we have not our full Charge. Besides, I see manifestly among us, the Badges and Tokens rather of a Scarcity, than of a Press of People;

as drowned Lands, Commons, Wastes, and the like; which is a plain Demonstration, that however there may be an over-swelling of People here about *London*, which is most in our Eye; yet the Body of the Kingdom is but thin sown with them: and whoever shall compare our Ruins and Decays of ancient Towns, with the Erections and Augmentations of new, cannot but judge that *England* has been far better peopled in former Times; it may be in the *Heptarchy*, or otherwise: for generally it holds a Rule, the smaller the State, the greater the Population *pro rata*. And whether this be true or no, we need but to remember how many of us serve in this House for desolate and decayed Boroughs.

Again, Mr. *Speaker*, whoever looks into the Principles of *State*, must hold, that they are the *Mediterranean* Countries, and not the Maritime, which need to fear Surcharge of People; for all Sea-Provinces, and especially Islands, have another Element besides the Earth and Soil, for their Sustenance. And what an infinite Number of People are, and may be sustained, by Fishing, Carriage by Sea, and Merchandizing? Wherein I again discover, that we are not at all pinched by the multitude of People; otherwise it were impossible we should relinquish and resign such an infinite Benefit of Fishing to the *Flemings*, as 'tis well known we do. And therefore I see we have Wastes by Sea, as well as by Land; which still is an infallible Argument that our Industry is not awakened to seek Maintenance by any over-great Charge, or Press of People. And lastly, Mr. *Speaker*, there was never any Kingdom, in the Ages of the World, had, I think, so fair and happy means to issue and discharge the multitude of their People, if it were too great, as this Kingdom, in regard of that desolate and wasted Kingdom of *Ireland*; which being a Country blessed with almost all the Dowries of Nature, as Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soil, a temperate Climate, and now at last blest also under his Majesty with Obedience, does, as it were, continually call to us for our Colonies and Plantations. And thus I conclude my second Answer to this pretended Inconvenience of Surcharge of People.

(3.) My *third* Answer is this. I demand, Mr. *Speaker*, what is the worst Effect that can follow from a Surcharge of People? Look into History, and you shall find it no other than some honourable War, for the enlargement of their pent Borders: which Inconvenience in a valiant and warlike Nation, I know not whether I should term it an Inconvenience; for the Saying is most true, tho' in another Sense, *omne solum forti patria*. It was spoken indeed of the Patience of an exiled Man; but is no less true of the Valour of a warlike Nation. And certainly if we held ourselves worthy, whenever a just Cause should be given, either to recover our antient Rights, or to revenge our late Wrongs, or to attain the Honour of our Ancestors, or to enlarge the Patrimony of our Posterity; we would never in this manner forget the Considerations of Amplitude and Greatness, and fall at variance about Profit and Reckonings; fitter much for private Persons, than for Parliaments and Kingdoms. And thus, Mr. *Speaker*, I leave this *first Objection* to its three Answers.

2. *The second Objection is, that the fundamental Laws of England and Scotland are yet different and several; nay, that 'tis declared they shall continue so, and that there is no intent in his Majesty to make an Innovation in them; and therefore that it would not be seasonable to proceed with this Naturalization, and endow them with our Rights and Privileges, except they should likewise receive and submit themselves to our Laws.* And this Objection likewise, I allow to be a weighty Objection; and worthy to be well answered and discussed.

The Answer I offer is, that for my part, Mr. *Speaker*, I wish the *Scottish* Nation governed by our Laws; for I hold our Laws with some reductions worthy to govern, tho' it were the World: but this is what I say, and therein desire your Attention; that according to true Reason of State, Naturalization is first in Order, and precedent to Union of Laws; in degree a less matter than Union of Laws; and in Nature separable, not inseparable from Union of Laws: for Naturalization only takes out the Marks of a Foreigner; but Union of Laws makes them entirely as our selves. Naturalization takes away Separation; but Union of Laws takes away Distinction. Do we not see, Mr. *Speaker*, that in the Administration of the World, under the great Monarch God himself, that his Laws are diverse; one Law in Spirits, another in Bodies; one Law in Regions celestial; another in elementary: and yet the Creatures are all one Mass or Lump, without any *Vacuum* or Separation. Do we not likewise see in the State of the Church, that among People of all Languages and Lineages, there is one Communion of Saints, and that we are Fellow-Citizens, and naturalized of the heavenly *Jerusalem*; and yet there are divers and several Ecclesiastical Laws, Policies, and Hierarchies, according to the saying of that worthy Father; *in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit?* Therefore certainly, Mr. *Speaker*, the Bond of Law is the more special and private Bond, and the Bond of Naturalization the more common and general; for the Laws are rather *figura reipublicæ* than *forma*; and rather Bonds of Perfection than Bonds of Entireness. So we see in the Experience of our own Government, that in the Kingdom of *Ireland* all our *Statute Laws*, since *Poyning's Law*, are not in force; yet we deny them not the Benefit of Naturalization. In *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and the Isle of *Man*, our common Laws are not in force; and yet they have the benefit of Naturalization. Neither need any Man doubt but that our Laws and Customs must in small time gather, and win upon theirs; for here is the Seat of the Kingdom, whence come the supreme Directions of State: here is the King's Person and Example, of which the Verse says, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur Orbis.* And therefore 'tis impossible, altho' not by solemn and formal Act of States, yet by the secret Operation of no long time, but they must come under the Yoke of our Laws; and so *dulcis tractus pari jugo.* And this is the Answer I give to the *second Objection.*

3. *The third Objection, is some Inequality of the Fortunes of England and Scotland; by the Commixture whereof there may ensue Advantage to them, and Loss to us.*

And here, Mr. *Speaker*, 'tis well that this Difference or Disparity confists but in the external Goods of Fortune ; for indeed it must be confessed, that for the Goods of the Mind, and the Body, they are *alteri nos*, second selves : for to do them right, we know in their Capacities and Understandings, they are a People ingenious, in Labour industrious, in Courage valiant, in Body hard, active and comely. More might be said, but in commending them we do but in effect commend ourselves ; for they are of one Piece and Continent with us : and the truth is, we participate both of their Virtues and Vices. For if they have been noted to be a People not so tractable in Government, we cannot, without self-flattery, free ourselves altogether from that Fault ; being indeed a thing incident to all martial People ; who, as we see it evident by the Example of the *Romans* and others, are like fierce Horses, which tho' better for Service than others, yet are harder to break and manage.

But this Objection I propose to answer not by the Authority of Scriptures, which say, *'tis more blessed to give than to receive* ; but by an Authority formed and derived from the Judgment of ourselves, and our Ancestors in the same Case, as to this Point. For, Mr. *Speaker*, in all the Line of our own Kings, none carries a greater Commendation, than his Majesty's noble Progenitor King *Edward I.* And among his other Commendations, both of War and Policy, none is more celebrated than his Enterprize for the Conquest of *Scotland* ; as not bending his Designs to glorious Acquisitions abroad, but to solid Strength at home ; which if it had succeeded, could not but have brought in all those Inconveniencies, of the Commixture of a more opulent Kingdom with a less, that are now alledged. For 'tis not the Yoke either of our Laws or Arms, that can alter the Nature of the Climate, or of the Soil ; neither is it the Manner of the Commixture that can alter the Matter of Commixture : and therefore if it were good for us then, 'tis good for us now ; and not to be prized the less, because we paid not so dear for it.

4. The *fourth Objection*, Mr. *Speaker*, is rather a Pre-occupation of an Objection on the other side ; for it may be very pertinently asked, about what do we contend ? The Benefit of Naturalization is by the Law already settled and invested, in as many as have been, or shall be born, since his Majesty's coming to the Crown. There needs no more therefore, but to bring the *Ante-nati* into the Degree of the *Post-nati* ; that men grown may be in no worse Case than Children ; and elder Brothers in no worse Case than younger : so that we stand but upon a little Difference in the time of one Generation from another. To this, Mr. *Speaker*, it is said by some, that the Law is not so ; but that the *Post-nati* are Aliens as well as the rest. A Point that I mean not much to argue ; because I desire in this place to speak rather of Convenience than of Law : only I must acknowledge, to me the Opinion seems contrary to the Reason of the Law ; contrary to the Form of Pleading in the Law ; and contrary to Authority and Experience of Law. For Reason of Law ; methinks the Wisdom of the common Laws of *England* is admirable, in the Distribution of the Benefit and Protection of the Laws, according to the four several Conditions of
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 Persons,

Persons, in an excellent Proportion. The Degrees are four, two of Aliens, and two of Subjects.

(1.) The *first Degree* is of an Alien born under a King or State, that is an Enemy. If such an one come into this Kingdom without safe-conduct, 'tis at his peril: the Law gives him no protection, neither for Body, Lands, nor Goods; so that if he be slain, there is no remedy by any Appeal at the Party's Suit; altho' the Wife were an *English* Woman: but at the King's Suit the Case may be otherwise, in regard of the offence to the Peace and Crown.

(2.) The *second Degree* is of an Alien born under the Faith and Allegiance of a King or State, that is a Friend. To such a person the Law imparts a greater benefit and protection; that is, concerning things personal, transitory, and moveable; as Goods and Chattels, Contracts, and the like; but not concerning Freehold and Inheritance. The reason is, because he may be an Enemy, tho' he is not; for the State, under the obedience of which he is, may enter into a quarrel and hostility: and therefore as the Law has but a transitory Assurance of him; so it rewards him but with transitory Benefits.

(3.) The *third Degree* is of a Subject who, having been an Alien, is made free by Charter and Denization. To such an one the Law imparts yet a more ample benefit; for it gives him power to purchase Freehold and Inheritance to his own use; and likewise enables the Children born after his Denization to inherit: yet he cannot make Title, or convey Pedegree from any Ancestor paramount; for the Law thinks it not proper to make him in the same degree with a Subject born, because he was once an Alien; and so might once have been an Enemy: and Mens Affections cannot be so settled by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity they are inbred and inherent.

(4.) And the *fourth*, which is the perfect *Degree*, is of such a person as neither is an Enemy, nor could have been an Enemy in time past, nor can be an Enemy in time to come; and therefore the Law gives him the full benefit, Naturalization.

Now, Mr. *Speaker*, if these are the true Steps and Paces of the *Law*, no man can deny, but whoever is born under the King's Obedience, never could be an Enemy; a Rebel he might, but no Enemy: and therefore, in Reason of Law, is naturalized. Nay, contrariwise, he is bound *jure nativitatis* to defend the Kingdom of *England* against all Invaders or Rebels: and therefore as he is obliged to the Protection of Arms, and that perpetually and universally; so he is to have the perpetual and universal Benefit and Protection of Law, which is Naturalization.

For *Form of pleading*; 'tis certain, that if a Man would plead another to be an Alien, he must not only set forth negatively, and privatively, that he was born out of the Obedience of our sovereign Lord the King; but affirmatively, under the Obedience of a foreign King, or State in particular: which can never be done in this Case.

As for Authority, I will not press it; you all know what has been published by the King's Proclamation. And for Experience of Law, we see it in the Subjects of *Ireland*; in the Subjects of *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*; Parcels of the Dutchy of *Normandy*; and in the Subjects of *Calais*, when it was *English*.

But

But to drop all Argument of Law, and keep to Point of Convenience, I hold all *Post-nati* naturalized *ipso jure*; yet am far from Opinion, that it should be a thing superfluous, to have done it by Parliament; chiefly in respect of that true Principle of State, *Principum actiones præcipue ad famam sunt componendæ*. It will lift up a Sign, to all the World, of our Love towards them; and a good Agreement with them.

And these are, Mr. *Speaker*, the material Objections, which have been made on the other side; whereto you have heard my Answers: weigh them in your Wifdoms: And so I conclude the general Part.

II. Now, Mr. *Speaker*, I must fill the other Ballance, in expressing the conveniences we shall incur, if we do not proceed to this Naturalization. And here, the Inconvenience which above all others exceedingly moves me, and may move you, is a Position of State, collected out of the Records of Time; viz. That wherever several Kingdoms, or States, have united in Sovereignty, if that Union has not been fortified, and bound in with a farther Union, that of Naturalization; it has followed, that at one time or other, they have broke again; being, upon all Occasions, apt to relapse, and revolt to the former Separation.

Of this Assertion the first Example I shall set before you, is of that memorable Union between the *Romans* and the *Latins*; which continued from the Battle at the Lake of *Regilla*, for many Years, to the Consulships of *C. Plautius*, and *L. Æmilius Mamercus*. At which time, there began, about this very point of Naturalization, a War call'd *Bellum Sociale*; being the most bloody, and pernicious, that ever the *Roman* State endured: wherein, after numbers of Battles, and infinite Sieges, and Surprizes of Towns, the *Romans*, in the end, prevailed, and mastered the *Latins*: but as soon as ever they had the Honour of the War, looking back to what Perdition and Confusion they were near being brought, they presently naturalized them all.

Again, let me set before you the Example of *Sparta*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesus*, their Associates. The State of *Sparta* was a nice and jealous State, in this point of imparting Naturalization to their Confederates. But what was the issue of it? After they had held them in a kind of Society, and Amity, for several Years; upon the first Occasion given, which was no more than the Surprizal of the Castle of *Thebes*, by certain Conspirators; there immediately ensued a general Revolt, and Defection of their Associates; which was the ruin of their State, never afterwards to be recovered.

In later Times, behold the like Events in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; which Kingdom was united with *Castile*, and the rest of *Spain*, in the Persons of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*; and so continued many years: tho' it yet stood a Kingdom, sever'd and divided from the rest of the Body of *Spain* in Privileges; and directly in this point of Naturalization, or Capacity of Inheritance. What came of this? Thus much, that now, of fresh memory, not above twelve years since, only upon the Voice of a condemned Man, out of the Grate of a Prison towards the Street, who cried, *Fueros Libertad, Libertad*, (which is as much as, Liberties or Privileges;) there was raised a dangerous Rebellion; which was suppressed, with great difficulty, by an Army Royal. After which Victory, nevertheless, to avoid farther Inconvenience,
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their Privileges were difannull'd, and they incorporated with *Castile*, and the rest of *Spain*. Upon fo finall a Spark, notwithstanding fo long a Continuance, were they ready to break, and fever again!

The like may be said of the States of *Florence*, and *Pifa*; which City of *Pifa* being united to *Florence*, but not endued with the Benefit of Naturalization; upon the first sight of foreign Assistance, by the Expedition of *Charles VIII.* of *France* into *Italy*, revolted; tho' it be since again reunited and incorporated, and obtained the aforesaid Benefit.

The same Effect we see in the most barbarous Governments; which shews it rather to be an Effect of Nature: for it was thought a fit Policy, by the Council of *Constantinople*, to retain the three Provinces of *Transylvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*; which were as the very Nurfes of *Constantinople*, in respect of their Provisions; that they might be the less wasted, only under Waywods, as Vassals and Homagers; and not under Bashaws, as Provinces of the *Turkish* Empire: which Policy, we see by late experience, proved unfortunate; as appear'd by the Revolt of the same three Provinces, under the Arms and Conduct of *Sigismund*, Prince of *Transylvania*; a Leader very famous for a time: and this Revolt is not yet fully recovered. Whereas we seldom or never hear of Revolts of Provinces incorporate with the *Turkish* Empire.

On the other side, Mr. *Speaker*, we shall find, that wherever Kingdoms and States have been united; and that Union incorporated by the Bond of Naturalization mutually; they never afterwards, upon any occasion of trouble, or otherwise, are found to break, and fever again: as we see most evidently before our eyes, in divers Provinces of *France*, that is to say, *Guienne*, *Provence*, *Normandy*, *Britain*; which, notwithstanding the infinite Troubles of that Kingdom, never offered to break again. We see the like Effect in all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, which are mutually naturalized; as *Leon*, *Castile*, *Valentia*, *Andaluzia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Tolcdo*, *Catalonia*, and the rest: except *Aragon*, which held the contrary Course, and therefore had the contrary success; and *Portugal*, of which there is not yet sufficient Trial.

And lastly, we see the like Effect in our own Nation, which never rent asunder, after it was once united; so that we now scarce know whether the *Heptarchy* were a true Story, or a Fable. Therefore, Mr. *Speaker*, when I revolve these Examples, and others, so lively expressing the necessity of a Naturalization, to avoid a Relapse into a Separation; I greatly apprehend, that unless we proceed with this Naturalization, tho' not perhaps in his Majesty's Time, who has such Interest in both Nations; yet, in the Time of his Descendants; these Realms will be in continual danger to divide and break again.

Now if any Man be of that careless Mind, *maneant nostros ea cura nepotes*; or of that hard Mind, as to leave things to be tried by the sharpest sword: sure I am, he is not of St. *Paul's* Opinion, who affirms, *that whosoever uses not Foresight, and Provision for his Family, is worse than an Infidel*; much more, if we shall not use Foresight for these two Kingdoms, that comprehend, in them, so many Families; but leave things open to the Dangers of future Divisions. And thus I have expressed to you the Inconvenience, which, of all others, sinks deepest with me, as the most weighty.

Neither

Neither do there want other Inconveniences, *Mr. Speaker*; the Effects and Influences whereof, I fear, will not be adjourned to so long a day as this I have spoke of: for I leave it to your Wisdom to consider, whether, if by the denial of this Naturalization, any Pique, Alienation, or Unkindness, should be, or but be thought to be, or noised to be, between these two Nations, whether it will not quicken and excite all the concealed envious and malicious Humours against us, either foreign or at home; and so open the way to Practices, and other Engines, and Machinations, to the disturbance of this State? As for that other Inconvenience of his Majesty's Engagement in this Action, 'tis too binding and too pressing to be spoke of; and may do better a great deal in your Minds than in my Mouth, or in the Mouth of any Man else; because it presses our Liberty too far.

III. I come now to the *third general Part* of my Division, concerning the Benefits which we shall purchase, by knitting this Knot surer and straiter between these two Kingdoms, in the Communicating of Naturalization.

The Benefits may appear to be two; *Safety* and *Greatness*. As to *Safety*, *Mr. Speaker*, it was well said by *Titus Quintius* of the State of *Peloponnesus*, that the *Tortoise is safe within her Shell*; but if any Parts lie open, they endanger all the rest. We know well, that altho' the State at this time enjoys a happy Peace; yet for the time past its more ancient Enemy has been the *French*, and a more late the *Spaniard*; and both these had as it were their several Postern Gates, whereby they might have approach and entrance to annoy us. *France* had *Scotland*, and *Spain* had *Ireland*; for these were the two accesses which encouraged both these Enemies to assail and trouble us. We see that of *Scotland* is cut off by the Union of these two Kingdoms, if it shall be now made constant and permanent; and that of *Ireland* is cut off likewise by the convenient Situation of the West of *Scotland* towards the North of *Ireland*, where the Sore was; which being suddenly closed, was continued closed by means of this Salve: so that now there are no parts of this State exposed to Danger, as a Temptation to the Ambition of Foreigners; but their Approaches and Avenues are taken away. And doubtless, Foreigners, who had so little Success with these Advantages, will have much less Hopes now they are taken from them. And so much for *Safety*.

For *Greatness*, *Mr. Speaker*; I think a Man may speak it soberly, and without Bravery, that this Kingdom of *England*, having *Scotland* united, *Ireland* reduced, the Sea-Provinces of the Low Countries contracted, and Shipping maintained, is one of the greatest Monarchies, in Forces, truly esteemed, that has been in the World. For certainly the Kingdoms here on Earth have a resemblance with the Kingdom of Heaven; which our Saviour compares not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a very small Grain; yet such an one, as is apt to grow and spread: and such do I take the Constitution of this Kingdom to be; if we shall bend our Counsels to Greatness and Power, and not quench them too much with the Consideration of Utility and Wealth. For, *Mr. Speaker*, was it not a true Answer that *Solon* of *Greece* made to the rich King *Craesus* of *Lydia*, shewing him a great quantity of Gold, which he had amassed together in Ostentation of his Greatness and Might?

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But *Solon* said to him, contrary to his Expectation, why, Sir, if another come that has better Iron than you, he will be Lord of all your Gold. Neither is the Authority of *Machiavel* to be despised, who scorns that Proverb of State, taken first from a Speech of *Mucianus*; that *Monies are the Sinews of War*; and said, *There are no true Sinews of War, but the Sinews of the Arms of valiant Men.*

Nay more, Mr. *Speaker*, whoever shall look into the Seminaries and Beginnings of the Monarchies of the World, will find them founded in Poverty. *Persia* was a Country barren and poor, in respect of *Media*, which they subdued. *Macedon* was a Kingdom ignoble and mercenary, till the time of *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*. *Rome* had poor and pastoral Beginnings. The *Turks*, a Band of *Sarmathian Scythes*, that in a vagabond manner made Incurfion upon that part of *Asia*, yet called *Turcomania*; out of which, after much variety of Fortune, sprung the *Ottoman Family*, now the Terror of the World. So we know, the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Normans*, and the rest of the Northern People, in one Age of the World made their Descent upon the *Roman Empire*; and came not as Rovers, to carry away a Prey and be gone again; but planted themselves in a number of rich and fruitful Provinces, where not only their Generations, but their Names remain to this day; witness *Lombardy*, *Catalonia*, a Name compounded of *Goth* and *Alan*, *Andalusia*, (a Name corrupted from *Vandalitia*,) *Hungaria*, *Normandy*, &c.

Nay, the late Fortune of the *Switzers*, a People bred in a barren and mountainous Country, is not to be forgot; who first ruined the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had almost ruined the Kingdom of *France*: when after the Battle near *Granson*, the rich Jewel of *Burgundy*, prized at many thousands, was sold for a few Pence, by a common *Swiss*, that knew no more what a Jewel meant than *Æsop's* Cock. And again, the same Nation, in revenge of a Scorn, was the ruin of the *French King's* Affairs in *Italy*, *Lewis XII.* For this King, when he pressed somewhat rudely, by an Agent of the *Switzers*, to raise their Pensions, broke into Words of Choler; *What, says he, will those Villains of the Mountains put a Tax upon me?* Which Words lost him his Dutchy of *Milan*, and chased him out of *Italy*.

All these Examples, Mr. *Speaker*, well prove *Solon's* Opinion of the Authority and Mastery, that Iron has over Gold. And therefore to speak my Heart, methinks we should a little disdain that *Spain*, (which however of late it has begun to rule, yet of ancient time served many Ages, first under *Carthage*, then under *Rome*, after under the *Saracens*, *Goths*, and others,) should of late Years take the Spirit to dream of a Monarchy in the West, according to that Device, *video Solem Orientem in Occidente*, only because they have ravished from some wild and unarmed People, Mines, and Store of Gold; and on the other side, that this Island of *Britain*, seated and manned as it is, and that has, I make no question, the best Iron in the World, that is, the best Soldiers of the World, shall think of nothing, but Accounts and Audits, and *Meum & Tuum*, and I cannot tell what.

Mr. *Speaker*, I have gone thro' the Parts I propos'd to myself; wherein if any Man shall think I have sung a *Placebo*, for my own particular, I would have him know, that I discern it were much alike for my private Fortune, to rest a *Tacebo*, as to sing a *Placebo* in this Business: but I have spok'd out of the Fountain of my Heart; *I believed, therefore I spok'd*; so that my Duty is performed: the Judgment is yours; God direct it for the best.

SPEECH III.

Upon a Motion for Uniting the Laws of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

Mr. SPEAKER;

WERE it now a time to wish, as 'tis to advise, no Man should be more forward, or more earnest than myself in this Wish, that his Majesty's Subjects of *England* and *Scotland* were governed by one Law; and that for many Reasons.

First, because it will be an infallible Assurance, that there shall never be a Relapse in succeeding Ages to a Separation.

Secondly, because 'tis best drawing upon an equal foot; but if the Draught lie most upon us, and the Yoke lie least on them, or contrariwise, 'tis not equal.

Thirdly, the Qualities of their Laws and ours are such as promise an excellent Temperature in the compounded Body: for if the Prerogative here be too indefinite, it may be the Liberty there is too unbounded: if our Laws and Proceedings are too prolix and formal, it may be theirs are too summary and unformal.

Fourthly, I discern no great Difficulty in this Work; for their Laws, compared with ours, are like their Language compared with ours: for as their Language has the same Roots with ours, but a little more mixture of *Latin* and *French*; so their Laws and Customs have the like Grounds as ours, with a little more mixture of the Civil Law, and *French* Customs.

Lastly, the Means to this Work seem no less excellent than the Work itself: for if both Laws shall be united, 'tis necessary for a Preparation and Inducement thereto, that our own Laws may be reviewed and recompiled; which I think such a Work, that his Majesty cannot, in these his times of Peace, undertake one that is more Politick, more Honourable, or more Beneficial to his Subjects, for all Ages: for this continual heaping up of Laws, without digesting them, makes but a Chaos and Confusion; and often turns the Laws into Snares to the People, as 'tis said in Scripture; *it shall rain Snares upon them*: and the Snares of the Law are the worst of Snares. And therefore this Work, I esteem to be indeed an heroic Work; and what if I might live to see, I would not desire to live after. So that for this good Wish

Wish of the Union of the Laws, I consent to the full: and I think you may perceive by what I have said, that I come not in this, to the Opinion of others, but that I was long ago settled in it myself. Nevertheless as this is moved out of Zeal, so I take it to be moved out of time, as commonly all zealous Motions are, while Men move so fast on to the End, that they give no attention to the Means: for if it be time to talk of this now, 'tis either (1.) Because the Business in hand cannot proceed without it; or (2.) Because in Time and Order this Matter should proceed; or (3.) Because we shall lose some Advantage towards this Effect, so much desired, if we go on in the Course we are about. But not one of these three is in my Judgment true; and therefore the Motion is unseasonable.

(1.) For *First*, that there may not be a Naturalization without an Union in Laws, cannot be maintained. Look into the Example of the Church, and the Union thereof, you shall see the Original Bonds to be one Faith, one Baptism; and not one Policy, one Custom. And so in the Civil State; the main Bonds are one Allegiance, one Birth-right or Naturality; and not one Law, or one Administration of Law: and therefore one of the Fathers made an excellent Observation upon the two Mysteries; the one that in the Gospel, where the Garment of Christ is said to have been without Seam; the other that in the Psalm, the Garment of the Queen representing the Church is said to have been of divers Colours; whereupon he concludes well, *in Veste varietas fit, scissura non fit*: allowing divers Forms of Ecclesiastical Laws and Usages; so as there be no Schism or Separation. And in this Case, Mr. *Speaker*, we are now about to make this Monarchy of one Piece, and not of one Colour. Look again into the Examples of Foreign Countries, and take that next us of *France*, and there you shall find they have this Distribution, *Pais du droit escrit*, and *Pais du droit Coutumier*. For *Gascogne*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*, are Countries governed by the Letter, or Text of the Civil Law: but the Isle of *France*, *Tourain*, *Berry*, *Anjou*, and the rest; and most of *Britain* and *Normandy*, are governed by Customs, which amount to a municipal Law; and use the Civil Law only for Grounds, and the Decision of new and extraordinary Cases; yet Naturalization passes thro' all.

(2.) *Secondly*, that this Union of Laws should precede the Naturalization, or that it should go hand in hand therewith, I suppose likewise can hardly be maintained; but the contrary, that Naturalization should precede, and that not in the precedence of an Instant, but in distance of Time. For the Union of Laws will ask length of Time to perfect, both for the compiling and passing of them: during all which, if this Mark of Strangers should not be taken away, I fear it may induce such a Habit of Strangeness, as would rather be an impediment than a Preparation to farther Proceeding; for he was a wise Man who said, *When things go smoothly, they prove favourable to grand Attempts*^a; and in these Cases, *Not to advance, is to run back*^b. And as in a Table-Book, you must put out the former Writing

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before

^a *Opportuni magnis conatibus transiens rerum.*

^b *Non progredi est regredi.*

before you can put in new ; and again, that which you write down, you write Letter by Letter ; but that which you put out, you put out at once : so we have now to deal with the Tables of Men's Hearts, wherein 'tis in vain to think of entring the willing acceptance of our Laws and Customs, except you first rub out all Marks of Hostility or foreign Condition ; and these are to be rubbed off at once, without Gradations ; whereas the other Points are to be imprinted and engraven distinctly by degrees.

(3.) *Thirdly*, whereas 'tis conceived by some, that the Communication of our Benefits and Privileges is a good hold we have over them, to draw them to submit themselves to our Laws ; 'tis an Argument of some Probability, but yet to be answered many ways. For first, the Intent is mistaken, which is not, as I conceive it, to draw them wholly to a Subjection to our Laws ; but to draw both Nations to one Uniformity of Law.

Again, to think that there should be a kind of articulate and indented Contract, that they should receive our Laws to obtain our Privileges, 'tis a Matter, in reason of State, not to be expected ; being that which scarcely a private Man will acknowledge, if it come to what *Seneca* speaks of, *Beneficium accipere est libertatem vendere*. No, but Courses of State describe and delineate another way, which is to win them either by Benefit or by Custom ; for we see in all Creatures, that Men feed them first, and reclaim them after : so in the first Institution of Kingdoms, Kings first won People by many Benefits and Protections, before they prest any Yoke. And for Custom, which the Poet calls *imponere morem*, who doubts but the Seat of the Kingdom, and the Example of the King resting here with us, that our Manners will quickly be there, to make all things ready for our Laws ? And lastly, the Naturalization, which is now proposed, is qualified with such Restrictions, that there will be enough kept back to be used at all times, for an adamant of drawing them further on towards our Desires. And therefore, to conclude, I hold this Motion of the *Union of Laws* very worthy ; and arising from very good Minds ; but yet not proper for this Time.



SPEECH IV.

For persuading the House of Commons to receive the King's Messages, by their Speaker, and from the Body of the Council, as well as from the King himself^a.

TIS my Desire, that if any of the King's Business, either of Honour or Profit, shall pass the House, it may be not only with external prevailing, but with Satisfaction of the inward Man. For in consent, where Tongue-strings, not Heart-strings, make the Musick, the Harmony may end in Discord. To this I shall always bend my Endeavours.

The King's Sovereignty, and the Liberty of Parliament, are as the two Elements, and Principles of this State; which, tho' the one be more active, the other more passive, yet they do not cross, or destroy, but strengthen, and maintain one another. Take away Liberty of Parliament, and the Grievs of the Subject will bleed inwards. Sharp and eager Humours will not evaporate; and then they must exulcerate; and so may endanger the Sovereignty itself. On the other side, if the King's Sovereignty receive Diminution, or any degree of Contempt with us, who are born under an hereditary Monarchy; so that the Motions of our State cannot work in any other Frame or Engine; it must follow, that we shall be a *Meteor*, or Body, imperfectly mix'd: which kind of Bodies come speedily to Confusion, and Dissolution.

And herein 'tis our Happiness, to make the same Judgment of the King, as *Tacitus* made of *Nerva*: *Nerva tempered things, that before were thought incompatible, Sovereignty and Liberty^b*. And 'tis not amiss, in a great Council, and a great Cause, to put the other part of the Difference, which was significantly expressed by the Judgment that *Apollonius* made of *Nero*, when *Vespasian* came out of *Judea* towards *Italy*, to receive the Empire: as he passed by *Alexandria*, he spoke with *Apollonius*, a Man much admired; and asked him what was *Nero's* Fall, or Overthrow? *Apollonius* answered, *Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government, he always either wound up the Pins too high, or let them down too low*. Here we see the difference between a regular and an able, and an irregular and incapable Prince, *Nerva*, and *Nero*. The one wisely tempers, and mingles the Sovereignty with the Liberty of the Subject; and the other interchanges it, and varies it unequally, and absurdly. Since therefore we have a Prince of such excellent Wisdom and Moderation, of whose Authority we ought to be tender, as he is likewise of our Liberty, let us enter into a true and indifferent Consideration, how far the Case in question may touch his Authority, and how far our Liberty: and to speak clearly,

^a This Speech was made when the Author was *Solicitor General*; in the Seventh Year of King *James I.*

^b *Dixit Nerva Res olim dissociabiles miscuit; Imperium & Libertatem.*

clearly, in my Opinion, it concerns his Authority much, and our Liberty nothing at all.

The Questions are two: the *one*, whether our *Speaker* be exempted from delivering a Message from the King without Licence? The *other*, if it be not the same, if he received it from the Body of the Council, as immediately from the King? And I will speak of the last first; because it is the circumstance of the present Case.

First then, let us see how it concerns the King; and next, how it concerns us. For the King; certainly if you may not receive his Pleasure by his representative Body, which is his Council of State, you both straiten his Majesty in point of convenience, and weaken the Reputation of his Council. All Kings, tho' they are *Gods on Earth*, yet they are *Gods of Earth*: they may be of extreme Age; they may be indisposed in Health; they may be absent. In these Cases, if their Council may not supply their Persons, to what infinite Accidents do you expose them? Nay more, sometimes in Policy, Kings will not be seen, but cover themselves with their Council; and if this be taken from them, great part of their Safety is taken away.

For the other point, of weakening the Council, you know they are nothing without the King: they are no Body Politick: they have no Commission under Seal. So that if you begin to distinguish and disjoin them from the King, they are *corpus opacum*; for they have *lumen de lumine*: and by distinguishing you extinguish the principal Engine of the State. For 'tis truly affirmed, that *consilium non habet potestatem delegatam, sed inhærentem*: and 'tis but *Rex in Cathedra*: the King in his Chair or Consistory, where his Will and Decrees, which in Privacy are more changeable, become settled and fix'd.

Now to what concerns ourselves. *First*, for Dignity; no Man must think this a Disparagement to us: for the greatest Kings in *Europe*, by their Ambassadors, receive Answers and Directions from the Council in the King's absence; and if that Negotiation be fit for the Fraternity and Party of Kings, it may much less be excepted to by Subjects.

For Use or Benefit; no Man can be so raw and unacquainted in the Affairs of the World, as to conceive there should be any Disadvantage in it; as if such Answers were less firm and certain. For it cannot be supposed, that Men of so great Caution, as Counsellors of State commonly are, will err, or adventure so far as to exceed their Warrant. And therefore I conclude, that in this Point there can be to us neither Disgrace nor Disadvantage.

For the Point of the Speaker; *First*, on the King's part, it may have a shrewd illation: for it has a Shew, as if there could be a stronger Duty, than the Duty of a Subject to a King. We see the Degrees and Differences of Duties in Families between Father and Son, Master and Servant; in Bodies corporate, between Communities and their Officers, Records, Stewards and the like; yet all these give place to the King's Commands. The Bonds are more special, but not so forcible. On our part; it concerns us nothing. For first, 'tis but of the Channel, how the King's Mes-

sage shall be conveyed to us, and not of the Matter. Neither has the Speaker any such Dominion, as that by coming out of his Mouth, it should press us more than out of a Privy Counsellor's. Nay, it seems to be a great Trust of the King towards the House, when he doubts not to put his Message into their Mouth; as if he should speak to the City by the Recorder: therefore methinks we should not entertain this unnecessary Scruple. It is one Use of Wit to make clear things doubtful; but 'tis a much better Use of it, to make doubtful things clear; and to that I would have Men bend themselves.

SPEECH V.

Upon Occasion of the Undertakers; or certain Persons who were said to have undertaken, that the King's Business should pass in the House of Commons, to his Majesty's Wish^a.

Mr. SPEAKER,

I Have been hitherto silent in this Matter of *Undertaking*, wherein, as I perceive, the House is much enwrapped. *First*, because to be plain with you, I did not understand well what it meant, or what it was: and I love not to offer at what I do not thoroughly conceive. That private Men should *undertake* for the Commons of *England*; Why! a Man might as well undertake for the four Elements. 'Tis a thing so giddy, and so vast, as cannot enter into the Brain of a sober Man: and especially in a New Parliament, when it was impossible to know who should be of the Parliament: and when all who know ever so little of the Constitution of this House, know it to be so open to Reason, that men do not know, when they enter these Doors, what Mind themselves will be of, till they hear things argued and debated. Much less can any Man make a *Policy of Assurance*, what Ship shall come safe home to the Harbour in these Seas.

I have heard of *Undertaking* in several kinds. There were Undertakers for the Plantations of *Derry* and *Colerain* in *Ireland*, the better to command and bridle those Parts. There were not long ago some Undertakers for the North-*West Passage*; and now there are some Undertakers for the Project of dyed and dressed Cloths; and in short, every Novelty uses to be strengthened and made good by a kind of *Undertaking*: but for the ancient Parliament of *England*, which moves in a certain Manner and Sphere, to be undertaken; it passes my reach to conceive what it should mean. Must we be all dyed and dressed, and no pure Whites amongst us? Or must there

^a This Speech was made when the Author was *Attorney-General*, in the Twelfth Year of King *James*.

there be a new Passage found for the King's Business, by a Point of the Compass that was never failed before? Or must there be some Forts built in this House, that may command the rest? Mr. *Speaker*, I know but of two Forts in this House which the King ever has; the Fort of Affection, and the Fort of Reason: the one commands the Hearts, and the other the Heads; others I know none. I think *Aesop* was a wise Man, who described the Fly sitting upon the Spoke of the Chariot-Wheel, and saying to herself, *What a Dust do I raise?* So, for my part, I think that all this Dust is raised by light Rumours and Buzzes; and not upon any solid Ground.

The *Second Reason* that made me silent was, because this Suspicion and Rumour of *Undertaking*, settles upon no certain Person. It is like the Birds of *Paradise* in the *Indies*, that have no Feet; and therefore they never light upon any Place; but the Wind carries them away: and such a thing I take this Rumour to be.

And *lastly*, when the King had in his two several Speeches freed us from the main of our Fears, by affirming directly, that there was no Undertaking to him; and that he would hold it no less a Derogation to his own Majesty, than to our Merits, to have the Acts of his People transferred to particular Persons; it quieted me thus far, that these Vapours were not gone up to the Head, however they might glow and heat in the Body.

Nevertheless, since I perceive, that this Cloud hangs over the House, and that it may do us hurt, as well in Fame abroad, as in the King's Ear; I resolved with myself, to do the part of an honest Voice in the House, and counsel you what I think for the best. Wherein, *First*, I will speak plainly of the pernicious Effects of the Accidents of this Bruit, and Opinion of *Undertaking* towards Particulars, towards the House, towards the King, and towards the People.

Secondly, I will tell you, in my Opinion, what Undertaking is tolerable, and how far it may be justified with a good Mind; and on the other side, this same ripping up of the Question of Undertakers, how far it may proceed from a good Mind; and in what kind it may be thought malicious and dangerous.

Thirdly, I will shew you my poor Advice, what means there are to put an end to this Question of Undertaking; not falling for the present upon a precise Opinion, but breaking it, how many ways there are, by which you may get out of it; and leaving the Choice of them to a Debate at the Committee.

And *lastly*, I will advise you how things are to be managed at the Committee; to avoid Distraction, and Loss of Time.

For the first of these, I can say to you but as the Scripture says, *si invicem mordetis, ab invicem consumemini*; if you fret and gall one another's Reputation, the end will be, that every Man shall go hence, like Coin cried down, of less Price than he came hither. If some shall be thought to fawn upon the King's Business openly, and others to cross it secretly, some shall be thought Practisers that would pack the Cards, and others be thought Papists that would shuffle the Cards: what a Misery is this, that we should come together to fool one another, instead of procuring the Publick Good?

And

And this ends not in Particulars, but will make the whole House contemptible: for now I hear Men say, that the Question of Undertaking is the predominant Matter of the House. So that we are now, according to the Parable of *Jotham*, in the Case of the Trees of the Forest; that when the Question was, whether the Vine should reign over them, that might not be; and whether the Olive should reign over them, that might not be: but we have accepted the Bramble to reign over us. For it seems that the good Vine of the King's Graces is not so much in esteem; and the good Oil, whereby we should salve and relieve the Wants of the State and Crown, is laid aside too: and this Bramble of Contention and Emulation; this *Abimelech*, which must reign and rule amongst us.

Then for the King, nothing can be more directly opposite to his Ends and Hopes than this: for you have heard him profess like a King, and like a gracious King, that he does not so much respect his present Supply, as this Demonstration, that the Peoples Hearts are more knit to him than before. Now then if the Issue shall be this, that whatsoever be done for him, shall be thought done but by a number of Persons laboured and packed; this will rather be a sign of Diffidence and Alienation, than of a natural Benevolence and Affection in his People at home; and rather Matter of Disrepute, than of Honour abroad. So that, to speak plainly, the King had better call for new Cards, than play with these if they are packed.

And then for the People; 'tis my manner ever to look as well beyond a Parliament, as upon a Parliament: and if they without shall think themselves betrayed by those that are their Deputies, and Attorneys here; 'tis true we may bind them, and conclude them, but it will be with such a Murmur and Dissatisfaction as I would be loth to see. These things might be dissembled, and so Matters left to bleed inwards; but that is not the way to cure them. And therefore I have searched the Sore, in hopes that you will endeavour the Medicine. But to do this more thoroughly, I must proceed to my second part, and tell you clearly and distinctly, what is to be set on the right hand, and what on the left, in this Business.

First, if any Man has done good Offices, and advised the King to call a Parliament, to increase the good Affection and Confidence of his Majesty towards his People; I say that such a Person rather Merits well than commits any Error. Nay further, if any Man has, out of his own good Mind, given any Opinion of the Minds of the Parliament in general; how 'tis probable, they will be found; and that they will have a due feeling of the King's Wants, and not deal dryly, or illiberally with him; this Man who thinks of other Men's Minds, as he finds his own, is not to be blamed. And still farther, if any Man has coupled this with good Wishes and Propositions, that the King comforts the Hearts of his People, and testifies his own Love to them, by filing off the harshness of his Prerogative, retaining the Substance and Strength; and to that purpose, like the good Householder in the Scripture, who brought forth old Store and new, has revolved the Petitions and Propositions of the last Parliament, and added new, I say this Man has sown good Seed; and he who shall draw him into Envy for it, sows Tares. Thus much on the right hand.

But on the other side ; if any shall mediately or immediately infuse into his Majesty, that the Parliament is, as *Cato* said of the *Romans*, like Sheep, which a Man had better drive a Flock of than one ; and that tho' they may be wise Men severally, yet in this Assembly they are guided by some few, which if made and assured, the rest will easily follow : this is a plain robbing the King of Honour, and his Subjects of Thanks ; and 'tis to make the Parliament vile and servile in the Eyes of their Sovereign : and I account it no better than a supplanting of the King and Kingdom. Again, if a Man should make this Impression, that it would be enough for the King to send us some things of Shew, that may serve for Colours, and let some eloquent Tales be told of them, and that will serve *ad faciendum populum* ; any such Person will find, that this House well understands false Lights ; and that it is no wooing Tokens, but the true Love already planted in the Breasts of the Subjects, that will make them do for the King. And this is my Opinion, as to those who may have persuaded a Parliament.

Take it on the other side ; for I mean in all things to deal plainly : if any Man has been diffident about the Call of a Parliament ; thinking that the best means were first for the King to make his utmost Trial to subsist of himself, and his own Means ; I say an honest and faithful Heart might consent to that Opinion : and the Event it seems does not greatly discredit it hitherto. Again, if any Man shall have been of opinion, that 'tis not a particular Party that can bind the House ; or that it is not Shews or Colours can please the House ; I say that Man, tho' his Speech tend to Discouragement, yet 'tis coupled with Providence. But by your leave, if any Man, since the Parliament was called, or when it was in Speech, shall have laid Plots, to cross the good Will of the Parliament to the King ; by possessing them, that a few shall have the Thanks ; and that they are, as it were, bought and sold, and betray'd ; and what the King offers them are but Baits prepared by particular Persons ; or have raised Rumours that 'tis a packed Parliament ; to the end nothing may be done, but that the Parliament may be dissolved ; as Gamesters call for new Cards, when they suspect a Pack : I say these are Engines and Devices, naught, malign, and seditious.

Now for the Remedy ; I shall rather break the Matter, as I said in the beginning ; than advise positively. I know but three ways : (1.) Some Message of Declaration to the King ; (2.) Some Entry or Protestation among ourselves ; Or (3.) some strict and punctual Examination. As for the last of these, I assure you, I am not against it ; if I could tell you where to begin, or where to end. For certainly I have often seen it, that things when they are in smother, trouble more than when they break out. Smoke blinds the Eyes ; but when it blazes forth into Flame, it gives light to the Eyes. But then if you fall to an Examination, some Person must be charged ; some Matter must be charged ; and the Manner of that Matter must likewise be charged : for it may be in a good Fashion, and it may be in a bad, in as much Difference as between black and white : and then how far Men will ingenuously confess ; how far they will politically deny ; and what we

can make out upon their Confession; and how we shall prove against their Denial: it is an endless piece of work; and I doubt that we shall grow weary of it.

A Message to the King, is the Course I best like; provided it be carefully and considerately handled: for if we shall represent to the King, the Nature of this Body as it is, without the Veils or Shadows that have been cast upon it, I think we shall do him Honour, and ourselves Right.

For any thing that is to be done amongst ourselves; I do not see much gained by it, because it goes no farther than ourselves; yet if any thing can be wisely conceived to that end, I shall not be against it: but I think the purpose of it is fittest to be, rather that the House conceives all this to be but Misunderstanding, than to take Knowledge that there is indeed a just Ground, and then to seek by Protestation to give it a Remedy. For Protestations, and Professions, and Apologies; I never found them very fortunate: but that they rather increase Suspicion than clear it.

Why then, the last part is, that these things be handled at the Committee, seriously and temperately; wherein I wish, that these four Degrees of Questions were canvassed in order.

First, whether we shall do any thing at all in it; or pass it by, and let it sleep.

Secondly, whether we shall enter into a particular Examination of it.

Thirdly, whether we shall content ourselves with some Entry or Protestation amongst ourselves.

And *Fourthly*, whether we shall proceed to a Message to the King; and what.

Thus, I have told you my Opinion. I know it were more safe and politick to have been silent; but it is, perhaps, more honest and loving to speak. The old Verse is, *Nam nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse locutum*: but *David* says, *filii a bonis, & dolor meus renovatus est*. When a Man speaks he may be wounded by others; but if he hold his peace from good things, he wounds himself. So I have done my part; and leave it for you to do what you shall judge to be best.



SPEECH VI.

*Made in the STAR-CHAMBER, before the Summer Circuit ;
the King being in Scotland*.*

THE King, by his perfect Declaration, published in this Place, concerning Judges and Justices, has made the Speech of his Chancellor, accustomed before the Circuits, rather of Ceremony than of Use. For as in his Book to his Son he has set forth a true Character and Platform of a King ; so in this Speech he has done the like of a Judge and Justice : which shews, that as his Majesty is excellently able to govern in chief ; so he is likewise well seen and skilful in the inferior Offices and Stages of Justice and Government ; which is a thing very rare in Kings. Yet, somewhat must be said, to fulfil an old Observance ; but upon the King's Grounds, and very briefly : for as *Solomon* says, in another Case, *in such things, who is he that can come after the King?*

First, you that are the Judges of Circuits, are, as it were, the Planets of the Kingdom ; and no doubt you have a great share in the Frame of this Government, as the other have in the great Frame of the World. Do, therefore, as they do ; move always, and be carried with the Motion of your first Mover, which is your Sovereign. A popular Judge is a deformed thing ; and *Plaudits* are fitter for Players than for Magistrates. Do good to the People ; love them, and give them Justice ; but let it be as the *Psalms* says, *looking for nothing*, neither Praise nor Profit. Yet my meaning is not, when I advise you to beware of Popularity, that you should be imperious and strange to Gentlemen of the Country. You are above them in Power ; but your Rank is not much unequal : and learn this ; that Power is ever of greatest Strength, when it is civilly carried.

Secondly, you must remember, that besides your ordinary Administration of Justice, you carry the two Mirrors of State : for it is your Duty in these your Visitations, to represent to the People, the Graces and Care of the King ; and again, upon your return, to present to the King, the Distastes and Grievances of the People.

Mark what the King says in his Book ; procure Reverence to the King and the Law ; inform my People truly of me ; how zealous I am for Religion ; how I desire Law may be maintained, and flourish ; that every Court should have its Jurisdiction ; that every Subject should submit himself to the Law. And of this you have lately had no small occasion of Notice, by the great and strict Charge that the King has given me,

as

* This Speech was made when the Author was Lord Chancellor. *Ann.* 1617.

as Keeper of his Seal, for governing of the *Chancery*, without Tumour or Excess.

As for the other Glass, of representing to the King the Grievs of his People, without doubt 'tis properly your part ; for the King ought to be informed of any thing amiss in the State of his Countries, from Observations and Relations of the Judges ; (who indeed know the Pulse of the Country) rather than from Discourse. But for this Glass, I gladly hear from you all, that there was never greater Peace, Obedience, and Content in the Country ; tho' the best Governments are always like the fairest Crystals, wherein every Ificle or Grain is seen, which in a fouler Stone is not perceived.

Now to some few Particulars ; of all others I must begin with the Cause of Religion, and especially the hollow Church-Papist. *St. Austin* has a good Comparison as to such Men, affirming them like the Roots of Nettles, which themselves sting not, yet bear all the stinging Leaves : let me know of such Roots, and I will root them out of the Country.

Next, for the Matter of Religion ; in the principal place I recommend both to you, and to the Justices, the countenancing of pious and zealous Preachers. I mean not Sectaries, or Novelists, but those who are found, and conform, and are yet devout and reverend : for there will be a perpetual Defection, except you keep Men in by Preaching, as well as the Law does by punishing ; and commonly Spiritual Diseases are not cured but by Spiritual Remedies.

Next, let me recommend to you the repressing of Faction in the Countries ; whence ensue infinite Inconveniencies and Perturbations of all good Order, and the crossing of all good Service in Court and Country. *Cicero*, when he was Consul, devised a fine Remedy, being both mild and effectual ; for he says, *eos qui otium perturbant, reddam otiosos*. Those that trouble others quiet, I will give them quiet ; they shall have nothing to do, nor no Authority shall be put into their hands. If I may know from you, of any in the Country that are Heads or Hands of Faction, or Men of turbulent Spirits, I shall give them *Cicero's* Reward, as much as in me lies.

And you, the *Justices of Peace* in particular, let me say this to you, that never King of this Kingdom did you so much Honour as the King has done you in his Speech ; by being your immediate Director, and by sorting you and your Service with the Service of Ambassadors, and of his nearest Attendants.

Nay more, it seems his Majesty is willing to do the State of *Justice of Peace* Honour actively also ; by bringing in, with Time, the like Form of Commission into the Government of *Scotland*, as the glorious King *Edward III.* planted this *Commission* here in this Kingdom. And therefore you are not fit to be Copies, unless you be fair written, without Blots, or any thing unworthy of your Authority.

SPEECH VII.

Made to the Speaker's Excuse and Oration^a.

Mr. SERJEANT RICHARDSON,

THE King has observed your grave and decent Speech; tending to excuse and disabie yourself for the Place of Speaker. In answer whereof his Majesty commands me to say, that he in no sort admits of the same.

First, because if the Party's own Judgment should be admitted, in case of Elections, in respect of himself, it would follow that the most confident and conceited Persons would be received; and the most considerate Men, and those who understand themselves best, be rejected.

Secondly, his Majesty so much relies upon the Wisdom and Discretion of the House of Commons, that have chosen you with an unanimous Consent, that his Majesty thinks not proper to swerve from their Opinion in that wherein themselves are principally interested.

Thirdly, you have disabled your self so well, that the Manner of your Speech has destroyed the Matter of it.

And therefore the King allows of the Election; and admits you for Speaker.

To the SPEAKER'S ORATION.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THE King has attended to your eloquent Discourse, containing much good Matter, and much good Will: whereto you must expect from me such an Answer only, as is pertinent to the Occasion; and limited in respect of Time.

I may divide what you have said into four parts: (1.) The first was a Commendation of Monarchy; (2.) The second was a large Field, containing a thankful Acknowledgment of his Majesty's Benefits and Acts of Government; (3.) The third contained some Passages as to the Institution and Use of Parliaments; (4.) The fourth and last, consisted of certain Petitions to his Majesty, on the behalf of the House and yourself.

(1.) For your Commendation of Monarchy, and preferring it to other States, it requires no Answer: the Schools may dispute it; but time has tried it, and we find it the best. Other States have curious Frames, soon put out of order; and those made fit to last are not commonly fit to grow or spread: contrariwise, those made fit to spread and enlarge, are unfit to continue and endure. But Monarchy is like a Work of Nature; well composed, both to grow and continue.

(2.) For

^a This Speech was made by the Author as Lord Chancellor.

(2.) For the second Part of your Speech, wherein with no less Truth than Affection, you acknowledge the great Felicity we enjoy by his Majesty's Government; his Majesty commands me to say to you, that Praises and Thanksgivings he knows to be the true Oblations of Hearts, and loving Affections: but that which you offer him, he will join with you in offering to God. But for my part, I must say to you, as the *Grecian* Orator said in the like Case; *Solus dignus harum rerum laudator tempus*; time is the only Encomiast worthy of his Majesty and his Government. For thro' the Revolution of so many Ages as have passed over this Kingdom, many noble and excellent Effects were never produced till his Majesty's Days; but have been reserved, as proper, and peculiar to them. And because this is no part of a Panegyrick, but mere History; and because they are so many Articles of Honour fit to be recorded, I will mention them: and they are eight.

First, his Majesty is the first that has laid the Corner-Stone of these two mighty Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and taken away the wall of Separation: whereby his Majesty is become the Monarch of the most puissant and military Nations of the World: and if one of the ancient Wisemen was not deceived, Iron commands Gold.

Secondly, the Plantation and Reduction of *Ireland* to Civility, did by God's Providence wait for his Majesty's Times; being a Work resembling indeed the Works of the ancient Heroes: There is no new Piece of that kind in modern times.

Thirdly, this Kingdom now first in his Majesty's Times has attained a later Portion in the new World, by the Plantation of *Virginia* and the *Summer Islands*. And certainly it is with the Kingdoms on Earth, as in the Kingdom of Heaven; sometimes a Grain of Mustard-seed proves a great Tree. Who can tell?

Fourthly, his Majesty has made that True, which was before Titular, and verified the Style of Defender of the Faith: wherein his Majesty's Pen has been so happy, as tho' the deaf Adder will not hear, yet he is charmed that he does not hiss: I mean, in the graver sort of those that have answered his Majesty's Writings.

Fifthly, 'tis certain, that since the Conquest, one cannot assign twenty Years, which is the time that his Majesty's Reign now draws to, of inward and outward Peace. Infomuch, that the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, of happy Memory, and always magnified for a peaceable Reign, was nevertheless interrupted the first twenty Years with a Rebellion in *England*; and both the first and last twenty Years with Rebellions in *Ireland*. Yet I know, that his Majesty will make good both his Words; as well that of *Nemo me impune lacessit*, as the other of *Beati pacifici*.

Sixthly, that true and primitive Office of Kings, which is to sit in the Gate, and judge the People, was never performed in like Perfection, by any of the King's Progenitors: whereby his Majesty has shewn himself to be *Lex loquens*, and to sit upon the Throne, not as a dumb Statue, but as a speaking Oracle.

Seventhly,

Seventhly, for his Majesty's Mercy; shew me a time, wherein a King of this Realm has reigned almost twenty Years, in his white Robes; without the Blood of any Peer of this Kingdom: the Ax turn'd once or twice towards a Peer, but never struck.

Lastly, the flourishing of Arts and Sciences, refreshed by his Majesty's Countenance and Bounty, was never in such height; especially that Art of Arts, Divinity: for we may truly confess, that since the primitive Times, there were never so many Stars in that Firmament.

These things, Mr. *Speaker*, I have partly chosen out of your Heap, and are so far from being vulgar, that they are in effect singular, and proper to his Majesty, and his Times. So that I have made good my first Assertion; that the only worthy Commender of his Majesty is Time; which has so set off his Majesty's Merit, by the Shadows of Comparison, that it surpasses the Lustre, or Commendation of Words.

(3.) As to the third point concerning Parliaments, I need say little: for there was never that Honour done to the Institution of a Parliament, which his Majesty did it, in his last Speech; making it, in effect, the Perfection of Monarchy: for altho' Monarchy be the more ancient, and independent; yet by the Advice and Assistance of Parliament, it is the stronger, and surer built. And you, Mr. *Speaker*, well observed, that when the King sits in Parliament, and his Prelates, Peers, and Commons attend him, he is in the Exaltation of his Orb: I wish things may be so carried, that he may be then in the greatest Serenity and Benignity of Aspect; shining upon his People both in Glory and Grace. Now you know, that the shining of the Sun, whereby all things exhilarate and fructify, is either hindered by Clouds above, or Mists below; perhaps by Brambles and Briars, that grow upon the ground itself. All which I hope, at this time, will be dispelled and removed.

(4.) I come now to the last Part of your Speech, concerning the Petitions: but before I deliver his Majesty's Answer in particular, I must speak somewhat in the general. And what can be here pertinently said, must either regard, (1.) the Subject or Matter of Parliament Business; (2.) the Manner and Carriage of the same; or (3.) the Time, and the husbanding and marshalling thereof. (1.) The Matters to be handled in Parliament are either, (1.) of Church, (2.) of State, (3.) of Laws, or (4.) of Grievances.

For the two first, Church and State, ye have heard the King himself speak; and as the Scripture says, *Who is he that in such things shall come after the King?* For the other two, I shall say somewhat, but briefly.

Laws are things proper for your own Element: and therein you are rather to lead than be led. Only 'tis not amiss to put you in mind of two things: the one that you do not multiply or accumulate Laws more than need. There is a wise and learned *Civilian*, who applies the Curse of the Prophet, *Pluet super eos laqueos*, to multiplicity of Laws: for they do but ensnare and entangle the People. I wish rather, that you would either revive good Laws, that are discontinued; or provide against the slack Execution of Laws,

already in force ; or prevent the subtile Evasions from Laws, which Time and Craft have undermined, than to make *novas creaturas Legum*, Laws upon a new Mould.

The other Point relating to Laws is, that ye busy not yourselves too much in private Bills ; except it be in Cases wherein the Help and Arm of ordinary Justice is too short.

For Grievances, his Majesty has with great Grace opened himself. Nevertheless the Limitations, which may make up your Grievances, not to beat the Air only, but meet a desired Effect, are principally two. The one, that ye do not hunt after Grievances, such as may seem rather stirred here, when ye are met, than to have sprung from the Desires of the Country : ye are to represent the People ; ye are not to personate them.

The other, that you do not heap up Grievances ; as if Number should make a Shew, where the Weight is small ; or as if all things amiss, like *Plato's* Common-wealth, should be remedied at once. It is certain, that the best Governments, yea, and the best of Men, are like the best precious Stones, wherein every Flaw or Speck is seen and noted, more than in those that are generally foul and corrupted.

Therefore contain yourselves within that Moderation, as may tend rather to the effectual Ease of the People, than to a discursive Envy or Scandal upon the State.

As for the manner of carrying Parliament Business, ye must know, that ye deal with a King, who has been longer King, than any of you have been Parliament Men ; and a King that is no less sensible of Forms, than of Matter ; and as far from induring diminution of Majesty, as from regarding Flattery, or Vain-glory ; and a King that understands as well the Pulse of the Peoples Hearts, as his own Orb. Therefore, let your Grievances have a decent and reverend Form and Style ; and be *tanquam gemitus columbæ*, without Pique or Harshness : and on the other side, in what you do for the King, let it have a Mark of Unity, Alacrity, and Affection ; which will be of this force, that whatever you do in Substance, will be doubled in Reputation abroad.

For the Time ; if ever Parliament was to be measured by the Hour-glass, it is this ; in regard of the instant Occasion flying away irrecoverably. Therefore, let your Speeches in the House be the Speeches of Counsellors, and not of Orators : let your Committees tend to dispatch, not to dispute ; and so marshal the Times, that the publick Business, especially the proper Business of the Parliament, be put first ; and the private Bills be put last, as Time shall give leave, or within the Spaces of the publick.

For the four Petitions ; his Majesty is pleased to grant them all, as liberally, as the ancient and true Custom of Parliament warrants, and with the Cautions that have ever gone with them ; *viz.* that the Privilege be not used for defrauding of Creditors, and defeating of ordinary Justice : that Liberty of Speech turn not into Licence, but be joined with that Gra-

vity and Discretion, as may favour of Duty and Love to your Sovereign, Reverence to your own Assembly, and Respect to the Matters ye handle: that your Access be at such fit times, as may stand best with his Majesty's Pleasure and Occasions; and that Mistakings and Misunderstandings, be rather avoided and prevented, than solved or cleared.



S E C T.

S E C T. II.

S P E E C H E S in J U D I C I A L
P R O C E E D I N G S.

S P E E C H I.

The CHARGE against the Lord Sanquhar for Murther^a.

MY Lord *Sanquhar*, your Fault is great ; it cannot be extenuated ; and it need not be aggravated : and you have made so full an Anatomy of it, from your own feeling, as cannot be matched by myself, or any Man else in my Opinion.

This Christian and Penitent Course of yours draws me to agree, that even in extreme Evils there are Degrees ; so that your Offence is not of the highest Strain : for if you had thought to take away a Man's Life for his Vineyard, as *Abab* did ; or for Envy, as *Cain* did ; surely the Offence had been more odious. Your Temptation was Revenge ; which the more natural 'tis in Man, the more have Laws, both human and divine, sought to repress it. But in one thing you and I shall never agree ; viz, that generous Spirits are hard to forgive : no, contrariwise, generous and magnanimous Minds are readiest to forgive ; and 'tis a weakness and impotency of Mind to be unable to forgive.

But though Murther may arise from several Motives, more or less odious ; yet the Law, both of God and Man, involves them in one Degree ; and therefore in *Joab's* Case, which was a Murther upon Revenge, and corresponding to yours ; he for a dear Brother, and you for a dear part of your own Blood ; yet there was a severe Charge given, that it should not pass unpunished.

A a a 2

And

^a The Lord *Sanquhar*, a Scotch Nobleman, having, in private Revenge, suborned *Robert Carlisle* to murder *John Turner*, Master of Defence, thought by his Greatness to have born it out ; but the King would not suffer Nobility to shelter Villany ; and according to Law, on the 29th of June 1612, the said Lord *Sanquhar*, having been arraigned and condemned by the Name of *Robert Creighton* Esq; was executed before *Westminster-hall-gate*. At whose Arraignment the Lord *Escon*, then *Attorney General*, made this Speech.

And certainly the Circumstance of Time is heavy upon you ; it is now five years since this unfortunate Man *Turner*, be it upon Accident or Despight, gave the Provocation ; which was the Seed of your Malice. All Passions are assuaged with Time ; Love, Hatred, Grief, &c. all Fire, burns out with Time, if no new Fuel be added to it : but for you to have the Gall of Bitterness so long ; and to have been in a restless Case for his Blood, is a strange Example. And I must tell you plainly, that I conceive you have rather suck'd those Affections of dwelling in Malice, out of *Italy*, and outlandish Manners, where you have conversed, than out of any part of this Island of *England* or *Scotland*.

But farther, my Lord, I would have you look a little upon this Offence in the Glass of God's Judgment ; that God may have the Glory. You have Friends and Entertainment in Foreign Parts: it had been an easy thing for you to have set *Carlisle*, or some other Blood-hound at work, when your Person had been beyond the Seas ; and so this News might have come to you in a Packet, and you might have looked on, and seen how the Storm would pass : but God bereft you of this Providence, and bound you here under the hand of a King, tho' abundant in Clemency, yet no less zealous of Justice.

Again, when you came in at *Lambeth*, you might have persisted in the denial of the Procurement of the Fact ; *Carlisle*, a resolute Man, might have cleared you : for they that are resolute in Mischief, are commonly obstinate in concealing their Procurers ; and so nothing would have been against you but Presumption. But then God, to take away Obstruction of Justice, gave you the Grace to make a clear Confession ; which ought indeed to move true Comfort to you, more than any Evasion, or Device whereby you might have escaped. There were many other Impediments, which might have interrupted this Day's Justice ; had not God, in his Providence, removed them.

But now, that I have given God the honour, let me give it where 'tis next due ; that is, to the King. This Murther was no sooner committed, and brought to his Majesty's Ears, but his just Indignation cast itself presently into a deal of Care and Providence, to have Justice done.

First came forth his Proclamation, somewhat of a rare Form, and devised, and in effect directed to his Majesty himself ; signifying that he prosecuted the Offenders, as it were with the Breath and Blasts of his Mouth. Then did his Majesty stretch forth his long Arms, for Kings you know have long Arms, one of them to the Sea, where he took hold of *Grey* shipped for *Sweden*, who gave the first light of Testimony ; the other Arm to *Scotland*, and there he took hold of *Carlisle*, e'er he was warm in his House ; and brought him the length of this Kingdom, under such a safe Watch and Custody, as he could have no means to escape or mischief himself, nor learn any Lesson to stand mute ; in which Cases perhaps this day's Justice might have received a Stop : so that I conclude his Majesty has shewed himself God's true Lieutenant, and that he is no Respector of Persons ; but *English*, *Scots*, Noblemen, Fencer, are to him alike, in respect of Justice.

Nay, I must farther say, that his Majesty has had in this Matter a kind of Prophetical Spirit: for from that time *Carlisle* and *Grey*, and you, my Lord, were fled, no Man knew whither, to the four Winds; the King ever spoke in a confident and undertaking manner, that where-ever the Offenders were in *Europe*, he would produce them to Justice.

Lastly, to return to you, my Lord, tho' your Offence has been great, your Confession has been free, and your Behaviour and Speech full of Discretion; and this shews, that altho' you could not resist the Temptation, yet you bear a generous and Christian Mind, answerable to the noble Family of which you are descended. This I commend to you, and take it for an assured Testimony of God's Mercy and Favour, in respect whereof all worldly things are but Trash; and so 'tis fit for you, as your State now is, to account them.

S P E E C H II.

The CHARGE against William Talbot, Counsellor at Law, upon an Information in the Star-Chamber, for a Writing under his Hand; whereby, when being demanded whether the Doctrine of Suarez, as to the deposing and killing of Kings excommunicated, were true or no? he answered, That he referred himself to what the Church of Rome should determine thereof^a.

My LORDS,

WHAT I am now to speak to, is one of the greatest Causes of the Christian World; the Conflict betwixt the lawful Authority of Sovereign Princes; which is God's Ordinance for the Comfort of Human Society; and the swelling Pride and Usurpation of the See of *Rome*, in Temporals, tending entirely to Anarchy and Confusion. And if this Pretence of the Pope of *Rome*, by Challenges to make Kings as Banditti, proscribe their Lives, and expose their Kingdoms to Prey; and if all Persons who submit themselves to this Power of the Pope, be not, by all possible Severity repressed and punished; the State of Christian Kings will be like the ancient Torment described by the Poets, in the Hell of the Heathens; of a Man sitting richly robed, solemnly attended, delicious Fare, &c. with a Sword over his Head, hanging by a small Thread, ready every Moment to be cut by an accursing and accursed Hand. Surely these are the Prerogatives of God alone: *I will loosen the Girdles of Kings*; or again, *be fourth Con-*
tempt

^a This was delivered by the Author in quality of *Attorney-General*, in the Eleventh Year of King *James*.

tempt upon Princes; or I will give a King in my Wrath, and take him away in my Displeasure; and the like: but if such are the Claims of a mortal Man, certainly they are the Mysteries of the Person who exalts himself above all that is called God; not above God, but above all that is called God; that is, lawful Kings and Magistrates.

The Offence wherewith I charge the Prisoner at the Bar, is this: that he has maintained, and maintains under his Hand, a Power in the Pope to depose and murder Kings. In what sort he does this, I will deliver in his own Words, without pressing or straining.

But I cannot proceed to the particular Charge so coldly, as not to express the extreme and imminent Danger, wherein our dread Sovereign is, and in him all of us; nay, and all Princes of both Religions stand at this day, by the spreading of this furious and pernicious Opinion of the Pope's Temporal Power; which tho' the modest sort would blanch with the Distinction of *in ordine ad spiritualia*, yet that is but an elusion; for he who makes the Distinction, will also make the Case. This Danger, tho' in itself notorious, yet because there is a kind of Dulness, and almost a Lethargy in the present Age, give me leave to set before you two Glasses, such as certainly never met in one Age; that of *France*, and that of *England*. In that of *France*, the Tragedies acted and executed in two immediate Kings; in the Glass of *England*, the same, or more horrible, attempted likewise in a Queen and King immediate; but ending in a happy deliverance. In *France*, Henry III. in the face of his Army, before the Walls of *Paris*, stab'd by a wretched Jacobin Fryar. Henry IV. a Prince whom the *French* surname the Great, one that had been a Saviour and Redeemer of his Country from infinite Calamities, and a Restorer of that Monarchy to the ancient State and Splendor, and a Prince almost heroical; at the time when he was at the point of mounting his Horse to command the greatest Forces that of a long time had been levied in *France*; this King likewise stilletto'd by a rascal Votary, who had been enchanted and conjured for that purpose.

In *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed Memory, a Queen to be ranked with the greatest Kings, often attempted by like Votaries; *Sommerville*, *Parry*, *Savage*, and others; but still protected by the *Watchman that slumbers not*. Again, our excellent Sovereign King *James*, the Clemency of whose Nature was enough to quench all Malignity; and a King shielded and supported by Posterity; yet this King, in the Chair of Majesty, his Vine and Olive-Branches about him, attended by his Nobles and third State in Parliament, ready, in the twinkling of an Eye, to have been brought to Ashes, and dispersed to the four Winds. My Lord Chief Justice, I observed, when speaking of this *Powder Treason*, laboured for Words; and tho' they came from him with great Efficacy, yet he truly confessed, and so must all Men, that this Treason is above the Charge and Report of Words.

Now,

Now, my Lords, in these Glasses, besides the Facts themselves, and the Danger, I must shew you two things; the one the Ways of God, which turn the Sword of *Rome* upon the Kings that are the Vassals of *Rome*; but protect those Kings which have not accepted the Yoke of this Tyranny: the other, that this is a common Cause of Princes; and involves Kings of both Religions: and therefore his Majesty did most worthily and prudently ring out the Alarm-Bell, to awaken all Princes to think of it seriously, and in time.

But this is a miserable Case, that while these *Roman* Soldiers either thrust the Spear into the Side of God's Anointed, or at least crown them with Thorns, or piercing and pricking Cares and Fears, they can never be secure of their Lives or States. And as this Danger is common to Princes of both Religions, so Princes of both Religions have been likewise equally sensible of every Injury that touched their Temporals.

Thuanus reports in his History, that when the Kingdom of *France* was interdicted by the violent Proceedings of Pope *Julius* the Second, King *Lewis* the Twelfth, otherwise noted for a moderate Prince, caused Coins of Gold to be stamped with his own Image, and this Supercription, *Perdzm nomen Babylonis è terra*. And *Thuanus* says, himself has seen divers Pieces thereof. Whence this Catholick King was so much incensed at that time, in respect of the Pope's Usurpation, that he preceded *Luther*, in applying *Babylon* to *Roms*. The Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, who was accounted one of the Pope's best Sons, yet in temporal Affairs proceeded with strange Rigour towards Pope *Clement*; never regarding the Pontificality, but kept him eighteen Months in a pestilent Prison; and was hardly dissuaded by his Council from having sent him Captive into *Spain*; and made sport with the Threats of *Frosberg* the *German*, who wore a silk Rope under his Cassock, which he would shew in all Companies; telling them, that he carried it to strangle the Pope with his own hands. As for *Philip* the Fair, 'tis well known how he brought Pope *Boniface* the Eighth to an ignominious End, that of dying mad and enraged; and how he stiled his Rescript to the Pope's Bull, whereby he challenged his Temporals, *Sciãt Fatuitas vestra*, not your *Beatitude*, but your *Stultitude*; a Style worthy to be continued in like Cases: for certainly that claim is mere Folly and Fury. And for domestick Examples, never did any Kings keep up the Partition-wall between Temporal and Spiritual, better than ours, in times of greatest Superstition. I instance only in King *Edward* I. who set up so many Crosses; and yet opposed that part of the Pope's Jurisdiction, no Man more strongly.

Now to the particular Charge of this Man; I must inform your Lordships the Occasion and Nature of his Offence. There has been lately published a Work of *Suarez*, a *Portuguese*, and a Professor in the University of *Coimbra*, a confident and daring Writer, such an one as *Tully* describes, in derision; *nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare, aliqua de re, videretur*: who fears nothing so much as that he should seem to doubt of any thing. A Fellow, who thinks with his Magisteriality and Goose-quill, to give Laws and
Menages

Menages to Crowns and Scepters. In this Man's Writing, the Doctrine of deposing and murdering Kings rises to a higher Pitch, and is more artfully and positively expressed than heretofore. I here find three Assertions, which run not in the Vulgar Track; but are such as Men's Ears are not much acquainted with. The first is, *That the Pope has a Superiority over Kings, as Subjects, to depose them; not only for spiritual Crimes, as Heresy and Schism, but for Faults of a temporal nature:* since a tyrannical Government ever tends to the Destruction of Souls. So that by this Position, Kings of either Religion are alike comprehended, and none exempted. The *second* is, that after a Sentence given by the Pope, this Writer defines of a series, or succession of Hangmen, or *Sbirri*, lest an Executioner should fail. His Assertion is. That when a King is sentenced by the Pope to deprivation or death, the Executioner first in place, is he to whom the Pope shall commit the Authority; which may be a foreign Prince, it may be a particular Subject, it may be, in general, to the first Undertaker. But if there be no Direction or Assignment in the Sentence, special nor general, then *de jure*, it appertains to the next Successor: so that the Successor be apparent, and a Catholick; but if he be doubtful, or no Catholick, then it devolves to the Commonalty of the Kingdom: so that he will be sure to have it done by one Minister or other. In the *third*, he distinguishes two kinds of Tyrants, a Tyrant in Title, and a Tyrant in Government; the Tyrant in Government cannot be resisted or killed, without a precedent Sentence by the Pope; but a Tyrant in Title may be killed by any private Man whatsoever. By which Doctrine he puts the Judgment of Kings Titles, (which are never so clear, but some vain exception may be made to them,) upon the Fancy of every private Man; and also couples the Judgment and Execution together, that he may judge by a Blow, without any other Sentence. Your Lordships see what monstrous Opinions these are; and how both the Beast with seven Heads, and the Beast with many Heads, Pope and People, are at once let in upon the sacred Persons of Kings.

To proceed with the Narrative; there was an extract of certain Sentences and Portions of this Book, to the Effect of those above mentioned, made by a great Prelate and Counsellor upon a just occasion; and there being some Hollowness and Hesitation in these Matters discovered and perceived in *Talbot*; he was asked his Opinion concerning them, in presence of his Majesty: and afterwards they were delivered to him, that upon Advice, he might sedately declare himself: whereupon, under his Hand, he subscribes thus. "Concerning this Doctrine of *Suarez*, I perceive by what I have read in his Book, that the same concerns Matter of Faith; the Controversy growing upon Exposition of Scriptures and Councils; wherein being unstudied, I cannot take upon me to judge; but I submit my Opinion therein to the Judgment of the Roman Catholick Church, as in all Points concerning Faith I do."

Upon these words, my Lords, I charge *William Talbot* to have committed a great Offence; and such, as if he had entered into a voluntary and malicious Publication of the like Writing, would have been too great an
Offence

Offence for the Capacity of this Court. But because it grew from a question asked by a Council of State, and so rather seems, in a favourable Construction, to proceed from a kind of Submission to answer, than from any malicious or insolent Will; it was fit, according to the Clemency of these Times, to proceed in this manner before your Lordships. And let the Hearers take these things right; for certainly if a Man be required by the Lords of the Council, to deliver his Opinion, whether King *James* be King or no? and he delivers his Opinion that he is not; this is High Treason: but I do not say that these Words amount to that; and therefore let me open them truly, and therein open also the Eyes of the Offender himself.

My Lords, a Man's Allegiance must be independent, not provisional and conditional. *Elizabeth Barton*, called the holy Maid of *Kent*, affirmed, that if King *Henry VIII.* did not take *Katherine* of *Spain* again to his Wife, within a Twelve Month, he should be no King: and this was judged Treason. For tho' this Act be contingent and future, yet Treason of compassing and imagining the King's Destruction is present.

In like manner if a Man should voluntarily publish or maintain, that whensoever a Bull or Deprivation shall come forth against the King, that from thence he is no longer King; this is of like nature: but with this I do not charge the Offender neither. The true Latitude of his Words is, that if the Doctrine, as to the killing of Kings, be matter of Faith; he submits himself to the Judgment of the *Roman* Catholick Church: so that his allegiance depends not simply upon the Pope's Sentence of Deprivation against the King; but upon another Point also, *viz.* if these Doctrines are already, or shall be declared Matter of Faith. But little is gained by this: for altho' it may make some difference as to the Guilt of the Party, yet little as to the Danger of the King. For the same Pope of *Rome* may, with the same Breath, declare both. So that still upon the Matter, the King is made but Tenant at Will, of his Life and Kingdoms; and the Allegiance of his Subjects is pinn'd upon the Pope's Act. And certainly 'tis time to stop the current of this Opinion of acknowledging of the Pope's Power in Temporals; or else it will supplant the Seat of Kings. And let it not be mistaken that *Mr. Talbot's* Offence should be no more than the refusing the Oath of Allegiance. For 'tis one thing to be silent, and another thing to affirm. As for the Point of Matter of Faith, or not Faith, to tell your Lordships plain, it would astonish a Man to see the Gulf of this implicit Belief. If a Man should ask *Mr. Talbot* whether he condemns Murder or Adultery, or the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, or of *Arius*, instead of *Suarez*; must he answer with this Exception, that if the Question concern Matter of Faith, (as it does; for the moral Law is matter of Faith) that therein he submits himself to what the Church shall determine? And, no doubt, the Murder of Princes is more than simple Murder.

But to conclude, *Talbot*, I will do you this right, to declare that you came afterwards to a better Mind; wherein, if you had been constant, the King, out of his great Goodness, was resolved not to have proceeded with you in this Course of Justice: but then again you started aside like a broken Bow. So that by your Variety and Vacillation you lost the acceptable time of the first Grace; which was not to have convened you.

Nay, I will go farther, your last Submission I conceive to be satisfactory and complete; but then it was too late, the King's Honour was upon it, it was published, and a day appointed for hearing; yet what Preparation that may be to the second Grace of Pardon I know not: but I know my Lords, out of their accustomed favour, will admit you, not only to your Defence concerning what has been charged; but to extenuate your Fault by any Submission that God shall now put into your Mind to make.

SPEECH III.

The CHARGE against Owen, indicted for High Treason, in the King's Bench^a.

THE Treason wherewith this Man stands charged, is for the kind and nature of it ancient, as ancient as there is any Law of *England*; but in the particular, late and upstart: and again, in the manner and boldness of it, new and unheard of till this Man. Of what mind he is now, I know not; but I take him as he was, and as he stands charged. For High Treason is not written in Ice; that when the Body relents, the Impression should go away. I shall by way of Declaration open five things. The *first* is the Clemency of the King; because 'tis a kind of Rarity to have a Proceeding in this place upon Treason: and perhaps it may be wondered at by some, why after so long an Intermision, it should light upon this Fellow; being a Person but contemptible, and a kind of venomous Fly of the Seminaries.

The *second* is, the Nature of this Treason concerning the Fact, which of all kinds of compassing the King's Death, I hold to be the most dangerous; and as different from other Conspiracies, as the lifting up of a thousand hands against the King differs from lifting up one.

The *third Point* that I will speak to, is the Doctrine or Ground of this Treason; wherein I shall not argue like a Divine or Scholar, but as a Man bred in Civil Life: and to speak plainly, I hold the Opinion to be such as deserves rather Detestation than Contest.

The *fourth Point* is the Degree of this Man's Offence; which is more presumptuous than I have known any other to have fallen into of this kind, and has a greater Overflow of Malice and Treason.

And

^a Brought by the Author as *Attorney-General*.

And *Fifthly*, I will remove somewhat that may seem to extenuate this Man's Offence; as he has not affirmed simply, that 'tis lawful to kill the King, but conditionally, that if the King be excommunicate, 'tis lawful to kill him; which makes little difference either in Law or Danger.

For the King's Clemency; I speak it with comfort, that I have now served his Majesty as Solicitor and Attorney, eight years; yet this is the first time that ever I gave in Evidence against a Traytor, at this Bar, or any other. There has not wanted Matter, in that Party of the Subjects, whence this kind of Offence flows, to irritate the King: he was irritated by the Powder Treason, which might have turned Judgment into Fury. He has been irritated by monstrous and wicked Libels; irritated by a general Insolency and Presumption in the Papists throughout the Land; and yet his Majesty keeps *Cæsar's Rule*: *Nil malo, quam eos esse similes sui, & me mei*. He leaves them to be like themselves; whilst he remains like himself, and strives to overcome Evil with Good. A strange thing; bloody Opinions, bloody Doctrines, bloody Examples, and yet the Government still unstained with Blood. As for this *Owen*, tho' his Person be, in his Condition, contemptible; yet we see by miserable Examples, that these Wretches, which are but the Scum of the Earth, have been able to stir Earthquakes, by murdering of Princes: and if it were in case of Contagion (as this is a Contagion of the Heart and Soul) a Beggar may bring a Plague into the City as well as a great Man: so that 'tis not the Person but the Matter which is to be considered.

For the Treason itself, which is the *Second Point*, my Desire is to open it in the Depth thereof, if it were possible; but 'tis bottomless: and so the Civil Law says, *Conjuraciones omnium proditorum odiosissima & perniciosissima*. Kings can arm against hostile Invasions, and the Adherence of Subjects to Enemies; Rebellions must go over the Bodies of many good Subjects before they can hurt the King: but Conspiracies against the Persons of Kings are like Thunder-Bolts, that strike on a sudden; and are hardly to be avoided. *Major metus a singulis quam ab universis*. There is no Preparation against them: and that Preparation, which may be of guard or custody, is a perpetual Misery. And therefore they who have written of the Privileges of Ambassadors, and of the Amplitude of Safe-Conducts, define that if an Ambassador, or Man who comes in upon the highest Safe-Conduct, practise a Matter of Sedition in a State, yet by the Law of Nations he ought to be remanded; but if he conspire against the Life of a Prince, by Violence or Poison, he is to be tried: *Quia odium est omni Privilegio majus*. Nay, even among Enemies, and in the most deadly Wars, Conspiracy, and the Assassination of Princes, has been accounted villanous and execrable.

The Manners of conspiring and compassing the King's Death are many: but 'tis most apparent, that among all the rest this furmounts. *First*, because 'tis grounded upon pretended Religion; which is a Trumpet that inflames the Heart and Powers of a Man with Daring and Resolution, more than any thing else. *Secondly*, 'tis the hardest to be avoided: for when a

particular Conspiracy is plotted or attempted against a King by some one or some few Conspirators, it meets with a Number of Impediments. Commonly he that has the Head to devise it, has not the Heart to undertake it: and the Person that is used, sometimes fails in Courage; sometimes fails in Opportunity; sometimes is touched with Remorse. But to publish and maintain, that it may be lawful for any Man living to attempt the Life of a King; this Doctrine is a venomous Sop; or as a Legion of malign Spirits; or an univerfal Temptation that enters at once into the Hearts of all who are any way prepared, or have any predisposition to be Traytors: so that what fails in any one, is supplied in many. If one Man faint, another will dare: if one Man has not the Opportunity, another has: if one Man relent, another will be desperate. And *thirdly*, particular Conspiracies have their Periods of Time, within which if they be not taken, they vanish; but this is endless, and imports perpetuity of springing Conspiracies. And so much concerning the Nature of the Fact.

For the third Point; which is the Doctrine, that upon Excommunication of the Pope, with Sentence of Deposing, a King may be slaughtered by any Son of *Adam*, and that 'tis Justice and no Murder; that their Subjects are absolved of their Allegiance; and the Kings themselves exposed to Spoil and Prey. I said before, that I would not argue the Subtilty of the Question: 'tis rather to be spoken to by way of Accusation of the Opinion as impious, than by way of dispute as doubtful. Nay, I say, it deserves rather some Holy War, or League among all Christian Princes of either Religion, for the extirpating and razing of the Opinion, and the Authors thereof, from the Face of the Earth, than the Style of Pen or Speech. Therefore in this kind I will speak to it in a few Words, and not otherwise. And, I protest, if I were a Papist I should say as much: nay, I should speak it perhaps with more Indignation and Feeling. For this horrible Opinion is our Advantage, but 'tis their Reproach, and will be their Ruin.

This Monster of Opinion is to be accused of three most evident and most miserable Slanders.

First, of the Slander it brings to the Christian Faith; being a plain Plantation of Irreligion and Atheism.

Secondly, the Subversion which it introduces of all Policy and Government.

Thirdly, the great Calamity it brings upon Papists themselves; of which the more moderate sort, as Men mis-led, are to be pitied^a.

For the *first*, if a Man visits the foul and polluted Opinions, Customs, or Practices of Heathenism, Mahometism, and Herefy, he will find they attain not to this height. Take the Examples of damnable Memory among the Heathen. The Proscriptions in *Rome* of *Sylla*; and afterwards of the *Triumvirs*, were but of a finite number of Persons, and those not many, that were exposed to any Man's Sword; but what is that to the proscribing of

^a This Speech is imperfect, and breaks off abruptly, before the second Article is gone through.

of a King, and all that shall take his part? And what was the Reward of a Soldier that among them killed one of the proscribed? A small Piece of Money. But what is now the Reward of one that shall kill a King? The Kingdom of Heaven. The most scandalous Custom among the Heathen was, that sometimes the Priest sacrificed Men; but we do not read of any Priesthood that sacrificed Kings.

The Mahometans make it a part of their Religion to propagate their Sect by the Sword; yet by honourable Wars, never by Villanies and secret Murders. Nay, I find that the *Saracen* Prince, from whom the Name of *Assassin* is derived, who had divers Votaries at command, which he sent and employed for the killing of several Princes in the East, (by one of whom *Amurath* the first was slain, and *Edward* the first of *England* wounded,) was put down, and rooted out by the common Consent of the *Mahometan* Princes.

The Anabaptists, 'tis true, come nearest. For they profess the pulling down of Magistrates; and they can chaunt the Psalm, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron.* This is the Glory of the Saints, much like the temporal Authority which the Pope challenges over Princes. But here lies the difference, that theirs is a fanatical Fury, and the Pope's a grave and solemn Mischief: *he imagines Mischief as a Law; a Law-like Mischief.*

As for the Defence which they make, it aggravates the Sin, and turns it from a Cruelty towards Men, to a Blasphemy towards God. For to say that all this is *in ordine ad spirituale*; to a good end, and for the Salvation of Souls, is directly to make God the Author of Evil, or to draw him into the Likeness of the Prince of Darkness; and to say with those that *Saint Paul* speaks of, *Let us do Evil that Good may come of it.* Of whom the Apostle says definitively, *That their Damnation is just.*

For the destroying of Government universally; 'tis most evident, that this is not the Case of Protestant Princes only, but of Catholick Princes likewise. Nay, 'tis not the Case of Princes only, but of all Subjects and private Persons. For as to Princes, let History be perused, to shew what has been the Cause of Excommunication, and this Tumour of it, the deposing of Kings: it has not been for Heresy and Schism alone; but for Collation and Investitures of Bishopricks and Benefices; intruding upon Ecclesiastical Possessions; or violating of any ecclesiastical Person or Liberty. Nay, generally they maintain, that it may be for any Sin. So that the Difference between their Doctors, some holding that the Pope has his temporal Power immediately, and others only *in ordine ad spirituale*, is but Delusion, and an Abuse. For all comes to one. What is there that may not be made spiritual by Consequence; especially when he who gives the Sentence may make the Case? And the miserable Experience has followed accordingly. For this murdering of Kings has been put in practise, as well against Papist Kings as Protestant; save that it has pleased God so to guide it by his admirable Providence, as the Attempts upon Papist Princes

Princes have been executed, and the Attempts upon Protestant Princes have failed, except in the Case of the Prince of *Orange*: and not here neither, until he had joined too fast with the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Papists.

S P E E C H I V.

The CHARGE against M. L. S. W. H. J. for Scandal, and traducing the King's Justice, in the Proceedings against Weston in the Star-Chamber^a.

THE Offence wherewith I charge the three Prisoners at the Bar, is a Misdemeanor of a high nature; tending to the defacing and scandal of Justice in a great Cause capital. The particular Charge is this. The King, among other his princely Virtues, is known to excel in that proper one of the imperial Throne, Justice. 'Tis a Royal Virtue, which employs the other three Cardinal Virtues in her Service. Wisdom to discover, and discern the Guilty and Innocent: Fortitude to prosecute and execute: Temperance, so to carry Justice as it be not passionate in the pursuit; nor confused in involving Persons upon light Suspicion, nor precipitate in time. For this his Majesty's Virtue of Justice, God has of late raised an occasion, and erected as it were a Stage, or Theatre, for him to shew, and act it, in the pursuit of the untimely Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and therein cleansing the Land from Blood. For, my Lords, if Blood spilt pure, cries to Heaven in God's Ears, much more Blood defiled with Poison.

This great Work of his Majesty's Justice, the more excellent it is, your Lordships will soon conclude, the greater the Offence of any that have sought to affront or traduce it. And therefore, before I descend to the Charge of these Offenders, I will set before your Lordships the Weight of what they have sought to impeach; speaking somewhat of the general Crime of impoisoning; and then, of the particular Circumstances of this Fact upon *Overbury*; and thirdly, of the King's great and worthy Care and Carriage in the Business.

This Offence of Impoisonment is truly figured in the Description made of the Nature of one of the *Roman* Tyrants, viz. that he was *Lutum sanguine maceratum, Mire drench'd and tempered with Blood*: for as 'tis one of the highest Offences in Guilt, so 'tis the basest of all others in the Mind of the Offenders. Treasons, *magnum aliquid spectant*: they aim at great things; but this is vile and base.

I tell your Lordships what I have noted, that in the Books of the Old and New Testament, I find Examples of all other Offences and Offenders in the World; but not one of an impoisonment or an impoisoner. I find a fear of casual Impoisonment; when the wild Vine being shred into the Pot, they came complaining in a fearful manner; Master, *mors in olla*.
And

^a Exhibited by the Author as *Attorney-General, Anno 1615.*

And I find mention of Poisons of Beasts and Serpents; *the Poison of Asps is under their Lips*: but I find no Example in Scripture of Impoisonment. I have sometimes thought of the Words in the Psalm, *Let their Table be a Snare*; which certainly is true of Impoisonment: for herein the Table, the daily Bread for which we pray, is turned to a deadly Snare: but I think rather this was meant of the Treachery of Friends, that partook of the same Table.

Impoisonment is an Offence, my Lords, that has the two Spurs of offending; *spes perficiendi, & spes celandi*: 'tis easily committed, and easily concealed. 'Tis an Offence like the Arrow that flies by Night. It discerns not whom it hits: for many times the Poison is laid for one, and another takes it: as in *Sanders's Case*, where the poisoned Apple was laid for the Mother, and was taken up by the Child, and killed the Child: and so in that notorious Case, whereupon the Statute of 22 *Henry VIII.* cap. 9. was made, where the Intent being to poison but one or two, Poison was put into a little Vessel of Yeast, that stood in the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Kitchen, with which Yeast, Pottage was made, wherewith seventeen of the Bishop's Family were poisoned. Nay, divers of the Poor that came to the Bishop's Gate, and had the broken Pottage in Alms, were likewise poisoned. And therefore if any Man should comfort himself by thinking thus; here is a great talk of Impoisonment, I hope I am safe, for I have no Enemies; nor have nothing that any Person should long for. Why? 'tis all one, for he may sit at Table by another for whom the Poison is prepared, and have a Drench of his Cup, or of his Pottage. And so, as the Poet says, *concidit infelix alieno vulnere*; he may die the death designed for another. It was therefore most gravely, judiciously, and properly provided by the Statute abovementioned, that Impoisonment should be High Treason; because whatever Offence tends to the utter Subversion and Dissolution of human Society, is in the Nature of High Treason.

Lastly, 'tis an Offence which I may truly say is not *noſtri generis, nec ſanguinis*. 'Tis rare in the Isle of *Britain*: 'tis neither of our Country, nor of our Church: you may find it in *Rome* or *Italy*. There is a Region, or perhaps a Religion for it: and if it should come among us, certainly it were better living in a Wilderness than in a Court.

For the particular Fact upon *Overbury*; I knew the Gentleman. 'Tis true his Mind was great, but it moved not in any good Order; yet certainly it commonly flew at good things; and the greatest Fault that ever I heard of him, was, that he made his Friend his Idol. But I leave him as *Sir Thomas Overbury*; and take him as he was the King's Prisoner in the Tower; and then see how the Case stands.

In that place the State is, as it were, answerable to make good the Body of a Prisoner. And if any thing happen to him there, it may, tho' not in this Case, yet in some others, cast an Aspersion and Reflexion upon the State it self. For the Person is utterly out of his own defence: his own Care and Providence can serve him in no stead. He is in Custody and Preservation of the Law; and we have a Maxim in our Law, that when a State is in Preservation of the Law, nothing can destroy or hurt it. And God

forbid but the like should be for the Persons of those that are in Custody of the Law; and therefore this was a Circumstance of great Aggravation.

Lastly, to have a Man chased to Death in such a manner, as appears now upon Record, by Poison after Poison, first *Roseaker*, then *Arsenick*, then *Mercury Sublimate*, then *Sublimate* again; is a thing would astonish a Man's Nature to hear of. The Poets feign, that the Furies had Whips, corded with poisonous Snakes; and one would think this were the very Case, to have a Man tied to a Post, and be scourged to death with Snakes: for so diversity of Poisons may truly be termed.

I will now come to what is the Principal; *viz.* his Majesty's princely and sacred Proceeding in this Case. Wherein I will first speak of the Temper of his Justice, and then of the Strength thereof.

First, it pleased my Lord Chief Justice to let me know the Charge his Majesty gave to himself first, and afterwards to the Commissioners in this Case; worthy certainly to be written in Letters of Gold: wherein his Majesty made it his prime Direction, that it should be carried without Touch to any that was innocent; nay more, not only without Impeachment, but without Asperision: which was a most noble and princely Caution; for Men's Reputations are tender things, and ought to be like Christ's Coat, without Seam. And it was the more to be respected in this Case, because it met with two great Persons: a Nobleman that his Majesty had favoured and advanced; and his Lady, being of a great and honourable House: tho' I think it true, what the Writers say, *There is no Pomgranate so fair or so sound, but may have a perished Kernel.* Nay, I see plainly in those excellent Papers of his Majesty's own hand-writing, being as so many Beams of Justice, issuing from the Virtue that shines in him; that it was so evenly carried, without Prejudice, as shewed, that his Majesty's Judgment was *tanquam tabula rasa*, as a fair Table-Book, and his Ear *tanquam janua aperta*, as a Gate, not side open, but wide open to Truth, as it should be by degrees discovered. Nay, I see plainly, that in the beginning, till further Light appeared, his Majesty was little moved with the first Tale, which he vouchsafes not so much as the name of a Tale; but calls it a Rumour, which is a headless Tale.

For the Strength or Resolution of his Majesty's Justice; I must tell your Lordships plainly, I do not wonder to see Kings thunder out Justice in Cases of Treason, when they are touched themselves; and that they are *vindices doloris proprii*: but that a King should *pro amore justitiæ* only, contrary to the Tide of his own Affection, for the Preservation of his People take such care of a Cause of Justice; this is rare and worthy to be celebrated far and near. For, I think, I may truly affirm, there was never in this Kingdom, nor in any other, the Blood of a private Gentleman vindicated *cum tanto motu regni*, or to say better *cum tanto plausu regni*. If it had concerned the King or Prince, there could not have been greater nor better Commissioners to examine it. The Term has been almost turned into a *Justitium* or Vacation; the People themselves being more willing to look

look on in this Business than to follow their own. There has been no Care of Discovery omitted, no Moment of Time lost. And therefore I will conclude this part with the saying of *Solomon, Gloria Dei celare rem, & gloria Regis scrutare rem.*

Now I will come to the particular Charge of these Gentlemen, whose Qualities and Persons I respect and love; for they are all my particular Friends: but now I can only do this Duty of a Friend to them; make them know their Fault to the full. And therefore I will, by way of Narrative, declare to your Lordships the Fact, with the Occasion of it.

That wretched Man *Weston*, the Actor, or mechanical Party in this Impoisonment, being indicted by a very substantial Jury of selected Citizens, to the number of Nineteen, who found *Billa vera*, yet he at first stood mute: but after some days intermission, it pleased God to cast out the dumb Devil, and that he put himself upon his Trial; and was by a Jury also of great Value, upon his Confession, and other Testimonies, found guilty: so that thirty one sufficient Jurors have passed upon him. Whereupon Judgment and Execution was awarded against him.

After this, being in preparation for another World, he sent for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Father; and falling upon his Knees, with great Remorse and Compunction, asked him forgiveness. Afterwards, again, of his own Motion, he desired to have his like Prayer of forgiveness recommended to Sir *Thomas's* Mother, who was absent: and at both times, out of the abundance of his Heart, confessed that he was to die justly. And, again, at his Execution, which is a kind of sealing-time of Confessions, even at the point of Death, he again publicly confirmed, that his Examinations were true; and that he had been justly and honourably dealt with. Here is the Narrative which induces the Charge. The Charge itself is this.

The Offence of *M. L.* stands single, but that of the other two is in concert; yet all three meet in their Center, which was to interrupt or deface this excellent Piece of Justice. *M. L.* I say, between *Weston's* standing mute and his Trial, takes upon him to make a most false, odious, and libellous Relation, containing as many Untruths as Lines; and sets it down in Writing with his own hand, and delivers it to Mr. *Henry Gibb*, of the Bed-chamber, to be put into the King's hand: in which Writing he falsifies and perverts all that was done the first day at the Arraignment of *Weston*; turning the Edge and Point of his Imputations principally upon my Lord Chief Justice of *England*; whose Name thus occurring I cannot pass by, and yet I cannot descend to flatter: but this I will say of him, and I would say as much to Ages, if I should write a History; that never Man's Person, and his Place, were better met in a Business, than my Lord *Coke*, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the Cause of *Overbury*.

Now, my Lords, in this Offence of *M. L.* for the particulars of these slanderous Articles, I will observe them when the Writings and Examinations are read; for I do not love to set the Gloss before the Text. But in general I note to your Lordships, *first*, the Person of *M. L.* I know he is a *Scots* Gentleman, and therefore more ignorant of our Laws and Forms:

but I cannot tell whether this extenuates his Fault in respect of Ignorance, or aggravates it in respect of Presumption ; that he should meddle in what he understood not : but I doubt, it comes not out of his Quiver ; some other Man's Cunning wrought upon this Man's Boldness.

Secondly, I may note the greatness of the Cause, wherein he, being a private, mean Gentleman, presumed to deal. *M. L.* could not but know to what great and grave Commissioners the King had committed this Cause ; and that his Majesty, in his Wisdom, would expect a return of all things from them, to whose Trust he had committed this Business. For 'tis the part of Commissioners, as well to report the Business, as to manage the Business ; and then his Majesty might be sure to have had all things well weighed, and to have been truly informed : and therefore it should have been far from *M. L.* to have presumed to put forth his Hand to so high and tender a Business, which was not to be touched but by the Hands employed.

Thirdly, I note, that this Infusion of a Slander into a King's Ears, is of all Forms of Libels and Slanders, the worst. 'Tis true, that Kings may keep secret their Information ; and then no Man ought to enquire after them, while they are shrin'd in their Breast. But where a King is pleased that a Man shall answer for his false Information ; there, the false Information to a King exceeds in Offence the false Information of any other kind ; being a kind of Impoisonment of a King's Ear. And thus much for the Offence of *M. L.*

The Offence of *S. W.* and *H. J.* was this. At the time and place of the Execution of *Weston*, to supplant his Christian Resolution, and to scandalize the Justice already past, and perhaps to cut off the Thread of that which is to come ; these Gentlemen, with others, came mounted on horseback, and in a ruffling and facing manner, put themselves forward to re-examine *Weston*, upon Questions directly cross to what had been tried and judged ; for the Point tried was, that *Weston* had poisoned *Overbury*. And *S. W.*'s Question was, whether *Weston* did poison *Overbury* or no. A Contradictory directly. *Weston* answered only, that he did him wrong ; and turning to the Sheriff, said, you promised me that I should not be troubled at this time. Nevertheless he press'd him to answer ; saying, he desired to know it, that he might pray with him. I know not that *S. W.* is an Ecclesiastick, that he should cut any Man from the Communion of Prayer. And yet for all this vexing the Spirit of the poor Man, now in the Gates of Death, *Weston* nevertheless stood constant, and said, I die not unworthily : My Lord Chief Justice has my Mind under my Hand ; and he is an honourable and just Judge. This is *S. W.* his Offence.

For *H. J.* he was not so much a Questionist ; but wrought upon the others Questions ; and like a kind of Confessor, wished him to discharge his Conscience, and to satisfy the World. What World ? I marvel ! It was sure the World at *Tyburn*. For the World at *Guild-hall*, and the World at *London*, was satisfied before ; witness the Bells that rung. But Men have got a fashion now-a-days, that two or three Busy-bodies will take upon

them the Name of the World, and broach their own Conceit, as if it were a general Opinion. Well, when they could not work upon *Weston, H. J.* in Indignation turned about his Horse, when the other was turning off the Ladder, and said he was sorry for such a Conclusion; that was to have the State honoured or justified.

The Offence of *H. J.* had another Appendix, before this in time, which was, that at the day of the Verdict given by the Jury, he also must needs give his Verdict; saying openly, that if he were of the Jury, he should doubt what to do. But, he says, he cannot well tell whether he spoke this before the Jury had given their Verdict, or after; wherein there is little gained. For whether *H. J.* were a Pre-juror or a Post-juror, the one was as to prejudge the Jury, the other as to taint them.

Of the Offence of these two Gentlemen in general, your Lordships must give me leave to say, that 'tis an Offence greater and more dangerous than is conceived. I know well, that as we have no *Spanish* Inquisitions, nor Justice in a Corner; so we have no gagging of Men's Mouths at their Death, but that they may speak freely at the last hour: but then it must come from the free Motion of the Party, not by the temptation of Questions. And then these Questions asked, ought to tend to the farther Revealing of their own or others Guilt; but to use a Question in the nature of a false Interrogatory, to falsify that which is *res judicata*, is intolerable: for that were to erect a Court or Commission of Review at *Tyburn*, against the *King's-Bench* at *Westminster*. And besides, 'tis a vain and idle thing: for if they answer according to the Judgment past, it adds no Credit; or if it be contrary, it derogates nothing: but yet it subjects the Majesty of Justice to popular and vulgar Talk and Opinion.

My Lords, these are great and dangerous Offences; for if we do not maintain Justice, Justice will not maintain us.



S P E E C H V.

The CHARGE against Frances Countess of Somerset, upon the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury^a.

May it please your Grace, my Lord High Steward of England, and you my Lords the Peers.

I Am very glad to hear this unfortunate Lady takes this course, to confess fully and freely; and thereby to give Glory to God, and to Justice. 'Tis the Nobleness of an Offender to confess; and therefore those meaner Persons upon whom Justice passed before, confessed not; she does. I know your Lordships cannot behold her without Compassion: many things may move you; her Youth, her Person, her Sex, her Noble Family; nay her Provocations, if I should enter the Cause itself, and Furies about her; but chiefly her Penitence and Confession. But Justice is the Work of this day; the Mercy-Seat was in the inner part of the Temple, the Throne is publick.

But since this Lady has, by her Confession, prevented my Evidence, and your Verdict, and that this day's Labour is eased, there remains in the legal Proceeding, only for me to pray that her Confession may be recorded, and Judgment thereupon. But because your Lordships are met, and that this day and to-morrow are the days that crown all the former Justice; and that in these great Causes it has been ever the manner to regard Honour and Satisfaction, as well as the ordinary Parts and Forms of Justice; the Occasion itself admonishes me to give your Lordships, and the Hearers, the Satisfaction of declaring the Proceedings of this excellent Work of the King's Justice, from beginning to end.

This is now the second time, within the compass of thirteen Years Reign of our happy Sovereign, that this high Tribunal Seat for the Trial of Peers, has been opened and erected; and that with a rare Event, supplied and exercised by one and the same Person, which is a great Honour to you my *Lord High Steward*.

In all this time the King has reigned in his white Robe, not sprinkled with one drop of Blood of any of his Nobles of this Kingdom. Nay, such have been the Depths of his Mercy, that even those Noblemens Bloods *Cobham* and *Grey*, were attainted and corrupted, but not spilt or taken away; so that they remained rather Spectacles of Justice in their continual Imprisonment, than Monuments of Justice in the Memory of their Suffering.

'Tis true, that the Objects of his Justice then and now were very different: for then it was the Revenge of an Offence against his own Person and Crown, and upon Persons that were Malecontents, and Contraries to the State and Government; but now 'tis the Revenge of the Blood

^a Exhibited by the Author, in quality of *Attorney-General*, before the *Lord High Steward*, and the House of Peers, *Anno 1616*.

Blood and Death of a particular Subject, and the Cry of a Prisoner : 'tis upon Persons that were highly in his favour ; whereby his Majesty, to his great honour, has shewed to the World, as if it were written in a Sun-beam, that he is truly the Lieutenant of him with whom there is no respect of Persons ; that his Affections royal are above his Affections private ; that his Favours and Nearness about him are not like Popish Sanctuaries, to privilege Malefactors ; and that his being the best Master, does not hinder him from being the best King in the world. His People, on the other side, may say to themselves, I will lay me down in Peace, for God, the King, and the Law protect me against great and small. It may be a Discipline also to great Men, especially such as are sworn in their Fortunes from small Beginnings, that the King is as well able to level Mountains, as to fill Valleys, if such be their Desert.

But to the present Case : The great Frame of Justice, my Lords, in this Action has a *Vault* and a *Stage* ; a Vault wherein these Works of darkness were contrived ; and a Stage with Steps, by which it was brought to light. For the former of these, I will not lead your Lordships into it, because I will aggravate nothing against a Penitent ; neither will I open any thing against him that is absent. The one I will give to the Laws of Humanity, and the other to the Laws of Justice. I will therefore reserve that till tomorrow, and hold myself to what I called the *Stage* or *Theatre*, whereto indeed it may be fitly compared ; since things were first contained within the invisible Judgments of God, as within a Curtain ; but afterwards came forth, and were acted most worthily by the King, and his Ministers.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* was murdered by Poison, *September 15. 1613.* This foul and cruel Murder did for a time cry secretly in the ears of God ; but God gave no answer to it, otherwise than by that Voice he sometimes uses, which is *Vox Populi*, the Speech of the People : for there went then a murmur that *Overbury* was poisoned ; and yet the same submissive and low Voice of God, the Speech of the Vulgar, was not without a Counter-tenor, or Counter-blast of the Devil, who is the common Author both of Murder and Slander ; for it was given out that *Overbury* was dead of a foul Disease ; and his Body, which they had made a *Corpus Judaicum* with their Poisons, so that it had no whole part, must be said to be leprosed with Vice ; and thus his Name poisoned as well as his Body. For as to Dissoluteness, I have not heard the Gentleman charged with it : his Faults were Insolency, Turbulency, and the like of that kind.

Mean time there was some Industry used to lull asleep those that were the Revengers of the Blood ; the Father and the Brother of the Murdered. And thus things stood for the space of two years ; during which time God so blinded the two great Procurers, and dazzled them with their Greatness, and nailed fast the Actors and Instruments with Security upon their Protection, that neither the one looked about, nor the other stirred or fled, or were conveyed away, but remained here still, as under a privy Arrest of God's Judgment ; insomuch, that *Franklin*, who should have been sent over to the *Palsgrave* with store of Money was by God's Providence, and the Accident of a Marriage of his diverted and stay'd.

But

But about the beginning of the last Summer, God's Judgments began to come out of their depths: and as the revealing of Murder is commonly such as appears to be *God's Work, and marvellous in our Eyes*: so in this particular it was most wonderful; for it came forth first by a Complement, a matter of Courtesy. My Lord of *Sbrewsbury* recommended the late Lieutenant *Helwisse* to a Counsellor of State, only for Acquaintance, as an honest worthy Gentleman. The Counsellor of State answered civilly, that my Lord did him a Favour; that he should embrace it willingly, but must let his Lordship know, that there lay a heavy Imputation upon that Gentleman *Helwisse*; as Sir *Thomas Overbury*, his Prisoner, was thought to have died a violent and untimely Death. When this Speech was reported back by my Lord of *Sbrewsbury* to *Helwisse*, *percussit illico animum*; he was struck with it: and being a politick Man, and probably suspecting that the Matter would break out at one time or other, and that others might get the start of him; and thinking to make his own Case by his own Tale, resolved with himself, on this Occasion, to discover to my Lord of *Sbrewsbury*, and that Counsellor of State, that there was an Attempt, whereto he was privy, to have poisoned *Overbury*, by the hands of his Under-keeper *Weston*; but that he checked it, put it by, and dissuaded it. But then he left it thus, that it was but as an Attempt, or an untimely Birth, never executed; and as if his own Fault had been no more, but that he was honest in forbidding it, but fearful of revealing, and impeaching, or accusing, great Persons: and so with this fine Point he thought to save himself.

But that Counsellor of State wisely considering, from the Lieutenant's own Tale, that it could not be simply a Permission or Weakness, because *Weston* was never displaced by the Lieutenant, notwithstanding that Attempt; and comparing the sequel with the beginning, thought it a fit Matter to be brought before his Majesty, by whose appointment *Helwisse* set down the like Declaration in Writing.

Upon this ground the King played *Solomon's* part, *Gloria Dei celare rem, & gloria Regis investigare rem*, and sets down certain Papers of his own hand, which I might term *Keys of Justice*; and may serve both as a Precedent for Princes to imitate, and a Direction for Judges to follow. And his Majesty carried the Balance with a constant and steady hand, evenly, and without prejudice, whether it were a true Accusation of the one part, or a Practice and factious Scandal of the other.

This excellent Foundation of Justice, being laid by his Majesty's own hand, was referred to some Counsellors to examine further, who gained some degrees of Light from *Weston*, but yet imperfect. It was afterwards referred to Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, as a Person best practised in legal Examinations; who took indefatigable pains in it without intermission, having, as I have heard him say, taken at least three hundred Examinations in this Business.

But these things were not done in a Corner; I need not speak of them. 'Tis true that my Lord Chief Justice, in the dawning of the Light, finding the Matter touched upon these great Persons, very discreetly became suitor

to the King, to have greater Persons than his own Rank joined with him ; whereupon your Lordships, my Lord High Steward of *England*, my Lord Steward of the King's House, and my Lord *Zouch*, were joined with him.

Neither wanted there this while Practice to suppress Testimony, deface Writings, weaken the King's Resolution, slander the Justices, and the like. Nay, when it came to the first solemn Act of Justice, which was the Arraignment of *Weston*, he had his Lesson to stand mute ; which had arrested the whole Wheel of Justice, but that this dumb Devil, by the means of some discreet Divines, and the potent Charm of Justice together, was cast out ; so that this poisonous Adder stopt not his Ear to these Charms, but relented, and yielded to his Trial.

Then followed the other Proceedings of Justice against the other Offenders, *Turner*, *Helwisse*, and *Franklin*. But all these being only the Organs and Instruments of this Fact, the Actors, and not the Authors, Justice could not have been crowned without this last Act against these great Persons ; else *Weston's* Censure, or Prediction, might have been verified, when he said he hoped the small Flies should not be caught, and the greater escape. Wherein the King, being in great Straits, between the defacing of his Honour, and of his Creature, has chosen the better part ; reserving always Mercy to himself.

The time also of Justice has had its true Motions. The time till this Lady's Deliverance was due to Honour, Christianity and Humility, in respect of her Pregnancy. The time since was due to another kind of Deliverance too, which was, that some Causes of State that were in the Womb, might likewise be brought forth ; not for Matter of Justice, but for Reason of State. Likewise this procrastination of days had the like weighty Grounds and Causes.

Frances, Countess of *Somerset*, has been indicted and arraigned, as Accessary before the Fact ; for the Murder and Impositionment of Sir *Thomas Overbury* ; and has pleaded guilty, and confesses the Indictment : I pray Judgment against the Prisoner.



S P E E C H VI.

The CHARGE against Robert Earl of Somersset, concerning the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

May it please your Grace, my Lord High Steward of England, and you my Lords the Peers.

YOU have here before you *Robert Earl of Somersset*, to be tried for his Life, concerning the procuring and consenting to the Imposition of *Sir Thomas Overbury*, then the King's Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, as an Accessary before the Fact.

I know your Lordships cannot behold this Nobleman, but you must remember his great Favour with the King, and the great Place he has held and born, and must be sensible that he is yet of your number and body, a Peer as you are; so that you cannot cut him from your Body but with Grief: and therefore that you will expect from us, who give in the King's Evidence, sound and sufficient Matter of Proof, to satisfy your Honours and Consciences.

And for the manner of the Evidence also, the King our Master commanded us not to expatiate, nor make Invectives, but materially to pursue the Evidence, as it conduces to the Point in question; a Matter, that tho' we are glad of so good a Warrant, yet we should have done of ourselves; for far be it from us, by any strains of Wit or Art to seek to play Prizes, or to blazon our Names in Blood; or to proceed otherwise than upon just Grounds. We shall carry the Lanthorn of Justice, which is the Evidence, before your Eyes upright, and be able to save it from being put out by any Winds of Evasions, or vain Defences: this is our part; not doubting, but that this Evidence, in itself, will carry that Force, as it shall little need Advantages or Aggravations.

My Lords, the Course I shall hold in delivering what I have to say is this. *First*, I will speak somewhat of the nature and greatness of the Offence now to be tried; and that the King, however he might use this Gentleman heretofore, as the Signet upon his Finger, to borrow the Scripture-Phrase, yet in this Case could not but put him off; and deliver him into the hands of Justice.

Secondly, I will speak to the Nature of the Proofs, which in such a Case are competent.

Thirdly, I will state the Proofs.

And *lastly*, I will produce the Proofs, either out of the Examinations and Matters in Writing, or Witnesses *viva voce*.

The Offence it self is of all Crimes, next to High-Treason, the greatest, being the foulest of Felonies. And take this Offence with the Circumstances, it has three Degrees; viz. (1.) Murder; (2.) Murder by Imposition; And (3.) Murder committed upon the King's Prisoner in the *Tower*: I might add, that 'tis a Murder under the colour of Friendship; but that is a moral Circumstance; which I leave to the Evidence it self.

For Murder, my Lords, the first Record of Justice in the World was a Judgment upon it in the Person of *Cain*; and tho' it were not punished by Death, but with Banishment, and a Mark of Ignominy, in respect of the Primogeniture, or Population of the World, or other Points of God's secret Will; yet it was adjudged, and is the first Record of Justice. So it likewise appears in Scripture, that the Murder of *Abner* by *Joab*; tho' it were by *David* respited in respect of great Services past, or Reason of State, yet it was not forgot. But of this I will say no more. It was ever admitted, and so ranked in God's own Tables, that Murder is of Offences between Man and Man, next to Treason, and Disobedience of Authority, the greatest.

For Imposition; I am sorry it should be heard of in this Kingdom: 'tis not the growth of our own Country; 'tis an *Italian* Crime, fit for the Court of *Rome*; where the Person that intoxicates the Kings of the Earth, with his Cup of Poison, in heretical Doctrine, is often really and materialy intoxicated and imposed himself.

But it has three Circumstances, which make it grievous beyond other Murders: whereof the *first* is, that it takes a Man in full Peace, in God's and the King's Peace; he thinks no harm, but is comforting Nature with Refection and Food: so that, as the Scripture says, *his Table is made a snare to him*.

The *second* is, that it is easily committed and easily concealed; and, on the other side, hardly prevented, and hardly discovered: for Murder by Violence Princes have Guards, and private Men have Houses, Attendants, and Arms: neither can such Murders be committed but *cum sonitu*, and with some overt and apparent Act that may discover and trace the Offender. But for Poison, the Cup it self of Princes will scarce serve, in regard of many Poisons that neither discolour nor distaste; and so pass without Noise or Observation.

And the *last* is, because it contains, not only the destruction of the maliced Man, but of any other; *Quis modo tutus erit?* For many times the Poison is prepared for one, and is taken by another; so that Men die the Death designed for others: *concidit infelix alieno vulnere*: and it is as the *Psalms* calls it, *the Arrow that flies by Night*, it has no aim or certainty.

The third Degree of this particular offence is, that it was committed upon the King's Prisoner, who was out of his own Defence, and merely in the King's Protection; and for whom the King and State was a kind of Respondent: this is a thing that aggravates the Fault much. For certainly, my Lord of *Somerset*, let me tell you, that Sir *Thomas Overbury* is the first Man that was murdered in the *Tower* of *London*, since the Murder of the two young Princes.

For the nature of the Proofs; your Lordships must consider, that Impoisonment of all Offences is the most secret; so secret, that if in all Cases of Impoisonment you shou'd require Testimony, you were as good proclaim Impunity. I will put Book-Examples: Who cou'd have impeach'd *Livia* by Testimony, of impoisoning the Figs upon the Tree, which her Husband us'd for his pleasure to gather with his own Hands? Who cou'd have impeach'd *Parisatis* for poisoning one side of the Knife that she carved with, and keeping the other side clean; so that herself eat of the same Piece of Meat with the Lady she poisoned? The Cases are infinite, and indeed not fit to be mentioned, of the Secrecy of Impoisonments; but wise Triers must take upon them, in these secret Cases, *Solomon's Spirit*, that where there cou'd be no Witnesses, collected the Act by the Affection. But we are not now to come to that Case: for what your Lordships are to try, is not the Act of Impoisonment, this being done to your hand; all the World by Law is concluded to say, that *Overbury* was poisoned by *Weston*. But the Question before you is of the procurement only, and of the abetting, as the Law terms it, as accessary before the Fact: which abetting is no more than to do or use any act or means, which may aid or conduce to the Impoisonment. So that 'tis not the buying or making of the Poison, or the preparing, or confecting or commixing of it, or the giving or sending or laying the Poison, that are the only Acts which amount to abetment. But if there be any other act or means done or used to give the opportunity of Impoisonment, or to facilitate the execution of it; or to stop or divert any impediment that might hinder it; and this be with an intention to accomplish and achieve the Impoisonment; all these are abetments, and accessaries before the Fact. I will put you a familiar Example. Allow there be a Conspiracy to murder a Man on the Road, and it be one Man's part to draw him to that Journey by Invitation, or by colour of some Business; and another takes upon him to dissuade some Friend of his, whom he had purposed to take in Company, that he be not too strong to make his Defence; and another goes along with him, and holds him in talk till the first blow be given: all these, my Lords, without scruple are abettors of the Murder, tho' none of them give the blow, nor assist to give the blow. My Lords, he is not the Hunter alone that lets slip the Dog upon the Deer; but he that lodges the Deer, or raises him, or puts him out, or he who sets a Toil that he cannot escape, or the like. But this, my Lords, is little wanting in the present Case; where there is such a Chain of Acts of Impoisonment as has been seldom seen, and could hardly have been expected; but that greatness of Fortune commonly makes grossness in offending.

For the Proofs themselves, I shall hold this Course.

First, Make a Narrative or Declaration of the Fact it self.

Secondly, I will break and distribute the Proofs, as they concern the Prisoner.

And *Thirdly*, According to that Distribution, I will produce, and read, or use them.

So that there is nothing, I shall say, but you, my Lord of *Somerset*, shall have three means to answer it. *First*, When I open it, you may take your

Aim. *Secondly*, When I distribute it, you may prepare your Answers without Confusion. And *Lastly*, when I produce the Witnesses or Examinations themselves, you may again ruminare and re-advise how to make your Defence. And this I do the rather, because your Memory may not be oppressed with Length of Evidence, or with Confusion of Order. Nay more, when your Lordship shall make your Answer in your turn, I will put you in mind, when cause shall be, of your Omissions.

First, therefore, for the simple Narrative of the Fact. Sir *Thomas Overbury*, for a time was known to have had great Interest and Friendship with my Lord of *Somerset*, both in his meaner Fortunes, and after: insomuch, that he was a kind of Oracle of Direction to him; and if you will believe his own Vaunts, (being of an insolent *Thraasonical* Disposition,) he took upon him, that the Fortune, Reputation, and Understanding of this Gentleman, who is well known to have had a better Teacher, proceeded from his Company and Counsel.

And this Friendship rested not only in Conversation and Business of Court, but likewise in Communication of Secrets of State. For my Lord of *Somerset*, at that time exercising the Office of Secretary provisionally, acquainted *Overbury* with the King's Pacquets of Dispatches from all Parts, *Spain*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, &c. And this not by glimpses, or now and then, whispering in the Ear for Favour, but in a settled manner: Pacquets were sent, sometimes open'd by my Lord, sometimes unbroken to *Overbury*, who perused, copied, registred them, made Tables of them as he thought good: so that I will undertake, the time was when *Overbury* knew more of the Secrets of State than the Council-Table. Nay, they were grown to such an inwardness, that they made a play of all the World besides themselves; and had Cyphers and Jargons for the King, the Queen, and all the great Men; things seldom used, but either by Princes and their Embassadors, and Ministers, or by such as work and practise against, or at least upon Princes. But understand me, my Lord, I shall not charge you this day with any Disloyalty; only I say this, for a Foundation, that there was a great Communication of Secrets between you and *Overbury*; and that it had relation to Matters of State, and the greatest Causes of this Kingdom.

But, my Lords, as it is a Principle in Nature, that the best things are in their Corruption the worst, and that the sweetest Wine makes the sharpest Vinegar; so it fell out with them, that this excess of Friendship, as I may so term it, ended in mortal hatred on my Lord *Somerset's* part. For it fell out, about a Year before *Overbury's* Imprisonment in the *Tower*, that my Lord of *Somerset* was entred into unlawful Love towards his unfortunate Lady, then Countess of *Effex*; which went so far, that it was then secretly projected, chiefly between my Lord Privy-Seal, and my Lord of *Somerset*, to effect a nullity in the Marriage with my Lord of *Effex*, and so proceed to a Marriage with *Somerset*.

This Marriage and Purpose *Overbury* strongly opposed, under pretence of doing the true part of a Friend, as accounting her an unworthy Woman; but the truth was, that *Overbury*, who, to speak plainly, had little that was solid

for Religion, or Moral Virtue; but as a Man possess'd with Ambition and Vain-glory, was loth to have any Partners in the Favour of my Lord *Somerfet*, and especially not the House of the *Howards*, against whom he had always profess'd Hatred and Opposition. So that all was but miserable Bargains of Ambition.

And, my Lords, that this is no sinister Construction will well appear, when you shall hear that *Overbury* made his Brags to my Lord of *Somerfet*, that he had won him the Love of the Lady by his Letters and Industry; so far was he from Cases of Conscience in this Matter. And certainly, my Lords, however the Tragical Misery of that poor Gentleman *Overbury* ought somewhat to obliterate his Faults; yet because we are not now upon point of Civility, but to discover the Face of Truth to the Face of Justice, and that 'tis material to the true Understanding of the State of this Cause; *Overbury* was naught and corrupt: the *Ballads* must be mended in that Point.

But when *Overbury* saw he was here likely to be dispossessed of my Lord whom he had possess'd so long, and by whose Greatness he had promised himself to do Wonders; and being a Man of an unbounded and impetuous Spirit; he began not only to dissuade, but to deter him from that Love and Marriage; and finding him fix'd, thought to try stronger Remedies, supposing that he had my Lord's Head under his Girdle, in respect of Communication of Secrets of State, or, as himself calls them in his Letters, Secrets of all natures; and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him desist, with Menaces of discovery of Secrets, and the like.

Hence grew two Streams of Hatred upon *Overbury*; the one from the Lady, in respect that he crossed her Love, and abused her Name, which are Furies to Women; the other of a deeper and more mineral nature, from my Lord of *Somerfet* himself; who was afraid of *Overbury's* Temper; and that if he did break from him and fly out, he would mine into him, and trouble his whole Fortunes.

I might add a third Stream from the Earl of *Northampton's* Ambition, who desired to be first in Favour with my Lord of *Somerfet*; and knowing *Overbury's* Malice to himself and House, thought that Man must be removed and cut off. So it was resolv'd and decreed amongst them, that *Overbury* should die.

Hereupon, they had variety of Devices. To send him beyond Sea, upon occasion of Employment, that was too weak; and they were so far from giving way to it, that they crost it. There rested but two ways, Assault and Poison. For that of Assault, after some Proposition and Attempt, they desisted; it was a Thing too open, and subject to more variety of Chances. That of Poison was likewise a hazardous Thing, and subject to many Preventions and Cautions; especially to such a jealous and working Brain as *Overbury* had, except he were first fast in their hands.

The way, therefore, was first to get him into a Trap, and lay him up, and then they cou'd not miss the Mark. Therefore, in Execution of this Plot, it was devis'd, that *Overbury* should be design'd to some honourable Employment in Foreign Parts, and shou'd under-hand by the Lord of *Somerfet* be encouraged

encouraged to refuse it; and so upon that Contempt be laid Prisoner in the *Tower*; and then they wou'd look he shou'd be close enough, and Death shou'd be his Bail.

Yet were they not at their end. For they considered, that if there was not a fit Lieutenant of the *Tower* for their Purpose, and likewise a fit Under-keeper of *Overbury*: *First*, They shou'd meet with many Impediments in exhibiting the Poison. *Secondly*, They shou'd be expos'd to Observation, that might discover them. And *Thirdly*, *Overbury*, in the mean time might write clamorous Letters to his Friends; and so all might be disappointed. Therefore the next Link of the Chain was to displace the then Lieutenant *Waade*, and to place *Helwisse*, a principal Abettor in the Imposition: Again to displace *Cary*, who was the Under-keeper in *Waade*'s time, and to place *Weston*, who was the principal Actor in the Imposition: And this was done with such expedition, that there were but fifteen days between the Commitment of *Overbury*, the displacing of *Waade*, the placing of *Helwisse*, the displacing of *Cary* the Under-keeper, the placing of *Weston*, and the first Poison given two days after.

Now when they had this poor Gentleman close Prisoner in the *Tower*, where he cou'd not escape nor stir; where he cou'd not feed but by their Hands; where he cou'd not speak nor write but thro' their Trunks; then was their Time to execute the last Act of this Tragedy. Then must *Franklin* be Purveyor of the Poisons, and procure five, six, seven, several Potions, to be sure to hit his Complection. Then must Mrs. *Turner* be the Say-Mistress of the Poisons, to try upon Beasts, what's present, and what works at distance of Time. Then must *Weston* be the Tormentor, and chase him with Poison after Poison; Poison in Salts, Poison in Meats, Poison in Sweetmeats, Poison in Medicines and Vomits, till at last his Body was almost come, by the use of Poisons, to the State that *Mithridates*'s Body was by the use of Preservatives, that the force of the poisons was blunted upon him; *Weston* confessing, when he was chid for not dispatching him, that he had given him enough to poison twenty Men. *Lastly*, Because all this asked time, courses were taken by *Somerfet*, both to divert all means of *Overbury*'s Delivery, and to entertain him by continual Letters, partly of Hopes and Projects for his Delivery, and partly of other Fables and Negotiations; somewhat like a kind of Persons, who keep Men in talk of Fortune-telling, when they have a felonious Intention. And this is, in short, the true Narrative of this Act of Imposition.

For the Distribution of the Proofs; there are four Heads of them to prove you guilty, my Lord of *Somerfet*, of this Imposition; whereof two are precedent to the Imposition, the third is present, and the fourth is subsequent. For 'tis in Proofs, as 'tis in Lights; there is a direct Light, and there is a Reflection of Light, or Back-light.

The *first* Head, or Proof is, that there was a root of Bitterness, a mortal Malice or Hatred, mix'd with deep and bottomless Fears, that you had towards Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

The

The *second* is, that you were the principal Actor, and had your hand in all those Acts, which conduced to the Imposition, and which gave opportunity and means to effect it; and without which, the Imposition could never have been; and which could serve or tend to no other end but the Imposition.

The *third* is, that your Hand was in the very Imposition it self, which is more than needs to be proved; and that you directed Poison; that you delivered Poison; that you continually hearkened to the success of the Imposition; and that you spurred it on, and called for dispatch when you thought it linged.

And *lastly*, That you did all the things after the Imposition, which may detect a guilty Conscience, for the smothering of it, and avoiding punishment for it; which can be but of three kinds: *viz.* (1.) That you suppressed, as much as in you was, Testimony. (2.) That you defaced and destroyed, and clipt and misdated all Writings that might give light to the Imposition. And (3.) that you flew to the Altar of Guilt, which is a Pardon, and a Pardon of Murder; and a Pardon for your self, and not for your Lady.

In this, my Lord, I direct my Speech to you, because I would have you attend the Points of your Charge; and so of your Defence the better. And two of these heads I have taken to my self; and left the other two to the King's two Serjeants.

For the *first* main part, which is the mortal Hatred coupled with Fear, that was in my Lord of *Somerset* towards *Overbury*, altho' he palliated it with a great deal of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, even to the end; I shall prove it manifestly, my Lords, by matter both of Oath and Writing. The Root of this hatred was, what has cost many a Man's Life; that is, Fear of discovering Secrets: Secrets, I say, of a high and dangerous nature. Wherein the course that I will hold shall be this: *First*, I will shew, that such a Breach and Malice was between my Lord and *Overbury*, and that it burst out into violent menaces and threats on both sides.

Secondly, That these Secrets were not light, but of a high nature; for I will give you the elevation of the Pole. They were such as my Lord of *Somerset*, for his part, had made a Vow, that *Overbury* should neither live in Court nor Country. That he had likewise opened himself and his own Fears so far, that if *Overbury* ever came out of the *Tower*, either *Overbury* or himself must die for it. And on *Overbury's* part, he had threatned my Lord, that whether he lived or died, my Lord's Shame should never die; but he would leave him the most odious Man of the World. And farther, that my Lord was likely enough to repent it, in the place where *Overbury* wrote; which was the *Tower of London*. He was a true Prophet in that; so here is the height of the Secrets.

Thirdly, I will shew you, that all the King's Business was, by my Lord, put into *Overbury's* Hand: so that there is work enough for Secrets, whatever they were. And like Princes Confederates, they had their Cyphers and Jargons.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, I will shew you it is but a Toy to say, that the Malice was only in respect he spoke dishonourably of the Lady; or for fear of breaking the Marriage; because *Overbury* was a Coadjutor to that Love, and the Lord of *Somerſet* was as deep in ſpeaking ill of the Lady, as *Overbury*. And again, it was too late for that matter; for the Match was then made and paſt. And if it had been no more than to remove *Overbury* from diſturb- ing of the Match, it had been an eaſy matter to have banded him beyond Seas, for which they had a fair way; but that would not ſerve their turn.

And laſtly, *periculum periculo vincitur*, to go ſo far as an Impoiſonment, but muſt have a deeper Malice than Flaſhes: for the Cauſe muſt bear a proportion to the Effect.

For the next general Head of Proofs, which conſiſt in Acts preparatory to the middle Acts; they are in eight ſeveral Points of the Compaſs, as I may term it.

Fiſt, That there were Devices and Projects to diſpatch *Overbury*, or to overthrow him, plotted between the Counteſs of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, before they fell upon the Impoiſonment: for always before Men fix upon a courſe of Miſchief, there are ſome Rejections; but die he muſt, one way or other.

Secondly, That my Lord of *Somerſet* was a principal Practiſer, I muſt ſpeak it, in a moſt perfidious manner, to ſet a train for *Overbury* to get him into the *Tower*; without which, they never durſt have attempted the Impoiſonment.

Thirdly, That the placing of Lieutenant *Helwiſſe* one of the Impoiſoners, and the diſplacing of *Waade*, was by the means of my Lord of *Somerſet*.

Fourthly, That the placing of *Weſton*, the Under-Keeper, who was the principal Impoiſoner, and the diſplacing of *Cary*; and the doing of all this within fifteen days after *Overbury*'s Commitment, was by the means and countenance of my Lord of *Somerſet*. And theſe two were the active inſtruments of the Impoiſonment: and this was a Buſineſs that the Lady's Power could not reach to.

Fifthly, That becauſe there muſt be a time for the Tragedy to be acted, and chiefly, becauſe they would not have the Poisons work on the ſudden; and becauſe the ſtrength of *Overbury*'s Nature, or the very Cuſtom of receiving Poiſon into his Body, overcame the Poiſon, that they wrought not ſo faſt; therefore *Overbury* muſt be held in the *Tower*. And as my Lord of *Somerſet* got him into the Trap, ſo he kept him in, and abuſed him with continual hopes of Liberty; and diverted all the true and effectual means of his Releaſe, and made light of his Sickneſs and Extremities.

Sixthly, That not only the Plot of getting *Overbury* into the *Tower*, and the Devices to keep him there; but the ſtrange manner of his cloſe keeping, being in but for a Contempt, was by the Device and Means of my Lord of *Somerſet*; who denied his Father to ſee him; denied his Servants that offered to be ſhut up cloſe Priſoners with him; and, in effect, managed it ſo, that he was cloſe Priſoner to all his Friends, and open and expoſed to all his Enemies.

Seventhly,

Seventhly, That the Advices which my Lady received, time after time, from the Lieutenant, or *Weston*, as to *Overbury's* State of Body, were ever sent up to the Court, tho' it were in progress, and that, from my Lady: such a thirst and listening this Lord had to hear he was dispatched.

Lastly, There was a continual Negotiation to set *Overbury's* Head on work, that he should make some recognition to clear the Honour of the Lady; and that he should become a good Instrument towards her and her Friends: all which was but Entertainment. For your Lordships shall plainly see divers of my Lord of *Northampton's* Letters, whose Hand was deep in this Business, written in dark Words and Clauses; that there was one thing pretended, and another intended; that there was a real Charge, and somewhat not real, a main Drift and a Dissimulation. Nay, farther, there are some Passages, which the Peers in their Wisdom will discern to point directly at the Impoisonment.

After this followed the Evidence it self.



SECT.

S E C T. III.
S P E E C H E S O N M O R A L O C C A S I O N S.

S P E E C H I.
Against D U E L L I N G ^a.

My LORDS,

I Thought it fit for my Place, and these Times, to bring before your Lordships the Case of private Duels; to see if this Court can reclaim so unbridled an Evil. It may therefore be proper to consider the Nature, the Causes, and the Remedies of Duelling; which the Laws of *England* provided in this respect.

When Revenge is extorted out of the Magistrate's hand, and every Man shall bear the Sword, not to defend, but to assault; and private Men give Law to themselves, and pretend to right their own Wrongs; no Mortal can foresee the Dangers and Inconveniencies, that may arise and multiply thereon.

It may cause sudden Storms in Court; to the disturbance of the King, and danger of his Person: it may grow from private Quarrels to Tumult and Commotion; from particular Persons to Diffensions of Families and Alliances; and even to national Quarrels; according to the infinite variety of Accidents, which fall not under foresight: so that the State by this means is like a distempered and imperfect Body, continually subject to Inflammations and Convulsions.

Besides, both in Divinity and in Policy, Offences of Presumption are the greatest. Other Offences yield to the Law, not daring to justify themselves; but this Offence expressly affronts the Law, as if there were two Laws; one a kind of Gown Law, and the other a Law of Reputation, as they

^a Delivered in the way of Charge, as Attorney-General, upon an Information in the *Star-Chamber*, against *Priest* and *Wright*.

term it: so that the Pulpit and the Courts of Justice must give place to the Law of Tavern-Tables, and such reverend Assemblies; and the Year-Books and Statute-Books give place to certain *French* and *Italian* Pamphlets upon the Doctrine of *Duels*.

Again, 'tis a miserable Effect when hopeful young Men, such as the Poets call *Sons of the Morning*, on whom the Expectation and Comfort of their Friends depends, shall be cast away in such a vain manner; but much more 'tis to be deplored, when so much noble and genteel Blood shall be spilt upon such Follies; when if it ventured in the Field, in Service of King and Country, it might turn the Fortune of a Day, and sway the Fate of a Kingdom. So that this Spirit of Duelling disturbs Peace, disfurnishes War, brings Calamity upon private Men, Danger upon the State, and Contempt upon the Law.

As to the Causes of *Duels*; the first Motive no doubt is a false and erroneous Notion of Honour and Reputation; whence they are properly call'd *bewitching Duels*. For to judge truly, 'tis no better than a Sorcery that enchants the Spirits of young Men, bearing great Minds, with a false Show, and a kind of satanical Illusion and Apparition of Honour, against Religion, against Law, against moral Virtue, and against the Precedents and Examples of the best and most valiant Nations.

This being the Seed of the Mischief, 'tis nourish'd by vain Discourses, raw and unripe Conceits, which have nevertheles so prevail'd, that tho' a Man were staid and sober-minded, and rightly conceived the Vanity and Unlawfulness of these *Duels*; yet the Stream of vulgar Opinion imposes a Necessity upon Men of Worth and Merit to conform themselves; or else there is no living or looking upon Mens Faces: whence we have not to do, in this Case, so much with particular Persons, as with unsound and depraved Opinions; like the Dominations and Spirits of the Air, which the Scripture speaks of.

We may add, that Men have almost lost the true Notion of Fortitude and Valour. For Fortitude distinguishes the Grounds of Quarrels, whether they be just and worthy; and sets a better Price upon Mens Lives, than to bestow them idly: And indeed 'tis a Weakness and Disesteem of a Man's self, to put one's Life upon such childish Performances. A Man's Life is not to be trifled away; 'tis to be offered up and sacrificed to honourable Services, publick Merit, good Causes, and noble Adventures. 'Tis in Expence of Blood, as 'tis in Expence of Money; to make a Profusion upon every vain and idle Occasion, is no Liberality: nor is it Fortitude to make Effusion of Blood, unless the Cause be worthy.

There are four Things that seem very effectual for repressing this depraved Custom of particular Combats.

The *first* is, that there appear, and be declared, a constant and settled Resolution in the State to abolish it. For this is a thing that must go down at once, or not at all; when every particular Man will think himself acquitted in his Reputation, finding that the State takes it as an Insult against the King's Power and Authority, and thereupon has absolutely resolved to suppress it. So it was delivered in express Words, in the Edict of *Charles IX.* of *France*, concerning

cerning Duels, that the King took upon himself the Honour of all that thought themselves grieved or interested for not having fought the Duel. And thus must the State do in this Business; and trust them, not a Man of a reasonable and sober Disposition, be he ever so valiant, but will be glad of it; when he shall see the Law and Rule of State take off his hands a vain and unnecessary Hazard.

Secondly, Care must be taken that this Evil be not pampered; nor its Humour fed. The publick compounding of Quarrels, which is otherwise in use by private Noblemen, and Gentlemen, appears so punctual and formal, and has such Respect and Relation to the received Opinions, what's before-hand, and what's behind-hand, as without all question, it in a manner countenances and authorizes this Practice of Duels; as if it had in it somewhat of Law and Right.

Thirdly, As the Offence is grounded upon a false Notion of Honour, it should be punished in the same kind. The Fountain of Honour is the King and his Countenance: the Access to his Person continues Honour in Life; and to be banish'd his Presence, is one of the greatest possible Eclipses of Honour. Now if the King should be pleas'd, when any of these Offences are committed by Persons of eminent Quality, to banish or exclude them his Court for certain Years; I think there is no Man of good Blood will commit an Act that shall cast him into the Darkness of not beholding his Sovereign's Face.

Lastly, The Root of this Offence is stubborn: for it despises Death, the utmost of Punishments; and it were a just, but a miserable Severity, to execute the Law without all Remission or Mercy, where the Cause proves capital. Yet the late Severity of *France* was greater; where, by a kind of martial Law, establish'd by the King and Parliament, the Person, who had slain another, was presently had to the Gibbet; in so much that Gentlemen of great Quality were hanged with their Wounds bleeding; lest a natural Death should prevent the Example of Justice. But the Course we propose is of greater Lenity, tho' of no less Efficacy; which is to punish all the middle Acts and Proceedings that tend to the Duel; and so to hew and vex the Root in the Branches: which no doubt in the end will kill the Root, and yet prevent the Extremity of the Law.

The Law of *England* is excepted to, as deficient in two Points with regard to Duels.

The *one*, that it should make no difference between an insidious and foul Murder; and the killing of a Man upon fair Terms, as they now call it.

The *other*, that it has provided no sufficient Punishment, and Reparation for contumelious Words; as the Lye, and the like.

But these are no better than childish Novelties, against the divine Law, against all Laws in effect, and against the Examples of all the bravest and most virtuous Nations of the World.

In the Law of God, there is no Difference found, but between Homicide voluntary and involuntary. And in the Case of Man-slaughter, or accidental Murder, there were Cities of Refuge; so that the Offender was put to his Flight, and that Flight was subject to Accident; whether the Revenge

of Blood should overtake him before he had got Sanctuary or no. 'Tis true, our Law has made a more subtle Distinction between the Will inflamed, and the Will advised; between Manslaughter in Heat, and Murder upon Malice prepenſe, or cold Blood, as the Soldiers call it: an Indulgence ſuited to a choleric and warlike Nation; for *Rage is a ſhort Fury, and a Man in Paſſion is not himſelf.*

This Privilege of Paſſion the ancient Roman Law reſtrain'd to the Caſe of the Husband's taking the Adulterer in the Fact; to that Rage and Provocation only it admitted Homicide as juſtifiable. But for a Difference in the caſe of killing and deſtroying a Man, upon a forethought Purpose, between foul and fair, 'tis a monſtrous Child of this latter Age; and without all Shadow in any Law divine or human. Only we find in Scripture, that *Cain* inticed his Brother into the Field, and ſlew him treacherouſly; but *Lamech* vaunted of his Manhood, that he would kill a young Man, tho' it were to his hurt: ſo that I find no difference between an inſidious and a braving or preſumptuous Murder, but the Difference between *Cain* and *Lamech*.

All Hiſtory allows that *Greece* and *Rome* were the moſt valiant and generous Nations of the World; and what is more to be noted, they were Free States, and not under a Monarchy. Whence one would think it much more reaſonable, that particular Perſons ſhould have righted themſelves; and yet they had not this Practice of Duels, nor any thing like it: and ſurely they would have had it, if there had been any Virtue in it. 'Tis memorable, that there was a Combat of this kind between two Perſons of Quality among the *Turks*; when one of them being ſlain, the other was convened before the Council of *Baſhaws*; and the Manner of the Reprehenſion was this. "How durſt you fight? Are there not Chriſtians enough to kill! Did you not know that whoever was ſlain, the loſs would be the Grand Seignior's?" So that the moſt warlike Nations, whether generous or barbarous, have ever deſpiſed this Manner of Duelling, wherein Men now glory.

'Tis true, two Kinds of Combats ſeem authorized. The one, when upon the Approach of Armies, in the Face of one another; particular Perſons have made Challenges for a Trial of Valour in the Field, upon a publick Quarrel. This the *Romans* call'd *Pugna per provocationem*; and was never, but between the Generals themſelves, who were abſolute; or between Particulars by Licence of the Generals; and not upon private Authority. So *David* asked leave when he fought with *Goliath*; and *Joab*, when the Armies were met, gave leave, and ſaid, *Let the young Men play before us.* And of this kind was that famous Example in the Wars of *Naples*, between twelve *Spaniards* and twelve *Italians*; where the *Italians* bore away the Victory; beſides other infinite the like Examples worthy and laudable, ſometimes by ſingle Perſons, and ſometimes by Numbers.

The ſecond Kind of Combat is a judicial Trial of Right, when the Right is obſcure, introduced by the *Goths* and the *Northern* Nations, but more anciently entertain'd in *Spain*; and this yet remains in ſome Caſes as a divine Lot of Battle, tho' controverted by Divines, as to the Lawfulneſs of it: ſo that, as a wiſe Writer ſays, "They who engage in this manner, ſeem to tempt
" God,

“ God, as expecting he should shew and work a Miracle, and make him “ victorious whose Cause is the justest ; whereas the contrary often happens.” But however it be, this Kind of Combat has its Warrant from Law. Nay, the *French* themselves, whence this folly seems chiefly to have arisen, never had it but in Practice and Toleration, not authorized by Law ; and yet of late they have been obliged to purge this Folly with extreme Rigour ; inso-much that many Gentlemen, left between Death and Life in the Duels, were hurried to the Gibbets with their Wounds bleeding. For the State found it had been neglected so long, that nothing could be thought Cruelty, which tended to suppress it.

The second Defect pretended in our Law, that it has provided no Remedy for Lyes and Fillips, may receive the like Answer. It would have been thought Madness amongst the ancient Law-givers, to assign a Punishment upon the Lye given ; which in effect is but a Word of Denial, a Negative of another's Saying. Any Law-giver, if he asked the Question, would have made *Solon's* Answer ; that he had ordain'd no Punishment for it, because he never imagined the World would have been so fantastical as to take it so heinously. The *Civilians* dispute whether any Action of Injury lie for it ; and rather resolve the contrary. And *Francis* the First of *France*, who originally stamped this Disgrace so deep, is taxed in the Judgment of all wise Writers, for beginning the Vanity ; as it was he, who having himself given the Lye and Dely to the Emperor, to make it current in the World, said in a solemn Assembly, that no honest Man would bear the Lye : which was the Fountain of this new Learning.

As for Words of Reproach and Contumely, whereof the Lye was never esteem'd any, it were incredible, but that the Orations themselves are extant, what extreme and exquisite Reproaches were tossed up and down in the Senate of *Rome*, the Places of Assembly, and the like in *Greece* ; and yet no Man took himself fouled by them, but held them for Breath, and the Style of an Enemy ; and either despised them or returned them : but no Blood was spilt upon the Occasion.

So every Touch or light Blow of the Person, are not in themselves considerable ; only they have got upon them the Stamp of a Disgrace, which makes such trifling Things pass for great Matters. The Law of *England*, and all Laws, hold these Degrees of Injury to the Person, Slander, Battery, Maim, and Death ; and if there be extraordinary Circumstances of Spight and Contumely, as in case of Libels, Bastinadoes, and the like, the Law punishes them exemplarily. But for this Apprehension of a Disgrace, that a Fillip should be a mortal Wound to the Reputation ; Men should hearken to the saying of *Gonsalvo*, the great Commander, who always said, a Gentleman's Honour should be of a good strong Warp or Web, that every little thing should not catch in it : whereas now they seem Cob-web Lawn ; which certainly is Weakness, and not true Greatness of Mind, but like a sick Man's Body, so tender as to feel every thing. And so much to shew the Wisdom and Justice of the Law of the Land, in this Particular.

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For the Capacity of this Court ; I take it for certain, that wherever an Offence is Capital, or Matter of Felony, tho' it be not acted, the Combination or Practice tending to that Offence, is punishable in this Court, as a high Misdemeanour. Now every Appointment of the Field, however speciously they may gild it, is but a Combination and plotting of Murder. Nor shall I ever account it otherwise, in a Place of Justice. Whence it follows, that the Case of Duelling is a Case fit for the Censure of this Court. And of this there are Precedents in the very Point of Challenge.

Therefore, to come to the Part that regards my self, I say, that by the Favour of the King and the Court, I will prosecute in this Court, in the following Cases.

(1.) If any Man appoint the Field, tho' the Fight be not performed. (2.) If any Man send a Challenge in Writing, or any Message of Challenge. (3.) If any Man carry or deliver a Writing, or Message of Challenge. (4.) If any Man shall accept or return a Challenge. (5.) If any Man shall accept to be a Second in a Challenge, on either Side. (6.) If any Man shall depart the Realm, with Intention and Agreement to fight beyond the Seas. And, (7.) If any Man shall revive a Quarrel by scandalous Reports or Writings, contrary to a Proclamation published in that Behalf. And this Method of nipping Duels in the Bud, is certainly fuller of Clemency and Mercy, than suffering them to go on ; and hanging Men with their Wounds bleeding, as they did in *France*. And for the Support of Justice, true Honour, Religion, and the Law, against this empty Disguise or Puppet-show of Honour, I entreat your Lordship's Countenance and Assistance in my Prosecutions of this Kind.

Lastly, I have a Petition to the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, that they would esteem themselves at a just Price ; *Non hoc quæsitum munus in usus* ; their Blood is not to be spilt like Water : and that they would persuade themselves there can be no Form of Honour, but upon a worthy Subject.

S P E E C H II.

Made by the Author upon taking of his Place in Chancery, as LORD-KEEPER of the GREAT-SEAL of ENGLAND; in performance of the CHARGE His MAJESTY gave him, when he received the Seal, in the Year 1617.

BEFORE I enter into the Business of this Court, I shall take the advantage of so many honourable Witnesses, to publish and make known summarily, what Charge the King's most excellent Majesty gave me, when I received the Seal ; and what Orders and Resolutions I my self have taken in Conformity to that Charge ; that the King may have the Honour of Direction, and I the Part of Obedience : whereby your Lordships, and the rest
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of the Presence, shall see the whole time of my sitting in Chancery contracted into one Hour. And this I do for three Causes ;

First, to give an account to the King of his Command.

Secondly, that I may be a Guard and Custody to my self, and my own Doings ; that I do not swerve or recede from any thing that I have professed in so noble a Company.

And *thirdly*, that all Men who have to do with the Chancery, or the Seal, may know what they shall expect ; and both set their Hearts and my Ears at rest ; not moving me to any thing against these Rules, knowing that an Answer is now turn'd from a *nolumus*, into a *non possumus*. It is no more I will not, but I cannot, after this Declaration.

And this I do also under three Cautions.

The *first* is, that there are some things of a more secret and council-like nature, which are rather to be acted than published. But the Things which I shall speak of to-day, are of a more publick nature.

The *second* is, that I will not trouble this Presence with every Particular, which would be too long ; but select those Things which are of greatest Efficacy ; and conduce most *ad summam rerum* : leaving many other Particulars to be set down in a publick Table, according to the good Example of my last Predecessor, in his beginning.

And *lastly*, that these Imperatives, which I have made but to my self, and my times, be without prejudice to the Authority of the Court, or wiser Men that may succeed me ; and chiefly that they are wholly submitted to the great Wisdom of my Sovereign, the absolute Prince in Judicature that has been in the Christian World : for if any of these things which I intend to be subordinate to his Directions, shall be thought by his Majesty to be inordinate, I shall be most ready to reform them. These Things are but *tanquam Album Prætoris* ; for so did the *Roman Prætors*, (which have the greatest Affinity with the Jurisdiction of the Chancellor here,) who set down at their Entrance, how they would use their Jurisdiction. And this I shall do, my Lords, in *verbis masculis* ; no flourishing or painted Words, but such as are fit to go before Deeds.

The King's Charge, which is my Lanthorn, rested upon four Heads.

The *first* was, that I should contain the Jurisdiction of the Court within its true and due Limits, without Swelling or Excess.

The *second*, that I should think the putting of the great Seal to Letters Patents, was not a Matter of Course, after precedent Warrants ; but that I should take it to be the Maturity and Fulness of the King's Intentions. And therefore, that it was one of the greatest Parts of my Trust, if I saw any Scruple or Cause of Stay, that I should acquaint him ; concluding with a *quod dubites ne feceris*.

The *third* was, that I should retrench all unnecessary Delays, that the Subject might find he enjoy'd the same Remedy against the fainting of the Seal, and against the Consumption of the Means and Estate ; which was speedy Justice ; *bis dat, qui cito dat*.

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The *fourth* was, that Justice might pass with as easy a Charge as might be ; and that these same Brambles that grow about Justice ; of needless Charge and Expence, and all Manner of Exactions, might be rooted out so far as possible.

These Commands, my Lords, are righteous, and, as I may term them, sacred ; and therefore to use a sacred Form, I pray God bless the King for his great Care over the Justice of the Land ; and give me his poor Servant Grace and Power to observe his Precepts.

Now for a beginning towards it, I have set down and applied particular Orders to every one of these four general Heads.

For the Excess or Tumour of this Court of Chancery, I shall divide it into five Natures.

The *first* is, when the Court embraces or retains Causes, both in Matter and Circumstance, merely determinable, and fit for the common Law : for, my Lords, the Chancery is ordain'd to supply the Law ; and not to subvert the Law. Now to describe to you, or delineate what those Causes are, and upon what Differences, that are fit for the Court, were too long a Lecture. But I will tell you what Remedy I have prepared. I will keep the Keys of the Court my self ; and I will never refer any Demurrer or Plea, tending to discharge or dismiss the Court of the Cause, to any Master of the Chancery, but judge of it my self, or at least the Master of the Rolls. Nay farther, I will appoint regularly, on *Tuesday* weekly, which is the Day of Orders, first to hear all Motions of that nature before any other ; that the Subject may have his *Vale* at first, without farther attending ; and that the Court do not keep and accumulate a Miscellany and Confusion of Causes of all natures.

The second Point concerns the time of Complaint, and the late Comers into Chancery, which stay till a Judgment be passed against them at the common Law, and then complain ; wherein your Lordships may have heard a great Rattle and a Noise of a *præmunire*, and I cannot tell what. But that Question the King has settled, according to the ancient Precedents in all times continued. And this I will say, that the Opinion not to relieve any Case after Judgment, would be a guilty Opinion ; guilty of the Ruin, and Naufrage, and perishing of infinite Subjects : and as the King found it well out, why should a Man fly into the Chancery, before he be hurt ? *The Whole need not the Physician, but the Sick*. But, my Lords, the Power would be preserved, but then the Practice would be moderate. My Rule shall be therefore, that in case of Complaints after Judgment, (except the Judgments be upon *nihil dicit*, which are but Disguises of Judgment, obtain'd in Contempt of a preceding Order of this Court ;) yea, and after the Verdicts also, I will have the Party complainant enter into good Bond to prove his Suggestion ; so that if he will be relieved against a Judgment at common Law, upon Matter of Equity, he shall do it, *tanquam in vinculis*, at his peril.

The third Point of Excess may be the over-frequent and facile granting of Injunctions, for the staying of the common Laws, as the altering Possessions ; wherein these shall be my Rules.

I will grant no Injunction merely upon Priority of Suit ; that is to say, because this Court was first possessed : a thing that was well reform'd in the late Lord Chancellor's time, but used in Chancellor *Bromley's* time ; inso-much, as I remember, that Mr. *Daston* the Counsellor at Law, put a Pasquil upon the Court in nature of a Bill ; for sure it was no more : “ but, my Lord, the Bill came in on *Monday*, and the Arrest at common Law was on *Tuesday*. I pray the Injunction upon Priority of Suit : ” he caused his Client that had a loose Debtor, to prefer a Bill in Chancery before the Bond due to him was forfeited, to desire an Order that he might have his Money at the day, because he would be sure to be before the other. I do not mean to make it a Matter of an Horse-race, or posting, who shall be first in Chancery or in Courts of Law.

Neither will I grant an Injunction upon Matter contain'd in the Bill only, be it never so smooth and specious ; but upon Matter confessed in the Defendant's Answer, or Matter pregnant, in Writing, or of Record ; or upon Contempt of the Defendant in not appearing, or not answering, or trifling with the Court by insufficient answering. For then it may be thought the Defendant stands out on purpose to get the start at the common Law ; and so to take advantage of his own Contempt, which must not be suffered.

As for Injunctions for Possession, I shall maintain Possessions as they were at the time of the Bill exhibited ; and for the space of a Year before, except the Possession were got by Force, or by any Trick.

Neither will I alter Possession upon interlocutory Orders, until a Decree ; except upon Matter plainly confessed in the Defendant's Answer, joined with a plain Disability and Insolvency of the Defendants to answer the Profits.

As for taking the Possession away in respect of Contempts, I will have all the Proceedings of the Court spent first, and a Sequestration of the Profits before I come to an Injunction.

The fourth Part of Excess, is concerning the communicating of the Authority of the Chancellor too far ; and making, upon the Matter, too many Chancellors, by relying too much upon the Reports of the Masters of the Chancery as concludent. I know, my Lords, the Masters of Chancery are reverend Men, and the great Mafs of Business of the Court cannot be forwarded without them ; and 'tis a thing the Chancellor may soon fall into for his own Ease, to rely too much upon them. But the Course that I will take generally, shall be this ; that I will make no binding Order upon any Report of the Masters, without giving a seven-night's Day at the least, to shew Cause against the Report ; which nevertheless I will have done modestly, and with due reverence towards them. And again, I must utterly discontinue the making of any hypothetical or conditional Order ; that if a Master of the Chancery do certify thus, that then it is ordered without farther Motion : for this is a Surprize, and gives no time for Contradiction.

The last Point of Excess is, if a Chancellor shall be so full of himself, as to neglect the Assistance of reverend Judges in Cases of Difficulty, especially if they touch upon Law ; or calling them, shall do it, but *pro forma*

tantum, and give no due Respect to their Opinions: here, my Lords, (preserving the Dignity and Majesty of the Court, which I count rather increased than diminished by grave and due Assistance;) I shall never be found so sovereign or abundant in my own Sense, but I shall both desire and make a true use of Assistants. Nay, I assure your Lordships, if I should find any main Diversity of Opinion in my Assistants from my own; tho' I know well the Judicature wholly resides in my self; yet, I think, I should have recourse to the Oracle of the King's own Judgment, before I should pronounce. And so much for the temperate use of the Authority of this Court, wherein the Health of the Court greatly consists, as that of the Body consists in Temperance.

For the second Command of his Majesty, as to the staying of Grants at the Great Seal; there may be just cause of stay, either in the matter of the Grant, or in the manner of passing the same. Out of both, I extract these six principal Cases, which I will now make known: and which, nevertheless, I understand to be wholly submitted to his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, after by me he shall have been informed; for if *iteratum mandatum* come, Obedience is better than Sacrifice.

The *first* Case is, where any Matter of Revenue, or Treasure, or Profit, passes from his Majesty; my first Duty shall be to examine, whether the Grant has passed in the due and natural course by the great Officers of the Revenue; the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with their privity: which if I find it not to be, I must presume it to have passed in the dark; and by a kind of Surreption, and I will stop it 'till his Majesty's pleasure shall be farther known.

Secondly, If it be a Grant that is not merely vulgar, and has not of course passed at the Signet by a *fac simile*, but needs Science; my Duty shall be to examine whether it has passed by the learned Counsel, and had their Dockets; which is that which his Majesty reads, and that leads him. And if I find it otherwise, altho' the matter were not in itself inconvenient, yet I hold it just cause of stay, for Precedent's sake, to keep Men in the right way.

Thirdly, If it be a Grant, which I conceive, out of my little Knowledge, to be against the Law; of which nature *Theodosius* was wont to say, when he was pressed; "I said it, but I granted it not, if it be unlawful:" I will call the learned Counsel to it, as well him that drew the Book, as the rest, or some of them; and if we find cause, I will inform his Majesty of our Opinion, either by myself or some of them. As for the Judges, they are Judges of Grants past, but not of Grants to come; except the King call them.

Fourthly, If the Grants be against the King's Book of Bounty, I am expressly commanded to stay them, until the King either revise his Book in general, or give direction in particular.

Fifthly, If as a Counsellor of State, I foresee Inconvenience to ensue by the Grant, in reason of State, in respect of the King's Honour, or Discontents

tents or Murmur of the People; I will not trust my own Judgment, but I will either acquaint his Majesty with it, or the Council-Table, or some such of my Lords as I shall think fit.

Lastly, For matter of Pardons; if it be of Treason, Misprision of Treason, Murder, either expressed or involute, by a *non obstantz*; or of a Piracy, or *Premunire*, or of Fines, or exemplary Punishment in the Star-Chamber, or of some other natures; I shall stay them 'till his Majesty considers how far Grace shall abound, or superabound.

And if it be of Persons attainted and convicted of Robbery, Burglary, &c. then I will examine whether the Pardons passed the Hand of any Justice of Assize, or other Commissioners, before whom the Trial was made; and if not, I think it my duty also to stay them.

Thus your Lordships see in this matter of the Seal, agreeable to the Command I have received, I mean to walk in the Light; so that Men may know where to find me: and this publishing thereof plainly, I hope will save the King from a great deal of Abuse, and me from a great deal of Envy; when Men shall see that no particular turn or end leads me, but a general Rule.

For the third general head of his Majesty's Precepts concerning speedy Justice, I am resolved that my Decree shall come speedily, if not instantly, after the Hearing, and my signed Decree pronounced. For it has been a manner much used of late, in my last Lord's time, (of whom I learn much to imitate, and with due Reverence to his Memory let me speak it, much to avoid;) that upon the solemn and full Hearing of a Cause nothing is pronounced in Court, but Breviates are required to be made: which I do not dislike in itself in perplexed Causes. For I confess I have somewhat of the Cunctative; and I am of opinion, that whosoever is not wiser upon advice than upon the sudden, is no wiser at fifty Years old than he was at thirty. And it was my Father's ordinary Word, *You must give me Time*. But yet, I find, that when such Breviates were taken, the Cause was sometimes forgotten a Term or two; and then set down for a new Hearing, or a Rehearing three or four Terms after. Of which kind of Intermifion I see no use; and therefore I will promise regularly to pronounce my Decree within few days after my Hearing; and to sign my Decree at least in the Vacation after the pronouncing. For fresh Justice is the sweetest. And besides, Justice ought not to be delay'd; and it will also avoid all means-making or labouring: for there ought to be no labouring in Causes, but the labouring of the Counsel at the Bar.

Again, because Justice is a sacred Thing, and for which end I am called to this Place; I shall add the afternoon to the forenoon, and some fourth Night of the Vacation to the Term, for expediting and clearing of the Causes of the Court; only the depth of the three long Vacations I would reserve in some measure free for Business of State, and for Studies of Arts and Sciences, to which in my nature I am most inclined.

There is another point of true Expedition, which rests much in myself, and that is in the manner of giving Orders. For I have seen an Af-

festation of Dispatch turn utterly to delay and length: for the manner of it is to take the tale out of the mouth of the Counsellor at the bar, and to give a cursory Order, nothing tending or conducing to the end of the Business. It makes me remember what I heard one say of a Judge that sat in the Chancery; that he would make eighty Orders in a Morning out of the way: and it was out of the way indeed; for it was nothing to the end of the Business. And this is that which makes sixty, eighty, a hundred Orders in a Cause, to and fro, begetting one another; and, like *Penelope's Web*, doing and undoing. But I mean not to purchase the Praise of expeditive in that kind; but as one that have a feeling of my Duty, and of the case of others, my endeavour shall be to hear patiently, and to cast my order into such a Mould, as may soonest bring the Subject to the end of his Journey.

As for such Delays as may concern others, the great abuse is, that if the Plaintiff have got an Injunction to stay Suits at common Law, then he will spin on his Cause at length. But by the Grace of God, I will make Injunctions an hard Pillow to sleep on; for if I find that he prosecutes not with effect, he may chance, when he is awake, to find not only his Injunction dissolved, but his Cause dismissed.

There are other particular Orders, I mean to take for Non-prosecution, or faint Prosecution, wherewith I will not trouble you now, because *summa sequar fastigia Rerum*. And so much for matter of Expedition.

Now for the fourth and last point of the King's Command, for the cutting off of unnecessary Charge to the Subject; a great part of it is fulfilled in the preceding Article, touching Expedition; for it is the length of Suits that multiplies Charge chiefly; but yet there are some other Remedies that conduce thereto.

First, therefore, I shall maintain strictly, and with severity, the former Orders which I find made by my Lord Chancellor for the immoderate and needless Prolixity, and length of Bills and Answers, and so forth; as well in punishing the Party, as fining the Counsel, whose Hand I shall find at such Bills, Answers, &c.

Secondly, For all the Examinations taken in the Court, I give charge to the Examiners (upon perit of their Places) that they do not use idle Repetitions, or needless Circumstances, in setting down the Depositions taken by them; and I wish I could help it likewise in Commissions in the Country, but that is almost impossible.

Thirdly, I shall take a diligent Survey of the Copies in Chancery, that they have their just Number of Lines; and without open and wastful Writing.

Fourthly, I shall be careful that there be no Exaction of any new Fees, but according as they have been heretofore set and tabled.

As for Lawyers Fees, I must leave that to the Conscience and Merit of the Lawyer; and the Estimation and Gratitude of the Client: but yet this I can do; I know there have used to attend this Bar a number of Lawyers, that have not been heard sometimes, scarce once or twice in a Term; and that make the Client apply to great Counsel and Favourites (as they call them, a term fitter for Kings than Judges) and that for every Order that a

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mean Lawyer might dispatch, and as well. Therefore to help the generality of Lawyers, and therein to ease the Client, I will constantly observe that every *Tuesday*, and other Days of Orders, after nine a-clock, I will hear the Bar until eleven, or half an hour after ten at the least. And since we are upon the point whom I will hear, your Lordships will give me leave to tell you a fancy. It falls out, that there are three of us the King's Servants in great place, that are Lawyers by descent; Mr. Attorney Son of a Judge, Mr. Solicitor likewise Son of a Judge, and my self a Chancellor's Son.

Now because the Law roots so well in my time, I will water it at the Root thus far, as besides these great ones, I will hear any Judge's Son before a Serjeant, and any Serjeant's Son before a Reader.

Lastly, For the better ease of the Subjects, and the bridling of contentious Suits, I shall give better (that is, greater) Costs where the Suggestions are not proved, than hath been hitherto used.

There are divers other Orders for the better Regulation of this Court; for granting of Writs, and for granting of Benefices and other things which I shall set down in a Table. But I will deal with no other to-day, but such as have a proper relation to his Majesty's Command, it being my comfort that I serve such a Master, that I shall need to be but a Conduit for the conveying only of his Goodness to his People. And it is true, that I affect and aspire to make good that Saying, *optimus Magistratus præstat optimæ legi*; which is true in his Majesty. But for my self, I doubt I shall not attain it. But yet I have a domestic Example to follow. My Lords, I have no more to say; but will now go on to the Business of the Court.

S P E E C H III.

Made in the Exchequer by the Author, as LORD-KEEPER, to Sir JOHN DENHAM, call'd to be one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Sir JOHN DENHAM,

THE King of his gracious Favour has made choice of you for one of the Barons of the Exchequer, to succeed one of the gravest and most reverend Judges of this Kingdom; for so I hold Baron *Altam* was. The King takes you not upon credit, but upon proof, and great proof of your former Service; and that in both the kinds wherein you are now to serve: for as you have shew'd yourself a good Judge between Party and Party, so you have shewed yourself a good Minister of the Revenue; both when you was Chief Baron, and since as Counsellor of State in *Ireland*, where the Counsel in great measure manage and messuage the Revenue.

And

And to both these parts I will apply some Admonitions, not vulgar or discursive, but apt for the Times, and in few Words; for they are best remembered.

First, Therefore, above all, you ought to maintain the King's Prerogative, and to set down with your self, that the King's Prerogative and the Law are not two things; but the King's Prerogative is Law, and the principal Part of the Law; the first-born or *Pars prima* of the Law: and therefore in conserving or maintaining that, you conserve and maintain the Law. There is not in the Body of Man one Law of the Head, and another of the Trunk, but all is one entire Law.

The *next point* I would advise you, is, that you acquaint yourself diligently with the Revenue; and also with the ancient Records and Precedents of this Court. When the famous Case of the Copper-Mines was argued in this Court, and judged for the King, it was not upon the fine Reasons of Wit, as that the King's Prerogative drew to it the chief *in quaque specie*: the Lion is the chief of Beasts; the Eagle the chief of Birds; the Whale the chief of Fishes; and so Copper the chief of Minerals; for these are but Dalliances of Law, and Ornaments: but it was the grave Records and Precedents that grounded the Judgment of that Cause; and therefore I would have you both guide and arm yourself with them against these Vapours and Fumes of Law, which are extracted out of Men's Inventions and Conceits.

The *third Advice* I will give you, has a large Extent; it is, that you do your endeavour in your place so to manage the King's Justice and Revenue, that the King may have most Profit, and the Subject least Vexation. For when there is much vexation to the Subject, and little Benefit to the King, the Exchequer is sick: and when there is much Benefit to the King, with less Trouble and Vexation to the Subject, then the Exchequer is sound. For example, if there shall be much racking for the King's old Debts, and the fresher and later Debts shall be either more negligently called in, or over-easily discharged, or over-indulgently stalled; or if the number of Informations be many; and the King's Part or Fines for Compositions a trifle; or if there be much ado to get the King new Land upon Concealments, and that which he has already be not known and survey'd, nor the Woods preserved; this falls within what I term the sick State of the Exchequer, and makes every Man ready with his Undertakings and Projects, to disturb the ancient Frame of the Exchequer: this being the burden of the Song, that much goes out of the Subject's Purse, and little comes to the King's. Therefore give them not that advantage. Sure I am, that besides your own Associates, the Barons; you serve with two superior great Officers, that have honourable and true Ends, and desire to serve the King, and right the Subject.

S P E E C H IV.

Made in the COMMON PLEAS to Justice HUTTON, called to be one of the Judges of the COMMON PLEAS.

Mr. Serjeant HUTTON,

THE King being duly informed of your Learning, Integrity, Discretion, Experience, Means, and Reputation in your Country, has thought fit not to leave you these Talents to be employ'd upon your self only ; but to call you to serve Him and his People in the place of one of his Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

This Court, where you are to serve, is the local center and heart of the Laws of this Kingdom : here the Subject has his Assurance by Fines and Recoveries ; here he has his fixed and invariable Remedies by *Præcipes* and Writs of Right ; here Justice opens not by a by-gate of Privilege, but by the great gate of the King's original Writs out of the Chancery.

Here issues Process of Out-lawry ; if Men will not answer Law in this Center of the Law, they shall be cast out. And therefore 'tis proper for you, by all means, with your Wisdom and Fortitude, to maintain the Laws of the Realm. Wherein nevertheless I would not have you head-strong, but heart-strong ; and to weigh and remember that the twelve Judges of the Kingdom are as twelve Lions under *Solomon's* Throne : they must shew their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the Throne. To represent the Portraiture of a good Judge, (1.) You should draw your Learning out of your Books, not out of your Brain ; (2.) You should mix well the Freedom of your own Opinion with the Reverence of the Opinion of your Fellows ; (3.) You should continue the studying of your Books, and not spend on, upon the old Stock ; (4.) You should fear no Man's Face ; and yet not turn Stoutness into Bravery ; (5.) You should be truly impartial, and not so as that Men may see Affection through fine Carriage ; (6.) You should be a Light to Jurors, to open their Eyes, and not to lead them by the Noses ; (7.) You should not affect the Opinion of Pregnancy and Expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the Counsellors of the Bar ; (8.) Your Speech should be with Gravity, as one of the Sages of the Law ; and not talkative, nor with impertinent flying out, to shew Learning ; (9.) Your Hands, and the Hands of your Hands, those about you, should be clean, and uncorrupt from Gifts, meddling in Titles, and from serving of turns, be they of great ones or small ones ; (10.) You should contain the Jurisdiction of the Court within the ancient mere-stones, without removing the Mark ; (11.) And lastly, you should carry such a hand over your Ministers and Clerks, as that they may rather be in awe of you, than presume upon you ^a.

These

^a See Vol. II. pag. 73—76.

These and the like points of the Duty of a Judge, I forbear to enlarge upon as knowing that you come so furnished and prepared with these good Virtues, that whatever I could say cannot be new to you.

SPEECH V.

Made to Sir WILLIAM JONES, call'd to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland^a.

Sir WILLIAM JONES,

THE King being duly inform'd of your Sufficiency every way, has call'd you to the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law; tho' not to stay here, but to serve him as Chief Justice of his Bench in *Ireland*. And therefore what I shall say to you, must be applied not to your Serjeant's place, which you take only in passage; but to that great place where you are to settle. And not to the delay of the business of the Court, I will lead you the short Journey by Examples, and not the long one by Precepts.

The place you shall now serve in, has been fortunate to be well served in four Successions before you. Do but take the Constancy and Integrity of Sir *Robert Gardiner*; the Gravity, Temper, and Direction of Sir *James Lea*; the Quickness, Industry, and Dispatch of Sir *Humphry Winch*; the Care and Affection to the Commonwealth, with the prudent and politick Administration of Sir *John Denham*; and you shall need no other Lessons. They were all *Lincoln's-Inn Men*, as you are; you have known them as well in their Beginnings, as in their Advancement.

But because you are there to be not only Chief Justice, but a Counsellor of State, I will put you in mind of the great Work now in hand; that you may raise your Thoughts according to it. *Ireland* is the last of the Sons of *Europe*, which has in many Parts been reclaimed from Desolation and a Desert, to Population and Plantation; and from savage and barbarous Customs to Humanity and Civility. This is the King's work in chief: it is his Garland of heroicall Virtue and Felicity, denied to his Progenitors, and reserved to his Times.

The Work is not yet conducted to Perfection, but is in a fair Advance; and this I will confidently say, that if God bless this Kingdom with Peace and Justice, no Usurer is so sure in seventeen Years to double his Principal with Interest, and Interest upon Interest, as that Kingdom is within the same time to double the Stock both of Wealth and People. So that the Kingdom, which within these twenty Years, wise Men doubted whether they should wish a Pool, is now likely to become almost a Garden, and younger Sister to *Great-Britain*. And therefore you must set down with yourself to
be

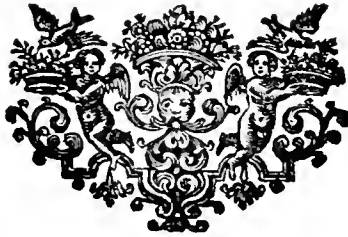
^a By the Author as Lord-Keeper, anno 1617.

be not only a just Governour, and a good Chief-Justice, as it were in *England*; but under the King and the Deputy you are to be a Master-Builder, a Master-Planter, and a Reducer of *Ireland*. To which end, I will trouble you at this time but with three Directions.

The *First* is, That you have a special care of the three Plantations. That of the North, which is in part effected; that of *Wexford*, which is now in Distribution; and that of *Longford* and *Letrim*, which is now in Survey. And take this from me, That the Bane of a Plantation is, when the Undertakers or Planters make such haste to a little mechanical, present Profit, as disturbs the whole Frame and Nobleness of the Work for times to come: Therefore hold them to their Covenants, and the strict Ordinances of Plantation.

The *Second* is, That you be careful of the King's Revenues; and by little and little constitute him a good Demesne, if possible, which hitherto is little or none: for the King's Case is hard, when every Man's Land shall be improved in value, with manifold increase, and the King shall be tied to his dry Rent.

My *Last* Direction, tho' first in weight, is, That you do all good endeavours to proceed resolutely and constantly, and yet with due Temperance and Equality, in Matters of Religion; lest *Ireland* civil become more dangerous to us than *Ireland* savage.



S U P P L E M E N T V.

S E L E C T

L E T T E R S

U P O N

V A R I O U S O C C A S I O N S :

Relating to the

A U T H O R ' S L I F E and W R I T I N G S .

P R E F A C E.

THE following Letters are not all that the Author wrote; but selected from a larger number, as containing somewhat remarkable either with regard to his Life or Writings. According to this distinction, they are here divided into two Sections; the first whereof contains some Account of his active, as the other does of his contemplative Life.

They are severally ranged as near the Order of Time, as could well be discover'd by their Dates or otherwise. The Style of those originally wrote in English is seldom alter'd, or only where a Word or Expression was obsolete, that their native simplicity might be the better preserv'd. And where any illustration is wanting, the Notes occasionally supply it chiefly from Mr. Stephens's excellent Edition of the Lord Bacon's Letters.

S E C T. I.

Letters relating to the AUTHOR'S LIFE.

I.

To the Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY; *upon determining his Course of Life.*

WITH as much confidence as my own honest and faithful devotion to your Service, and your honourable Assistance to me, can breed in a Man, I commend my self to your Lordship. I now methinks grow somewhat ancient; *one and thirty Years* is a great deal of Sand in the Hour-glass. My Health, I thank God, I find confirm'd; and I do not fear that Action will impair it; because I esteem my ordinary Course of Study and Meditation to be more laborious than most parts of Action. I ever bore a mind to serve her Majesty in some middle Place, that I could discharge, not as a Man born under *Sol*, that loves Honour; nor under *Jupiter*, that loves Business, (for the contemplative Planet carries me away wholly;) but as a Man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserves the Dedication of all Men's Abilities. Besides, I do not find in my self so much Self-love, but that the greater part of my Thoughts are to deserve well, if I were able, of my Friends, and particularly of your Lordship; who, being the *Atlas* of this Common-wealth, the Honour of my House, and the second Founder of my poor Estate, I am tied by all Duties, both of a good Patriot, of an unworthy Kinsman, and of an obliged Servant, to employ whatever I can, to do you service. Again, the Meanness of my Estate somewhat moves me; for tho' I cannot accuse my self, that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my Health is not to spend, nor my Course to get. Lastly, I confess, that I have as vast contemplative Ends, as I have moderate civil Ends: for I have taken all Knowledge to be my Province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of Rovers, whereof the one with frivolous Disputes, Confutations and Verbofities; the other with blind Experiments, and
auricular

auricular Traditions and Impositions, has committed so many Spoils; I hope I should bring in industrious Observations, grounded Conclusions, and profitable Inventions and Discoveries; the best State of that Province. This, whether it be Curiosity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or, if one take it favourably, the Love of Mankind; is so fix'd in my Mind, that it cannot be removed^a. And I easily see, that a Place of any reasonable countenance, brings Command of more Wits than of a Man's own; which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more Strength and less Encounter in any other. And if you find now, or at any time, that I seek or affect a Place, whereto any who are nearer to your Lordship shall lay claim; say then I am a dishonest Man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as *Anaxagoras* did, who reduced himself, with Contemplation, to voluntary Poverty: but this I will do; I will sell the Inheritance I have, and purchase a less of quicker Revenue, or some Office of Gain, that shall be executed by a Deputy; and so give over all care of Service, and become some sorry Author, or a true Pioneer in that Mine of Truth, which (he said) lay so deep. What I now write to your Lordship are rather Thoughts than Words; being set down without Art, Disguise or Reserve: wherein I have done honour both to your Lordship's Wisdom, in judging that will be best believed of you which is truest; and to your Good-Nature, in keeping nothing from you. And thus I wish your Lordship all Happiness; and for my self Means and Occasion, to my faithful Desire, to do you service.

Grays-Inn, Ann. 1591.

II.

To the Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY; offering Service.

I Know I may commit an Error in writing this Letter, both at a time of great and weighty Business, and also when I am not induced thereto by any new particular Occasion; and therefore your Lordship may accuse me either of Levity, or Ignorance of Duty. But I have ever noted it as a Part of your Lordship's Wisdom, not to exclude inferior Matters among the Cares of great ones: and I thought it would better manifest what I desire to express, if I wrote out of a deep and settled Consideration of my own Duty, rather than upon the Spur of a particular Occasion. And therefore, my singular good Lord, *ex abundantia cordis*, I must acknowledge how greatly and diversly your Lordship has vouchsafed to tie me to you by many Benefits. The Reversion of the Office which your Lordship procured me, and carried thro' great and vehement Opposition, tho' it bear no Fruit, yet is one of the fairest Flowers of my poor Estate. Your Lordship's constant and serious Endeavours

^a See the Letter to Father *Fulgencio*, Sect. II. *ad finem*.

Endeavours to have me Solicitor; your late honourable Wishes for the Place of the *Wards*; together with your Lordship's Attempt to give me way by the Removal of Mr. *Solicitor*; these are Matters of singular Obligation: besides many other Favours, as well by your Lordship's Grants from your self, as by your Commendation to others, which I have had for my help; and may justly persuade my self, out of the few Denials I have received, that fewer might have been, if my own industry and good-fortune had been answerable to your Lordship's Goodness. But on the other side, I must humbly beg your pardon, if I speak it; the Time is yet to come that your Lordship is to use, command or employ me, in my Profession, upon any Service or Occasion of your own, or relating to your Lordship: which has made me fear sometimes, that you rather honourably affect me, than thoroughly discern of my most humble and dutiful Affection to your Lordship again; which if it were not in me, I know not whether I were unnatural, unthankful, or unwise. This causes me most humbly to pray you would believe, that your Lordship is, upon just Title, a principal Owner and Proprietor of that, I cannot call Talent, but Mite, which God has given me; which I ever do, and shall devote to your Service. And in like humble manner, I pray your Lordship to pardon my Errors, and not to impute to me the Errors of any other; but to conceive of me to be a Man that daily profits in Duty. 'Tis true, I do in part comfort myself, supposing 'tis my Weakness and Insufficiency that moves your Lordship, who has so general a Command, to use others more able. But however that be, for Duty and Homage, I will undertake, that Nature and true Thankfulness shall never give place to political Dependence. Lastly, I most humbly desire you, to continue to me that good Favour, Countenance and Encouragement, in the Course of my poor Labours, whereof I have had some Taste and Experience; for which I return your Lordship my very humble Thanks. And thus again, craving your pardon for so long a Letter, that carries so empty an Offer of so mean a Service, tho' a true and unfeigned Signification of an honest and avowed Duty; I remain, &c.

III.

*To the Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY; excusing a Speech
in Parliament.*

I Was sorry to find, by your Lordship yesterday, that my last Speech in Parliament, delivered in discharge of my Conscience, and Duty to God, her Majesty, and my Country, was offensive. If it were mis-reported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship, to disavow any thing I said not; if it were mis-construed, I would be glad to explain my self, to exclude any Sense I meant not. If my Heart be mis-judged by Imputation of Popularity

pularity or Opposition, by any envious or officious Informer, I have great wrong; and the greater, because the manner of my *Speech* evidently shew'd that I spoke simply, and only to satisfy my Conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the Cause; and my Terms carry'd all signification of duty and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. 'Tis true, that from the beginning, whatever was above a double *Subsidy*^a, I wish'd might (for precedent sake) appear to be extraordinary, and (for discontent's sake) not have been levied upon the poorer sort; tho' I otherwise wish'd it as rising as I think this will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confess it; and therefore I most humbly pray your Lordship, first to continue me in your good Opinion; and then to perform the part of an honourable Friend towards your poor Servant and Ally, in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my Heart, and to bear with the rest, and restore me to her Majesty's good favour; which is to me dearer than Life.

IV.

To the Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY; craving his assistance.

I Give you humble Thanks for your favourable Opinion, which, by Mr. Secretary's Report, I find you conceive of me, for the obtaining of a good Place; which some of my honourable Friends have wish'd to me, *nec opinanti*. I will use no reason to procure your Lordship's mediation, but that your Lordship and my other Friends shall in this beg my Life of the Queen; for I see well the Bar will be my Bier; as I must and will use it, rather than my poor Estate or Reputation shall decay. But I stand indifferent, whether God call me or her Majesty. Had I that in possession, which by your Lordship's only means, against the greatest Opposition, her Majesty granted me; I wou'd never trouble her Majesty, but serve her still a Volunteer, without pay. Neither do I in this more than obey the advice of my Friends, as one that wou'd not be wholly wanting to my self. Your Lordship's good opinion somewhat confirms me, as that I take comfort in above all others; assuring your Lordship, that I never thought so well of my self for any one thing, as that I have found a fitness, to my thinking, in my self, to observe and revere your Virtues, &c.

^a See the Author's Speech upon the Motion of *Subsidy*, in Mr. *Blackbourne's* Edition, Vol. IV. pag. 300.

V.

To the Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY; recommending his first Suit for the Solicitor's Place.

TH O' I know, by late experience, how, mindful your Lordship vouchsafes to be of me and my poor Fortunes, since it pleased you, during your Indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my Employment and Preferment; yet, being now in the Country, I presume your Lordship, who of your self had so honourable a care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be sollicitated therein. My hope is, that whereas your Lordship told me her Majesty was somewhat gravelled, upon the offence she took at my *Speech* in Parliament; your Lordship's favourable word (as you assur'd me, that for your own part you judg'd I spoke to the best) will be as a good Tide to remove her from that Shelf. And 'tis not unknown to your Lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort, in the lower House of Parliament, that spoke for the *Subsidy*: and what I said afterwards in difference, was but in circumstance of Time and Manner; which methinks shou'd be no greater matter; since there is a variety allow'd in Counsel, as a Discord in Musick, to make it more perfect. But I may justly doubt, not so much her Majesty's impression upon this particular, as her opinion otherwise of my Insufficiency; which tho' I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide my self between her Majesty and the Causes of other Men, but to attend her business only; hoping that a whole Man of mean abilities, may do as well as half a Man better able. And if her Majesty think she shall make an adventure in using one who is rather a Man of study, than of practice and experience, surely I may remember to have heard that my Father was made *Solicitor of the Augmentation*, (a Court of much business) when he had never practised, and was but seven and twenty years old; and Mr. *Brograve* was, in my time, call'd to be *Attorney of the Dutchy*, when he had practised little or nothing; and yet discharged his Place with great sufficiency. But these things, and the like, are as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein, knowing what Authority your Lordship's Commendation has with her Majesty, I conclude that the Substance of Strength, which I may receive, will be from your Lordship. 'Tis true, my Life has been so private, that I have had no means to do your Lordship service; but yet, you know, I have made offer of such as I could yield: for as God has given me a Mind to love the Publick; so, incidently, I have ever had your Lordship in singular admiration; whose happy Ability her Majesty has so long used, to her great honour and yours. Besides, that amendment of state or countenance, which I have receiv'd, has been from you. And therefore if your Lordship shall stand a

good Friend to your poor Ally, you shall but *tueri Opus proprium*; which you have begun. And your Lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one that has more sense of obligation than of self-love.

June the 7th, 1595.

VI.

To Sir ROBERT CECIL; intimating Suspicion of unfair Practices.

I Forbear not to write as much as I thought to have said to your Honour to-day, if I cou'd have staid; knowing that if you shou'd make other use of it, than is due to good meaning; and than I am persuaded you will; yet to Persons of judgment, and that know me otherwise, it will rather appear (as it is) a precise honesty, and *suum cuique tribuere*, than any hollownes. 'Tis my luck still to be a-kin to such things as I neither like in nature, nor wou'd willingly meet with in my course; yet cannot avoid, without shew of base timorousness, or else of unkind or suspicious strangeness. I am of one Spirit still; I ever lik'd the *Galenists* that deal with good Compositions, and not the *Paracelsists* that deal with fine Separations. And in Musick, I ever loved easy Aires, that go full, all the parts together; and not those strange points of Accord and Discord. This I write not, I assure your Honour, officiously; except it be according to *Tully's* Offices, that is, honestly and morally. For tho', I thank God, I reckon upon the proceeding in the Queen's service, or not proceeding, both ways; and therefore neither mean to fawn nor retire; yet I naturally desire the good opinion of any Person, who for fortune or spirit is to be regarded; much more with a Secretary of the Queen, and a Cousin-german; and one, with whom I ever thought my self to have some sympathy of nature; tho' accidents have not suffer'd it to appear. Thus not doubting of your honourable interpretation, and usage of what I have written; I commend you to the divine preservation.

Grays-Inn.

VII.

To Sir ROBERT CECIL; expostulating upon his Conduct towards the Author.

YOUR Honour knows, my manner is, tho' it be not the wisest way, yet taking it for the honestest, to do as *Alexander* did by his Physician, in drinking the Medicine, and delivering the advertisement of suspicion; so I trust on, and yet do not smother what I hear. I assure you, Sir, that by a wise Friend of mine, and not factious toward you, I was told with asseveration,

ration, that your Honour was bought by Mr. *Coventry* for two thousand Angels; and that you wrought in a contrary spirit to my Lord your Father. And he said farther, that from your Servants, from your Lady, from some Counsellors that have observ'd you in my business, he knew you wrought underhand against me: the truth of which Tale I do not believe. You know the event will shew; and God will right. But as I reject this report, (tho' the strangeness of my case might make me credulous) so I admit an Opinion, that the last Messenger my Lord and your self used, dealt ill with your Honours; and that the word *Speculation*, which was in the *Queen's* mouth, rebounded from him, as a Commendation; for I am not ignorant of those little Arts.^a Therefore, I pray, trust him not again in my matter. This was much to write; but I think my Fortune will set me at liberty, who am weary of subjecting my self to every Man's Charity.

VIII.

To the Earl of ESSEX; reminding him of his Suit.

I May perceive, by my Lord Keeper, that your Lordship, as the time serv'd, signify'd to him an intention to confer with his Lordship at better opportunity; which in regard of your several and weighty occasions, I have thought good to put you in remembrance of, that now at his coming to Court it may be executed; desiring your Lordship, nevertheless, not to conceive, out of my diligence in solliciting this matter, that I am either much in Appetite or much in Hope. As for Appetite, the Waters of *Parnassus* are not like the Waters of the *Spaw*, that give a stomach; but rather quench desires. And for Hope; how can he hope much, that can alledge no other reason than that of a bad Debtor; who wou'd persuade his Creditor to lend him new Sums, and enter further with him, to make him satisfy the old: and to her Majesty, no other reason than that of a Waterman; I am her first Man of those who serve in Counsel of Law?

IX.

To the Earl of ESSEX; upon the Queen's refusal of the Author's Service.

I Pray God her Majesty's weighing be not like the Weight of a Ballance; *Gravia deorsum, Levium sursum.* But I am as far from being alter'd in Devotion towards her, as I am from distrust that she will be alter'd in Opinion towards me, when she knows me better. For my self, I have lost some

H h h 2

Opinion,

^a It shou'd seem that the Author had been represented to the *Queen*, as a Man of *Speculation* and *Study*; with a view to hinder his Preferment: an Artifice often practis'd against Men of Learning. See above, Letter V.

Opinion, some Time, and some Means: this is my account. But then for Opinion, 'tis a blast that goes and comes; for Time, 'tis true, it goes and comes not; but yet I have learn'd that it may be redeem'd; for Means, I value that most, and the rather, because I am purpos'd, not to follow the practice of the Law: and my reason is only, because it drinks too much Time, which I have dedicated to better purpos'es. And even for the point of estate and means, I partly incline to *Tales's* Opinion, that a Philosopher may be rich if he will. Thus your Lordship sees how I comfort my self; to the increase whereof, I wou'd fain please my self to believe that to be true which my Lord Treasurer writes; viz. *That 'tis more than a Philosopher can morally digest.* But without any such high conceit, I esteem it like the pulling out of an aching Tooth; which I remember, when I was a Child, and had little Philosophy, I was glad of when 'twas done. For your Lordship, I think my self more beholden to you than to any Man; and I say I reckon my self as a *Common*; and as much as is lawful to be inclos'd of a *Common*, so much your Lordship shall be sure to have.

X.

To the Earl of ESSEX; about his Lordship's Conduct with the Queen.

I Will no longer dis sever part of what I meant to have said to your Lordship at *Barn-Elms*, from the Introduction I then made; only I humbly desire your Lordship, before you hear my poor advice, to consider, *first*, whether I have not reason to think, that your Fortune comprehends mine; *next*, whether I shift my Counsel, and do not *constare mihi*; for I am persuad'd, there are some wou'd give you the same Counsel as I shall, but for derogating from what they have said heretofore: *thirdly*, whether you have receiv'd injury by my advice: for altho' you once told me, that having submitted upon my well-meant Motion at *Nonjuch*, (the Place where you renew'd a Treaty with her Majesty of obsequious kindness,) she had taken advantage of it; yet, I suppose you do since believe, that it did greatly attemper a cold malignant Humour then growing upon her, towards you; and has done you good in the consequence. And for my being lately against your estranging your self; tho' I give place to none in true gratulation, yet I do not repent of safe Counsel; nor judge of the Play by the first Act. But whether I advise you the best, or for the best, Duty binds me to offer to you my wishes.

I said to your Lordship the last time, *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit*; win the Queen: if this be not the beginning, I see no end of another course. I will not now speak of favour of affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness; which, whenever it shall be join'd with the other of Affection, I durst wager my Life (let them make what *Propheta's*

paia's they will of her Majesty's nature,) that in you she will come to the Question of, *Quid fiet homini, quem Rex vult honorare?* But how is it now? *A Man of a nature not to be ruled; that has the advantage of my Affection, and knows it; of an Estate not grounded to his Greatness; of a Popular Reputation; of a Military Dependence:* I demand whether there can be a more dangerous Image than this, represented to any Monarch living; much more to a Lady, and of her Majesty's apprehension? And is it not evident, that whilst this impression continues in her Majesty's Breast, you can find no other condition than inventions to keep your Estate bare and low; crossing and disgracing your Actions; extenuating and blasting your Merit; carping with contempt at your nature and fashions; breeding, nourishing, and fortifying such Instruments as are most factious against you; repulses and scorns of your Friends, and Dependents, that are true and steadfast; winning and inveigling away from you such as are flexible and wavering; thrusting you into odious Employments and Offices, to supplant your Reputation; abusing you, and feeding you with dalliances and demonstrations, to divert you from descending into the serious consideration of your own case; and perhaps venturing you in dangerous and desperate Enterprises. Herein it may please your Lordship to understand me; for I mean nothing less, than that these things shou'd be plotted and intended, as in her Majesty's royal Mind towards you: I know the excellency of her nature too well. But I say, wherever the above-mention'd impression is taken in any King's Breast towards a Subject, the recited Inconveniences must necessarily follow, of political consequence; in respect of such Instruments as are never failing about Princes: which spy into their humours and designs; and not only second them, but in seconding increase them; yes and often, without their knowledge, pursue them farther than themselves wou'd. Your Lordship will ask the Question, wherewith the *Athenians* used to interrupt their Orators, when they exaggerated their dangers; *Quid igitur agendum est?* I will tell your Lordship, *Quae mihi nunc in mentem veniunt;* supposing nevertheless, that your self, out of your own wisdom upon the Case, with this plainness and liberty represented to you, will find out better expedients and remedies. I wish a cure apply'd to each of the five above-mention'd Impressions; which I will take not in order, but as I think they are of weight.

And first, for removing that Impression of your Nature to be *opiniatre*, and not manageable; above all things I wish, that all matters past, which cannot be revoked, your Lordship wou'd turn altogether upon dissatisfaction, and not upon your Nature or proper Disposition. This String you cannot, upon every apt occasion, harp upon too much. *Next*, whereas I have noted you to fly and avoid the resemblance or imitation of my Lord of *Leicester*, and Lord Chancellor *Halton*; yet I am persuaded it will do you much good, between the Queen and you, to alledge them (as oft as you find occasion) for Authors and Patterns; for I know no readier means to make her Majesty think you are in your right way. *Thirdly*, when at any time your Lordship happens in Speeches to do her Majesty right, (for there is no such thing as Flattery amongst you all) I fear you handle it, *magis in specie,*

ciem, adornatis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris: So that a Man may read Formality in your Countenance; whereas your Lordship shou'd do it familiarly, & *oratione fida*. Fourthly, you shou'd never be without some Particulars on foot, which you shou'd seem to pursue with earnestness and affection; and then let them fall, upon taking knowledge of her Majesty's opposition and dislike. Of which, the weightiest fort may be, if your Lordship offer to labour in behalf of such as you favour, for some of the Places now void; chusing those Subjects you think her Majesty is likely to oppose: and if you say this is *conjunctum cum aliena injuria*; I will not answer, *hæc non aliter constabunt*; but I say, commendation from so good a Mouth does not hurt a Man, tho' you prevail not. A less weighty fort of Particulars may be the pretence of some Journeys, which, at her Majesty's request, your Lordship might relinquish; as if you wou'd pretend a Journey to see your Estate towards *Wales*, or the like: for as to great foreign Journeys of employ and service, it stands not with your gravity to play or stratagem with them. And the lightest fort of particulars, tho' not to be neglected, are in your Habit, Apparel, Gestures, and the like.

The *second* Impression of greatest prejudice, is that of a Military Dependence; wherein I cannot sufficiently wonder at your procedure. You say War is your occupation, and go on in that course; whereas, if I might have advised your Lordship, you shou'd have left that character at *Plymouth*; any more than when in Council, or in recommending fit Persons for military Service, where it was seasonable. And here, my Lord, I pray mistake me not; I am not now to play the part of a Gown-Man, that wou'd frame you best to my own turn. I know what I owe you. I am infinitely glad of this last Journey, now 'tis past; the rather, because you may make so honourable a full Point for a time. You have Property good enough in that greatness: there is none can, for many years, ascend near you in competition. Besides, the disposing of the Places and Affairs, both concerning the Wars, (while you increase in other greatness) will of themselves flow to you; which will preserve that Dependence in full measure. 'Tis a thing of all others I wou'd have you retain, the Times consider'd, and the necessity of the Service; for other reason I know none: yet I say, keep it in substance, but abolish it in shew to the Queen; for her Majesty loves Peace. *Next*, she loves not Charge. *Thirdly*, that kind of Dependence makes a suspected greatness. Therefore, *quod instat agamus*. Let that be a sleeping Honour a while; and cure the Queen's Mind in that point.

Therefore again, as I heard your Lordship designing to your self the Earl *Marshal's* Place, or the Place of Master of the Ordnance; I did not so well like of either, because of their affinity with a martial Greatness. But for the Places now vacant; in my judgment, I wou'd name you to the Place of Lord Privy-Seal. For 'tis the third Person of the great Officers of the Crown. Next, it has a kind of superintendence over the Secretary. It has also an affinity with the *Court of Wards*, in regard of the Fees from the Liveries; and 'tis a great Honour, a quiet Place, and worth a thousand Pounds a Year: my Lord Admiral's Father had it, who was a martial Man; and
it

it fits a Favourite to carry her Majesty's Image in Seal, who bears it best expressed in Heart. But my chief reason is, that which I first alledg'd, to divert her Majesty from this Impression of martial Greatness. In concurrence whereof, if your Lordship shall not remit any thing of your former Diligence at the *Star-Chamber*; if you shall continue such Intelligences as are worth the cherishing; if you shall pretend to be as bookish and contemplative as ever; all these Courses have both their Advantages and Uses in themselves otherwise, and serve exceeding aptly to this Purpose. Whereto I add one Expedient more, stronger than all the rest; and for my own confident Opinion, void of any Prejudice or Danger of Diminution to your Greatness; and that is, the bringing of some martial Man to be of the *Council*; dealing directly with her Majesty in it, as for her Service, and your better Assistance: chusing, nevertheless, some Person that may be known not to come in against you by any former Division. I judge the fittest to be my Lord *Mountjoy*, or my Lord *Willoughby*. And if your Lordship see deeper into it than I do, that you wou'd not have it done in effect; yet in my Opinion, you may serve your turn by the pretence of it, and stay it nevertheless.

The *third* Impression is of a Popular Reputation; which, because 'tis a thing good in itself, being obtained as your Lordship obtains it, that is, *bonis artibus*; and because, well governed, 'tis one of the Flowers of your Greatness, both present and to come, it should be handled tenderly. The only way is to quench it *verbis*, not *rebus*: and therefore to take all occasions with the Queen, to speak against Popularity and popular Courses vehemently; and to tax it in all others; but, nevertheless, to go on in your honourable common-wealth Courses as you do. And therefore I will not advise you to cure this, by dealing in Monopolies, or any Oppressions; only, if in Parliament your Lordship be forward for Treasure, in respect of the Wars, it becomes your Person well: and if her Majesty object Popularity to you at any time, I would say to her, a *Parliament will shew that*; and so feed her with Expectation.

The *fourth* Impression, that of the Inequality between your Estate of Means and your Greatness of Respects, is not to be neglected. For believe it, my Lord, till her Majesty find you careful of your Estate, she will not only think you more likely to continue chargeable to her; but suppose you have higher Imaginations. The Remedies are, first, to profess it in all speeches to her: next, in such Suits wherein both Honour, Gift and Profit may be taken, to communicate freely with her Majesty, by way of inducing her to grant that it will be this benefit to you. Lastly, to be plain with your Lordship, nothing can make the Queen or the World think so much that you are come to a provident care of your Estate, as the altering of some of your Officers; who, tho' they are as true to you as one hand to the other; yet *opinio veritate major*: but if, in respect of the Bonds they may be entered into for your Lordship, you cannot so well dismiss them; this cannot be done but with Time.

For the *fifth* and last, which is of the Advantage of a Favourite; as, sever'd from the rest, it cannot hurt; so, join'd with them, it makes her Majesty more
fearful

fearful and apprehensive ; as not knowing her own Strength. The only Remedy for this is, to give way to some other Favourite, as in particular you shall find her Majesty inclined ; so that the Subject has no dangerous aspect towards yourself. For otherwise, whosoever shall tell me, that you may not have singular use of a Favourite at your devotion ; I will say he understands not the Queen's Affection, nor your Lordship's Condition.

October 4. 1596.

XI.

To the Earl of ESSEX; desiring he would excuse the Author's Design to the Queen, of going abroad, after his Refusal.

I Am sorry her Majesty should take my motion of Travelling in offence. But surely, under her Majesty's royal Correction, 'tis such an Offence as it would be to the Sun, when a Man, to avoid the scorching Heat thereof, flies into the Shade. And your Lordship may easily think, that having now, these twenty Years (for so long 'tis since I went with Sir *Amyas Paulet* into *France*^a, from her Majesty's royal Hand) made her Service the Scope of my Life ; I shall never find a greater grief than this, *relinquere amorem primum*. But since *principia actionum sunt tantum in nostra potestate* ; I hope her Majesty of her Clemency, and Justice, will pardon me, and not force me to pine here with melancholy. For, tho' my Heart be good, yet my Eyes will be sore ; so that I shall have no pleasure to look abroad. And if I should otherwise be affected, her Majesty, in her Wisdom, will but think me an impudent Man, that would face out a Disgrace. Therefore, as I have ever found you my good Lord and true Friend, I pray so open the matter to her Majesty, as she may discern the Necessity of it ; without adding hard Thoughts to her Rejection ; of which, I am sure, the latter I never deserved.

An. 1598.

XII.

To the Earl of ESSEX; upon the Earl's Expedition into Ireland.

YOUR late Observance of my Silence, in your Occasions, makes me set down a few wandring Lines, as one that would say somewhat, and can say nothing, upon your Lordship's intended Charge for *Ireland*. My Endeavour I know you will accept graciously and well ; whether you take

^a The Author being then about eighteen.

take it by the handle of the Occasion, minister'd from your self, or of the Affection from whence it proceeds.

Your Lordship is designed to a Service of great Merit and Danger : and as the Greatness of the Danger must needs include a like proportion of Merit ; so the Greatness of the Merit may include no small consequence of Danger ; if it be not temperately governed. For all immoderate Success extinguishes Merit, and stirs up Distaste and Envy ; the assured Fore-runners of whole Charges of Danger. But I am at the last Point first ; some good Spirit leading my Pen to preface Success to your Lordship : wherein, 'tis true, I am not without my Oracles and Divinations ; none of them superstitious, and yet not all natural. For first, looking into the Course of God's Providence, in things now depending ; and calling to mind, how great things God has done by her Majesty and for her ; I collect he has disposed of this great Defection in *Ireland*, thereby to give an urgent occasion to the Reduction of that whole Kingdom ; as upon the Rebellion of *Desmond* there ensued the Reduction of that whole Province.

Secondly, Your Lordship goes against three of the unluckiest Vices of all others ; Disloyalty, Ingratitude and Insolence ; which three Offences, in all Examples, have seldom their Doom adjourn'd to the next World.

Lastly, He that shall have had the honour to know your Lordship inwardly, as I have had, shall find *bona Exta* ; whereby he may better ground a Divination of Good, than upon the Dissection of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave ; as 'tis fit for others to be confident upon you, and you to be confident upon the Cause ; the Goodness and Justice whereof is such, as can hardly be matched in any Example : it being no ambitious War against Foreigners, but a Recovery of Subjects ; and that after Lenity of Conditions often tried ; and a Recovery of them not only to Obedience, but to Humanity and Policy from more than *Indian Barbarism*.

There is yet another kind of Divination, familiar to matters of State ; being that which *Demosthenes* so often relied upon, when he said, what for the Time past is worst of all, is for the Time to come the best : which is, that things go ill, not by Accident, but by Errors ; wherein, if your Lordship has been heretofore an awaking Censor ; yet you must look for no other now, but *Medice, cura tei sum*. And tho' you shall not be the happy Physician that comes in the Decline of the Disease ; yet you embrace that condition which many noble Spirits have accepted for Advantage ; which is, that you go upon the greater danger of your Fortune, and the less of your Reputation ; and so the Honour countervails the Adventure : of which Honour your Lordship is in no small possession, when her Majesty (known to be one of the most judicious Princes in discerning of Spirits that ever governed) has made choice of you, merely out of her royal Judgment, (her Affection inclining rather to continue your Attendance ;) into whose Hand and Trust to put the Command and Conduct of so great Forces ; the gathering the Fruit of so great Charge ; the Execution of so many Counsels ; the redeeming of the Defaults of so many former Governors ; and the clearing of the Glory of her so many happy Years Reign, only in this part eclipsed. Nay more, how

far the Danger of the State is interlaced with the Danger of *England*, and therefore how great the Honour is, to keep and defend the Approaches or Avenues of this Kingdom, I hear many discourse; and there is a great difference, whether the Tortoise gathers herself within her Shell hurt or unhurt.

And if any Man be of opinion, that the Nature of the Enemy extenuates the Honour of the Service, being but a Rebel and a Savage; I differ from him: for I see the justest Triumphs that the *Romans* in their Greatness obtain'd, and those from whence the Emperors in their Titles received Addition and Denomination, were of such an Enemy as this; that is, People barbarous, and not reduced to Civility, magnifying a kind of lawless Liberty, and prodigal of Life; harden'd in Body, fortified in Woods and Bogs, and placing both Justice and Felicity in the Sharpness of their Swords: such were the *Germans*, ancient *Britons*, and divers others. Upon which kind of People, whether the Victory were a Conquest or a Re-conquest, upon a Rebellion or a Revolt, it made no difference in Honour; and therefore 'tis not the enriching predatory War that has the Pre-eminence in Honour; else would it be more honour to bring in a Carrack of rich Burden, than one of the twelve *Spanish* Apostles^a. But then this Nature of the People yields a higher Point of Honour, considered in Truth and Substance, than any War can yield, which should be atchieved against a civil Enemy; if the end may be, *pacisque imponere morem*, to replant and refound the Policy of that Nation; to which nothing is wanting, but a just and civil Government: which Design, as it descends to you from your noble Father, who lost his Life in that Action, (tho' he paid tribute to Nature and not to Fortune;) so I hope your Lordship shall be as fatal a Captain to this War, as *Africanus* was to the War of *Carthage*; after both his Uncle and Father had lost their Lives in *Spain*, in the same War. Now tho' all this be not much to the purpose of Advice, yet 'tis what I have left me; being no military Man, and ignorant in the Particulars of State. For a Man may, by the Eye, set up the White in the midst of the Butt, tho' he be no Archer.

Therefore I will only add this Wish, according to the *English* Phrase, which terms a well-meant Advice, a Wish; that your Lordship in the whole Action, looking forward, would set it down, that Merit is worthier than Fame; and looking back hither, remember, *That Obedience is better than Sacrifice*. For endeavouring at Fame and Glory, may make your Lordship, in the Adventure of your Person, to be valiant as a private Soldier, rather than as a General: it may make you in your Commands rather to be gracious than disciplinary; it may make you press action rather hastily than seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to atchieve the War by force, than by intermixture of Practice; it may make you, if God shall send prosperous Beginnings, rather seek the Fruition of that Honour, than the Perfection of the Work in hand. And for the other Point, that is, the proceeding like a good Protestant, upon express Warrant, and not upon good Intention; your Lordship in your Wisdom knows, that as 'tis most fit for
you

^a Alluding to the *Spanish Armada*; wherein were twelve Ships, called by the Names of the twelve Apostles.

you to desire convenient liberty of Instructions, so 'tis no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them; remembering that the exceeding of them may not only procure, in case of adverse accidents, a dangerous disavow; but also, (in case of prosperous success) be subject to interpretation; as if all were not referred to the right end.

Thus I have presum'd to write to your Lordship, *in methodo ignorantiae*; which is, when a Man speaks of any Subject, not according to its merits, but according to the model of his own Knowledge: and most humbly desire that the weakness thereof may be supply'd in your Lordship, by a kind reception; as 'tis in me by my best wishes.

An. 1599.

XIII.

*To the Lord HENRY HOWARD; clearing himself of Asper-
sion in the Case of the Earl of ESSEX.*

THERE are very few besides your self, to whom I wou'd perform this respect; for I contemn *Mendacia Famæ*, as it walks among inferiors; tho' I neglect it not, as it may have entrance into some Ears. For your Lordship's love, rooted upon good Opinion, I esteem it highly; because I have tasted the Fruits of it; and we have both tasted of the best Waters, in my account, to knit Minds together. There is shap'd a tale in *London's* Forge, which beats apace at this time, that I shou'd deliver Opinion to the Queen, in my Lord of *Effex's* Cause; first, that 'twas *Praemunire*; and now last, that twas High Treason; and this Opinion to be in opposition and encounter of the Lord Chief Justice's Opinion, and the Attorney-General's. My Lord, I thank God, my Wit serves me not to deliver any Opinion to the Queen, which my Heart serves me not to maintain; one and the same Conscience of Duty guiding and fortifying me. But the untruth of this Fable, God and my Sovereign can witness; and there I leave it: knowing no more remedy against Lyes, than others do against Libels.

The Root, no question, of it is, partly, some light-headed Envy at my Accesses to her Majesty; which being begun and continu'd since my Childhood, as long as her Majesty shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those that shall think the contrary. And another reason is, the aspersion of this Tale, and the Envy thereof, upon some greater Man, in regard of my nearness. And therefore, my Lord, I pray you answer for me, to any Person that you think worthy your own Reply, and my Defence. As for my Lord of *Effex*, I am not servile to him; having regard to my Superior's Duty. I have been much obliged to him. And, on the other side, I have spent more Time, and more Thoughts, about his well doing, than ever I did about my own. I pray God that you, his Friends amongst you, be in the right. *Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem, quam quæ sunt salutaria.* For my part, I
I i i 2 have

have deserv'd better, than to have my Name objected to Envy; or my Life to a Ruffian's violence. ^a But I have the Privy-Coat of a good Conscience. I am sure these Courfes and Rumours hurt my Lord more than all. So having open'd my self to your Lordship, I desire exceedingly to be prefer'd in your good Opinion and Love.

XIV.

To Sir FULKE GREVILLE^b; complaining of his disappointment in Preferment.

I Understand of your pains to have visited me; for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you I had said, *requiesce anima mea*: but now I am otherwise put to my Psalter; *nolite confidere*. I dare go no farther. Her Majesty had, by set Speech, more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her Service; which I cou'd not understand but of the Place I had been named to. And now, whether *invidus homo hoc fecit*; or whether my matter must be an Appendix to my Lord of *Essex's* Suit; or whether her Majesty, pretending to prove my Ability, means but to take advantage of some Errors, which, like enough, at one time or other I may commit, or what it is; but her Majesty is not ready to dispatch it. And what tho' the *Master of the Rolls*, and my Lord of *Essex*, your self and others, think my Case certain; yet in the mean time, I have a hard condition to stand so, that whatever Service I do to her Majesty, it shall be thought to be but *Servitium viscatum*; Lime-twigs, and Fetches to place my self: and so I shall have Envy, not Thanks. This is a Course to quench all good Spirits, and to corrupt every Man's Nature; which will, I fear, much hurt her Majesty's Service in the end. I have been like a Piece of Stuff bespoken in the Shop; and if her Majesty will not take me, perhaps the selling by Parcels will be more gainful. For to be, as I told you, like a Child following a Bird, which when he is nearest flies away, and lights a little before, and then the Child after it again, and so on *in infinitum*; I am weary of it; as also of wearying my good Friends; of whom, nevertheless, I hope in one Course or other gratefully to deserve. And so not forgetting your Business, I cease to trouble you farther with this *justa & moderata Querimonia*: for indeed, I confess, *primus amor* will not be easily cast off.

XV.

^a To the same purpose, the Author writes another Letter, to Sir Robert Cecil, in the year 1600, concluding thus, "As to any Violence to be offer'd me, wherewith my Friends tell me, with no small Terror, I am threaten'd; I thank God I have the Privy-Coat of a good Conscience; and have long since put off any fearful care of Life, or the accidents of Life."

^b Afterwards Lord Brooke; and Chancellor of the Exchequer to King James.

XV.

To the QUEEN; upon his keeping from Court.

I Most humbly intreat your Majesty, not to impute my absence to any Weakness of Mind or Unworthiness: But I assure your Majesty, I find Envy beating so strongly upon me, that it were not strength of Mind, but stupidity, if I shou'd not decline the occasions; except I cou'd do your Majesty more service than I can any ways discern I am able to do. My Course towards your Majesty, (God is my witness) has been pure, and unleavened: and never poor Gentleman, I am persuaded, had a deeper and truer desire and care of your Glory, your Safety, your Repose of Mind, your Service; wherein, if I have exceeded my outward Vocation, I most humbly crave your Majesty's pardon for my presumption. On the other side, if I have come short of my inward Vocation; I most humbly crave God's pardon for quenching the Spirit. But in this mind I find much solitude, and want of comfort; which I judge to be, because I take Duty too exactly, and not according to the Dregs of this Age; wherein the old Anthem might never be more truly sung; *totus mundus in maligno positus est*. My Life has been threatened, and my Name libelled; which I count an honour. But these are the Practices of those whose Despairs are dangerous; yet not so dangerous as their Hopes; or else the Devices of some, that wou'd put out all your Majesty's Lights, and fall to reckoning how many years you have reign'd: which I beseech our blessed Saviour may be doubled; and that I may never live to see any eclipse of your Glory, interruption of Safety, or indisposition of your Person; which I recommend to the divine Majesty.

An. 1600.

XVI.

To the Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND; tendring Service.

AS the Time of sowing the Seed is known, but the Time of its coming up and disclosing, is casual, or according to the Season: so, I am a witness to my self, that there has been long cover'd in my Mind, a Seed of Affection and Zeal towards your Lordship; sown by the esteem of your Virtues, and your particular honours and favours to my Brother deceased, and my self; which Seed still springing, now bursts forth into this Profession. And to be plain with your Lordship, 'tis very true, (and no Wind of Civil Matters can blow this out of my Head or Heart;) that your great capacity, and love towards Studies and Contemplations of a higher and
 worthier

worthier Nature than popular, (a Nature rare in the World, and in a Person of your Lordship's quality almost singular;) is to me a great and chief motive to draw my Affection, and Admiration, towards you. And therefore, my Lord, if I may be of any use to your Lordship, by my Head, Tongue or Pen, Means or Friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own; and herewithal, not to do so much wrong to my good intention, nor partly to your own worth, as to conceive that this recommendation of my Service proceeds out of any straits of my Occasions; but merely out of an Election, and indeed the Fulness of my Heart.

An. 1603.

XVII.

To the Earl of DEVONSHIRE, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; apologizing for his Conduct, with relation to the Earl of ESSEX.

I Cannot be ignorant, and ought to be sensible of the Wrong I sustain in common Discourse, as if I had been false or ungrateful to the noble, but unfortunate Earl of *Essex*. For satisfying the vulgar sort, I do not so much regard it: tho' I love a good Name, 'tis yet but as a Handmaid, and Attendant of Honesty and Virtue. For I am of his opinion who said pleasantly, it was a shame that a Suitor to the Mistress shou'd make love to the Maid; and therefore to court common Fame, otherwise than it follows on honest Courses, I find my self no way fit or disposed. On the other side, there is no worldly thing that concerns my self, which I hold more dear, than the good Opinion of certain Persons; amongst whom, there is none I wou'd more willingly satisfy than your Lordship. First, because you loved my Lord of *Essex*, and therefore will not be partial to me; which is part of what I desire. Next, because it has ever pleased you to shew your self to me an honourable Friend; and so no baseness in me to endeavour to satisfy you. And lastly, because I know your Lordship is excellently grounded in the true rules and habits of Duties and Moralities; which are what must decide this matter. And here my defence needs be but simple and brief; for whatever I did in that action and proceeding, was done in my Duty and Service to the Queen and the State; in which I wou'd not shew my self false-hearted, nor faint-hearted, for any Man's sake living. For every honest Man that has his Heart well planted, will forsake his King rather than forsake God; and forsake his Friend rather than forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly Commodity, yea, and his own Life in some cases, rather than forsake his Friend. I hope the World has not forgot these degrees; else the Heathen saying, *Amicus usque ad aras; A Friend as far as Conscience will reach*; shall judge them.

And

And if any Man shall say, I did officiously intrude my self into that Business, because I had no ordinary Place; the like may be said, in effect, of all the Business that passed the Hands of the learned Counsel, either of State or Revenues these many years, wherein I was continually used. For, the Queen knew her strength so well, that she expected her Word shou'd be a Warrant; and after the manner of the best Princes before her, did not always tye her Trust to Place; but sometimes divided private Favour from Office. And for my part, tho' I was not so unpractis'd in the World, but I knew the Condition was subject to Envy and Danger: yet because I knew again she was constant in her Favours; and made an end where she began; and especially because she upheld me with extraordinary Access, and other Demonstrations of Confidence and Grace, I resolv'd to endure it in expectation of better.

But my Scope and Desire is, that your Lordship would have patience to know the truth, with some particularity, of all that has passed in this Cause, wherein I had any part; that you may perceive how honest a Heart I ever bore to my Sovereign, to my Country, and to that Nobleman, who had so well deserved of me, and so well accepted of my deservings; and whose fortune I cannot remember without much Grief. But for any action of mine towards him, there is nothing that passed me in my Life, that comes to my remembrance with more clearness, and less check of Conscience: for it will appear, that I was not only not opposite to my Lord of *Effex*, but that I employed the utmost of my Wits, and adventur'd my Fortune with the Queen, to have re-instated him; and so continued faithfully and industriously, till his last fatal Impatience: after which day, there was no time to work for him; tho' the same Affection in me, when it could not work on the proper Subject, went to the next; with no ill effect towards some others, who, I think, do rather not know it, than not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your Lordship, I shall leave nothing untold, that is Truth, for any enemy that I have, to add: and on the other side, I must reserve much that makes for me, in many respects of Duty; which I esteem above my Credit: and what I have here set down, I protest, as I hope to have any part in God's favour, is true.

'Tis well known, how I, many years since dedicated my Labours and Studies to the Use and Service of my Lord of *Effex*; which I protest I did not, as making choice of him for the likeliest means of my own Advancement; but out of the humour of a Man that ever, from the time I had any use of Reason, whether it were from reading good Books, or the example of a good Father, or by Nature, loved his Country more than was answerable to his Fortune. And I held, at that time, my Lord to be the fittest instrument of doing good to the State; and therefore applied myself to him in a manner which I think rarely happens among Men: for I did not only labour carefully and industriously in what he set me about, whether matter of advice or otherwise; but neglecting the Queen's Service, my own Fortune, and in a sort my Vocation, I did nothing but advise and ruminat with my self, to the best of my Understanding, Proposals and Memorials of any thing that might concern his Lordship's Honour, Fortune or Service. And when, not long after I enter'd into this course, my Brother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, came from beyond the Seas,

Seas ; being a Gentleman whose Abilities the World takes notice of for matters of State, especially foreign ; I likewise knit his Service to my Lord's disposing. And on the other side, I must and will ever acknowledge my Lord's Love, Trust, and Favour, towards me ; and last of all, his Liberality : having possessed me of Land, to the value of eighteen hundred Pounds ; and this at such a time, and with so kind and noble Circumstances, that the Manner was as much as the Matter. And the Manner of it was this. After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's Place, for which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from *Richmond* to *Twickenham-Park*, and say, "Mr. Bacon, the Queen has denied me the Place for you, and has placed another : I know you are the least part of your own matter ; but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your Mean and Dependence : you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters ; I die, (those were his very Words,) if I do not somewhat towards your Fortune ; you shall not deny to accept a piece of Land, which I will bestow upon you." I answered, that for my Fortune it was no great matter : but that his Lordship's offer made me call to mind what used to be said, when I was in *France*, of the Duke of *Guise* ; that he was the greatest Usurer in *France*, because he had turned all his Estate into Obligations ; meaning, that he had left himself nothing, but only had bound numbers of Persons to him. Now, my Lord, said I, I would not have you imitate his Course, nor turn your Estate thus, by great Gifts, into Obligations ; for you will find many bad Debtors. He bid me take no care for that ; and pressed it : whereupon I said, my Lord, I see I must be your Homager, and hold Land of your Gift ; but do you know the manner of doing homage in Law ? 'Tis always with a saving of his Faith to the King, and his other Lords ; and therefore, my Lord, said I, I can be no more yours than I was ; and it must be with the ancient Savings ; and if I grow to be a rich Man, you will allow me to give it back again, to some of your unrewarded Followers.

But to return ; sure I am, that while I had most credit with him, his Fortune went on best : and yet in two main points we always directly and contradictorily differed ; which I will mention, because it gives light to all that followed. The one was ; I ever set this down, that the only course to be held with the Queen, was by Obsequiousness and Observance : and I remember I would usually engage confidently ; that if he would take that course constantly, and with choice of good particulars to express it ; the Queen would be brought in time to *Abasuerus's* Question, *What should be done to the Man that the King would honour ?* Meaning that her Goodness was without limit, where there was a true Concurrence ; which I knew in her Nature to be true. My Lord, on the other side, had a settled Opinion, that the Queen could be brought to nothing but by a kind of Necessity and Authority ; and I well remember, when by violent courses at any time he had got his will, he would ask me, Now, Sir, whose Principles are true ? And I would again say to him ; my Lord, these courses are like hot Waters ; they will help at a pang, but if you use them, you will spoil the Stomach ; and be obliged still to make them stronger and stronger ; and yet in the
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end they will lessen their operation; with much other variety, wherewith I used to touch that string.

Another point was, that I always vehemently dissuaded him from seeking Greatness by a military, or popular Dependence; as what would breed Jealousy in the Queen, Presumption in himself, and Perturbation in the State: and I usually compared these two Dependencies to *Icarus's* two Wings, which were join'd on with Wax, and would make him venture to soar too high; then fall him at the height. And I would farther say to him; My Lord, stand upon two Feet, and fly not upon two Wings. The two Feet are the two kinds of Justice, commutative and distributive: use your Greatness for the advancing of Merit and Virtue, and relieving Wrongs and Burdens; you shall need no other Art or *Finesse*. But he would tell me, that Opinion came not from my Mind; but from my Robe.

It is very true, that I, who never meant to enthrall my self to my Lord of *Essex*, nor any other Man, more than stood with the Publick Good, did, tho' I cou'd prevail little, divert him by all means possible from Courses of the Wars and Popularity: for I saw plainly the Queen must either live or die; if she lived, the Times would be as in the Decline of an old Prince; if she died, the Times would be as in the Beginning of a new one; and that if his Lordship rose too fast in these Courses, the Times must be dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember, I was thus plain with him upon his Voyage to the Islands, when I saw every Spring put forth such actions of Charge and Provocation; and told him, My Lord, when I came first to you, I took you for a Physician, that desired to cure the Diseases of the State; but now I doubt you will be like those Physicians who can be content to keep their Patients low, because themselves would always be in request. Which plainness he, nevertheless, took very well; as he had an excellent Ear, and was *patientissimus veri*; and assured me, the case of the Realm requir'd it: and I think this Speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked him to write that Apology which is in many Men's hands.

But this difference in two points, so capital, and so material, bred in process of time a discontinuance of Privacy, (as the manner of Men is seldom to communicate where they think their Courses not approved,) between his Lordship and my self; so that I was not, as before, call'd nor advised with, for a Year and a half before his going into *Ireland*: yet as to his going, it pleas'd him expressly, and in a set manner, to desire my Opinion and Counsel. At which time, I did not only dissuade, but protest against his going; telling him, with as much Vehemence and Asseveration as I could, that Absence in that kind would exulcerate the Queen's Mind; whereby it would not be possible for him to carry himself so, as to give her sufficient Content; nor for her to carry herself so, as to give him sufficient Countenance: which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And because I would omit no Argument, I remember I stood also upon the Difficulty of the Action; setting before him out of History, that the *Isle* was such an Enemy as the ancient *Gauls*, or *Britons*, or *Germans* were: and that we saw how the *Romans*, who had such Discipline to govern their Soldiers, and such Donatives to encourage them, and the whole World in a manner to levy them;

yet when they came to deal with Enemies, that placed their Felicity only in Liberty, and the Sharpness of their Sword; and had the natural elemental Advantages of Woods and Bogs, and Hardness of Bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them; and therefore concluded, that going over with such expectation as he did, and the churlishness of the Enterprize not likely to answer it, would mightily diminish his Reputation. And many other Reasons I used; so that I never, in my life-time, dealt with him so earnestly both by Speech, by Writing, and all the means I could devise. For, I did, as plainly see his overthrow chain'd, as it were by Destiny, to that Journey; as 'tis possible for any Man to ground a Judgment upon future Contingents. But however his Ear was open, yet his Heart and Resolution were shut against that Advice; whereby his Ruin might have been prevented*.

After my Lord's going, I saw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the evident Alteration that naturally succeeded in the Queen's Mind; and thereupon I was still in watch, to find the best occasion that I cou'd either take or minister, to pluck him out of the fire; if it had been possible. And not long after, methought I saw some Overture thereof, which I apprehended readily; a Particular known to very few. And I the rather relate it, because I hear it is said, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I revealed some things against him, or I cannot tell what; which if it were not a mere Slander, as the rest is, but had any, tho' ever so little colour, was surely upon this occasion.

The Queen, one day at *Nonfuch*, (a little before *Cuffe's* coming over,) where I attended her, shew'd a passionate distaste of my Lord's proceedings in *Ireland*; as if they were unfortunate, rash, contemptuous, and not without some private End of his own, and all that might be; and was pleased, as she spoke of it to many whom she trusted least, so to fall into the like Discourse with me: whereupon I, who was still awake, and true to my grounds, which I thought surest for my Lord's good, said to this effect: "Madam, I know not the Particulars of State; but I know this, that Prince's Actions must have no abrupt Periods or Conclusions; otherwise I should think, that if you had my Lord of *Essex* here, with a white Staff in his hand, as my Lord of *Leicester* had; and continued him still about you, for Society to your self, and for an Honour and Ornament to your Attendance and Court, in the Eyes of your People, and in the Eyes of foreign Ambassadors, then were he in his proper Element; for to discontent him as you do, and yet to put Arms and Power in his hands, may be a kind of Temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly. And, therefore, if you would *imponere bonam clausulam*, and send for him; and satisfy him with Honour here near you, if your Affairs, which I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think were the best way." Which Course, your Lordship knows, if it had been taken, all had been well; and no Contempt in my Lord's coming over, nor continuance of these Jealousies, which that Employment of *Ireland* bred; and my Lord here in his former Greatness.

The next news I heard was, that my Lord was come over; and committed to his Chamber, for leaving *Ireland* without the Queen's Licence. This was

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* If Letter XII. preceding, does not appear to answer this Character fully; we must consider it wrote, as it was, immediately before the *Earl's* Departure, for *Ireland*; when the Expedition was resolv'd upon.

at *Nonfuch* ; where I came to his Lordship, and talked with him privately about a quarter of an hour : and he asked my opinion of the course that was taken with him. I told him, “ My Lord, *Nubecula est, cito transibit* ; it is “ but a Mist. But I shall tell your Lordship, it is as Mists are ; if it go “ upwards, it may perhaps cause a shower ; if downwards, it will clear up. “ And therefore, my good Lord, carry it so, as to take away, by all means, “ all Umbrage and Distaste from the Queen ; and especially, if I were worthy to advise you, observe three Points : *First*, make not this Cessation or “ Peace, concluded with *Tyrone*, as a Service wherein you glory ; but as a “ shuffling up of a Prosecution which was not very fortunate. *Next*, represent “ not to the Queen any necessity of State, whereby, as by a Coercion or “ Wrench, she should think herself enforced to send you back into *Ireland* ; “ but leave it to her. *Thirdly*, seek access *importunè, opportunè, seriously,* “ *sportingly, every way.*” I remember my Lord was willing to hear me, but spoke little, and shook his Head sometimes, as if he had thought I was in the wrong ; but sure I am, he did just contrary in every one of these three points.

After this, during the time my Lord was committed to the Lord-Keeper's, I often came to the Queen, as I used to do about Causes of her Revenue and Law-Business, as is well known ; by reason of which Access, according to the ordinary Charities of Court, it was given out, that I was one of them that incensed the Queen against my Lord of *Essex*. I will not think that these Speeches grew any way from her Majesty's own Speeches, whose Memory I shall ever honour ; if they did, she is with God : and *Miserum est ab illis lædi, de quibus non possis quæri*. But I must give this Testimony to my Lord *Cecil*, that once, in his House at the *Savoy*, he dealt with me directly, and said to me, “ Cousin, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you should do “ some ill office to my Lord of *Essex* : for my part I am merely passive, and “ not active in this Action ; I follow the Queen, and that heavily, for I lead “ her not. My Lord of *Essex* is one that in Nature I could consent with, as well “ as with any one living ; the Queen indeed is my Sovereign, and I am “ her Creature : I may not lose her : and the same course I would wish you “ to take.” Whereupon I satisfied him how far I was from any such mind.

And as sometimes it happens, that Men's Inclinations are open'd more in a Toy, than in a serious matter ; a little before, about the middle of *Michaelmas* Term, her Majesty proposed to dine at my Lodge, at *Twicknam Park* ; against which I had prepared a *Sonnet*, directly tending to draw on her Majesty's Reconciliation to my Lord ; which I also shewed to a great Person ; and one of my Lord's nearest Friends, who commended it. This, tho' it be but a Toy, yet plainly shewed in what Spirit I proceeded ; and that I was ready, not only to do my Lord good Offices, but to publish and declare myself for him.

And never was I so ambitious of any thing in my life, as to have carried some Token or Favour from her Majesty to my Lord ; using all the Art I had, both to procure her Majesty to send, and myself to be the Messenger. For I feared not to alledge, that this Proceeding towards my Lord, was a thing in the People's eyes very ungracious ; and therefore wish'd her Majesty, whatever she did, to discharge herself of it, and lay it upon others ; and

therefore, that she should intermix her Proceedings with some immediate Graces from herself, that the World might take knowledge of her princely Nature and Goodness; lest it should alienate the Hearts of her People from her: which I stood upon; knowing well, that if she once relented, to send or visit, those Demonstrations would prove matter of substance for my Lord's Good. And to draw that Employment upon myself, I advised her Majesty, that whenever God should move her to turn the light of her Favours towards my Lord, to make signification to him thereof; that her Majesty, if she did it not in Person, would at least use some such means, as might not entitle themselves to any part of the Thanks, as Persons that were thought powerful with her to work her, or to bring her about; but to use one that could not be thought more than a mere Conduit of her own Goodness. But I could never prevail with her; tho' I am persuaded she saw plainly whereat I levelled; and held me in jealousy, that I was not hers entirely, but still had inward and deep Respects towards my Lord, more than then stood with her Will and Pleasure.

About the same time, I remember an Answer of mine in a matter that had some affinity with my Lord's Cause; and tho' it grew from me, yet went about in other's Names. For her Majesty was highly incensed with a Book, dedicated to my Lord of *Effex*; being a History of the first Year of King *Henry IV.* as thinking it a detestable Prelude, to put Boldness and Faction into the People's head; and said, she had an opinion, there was Treason in it; and asked me, if I could find no Passages in it that might be drawn within the Case of Treason. Whereunto I answered, for Treason I found none; but for Felony very much. And when her Majesty hastily asked me wherein; I told her, the Author had committed very apparent Theft; for he had taken most of the Sentences of *Tacitus*, translated them into *English*, and put them into his Text. And another time, when the Queen would not be persuaded, that it was his writing whose Name was to it; but that it had some more mischievous Author; and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his Author: I replied, Nay, Madam, he is a Doctor; never rack his Person, but rack his Style; let him have Pen, Ink, Paper, and help of Books, and be enjoined to continue the History where it breaks off; and I will undertake, by collating the Styles, to judge whether he were the Author or no.

But for the main Matter, sure I am, when the Queen at any time asked my Opinion of my Lord's Case, I ever in one tenor said to her; that they were Faults which the Law might term Contempts; because they were the Transgression of her particular Directions and Instructions: but then, what defence might be made for them, in regard of the great Interest the Person had in her Majesty's Favour; in regard of the Greatness of his Place, and the Largeness of his Commission; in regard of the Nature of the Business, being Action of War, which in common Cases cannot be tied to Strictness of Instructions; in regard to distance of the Place, having also a Sea between, that his Demands and her Commands must be subject to Wind and Weather; in regard of a Council of State in *Ireland*, which he had at his Back to avow his Actions upon; and lastly, in regard of a good Intention, that he would alledge

alledge for himself; which I told her in some Religions was held a sufficient Dispensation for God's Commandments; much more for Princes. In all these regards, I besought her Majesty to be advised again and again, how she brought the Cause into any publick Question.

Nay, I went farther; for I told her, my Lord was an eloquent and well-spoken Man; and besides his Eloquence of Nature or Art, he had an Eloquence of Accident, that surpassed them both, which was the Pity and Benevolence of his Hearers. And therefore, that when he should come to answer for himself, I believed his Words would have such unequal Passage above theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Majesty's Honour; and therefore wished the Conclusion might be, to wrap it up privately between themselves; and that she would restore my Lord to his former Attendance, with some addition of Honour, to take away discontent.

But this I will never deny, that I shew'd no Approbation generally of his being sent back into *Ireland*; both because it would have carried a Repugnancy to my former Discourse; and because I was, in my own Heart, fully persuaded, it was not good either for the Queen, for the State, or for himself: and yet I did not dissuade it, but left it ever as *Locus lubricus*. For this particular, I well remember, that after your Lordship was named for the Place in *Ireland*, and not long before your going, it pleas'd her Majesty at *Whitehall* to speak to me of that Nomination: at which time I said to her; "Surely, Madam, if you mean not to employ my Lord of *Effex* thither again, your Majesty cannot make a better choice:" and was going on to shew some reason, but her Majesty interrupted me with great Passion. "*Effex!*" said she; "whenever I send *Effex* back again into *Ireland*, I will marry you; claim it of me." Whereto I said; "Well, Madam, I will release that Contract, if his going be for the good of your State."

Immediately after, the Queen thought of a Course to have Somewhat published in the *Star-Chamber*, for the satisfaction of the World, about my Lord of *Effex* his Restraint, and my Lord not to be called to it; but the occasion to be taken by reason of some Libels then dispersed. Which when her Majesty propos'd to me, I was utterly against it; and told her plainly, that the People would say, my Lord was wounded in his Back; and that Justice had her Ballance taken from her; which ever consisted of an Accusation and Defence; with many other quick and significant Terms to that purpose: insomuch, that I remember I said, my Lord in *Foro Fame* was too hard for her; and therefore I wish'd her, as I had done before, to wrap it up privately. And certainly I offend'd her at that time; which was rare with me: for I call to mind, that both the *Christmas*, *Lent*, and *Easter Term* following, tho' I came divers times to her, upon Law Business; yet methought her Face and Manner was not so clear and open to me as at the first. And she directly charg'd me, that I was absent that day at the *Star-Chamber*; which was very true: but I alledged some Indisposition of Body to excuse it: and during all the time aforesaid, there was *altum Silentium* from her to me, as to my Lord of *Effex*'s Causes.

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But towards the end of *Easter Term*, her Majesty told me, that she had found my Words true; for the Proceeding in the *Star-Chamber* had done no good, but rather kindled factious Bruits, as she term'd them, than quenched them; and therefore that she was determined now, for the Satisfaction of the World, to proceed against my Lord in the *Star-Chamber*, by an Information *Ore tenus*; and to have my Lord brought to his Answer. However, she said, she would assure me, that whatever she did should be towards my Lord *ad castigationem, & non ad destructionem*; as indeed she had often repeated the same Phrase before. Whereto I said; utterly to divert her; "Madam, if you will have me speak to you in this Argument, I must speak to you as *Friar Bacon's* Head spoke; that said first, *Time is*; and then, *Time was*; and *Time will never be*: for certainly 'tis now too late; the Matter is cold, and has taken too much Wind." Whereto she seem'd again offended, and rose from me; and that resolution for a while continued: and after, in the Beginning of *Midsummer Term*, I attending her; and finding her settled in that Resolution, she falling upon the like Speech; 'tis true, that seeing no other Remedy, I said to her slightly, "Why, Madam, if you will needs have a Proceeding, you were best have it in some such sort as *Ovid* spoke of his Mistress; *est aliquid Luce patente minus*; to make a Council-table Matter of it; and there an end." Which again she seem'd to take ill: but yet I think it did good at that time; and help'd to divert the Course of Proceeding by Information in the *Star-Chamber*.

Nevertheless, it pleased her to make a more solemn matter of the Proceeding; and a few days after, Order was given that the Cause should be heard at *Tork-houfe*, before an Assembly of Counsellors, Peers, and Judges; and some Audience of Men of Quality to be admitted: and then did some principal Counsellors send for us of the *learned Counsel*, and notified her Majesty's Pleasure to us; only it was said to me openly, by one of them, that her Majesty was not yet resolv'd, whether she would have me forborn in the Business or not. And hereupon might arise that other sinister and untrue Report, that I hear is raised of me, that I was a Suitor to be used against my Lord of *Essex* at that time: for 'tis very true, that I who knew well what had passed between the Queen and me; and what occasion I had given her both of Dislike and Distrust, in crossing her Disposition, by standing stedfast for my Lord of *Essex*; and suspecting it also to be a Stratagem, arising from some particular Emulation; I writ to her two or three Words of Complement, signifying to her Majesty, that if she would be pleas'd to spare me in my Lord of *Essex's* Cause, out of the Consideration she took of my Obligation towards him; I should esteem it one of her greatest Favours: but otherwise, desiring her Majesty to think that I knew the degrees of Duties; and that no particular Obligation whatever, to any Subject, could supplant or weaken that Entireness of Duty that I owed, and bore, to her and her Service. And this was the goodly Suit I made; being a respect that no Man in his Wits could have omitted. But nevertheless, I had a farther reach in it; for I judg'd that day's work would be a full Period of any Bitterness or Harshness, between the Queen and my Lord: and therefore, if I declared myself fully, according to her Mind
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at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of prejudice, I should keep my credit with her for ever after, whereby to do my Lord service. Hereupon, the next news that I heard, was, that we were all sent for again; and that her Majesty's Pleasure was, we all should have parts in the Business: and the Lords falling into Distribution of our Parts, it was allotted me, that I should set forth some undutiful Carriage in my Lord; in giving occasion and countenance to a *seditions Pamphlet*, as it was term'd, which was dedicated to him; this being the Book before mentioned of King *Henry IV.* Whereupon, I replied to their Lordships, that it was an old Matter; and had no manner of Coherence with the rest of the Charge, being Matters of *Ireland*; and therefore that I having been wronged by Bruits before, this would expose me the more to them: and it would be said I gave in my own Tales in evidence. It was answered again, with good shew, that considering how I stood tied to my Lord of *Essex*, that part was thought fittest for me, which did him least hurt: for whereas all the rest was Matter of Charge and Accusation; this only was Matter of Caveat and Admonition. Wherewith, tho' I was in my own Mind little satisfied; because I knew well a Man were better to be charged with some Faults, than admir'd of others; yet the Conclusion binding upon the Queen's Pleasure directly, I could not avoid the Part laid upon me. And if in the Delivery I did not handle this Part tenderly, (tho' no Man before me, in so clear terms, freed my Lord of all Disloyalty;) that must be ascribed to the superior Duty I owed to the Queen's Fame and Honour, in a publick Proceeding; and partly to the Intention I had of upholding myself in credit and strength with the Queen, the better to do my Lord good Offices afterwards.

For as soon as this day was past, I lost no time; but directly attended her Majesty, fully resolv'd to try and use my utmost endeavours to bring my Lord again speedily into Court and Favour. And knowing how the Queen was to be used; I thought, that to make her conceive the Matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there: and I remember, I said to her, "You have now, Madam, obtain'd victory over two things, which the
"greatest Princes in the World cannot at their Wills subdue; the one is over
"Fame; the other is over a great Mind: for surely the World is now reason-
"ably well satisfied: and for my Lord, he shewed such Humiliation towards
"your Majesty, that I am persuad'd he was never in his Life more fit for
"your Majesty's Favour than now: therefore, if your Majesty will not spoil
"it by lingring, but give over at the best, and, when you have made so good
"a full-point, receive him again with Tenderness; I shall then think that all
"past is for the best." Whereat, I remember, she took exceeding great content; and often repeated and put me in mind, that she had ever said, her Proceedings should be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*; as intimating that now was the time I should well perceive, that saying of hers should prove true. And farther, she order'd me to set down in writing all that past that day. I obey'd her Command; and within a few days after, brought her again the Narration; which I read to her in two several Afternoons. And when I came to the Part that set forth my Lord's own Answer, which

was

was my principal Care; I well remember she was extraordinarily moved with it, in kindness and relenting towards my Lord; and told me afterwards, speaking how well I had expressed my Lord's Part, that she perceived old Love would not easily be forgot: whereto I answered suddenly, that she meant that of her self. In conclusion I advised her, that now she had taken a Representation of the Matter to her self, she would let it go no farther; for, Madam, said I, the Fire blazes well already; why should you stir it? And besides, it may please you to keep a Convenience with your self in this case: for since your express Direction was, there should be no Register nor Clerk to take this Sentence; nor no Record or Memorial made of the Proceeding; why should you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done judicially? Whereupon she agreed, that Writing should be suppressed; and I think there were not five Persons that ever saw it.

But from this time, during the whole latter end of that Summer, while the Court was at *Nonfuch* and *Oatlands*, I made it my Task and Scope to take and give occasion for my Lord's Re-instatement in his Fortunes: which Intention I also signified to my Lord, as soon as ever he was at his liberty; so that I might without danger of the Queen's Indignation, write to him. And having received from his Lordship, a courteous and loving Acceptation of my Good-will and Endeavours, I applied it in all my accesss to the Queen, which were very many at that time; and purposely sought and wrought upon other variable Pretences, but only and chiefly for that purpose. On the other side, I did not forbear to give my Lord, from time to time, the faithful notice of what I found; and what I wished. And I drew for him, by his Appointment, some Letters to her Majesty; which tho' I knew well his Lordship's Gift and Style was better than my own; yet, because he required it, alledging, that by his long restraint he was grown almost a Stranger to the Queen's present Conceits, I was ready to perform it. And sure I am, that for the space of six Weeeks, or two Months, it prospered so well, that I expected continually his being restored to his Attendance. And I was never more welcome to the Queen, nor more made of, than when I spoke fullest and boldest for him; in which kind the particulars were exceeding many: whereof, for an Example, I will relate one or two. Her Majesty once speaking of a Fellow that undertook to cure, or ease my Brother of his Gout; she asked me how it went forward: I told her Majesty, that at the first he received good by it; but after, in the course of his Cure, he found himself rather worse. The Queen said again, "I will tell you, *Bacon*, the Error of
 " it: the manner of these Physicians, and especially these Empiricks, is to
 " continue one kind of Medicine; which at first is proper; being to draw
 " out the ill humour; but after they have not the discretion to change their
 " Medicine; but still apply drawing Medicines, when they should rather in-
 " tend to cure and corroborate the Parts." " Good Lord, Madam, said I,
 " how wisely and aptly you can speak, and discern, of Physick minister'd to
 " the Body; and consider not that there is the like occasion of Physick mi-
 " nister'd to the Mind: as now in the Case of my Lord of *Essex*, your
 " princely

“ Princely Word ever was, that you intended to reform his Mind, and not to ruin his Fortune: I know well you cannot but think, you have drawn the Humour sufficiently; and therefore it is more than time, if it were but for fear of mortifying, or exulcerating, that you apply’d and minister’d Strength and Comfort to him; for these Gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt than correct any Mind of greatness.” Another time I remember she told me for News, that my Lord had wrote her some very dutiful Letters; and that she had been mov’d by them; and when she took it to be the abundance of his Heart, she found it to be but a preparative to a Suit for renewing his Farm of sweet Wines. Whereto I reply’d, “ O Madam, how your Majesty construes these things! as if these two cou’d not well stand together; which indeed Nature has planted in all Creatures! For there are but two Sympathies; the one towards Perfection, the other towards Preservation; that to Perfection, as the Iron tends to the Loadstone; that to Preservation, as the Vine creeps towards a Stake or Prop that stands by it: not for any love to the Stake, but to uphold it self. And therefore, Madam, you may distinguish my Lord’s desire to do you service is as to his Perfection; and that which he thinks himself born for: whereas his desire to obtain this thing of you, is but for a Sustainment.”

And not to trouble your Lordship with many other particulars like these, it was at the same time that I drew, with my Lord’s privity, and by his appointment, two Letters; the one written as from my Brother; the other as an Answer return’d from my Lord; both to be by me, in secret, shew’d to the Queen: which it pleas’d my Lord very strangely to mention at the Bar. The scope of them was but to represent and picture to her Majesty, my Lord’s mind to be such, as I knew her Majesty wou’d most have had it. Which Letters, whoever shall see, (for they cannot now be retract’d or alter’d, being by reason of my Brother’s, or his Lordship’s Servants delivery, long since come into several hands;) let him judge, especially if he knew the Queen, and remember those Times, whether they were not the labours of one that sought to bring the Queen about, for my Lord of *Essex* his good.

The truth is, the issue of all his dealing grew to this, that the Queen had by some slackness of my Lord’s, as I imagine, lik’d him worse and worse; and grew more incens’d towards him. Then she remembring, probably, the continual, incessant, and confident Speeches and Courtes, that I had held on my Lord’s side, became utterly alienated from me; and for the space of three months, which was between *Michaelmas* and *New-year’s-tide* following, wou’d not so much as look on me; but turned away from me, with express and purpos’d Discountenance, wherever she saw me; and at such time as I desired to speak with her about Law-busines, ever sent me very slight refusals: in-somuch that immediately after *New-year’s-tide*, I desir’d to speak with her; and being admitted to her, I dealt plainly with her; and said, “ Madam, I see you withdraw your Favour from me; and now I have lost many Friends for your sake, I shall lose you too; you have put me, like one of

“ those the *French* call *Enfans perdus*, that serve on foot before the Horse ;
 “ so have you put me into matters of Envy without Place, or without
 “ Strength ; and I know at Chefs a Pawn before the King is ever much
 “ plaid upon. A great many love me not, because they think I have been a-
 “ gainst my Lord of *Effex* ; and you love me not, because you know I have
 “ been for him : yet it will never repent me, that I have dealt in simplicity
 “ of Heart towards you both, without respect of Cautions to my self ; and
 “ therefore *vivus, vidensque perco*. If I do break my Neck, I shall do it as
 “ *Dorrington* did, who walked on the Battlements of the Church many days,
 “ and took a view and survey where he shou'd fall : and so, Madam, I am
 “ not so simple, but that I have a prospect of my Overthrow ; only I
 “ thought I wou'd tell you so much, that you may know it was Faith, and not
 “ Folly, that brought me to it ; and so I will pray for you.” Upon which
 Speech of mine, uttered with some passion, her Majesty was exceedingly
 moved ; and accumulated a number of kind and gracious Words upon me ;
 and will'd me to rest upon this, *gratia mea sufficit* ; and a number of other
 sensible and tender Words and Demonstrations ; such as greater cou'd not be :
 but as to my Lord of *Effex*, *ne verbum quidem*. Whereupon I departed,
 resting then determin'd to meddle no more in the matter ; as what I saw
 wou'd overthrow me, and not do him any good. And thus I then made
 my own Peace, with my own Confidence.

And this was the last time I saw her Majesty, before the eighth of *Februa-*
ry, the day of my Lord of *Effex*'s misfortune ; after which, what I perform'd
 at the Bar, in my publick Service, your Lordship knows, by the rules of
 Duty, I was to do it honestly, and without prevarication : but for putting
 my self into it, I protest before God, I never mov'd either the Queen, or
 any Person living, concerning my being us'd in the Service, either of Evi-
 dence or Examination ; but it was merely laid upon me, with the rest of
 my Fellows. And for the time that pass'd between the Arraignment and
 my Lord's suffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queen ; when,
 tho' I durst not deal directly for my Lord as things then stood ; yet generally
 I both commended her Majesty's Mercy, terming it to her as an excellent
 Balm, that continually distill'd from her sovereign Hands, and made an ex-
 cellent Odour in the Senses of her People : and not only so, but I took the
 hardiness to extenuate, not the Fact, for that I durst not, but the Danger ;
 telling her, that if some base or cruel-minded Persons had enter'd into such an
 Action, it might have caus'd much Blood and Combustion : but it well ap-
 pear'd, they were such as knew not how to play the Malefactors ; and some
 other Words, which I now omit.

And for the rest of my carriage in that Service, I have honourable Wit-
 nesses ; who can tell, that the next day after my Lord's Arraignment, by my
 diligence and information, touching the Quality and Nature of the Offenders,
 six of nine were staid, which otherwise had been attainted ; I bringing
 their Lordship's Letter for their stay, after the Jury was sworn to pass up-
 on them ; so near it went : and how careful I was, and made it my part,
 that whosoever was in trouble about that matter, as soon as ever his Case

was

was sufficiently known and defined of, might not continue in restraint, but be set at liberty; and many other Parts, which, I am well assur'd of, stood with the Duty of an honest Man.

But for the Case of Sir *Thomas Smith*, I will not deny that the Queen demanding my Opinion of it, I told her, I thought it was as hard as many of the rest; but what was the reason? Because at that time I had seen only his Accusation, and had never been present at any Examination of his; and the matter so standing, I had been very untrue to my Service, if I had not deliver'd that Opinion. But afterwards, upon Re-examination of some that charged him, and weaken'd their own Testimony; and especially hearing himself *viva voce*; I went instantly to the Queen, out of the soundness of my Conscience, not regarding what Opinion I had formerly deliver'd; and told her Majesty, I was satisfy'd and resolv'd in my Conscience, that, for the reputation of the Action, the Plot was to countenance the Action farther by him, in respect of his Place, than they had indeed any interest or intelligence with him.

It is very true also, about that time her Majesty taking a liking to my Pen, upon what I had formerly done concerning the Proceeding at *York-House*, and likewise upon some other Declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writing; commanded me to write that Book, which was published, for the better satisfaction of the World: which I did, but so, as never Secretary had more particular and express Directions and Instructions, in every Point, how to guide my Hand in it. And not only this, but after I had made a first draught thereof, and propos'd it to certain principal Counsellors, by her Majesty's appointment, it was perus'd, weigh'd, censur'd, and made almost a new Writing, according to their Lordships better consideration; wherein their Lordships and my self were as religious and curious of Truth, as desirous of Satisfaction: and my self indeed gave only words, and form of style, in pursuing their direction. And after it had pass'd their allowance, it was again exactly perus'd by the Queen her self; and some alterations made again by her appointment: nay, and after it was sent to the Press, the Queen, who, as she was excellent in great matters, so she was exquisite in small; not'd that I could not forget my ancient respect to my Lord of *Essex*, in terming him ever my Lord of *Essex*, almost in every Page of the Book; which she thought not fit, but would have it made *Essex*, or the late Earl of *Essex*; whereupon it was printed *de novo*; and the first Copies suppress'd by her peremptory command.

And this, my Lord, to my best remembrance, is all that pass'd wherein I had a part; which I have set down, as near as I could, in the very Words and Speeches that were us'd; not because they are worthy the repetition, I mean, those of my own; but to the end your Lordship may lively and plainly discern between the Face of Truth, and a smooth Tale: and the rather also, because in things that pass'd a good while since, the very Words and Phrases did sometimes bring to my remembrance the Matters; wherein I appeal to your honourable Judgment, whether you do not see the traces of

an honest Man: and had I been as well believed either by the Queen or by my Lord, as I was well heard by them, both my Lord had been fortunate, and so had my self, in his fortune.

To conclude therefore, I humbly pray your Lordship to hold me in your good opinion, till you know I have deserved, or find that I shall deserve the contrary.

XVIII.

To Mr ROBERT KEMPE; upon the Death of the Queen.

THIS alteration is so great, that you might justly conceive some coldness of my Affection towards you, if you should hear nothing from me; I living in this place. 'Tis in vain to tell you with what a wonderful still, and calm this Wheel is turn'd round; which, whether it be a *Remnant* of her *Felicity*^a that is gone, or a *Fruit* of his *Reputation* that is coming, I will not determine. For I cannot but divide my self between her *Memory* and his *Name*. Yet we account it but a fair Morn, before Sun-rising, till his Majesty's presence; tho' for my part I see not whence any *Weather* should arise. The *Papists* are contained with *Fear* enough, and *Hope* too much. The *French* is thought to turn his *Practice* upon procuring some disturbance in *Scotland*; where *Crowns* may do wonders: But this *Day* is so welcome to the *Nation*, and the time so short, that I do not fear the *Effect*. There is a continual posting by *Men* of good quality towards the *King*; the rather, I think, because this *Spring-time* 'tis but a kind of sport. 'Tis hoped that as the *State* here has performed the part of good *Attorneys*, to deliver the *King* quiet possession of his *Kingdoms*; so the *King* will redeliver them quiet possession of their *Places*; rather filling *Places* void, than removing *Men* placed.

An. 1603.

XIX.

To Sir THOMAS CHALONER^b, in Scotland, before the King's Entrance; desiring recommendation to his Majesty.

FOR our Money-matters, I am assured you received no dissatisfaction; for you know my *Mind*, and you know my *Means*; which now the openness of the time, caused by this blessed *Consent*, and *Peace*, will increase; and so our *Agreement*, according to your time, be observed. For the present, according to the *Roman Adage*, that *one Cluster of Grapes ripens best beside another*; I know you hold me not unworthy, whose mutual
friendship

^a See the Author's Account of her *Felicity*, Vol. I. *Supplement* III.

^b Preceptor to Prince *Henry*, and the first Discoverer of *Alum-Mines* in *England*.

friendship you should cherish: and I, for my part, conceive good hope, that you are likely to become an acceptable Servant to the King our Master: not so much for any Way made heretofore, (which, in my judgment, will make no great difference) as for the Stuff and Sufficiency which I know to be in you; and whereof, I know, his Majesty may reap great service. And therefore, my general request is, that according to that industrious Vivacity, which you use towards your Friends, you will further his Majesty's good Opinion and Inclination towards me; to whom Words cannot make me known; neither my own, nor others; but Time will, to no disadvantage of any that shall fore-run his Majesty's experience, by their Testimony and Commendation. And tho' occasion give you the precedence of doing me this special good Office; yet I hope shortly to have means of requiting your Favour. More particularly, having thought good to make oblation of my most humble Service to his Majesty by a few Lines; I desire your loving care, and help, by your self, or such means as I refer to your discretion, to deliver and present the same to his Majesty's hands. Of which Letter I send you a Copy, that you may know what you carry; and may receive of Mr. *Matthews* the Letter it self, if you be pleased to undertake the delivery. Lastly, I commend to your self, and such your Courtesies, as occasion may require, this Gentleman Mr. *Matthews*, eldest Son to my Lord Bishop of *Durham*, and my very good Friend; assuring you, that any Courtesy you shall use towards him, you shall use to a very worthy young Gentleman, and one, I know, whose acquaintance you will much esteem.

An. 1603.

XX.

To the KING; offering Service upon his Majesty's coming in.

TIS observed by some, upon a place in the *Canticles*, *ego sum flos campi, & lilium convallium*, that, *à dispari*, 'tis not said, *ego sum flos horti & lilium montium*; because the Majesty of that Person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriated to the great. And yet, notwithstanding this royal virtue of Access, which both Nature and Judgment have planted in your Majesty's Mind, as the Portal of all the rest; could not alone, my Imperfections considered, have animated me to make oblation of my self immediately to your Majesty, had it not been join'd with a habit of the like Liberty, which I enjoy'd with my late dear sovereign Mistress; a Princess happy in all things, but most happy in such a Successor. And yet farther, and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged upon a supposal, that to your Majesty's sacred Ear, there might perhaps have come some notice of the good Memory of my Father^a, so long a principal Counsellor in this your King-

^a *Viz.* Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal for twenty Years, under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Kingdom; as also a more particular knowledge of the infinite Devotion and incessant Endeavours, beyond the Strength of his Body, and the Nature of the Times, which appeared in my good Brother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, towards your Majesty's Service; and were, on your Majesty's part, thro' your singular Benignity, by many most gracious and lively Significations and Favours, accepted and acknowledged, beyond the merit of any thing he could effect: which Endeavours and Duties, for the most part, were common to myself with him; tho' by design, as between Brethren, dissèmbled. And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread sovereign Lord, since now the Corner-stone is laid of the mightiest Monarchy in *Europe*; and that God above, who has ever a hand in bridling the Floods and Motions both of the Seas, and of People's Hearts, has, by the miraculous and universal Consent, in your coming in, given a sign and token of great Happiness, by the Continuance of your Reign; I think there is no Subject of your Majesty's, who loves this Island, and is not hollow or unworthy, whose Heart is not set on fire, not only to bring you Peace-offerings, to make you propitious; but to sacrifice himself a Burnt-offering to your Majesty's Service: amongst which number, no Man's fire shall be more pure and fervent than mine; but how far it shall blaze out, rests in your Majesty's Pleasure. So thirsting after the Happiness of kissing your royal Hand, I continue ever, &c.

An. 1603.

XXI.

To the Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND; recommending a Proclamation to be made by the King at his Entrance.

I Hold it a thing formal and necessary, for the King to forerun his coming, (be it ever so speedy,) with some gracious Declaration; for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of Men's Affections. For which purpose, I have conceived a Draught; it being a thing familiar in my Mistress's Times, to have my Pen used in publick Writings of Satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: First, properly, if your Lordship think it convenient to shew the King any such Draught; because the Veins and Pulses of this State cannot but be best known here: which, if your Lordship should do, then I would desire you to withdraw my Name; and only signify, that you gave some Heads of Direction, of such a Matter to one, of whose Style and Pen you had some opinion. The other is collateral; that tho' your Lordship make no other use of it, yet 'tis a kind of Portraiture of that, which I think worthy to be advised, by your Lordship, to the King; and perhaps more compendious and significant, than if I had set them down in Articles ^a.

An. 1603.

XXII.

^a This Proclamation was superseded by the Publication of the King's Book *de Officio Regis*. See VOL. I. Supplem. II.

XXII.

To the Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND; giving some Character of the King at his Arrival.

I Would not have lost this Journey ; and yet I have not what I went for : for I have had no private Conference, to purpose, with the King. No more has almost any other *English* : for the Speech his Majesty admits with some Noblemen, is rather Matter of Grace than Business. He spoke with the Attorney, urged by the Treasurer of *Scotland* ; but no more than needs must. After I had received his Majesty's first Welcome, I was promised private Access ; yet not knowing what Matter of Service your Lordship's Letter carried ; and well knowing, that Primeness in advertisement is much ; I chose rather to deliver it to Sir *Tho. Heskins*, than to cool it in my own hands, upon expectation of Access. Your Lordship shall find a Prince the farthest from Vain-glory that may be ; and rather like a Prince of the ancient form, than of the later time. His Speech is swift and cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Country ; in Speech of Business, short ; in Speech of Discourse, large. He affects Popularity, by gracing such as he has heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his Favours ; and his Virtue of Access is rather, because he is much abroad and in press, than that he gives easy audience. He hastens to a Mixture of both Kingdoms and Occasions, faster, perhaps, than Policy will well bear. I told your Lordship once before, that his Majesty rather seemed to ask counsel of the time past, than of the time to come : but 'tis yet early to ground any settled opinion. The Particulars I refer to Conference ; having in these Generals gone farther in so tender an Argument, than I would have done, were not the Bearer hereof so assured.

An. 1603.

XXIII.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; signifying the Proceedings of the King, at his first Entrance.

MY aim was right in my Address of Letters to those Persons in the Court of *Scotland*, who were likeliest to be used for the Affairs of *England* : but the pace they held was too swift ; for the Men were come away before my Letters could reach them. With the first I have renewed Acquaintance,

tance: and 'twas like a *Bill of Revivor*, by way of Crosse-suits; for he was as ready to have begun with me. The second arriv'd this day, and grew acquainted with me instantly in the Council-chamber; and was willing to entertain me with farther Demonstrations of Confidence, than I was willing, at that time, to admit. But I have had no serious Speech with him: nor do I yet know whether any of the Duplicates of my Letter have been delivered to the King. It may, perhaps, have proved your luck to be the first.

Things are here in good Quiet. The King acts excellently well; for he puts in Clauses of Reserve to every Proviso. He says, he would be sorry to have just cause to remove any. He says, he will displace none, who have served the Queen and State sincerely, &c. The truth is, here are two extremes: some few would have no Change, no not Reformation; and many would have much Change, even with Perturbation. God, I hope, will direct this wise King to hold a mean between Reputation enough, and no Terrors. In my particular, I have many Comforts and Assurances; but in my own Opinion the chief is, that the canvassing World is gone; and the deserving World is come. And withal, I find myself as one awaked out of sleep; which I have not been this long time: nor could, I think, have been now, without such a great noise as this; which yet is *in aura leni*. I write this to you in haste; my End being no more, than to make you know, that I will ever continue the same; and still be sure to wish you as heartily well as to myself.

An. 1603.

XXIV.

To the Earl of SALISBURY; suing for the Solicitor's Place.

I Am not privy to myself of any such ill deserving towards your Lordship, as that I should think it an impudent thing to be a Suitor for your favour in a reasonable matter; your Lordship being to me as you cannot cease to be: but rather it were a simple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

'Tis thought Mr. *Attorney* shall be Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas; and in case Mr. *Solicitor* rise, I would be glad, now at last, to be *Solicitor*; chiefly because I think it will increase my Practice; wherein, God blessing me a few Years, I may mend my Estate; and so after fall to my Studies and Ease; whereof one is requisite for my Body, and the other for my Mind: wherein, if I shall find your Lordship's favour, I shall be more happy than I have been; which may make me also more wise. I have small store of means about the King; and to sue myself, 'tis not fit; and therefore I shall leave it to God, his Majesty, and your Lordship; for I must still be next the door. I thank God, in these transitory things I am well resolved. So beseeching your Lordship not to think this Letter the less humble, because 'tis plain, I rest, &c.

XXV.

XXV.

*To the Earl of SALISBURY; again suing for the
Sollicitor's Place.*

I Am not ignorant how mean a thing I stand for, in desiring to come into the *Sollicitor's Place*: for I know well 'tis not the thing it has been; time having wrought an alteration both in the Profession, and in that particular Place. Yet because, I think, it will increase my Practice, and satisfy my Friends; and because I have been voiced to it; I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may say to your Lordship, in the confidence of your poor Kinsman, and of a Man by you advanced; *tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti*: for, I am sure, 'twas not possible for a Man living to have received from another, more significant and comfortable Words of Hope; your Lordship being pleased to tell me, during the Course of my last Service, that you would raise me; and that, when you had resolved to raise a Man, you were more careful of him than himself; and that what you had done for me in my Marriage, was a benefit to me, but of no use to your Lordship; and therefore I might assure myself, you would not leave me there: with many like Speeches, which, I know my Duty too well, to take any other hold of, than the hold of a thankful Remembrance. And I acknowledge, that all the World knows, your Lordship is no dealer of holy Water, but noble and real; and on my part, I am, of a sure ground, that I have committed nothing that may deserve alteration. And therefore my hope is, your Lordship will finish a good work; and consider, that time grows precious with me; and that I am now in *vergentibus Annis*. And altho' I know that your Fortune is not to need an hundred such as I am, yet I shall be ever ready to give you my first and best Fruits; and to supply, as much as in me lies, Worthiness by Thankfulness.

XXVI.

*To the Lord CHANCELLOR; suing for the Sollicitor's
Place.*

AS I conceived it to be a resolution, both with his Majesty, and among your Lordships of his Council, that I should be placed Sollicitor, and the Sollicitor be removed to be the King's Serjeant; so I most thankfully acknowledge your furtherance therein; your Lordship being the Man,

V O L. I.

M m m

who

who first devised the Means. Wherefore my humble request to your Lordship is, that you would set in with some strength to finish this Work ; which I assure your Lordship, I desire the rather, because, when placed, I hope, for many favours, at last to be able to do you some better service. For as I am, your Lordship cannot use me ; nor scarcely, indeed, know me. Not that I vainly think, I shall be able to do any great matters ; but certainly it will frame me to use a more industrious Obedience, and Application to such as I honour so much as I do your Lordship ; and not, I hope, without some good offices, which may, now and then, deserve your thanks. And herewithal, I humbly pray your Lordship to consider, that time grows precious with me ; and that a married Man is seven Years older in his Thoughts the first day. And therefore, what an uncomfortable thing is it for me to be unsettled still ? Certainly, were it not, that I think my self born to do my Sovereign service, and therefore in that Station I will live and die ; otherwise, for my own private Comfort, 'twere better for me, that the King should blot me out of his Book ; or that I should turn my Course to serve in some other kind, than for me to stand thus at a stop ; and to have that little Reputation, which, by my Industry, I gather, to be scatter'd and taken away by continual Disgraces ; every new Man coming above me. Sure I am, I shall never have fairer Promises and Words from all your Lordships. For I know not what my Services are, saving that your Lordships told me they were good ; and I would believe you in a much greater matter. Were it nothing else, I hope the Modesty of my Suit deserves somewhat ; for I know well, the Solicitor's Place is not as your Lordship left it ; time working alteration, somewhat in the Profession, much more in that particular Place. And were it not to satisfy my Wife's Friends, and to get myself out of being a common Gaze and a Speech, I protest, before God, I would never speak a word of it. But, to conclude, as my honourable Lady, your Wife, was some means to make me change the Name of another ; so if it please you to help me to change my own Name, I can be but more and more bound to you : and I am much deceived, if your Lordship find the King not well inclined ; and my Lord of *Salisbury* forward and affectionate.

XXVII.

To the KING ; petitioning for the Solicitor's Place.

HOW honestly ready I have been, to do your Majesty humble service, to the best of my power, and in a manner beyond my power, as I now stand ; I am not so unfortunate, but your Majesty knows. For both in the *Commission of Union* (the labour whereof, for Men of my Profession, rested most upon my hand ;) and this last Parliament, in the Bill of the *Subsidy*, both Body and Preamble ; in the Bill of *Attainders* ; in the Matter of *Purveyance* ; in the *Ecclesiastical Petitions* ; in the *Grievances*, and the like ;

as I was ever careful, sometimes to put forward that which was good; sometimes to keep back that which was not so good; so your Majesty was pleased, kindly to accept of my Services, and to say to me, such Conflicts were the Wars of Peace; and such Victories the Victories of Peace: and therefore such Servants as obtained them, were by Kings, that reign in Peace, no less to be esteemed, than Services of Commanders in the Wars. In all which, nevertheless, I can challenge to myself no Sufficiency; but that I was diligent, and reasonably happy, to execute those Directions, which I received immediately, either from your royal Mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*. At which time, it pleased your Majesty also, to promise and assure me, that upon the Remove of the then Attorney, I should not be forgotten; but brought into ordinary Place. This was after confirm'd to me, by many of my Lords; and towards the End of the last Term, the manner also in particular was spoke of; *viz.* that Mr. *Sollicitor* should be made your Majesty's Serjeant, and I *Sollicitor*: so 'twas thought best to sort with both our Gifts and Faculties, for the good of your Service. And of this Resolution both Court and Country took notice. Neither was this any Invention or Project of my own; but moved from my Lords; and I think first from my Lord Chancellor: whereupon resting, your Majesty well knows I never open'd my mouth for the greater Place; tho', I am sure, I had two Circumstances, which Mr. Attorney, that now is, could not alledge: the one, nine Years Service of the Crown; the other, the being Cousin-german to the Lord of *Salisbury*, whom your Majesty esteems and trusts so much. But for the less Place, I conceiv'd 'twas meant me. But after Mr. Attorney *Hobart* was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment; and it seem'd to be at a stop; to my great disgrace and discouragement. For, gracious Sovereign, if still, when the Waters are stirred, another shall be put in before me; your Majesty had need work a Miracle, or else I shall be still a lame Man, to do your Majesty service. And, therefore, my most humble Suit to your Majesty, is; that this, which seem'd to me intended, may speedily be performed. And, I hope, my former Service shall be but as Beginnings to better; when I am better strengthened. For sure I am, no Man's Heart is fuller of Love and Duty towards your Majesty and your Children; as, I hope, time will manifest, against Envy and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I most humbly crave pardon for my Boldness, and rest, &c.

XXVIII.

To Sir EDWARD COKE; *expostulating upon Sir Edward's Behaviour.*

I Thought best, once for all, to let you know in Plainness what I find of you, and what you shall find of me. You take to yourself a liberty of disgracing and disabling my Law, my Experience, my Discretion: what it

pleases you, I pray think of me. I am one that know my own wants, and other Mens; and it may be, perhaps, that mine mend, when others stand at a stay. And surely I shall not endure, in publick, to be wronged, without repelling the same, to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more Enviars, who would be glad to have you paid at another's cost. Since the time I miss'd the Sollicitor's Place; the rather, I think, by your means; I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Sollicitor together; but either to serve with another, upon your Remove, or to step into some other Course: so that I am more free than ever from any occasion of unworthy conforming myself to you, more than general good-manners, or your particular good usage shall require. And if you had not been short-sighted in your own fortune, I think you might have had more use of me. But that Tide is past. I write not this to shew my Friends what a brave Letter I have sent to Mr. Attorney; I have none of those humours: but what I have written, is to a good end; the more decent carriage of my Master's Service; and our particular better understanding of one another. This Letter, if answered by you in Deed, and not in Word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both; else 'tis but a few Lines lost, which, for a much smaller matter, I would have adventured. So this being to your self; I for my part rest, &c.

XXIX.

To the KING; upon occasion of Mr. SUTTON's Estate ^a.

I Find it a positive Precept of the old Law, that there should be no Sacrifice without Salt: the Moral whereof may be, that God is not pleased with a good Intention, unless seasoned with such Judgment and Discretion, as may render it not easily subject to corrupt; for Salt, in the Scripture, is an Emblem both of Wisdom and Duration. But many charitable Designs, are Sacrifices without Salt; having indeed the Materials of a good Intention, but not season'd with such Conduct and Regulations, as may preserve them sound and useful. For tho' the choice of Directors and Managers, may for the present be excellent, yet they cannot long survive: and the very nature of large Acts of Charity and Beneficence, being apt to provoke a mis-employment; no diligence of theirs can well prevent it from running the same way, as great Donations of the like kind have done. And to design a Building fit for a Prince's Palace, to the uses of an Hospital, is all one as to give an embroidered Cloak to a Beggar. And certainly 'tis easy to foresee, that if such an Edifice, with a very liberal Endowment, be erected into one Hospital, it must soon degenerate, and become a Place of Preferment for some great Person, to be its Master, and he to take all the Sweet, and

^a Left for founding the *Charter-House*. This Advice was given the King whilst the Author was Sollicitor-General.

and the poor Pensioners be stinted, and receive but the Crumbs: which is the case of many Hospitals in this Kingdom; that have only the Names of Hospitals; and really are rich Posts in respect of the Mastership; whilst the Poor, which is the *propter quid*, are little relieved. And many Charities of the *Romish* Religion, in their great Foundations, have shared the same Fate: which being begun in Ostentation, and Vain-glory, have ended in Corruption and Abuse.

But if this Foundation of Mr. *Sutton's*, such as it is, be perfect and good in Law, I am too well acquainted with your Majesty's Disposition, to advise any Course of Power, or Profit, not grounded upon a Right. Nay farther, if the Defects be such as a Court of Equity may remedy, I wish that as St. *Peter's* Shadow cured Diseases; so the very Shadow of a good Intention may cure Defects of that nature. But if there be a Right, and Birth-right planted in the Heir, and not remediable by Courts of Equity; and that Right be submitted to your Majesty; whereby 'tis both in your Power and Grace, what to do: then I wish that this rude Mass and Chaos of a good Deed, were directed rather to a solid Merit, and durable Charity; than to a Blaze of Glory, that will but crackle a little in Talk, and quickly be extinguished. And this may be done, still observing the Nature of Mr. *Sutton's* Intent; tho' varying in *individuo*: for it appears he had in Notion a triple good; an Hospital, a School, and maintaining of a Preacher: which Individuals refer to these three general Heads; Relief of the Poor, Advancement of Learning, and the Propagation of Religion. Now then, if I shall set before your Majesty, in every of these three kinds, what is most wanting in your Kingdom; and what is likely to be the most fruitful, and effectual Use of such a Beneficence, and least likely to be perverted; this I think will be no ill scope, how meanly soever performed: for out of Variety represented, Choice may be best grounded.

As to the Relief of the Poor; I judge that some Number of Hospitals, with competent Endowments, will do far more good than one Hospital of an exorbitant greatness: for tho' the one will be more seen, yet the other will be the more felt. For if your Majesty erect many, besides observing the ordinary Maxim, *Bonum quo communicas, eo melius*, Choice may be made of those Towns and Places where there is most need; and so the Remedy may be distributed as the Disease is dispersed. Again, greatness of Relief accumulated in one Place, rather invites a Swarm, and a Surcharge of Poor, than relieves those naturally bred in the Places; like ill-tempered Medicines, that draw more Humour to the Part, than they evacuate from it. But chiefly, I rely upon this Reason, that in great Hospitals the Revenues will draw the Use, and not the Use the Revenues; and so thro' the Mass of the Wealth, they will swiftly tumble down to a Mis-employment. And if any Man say, that in the two Hospitals of *London*, there is a Precedent of Greatness concurring with good Employment; let him consider, that those Hospitals have annual Governors; that they are under the superior Care and Policy of such a State, as the City of *London*; and chiefly, that their Revenues consist not upon Certainties, but upon Casualties, and free Gifts: which Gifts wou'd be withheld, if they appeared once to be perverted; so that it keeps them in

a continual good Behaviour, and Awe, to employ them aright: none of which Points do match with the present Case.

The next Consideration may be, whether this intended Hospital, as it has a more ample Endowment than others, shou'd not likewise work upon a better Subject, or be converted to the Relief of maim'd Soldiers, decay'd Merchants, aged House-keepers, destitute Church-men, and the like; whose Condition being of a better Sort, than loose People, and Beggars, deserves both a more liberal Stipend, and some proper Place of Relief, not intermixed with the baser Sort of Poor: which Project, tho' specious, yet, in my judgment, will not answer the Design in these times. For certainly, few Men in any Vocation, who have been some-body, and bear a Mind somewhat according to the Conscience and Remembrance of what they have been, will ever descend to that Condition, as to profess to live upon Alms, and become a Corporation of declared Beggars; but will rather chuse to live obscurely; and, as it were, hide themselves with some private Friends: whence the end of such an Institution will be, to make the Place a Receptacle of the worst, idlest, and most dissolute Persons of every Profession; and to become a Cell of Loiterers, cast Serving-men and Drunkards; with Scandal rather than Fruit to the Common-wealth. And of this kind I can find but one Example with use, *viz.* the Alms-Knights of *Windfor*: which particular wou'd give a Man small Encouragement, to follow that Precedent.

Therefore the best effect of Hospitals, is to make the Kingdom, if it were possible, capable of that Law, that there shou'd be no Beggar in *Israel*: for 'tis such People that are a Burden, an Eye-sore, a Scandal, and a Seed of Danger and Tumult in the State. But chiefly 'twere to be wish'd, that such a Beneficence towards the Relief of the Poor, were so bestowed, as that not only the mere and naked Poor shou'd be sustained; but also, that the honest Person, which has hard means to live, and upon whom the Poor are now charged, shou'd be in some sort eased: for that were a work generally acceptable to the Kingdom, if the publick hand of Alms might spare the private hand of Tax. And therefore, of all other Employments of that kind, I most commend Houses of Relief, and Correction; which are mix'd Hospitals, where the impotent Person is relieved; the sturdy Beggar buckled to work; and the unable Person also not maintain'd to be idle; but is suited with such Work, as he can manage and perform: and where the Uses are not distinguish'd, as in other Hospitals; whereof some are for aged and impotent, and some for Children, and some for Correction of Vagabonds; but are general and promiscuous: so that they may take off Poor of every sort from the Country, as the Country breeds them: and thus the Poor themselves shall find the Provision; and other People the sweetness of the Abatement of the Tax. Now if it be objected, that Houses of Correction, in all Places, have not done the Good expected; tho' it cannot be denied, that in most Places they have done much: it must be remembred, there is a great difference between what is done, by the distracted Government of Justices of Peace; and what may be done by a settled Ordinance, subject to a regular Visitation, as this may be. And besides,

besides, the want in Houses of Correction, has been commonly of a competent and certain stock, for the Materials of the Labour: which in this case may likewise be supplied.

As to the Advancement of Learning; I subscribe to the Opinion, that for Grammar-Schools, there are already too many; and therefore no Providence to add where there is Excess: for the great number of Schools in the Realm, causes a Want, and an Overflow; both of them inconvenient, and one of them dangerous. For by means thereof they find want, in the Country Towns, both of Servants for Husbandry, and Apprentices for Trade: and on the other side, there being more Scholars bred, than the State can prefer and employ; and the active part of that Life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it must needs fall out, that many Persons will be bred unfit for other Vocations; and unprofitable for that wherein they are brought up: which fills the Kingdom with indigent, idle, and wanton People.

In this Point therefore, I wish Mr. *Sutton's* Intention were exalted a degree; that what he meant for Teachers of Children, your Majesty would make for Teachers of Men; wherein it has been my ancient Opinion and Observation, that in the Universities of this Realm, there is nothing more wanting, towards the flourishing State of Learning, than honourable and plentiful Salaries of Readers in Arts and Professions. In which Points, as your Majesty's Bounty has already made a Beginning; so this occasion is offered of God to make a Proceeding. Surely, Readers in the Chair are as the Parents in Sciences; and deserve to enjoy a Condition not inferior to their Children, who embrace the practical part; else no Man will sit longer in the Chair, than till he can walk to a better Preferment. For if the principal Readers, thro' the Meanness of their Entertainment, be but Men of superficial Learning; and shall take their place but in passage; it will make the Mass of Sciences want the chief and solid Dimension, which is Depth; and to become but petty and compendious Habits of Practice. Therefore I could wish, that in both the Universities, the Lectures as well of the three Professions, Divinity, Law, and Physick; as of the three Heads of Science, Philosophy, Oratory, and the Mathematicks, were raised in their Pensions to a hundred Pounds *per Annum* each: which, tho' not near so great as they are in some other Places, where the high Reward whistles for the ablest Men, out of all foreign Parts, to supply the Chair; yet it may be a Portion to content a worthy and able Man; if he be likewise contemplative in Nature; as those Spirits are that are fittest for Lectures.

As to the Propagation of Religion, I shall set before your Majesty three Proposals; none of them Devices of my own, otherwise, than that I ever approved them. The *First* is, a *College for Controversies*, whereby we shall not still proceed single; but shall, as it were, double our Files: which certainly will be found in the Encounter.

The *Second* is, a *Receptacle for Converts to the Reformed Religion*; either of Youth or otherwise: for I doubt not but there are in *Spain, Italy, &c.* Countries of the Papists, many whose Hearts are touched with those Corruptions, and an Acknowledgement of a better Way;

is many times smother'd and choaked, thro' a worldly Consideration of Necessity and Want; Men not knowing where to have Succour and Refuge. This, likewise, I hold a Work of great Piety; and a Work of great Consequence; that we also may be wise in our Generation; and that the watchful and silent Night may be used as well for sowing of good Seed, as of Tares.

The *Third* is, the Imitation of a memorable and religious Act of Queen *Elizabeth*; who finding a part of *Lancashire* to be extremely backward in Religion, and the Benefices swallowed up in Improvements, did, by decree, in the *Dutchy*, erect four Stipends, of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* each, for Preachers well chosen, to help the Harvest; who have done a great deal of good, in the parts where they have laboured. Neither do there want other Corners in the Realm, that would require, for a time, the like extraordinary help.

Thus I have briefly delivered to your Majesty my Opinion, as to the Employment of this Charity; whereby that Mass of Wealth, which was, in the Owner, little better than a Heap of Muck, may be spread over your Kingdom, to many fruitful Purposes; your Majesty planting and watering, and God giving the increase.

XXX.

To the KING; petitioning for Promise of the Attorney's Place.

YOUR great and princely Favours towards me, in advancing me to a Place; and, what is more to me, your Majesty's kind and gracious Acceptance, from time to time, of my poor Services, much above their merit and value; has almost persuaded me, that I may sooner be wanting to myself in not asking, than find your Majesty's Goodness wanting to me, in any reasonable and modest Desires. Therefore, perceiving at this time, how Preferments of Law fly about my ears, to some above me, and to some below me; I conceived your Majesty might rather think it a kind of Dulness, or want of Faith, than Modesty, if I should not come with my Pitcher to *Jacob's Well*, as others do. Wherein I shall propose to your Majesty, what tends more to the settling of my Mind, than the raising of my Fortune; being sometimes attacked with this Thought, that by reason of my slowness to apprehend sudden Occasions, keeping on in one plain course of painful service; I may, *in fine dierum*, be in danger to be neglected and forgotten: and if that should be, then were it much better for me, now, while I stand in your Majesty's good Opinion, and have some little Reputation in the World, to give over the course I am in, and try to do you some honour by my Pen; either by writing some faithful Narrative of your happy Times; or by recompiling your Laws; which, I perceive your Majesty labours with; or some other the like Work; than to spend my time in the laborious Place where I now serve; if it shall be deprived of those outward Ornaments it
used

used to have, in respect of an assured Succession, to some Place of more Dignity and Rest; which now seems a Hope altogether casual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore my humble Suit to your Majesty is, that I may obtain your royal Promise of the *Attorney's Place*, when it shall be vacant; it being but the natural and immediate Step and Rise, which the Place I now hold has ever claim'd; and almost never fail'd of. In this Suit I make no Friends, but to your Majesty; rely upon no other Motive but your Grace; nor any other Assurance but your Word: whereof I had good Experience, when I came to the *Sollicitor's Place*; that it was like to the two great Lights, which in their motions are never retrograde.

XXXI.

To the KING; petitioning for the Place of Attorney-General

I Understand, by some of my good Friends, to my great Comfort, that your Majesty has in mind your royal Promise, which is to me *Anchora Spei*, as to the *Attorney's Place*. I hope Mr. Attorney shall do well. I thank God, I wish no Man's Death; nor much my own Life, more than to do your Majesty service. For I account my Life the Accident, and my Duty the Substance. But this I will be bold to say; if it please God that ever I serve your Majesty in the *Attorney's Place*, I have known an *Attorney Coke*, and an *Attorney Hobart*, both worthy Men, and far above myself: but if I should not find a middle way, between their two Dispositions and Carriages, I should not satisfy myself. But these things are far or near, as it shall please God. Mean while, I most humbly pray your Majesty to accept my Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, for your gracious Favour.

XXXII.

To the KING; upon the Lord Chancellor's Sickness.

I Am glad to understand, by *Murray*, that your Majesty accepts of my poor Endeavours, in opening to you the Passages of your Service; that Business may come the more prepared to your royal Judgment: the Perfection whereof, as I cannot expect they should satisfy in every Particular; yet I hope, thro' my Assiduity, there may result a good Total.

My Lord Chancellor's Sickness falls out *duro tempore*. I have always known him a wise Man, and of just Elevation for Monarchy: but your Majesty's Service must not be mortal. And if you lose him, as your Majesty has now of late purchased many Hearts by depressing the Wicked; so God minister to you a Counterpart, to do the like, by raising the Honest.

Feb. 9. 1615.

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XXXIII.

XXXIII.

To the KING; relating to the Chancellor's Place.

YOUR worthy Chancellor ^a, I fear, goes his last day. God has hitherto used to weed out such Servants as grew unfit for your Majesty; but now he has gather'd to himself one of the choicer Plants, a true Sage, out of your Garden: but your Majesty's Service must not be mortal.

Upon this heavy accident, I pray your Majesty, in all humbleness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few Words. I must never forget, when I moved your Majesty for the Attorney's Place, that 'twas your own sole Act, and not my Lord of *Somerset's*; who, when he knew your Majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the business to gain thanks: and therefore I have no reason to pray to Saints.

I shall now again make oblation to your Majesty, first of my Heart; then of my Service; thirdly, of my Place of Attorney, which, I think, is honestly worth 6000*l. per Annum*: and fourthly, of my Place in the Star-chamber, which is worth 1600*l. per Annum*; and with the Favour and Countenance of a Chancellor, much more. I hope I may be acquitted of Presumption, if I think of it; both because my Father had the Place, which is some civil Inducement to my desire; and chiefly, because the Chancellor's Place, after it went to the Law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned Counsel, and never upon a Judge. For *Audeley* was raised from King's Serjeant; my Father from Attorney of the *Wards*; *Bromley* from Solicitor; *Puckering* from Queen's Serjeant; and *Egerton* from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's Place. Now, I beseech your Majesty, let me put to you the present Case truly. If you take my Lord *Coke*, this will follow; first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling Nature, into an over-ruling Place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his Industry in matter of Finances, which seems to aim at another Place; and lastly, popular Men are no sure Mounters for your Majesty's Saddle. If you take my Lord *Hobart*; you shall have a Judge at the upper end of your Council-board, and another at the lower end; whereby your Majesty will find your Prerogative pent: for tho' there should be Emulation between them, yet, as Legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best. He is no Statesman, but an Oeconomist, wholly for himself; so that your Majesty will find little help in him for the Business. If you take my Lord of *Canterbury*; I will say no more, but that the Chancellor's Place requires a whole Man: and to have both Jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height, is fit but for a King. For my self, I can only present your Majesty with *Gloria in obsequio*; yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that Place, your Business shall not make such short turns upon you, as it does; but when a
Direction.

^a Chancellor *Egerton*.

Direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your Majesty shall only be troubled with the true Care of a King; which is, to think what you would have done in Chief, and not how it should be effected.

I presume also, in respect of my Father's Memory, and having been always gracious in the Lower House, I have interest in the Gentlemen of *England*; and shall be able to do some good, in rectifying that Body of Parliament-men, which is *Cardo rerum*. For let me tell your Majesty, that Part of the Chancellor's Place, which is to judge in Equity, between Party and Party; that same *Regnum judiciale*, which, since my Father's time, is but too much enlarged, concerns your Majesty least; farther than the acquitting of your Conscience for Justice: but 'tis the other Parts of a Moderator among your Council, of an Overseer over your Judges, of a Planter of fit Justices and Governors in the Country, that imports your Affairs, and these Times most.

I will add also, that I hope, by my Care, the inventive part of your Council will be strengthened, who now commonly exercise rather their Judgments, than their Inventions; and the inventive part comes from Projectors, and private Men, which cannot be so well: in which kind, my Lord *Salisbury* had a good Method, if his Ends had been upright.

To conclude, if I were the Man I would be, I should hope, that as your Majesty has of late won Hearts by depressing; you should in this lose no Hearts by advancing: for I see your People can better skill of *Concretum* than *Abstractum*; and that the Waves of their Affections flow rather after Persons than Things: so that Acts of this nature, (if this were one) do more good than twenty Bills of Grace. If God call my Lord Chancellor; the Warrants and Commissions requisite for taking off the Seal; the working with it; and for reviving of Warrants under his hand, which die with him, and the like, shall be in readiness. And in this, Time presses more, because 'tis the End of a Term; and almost the Beginning of the Circuits; so that the Seal cannot stand still: but this may be done as heretofore, by Commission, till your Majesty has resolved on an Officer.

Feb. 12. 1615.

XXXIV.

*To Sir GEORGE VILLIERS; soliciting to be sworn of
the Privy-Council.*

I Humbly pray you, not to think me over-hasty, or much in appetite, if I put you in remembrance of my motion, of strengthening me with the Oath and Trust of a Privy-Counsellor; not for my own Strength, but for the Strength of my Service. The Times I submit to you, who know them best. But sure I am, never Times more required a King's Attorney to be well armed; and

to wear a Gauntlet, not a Glove. The Arraignments when they proceed ; the Contention between the Chancery and King's-Bench ; the great Cause of the *Rege inconsulto*, which is so precious to the King's Prerogative ; and divers other Services that concern the King's Revenue, and the Repair of his Estate. Besides, it pleases his Majesty to accept well of my Relations, as to his Business ; which may seem a kind of interloping for one, that is no Privy-Counsellor : but I leave all to you ; thinking myself infinitely bound to you for your great favours ; the Beams whereof, I see plainly, reflect upon me, even from others : so that now I have no greater Ambition than this, that as the King shews himself to you the best Master, so I might be found your best Servant.

Feb. 27. 1616.

XXXV.

To Sir GEORGE VILLIERS ; upon accepting a Place in Council.

THE King gives me a noble Choice : and you are the Man my Heart ever told me you were. Ambition would draw me to the latter part of the Choice ; but in respect of my hearty Wishes, that my Lord Chancellor may live long ; and the small hopes I have that I shall live long myself ; and above all, because I see his Majesty's Service daily and instantly bleeds ; towards which, I persuade myself, that I shall give, when I am of the Table, some effectual furtherance ; I accept of the former ; to be Counsellor for the present, and to give over pleading at the Bar : let the other matter rest upon my Proof, and his Majesty's Pleasure, and the Accidents of Time. For, to speak plainly, I should be loth that my Lord Chancellor, to whom I owe most, after the King and yourself, should be locked to his Successor, for any advancement, or gracing of me.

June 3. 1616.

XXXVI.

To the KING ; proposing to regulate his Majesty's Finances.

I Often, with gladness, and for a remedy of my other Labours, revolve in my Mind the great Happiness which God has accumulated upon your Majesty, every way ; and how compleat the same would be, if the State of your Means were once rectified, and well ordered ; your People military and obedient, fit for War, used to Peace : your Church enlightened with good Preachers, as an Heaven of Stars ; your Judges learned, and learning
from

from you; just, and just by your Example: your Nobility in a right distance between Crown and People; no Oppressors of the People; no Over-shadows of the Crown: your Council full of the Tributes of Care, Faith, and Freedom; your Gentlemen, and Justices of the Peace, willing to apply your royal Mandates to the Nature of their several Counties; but ready to obey: your Servants in awe of your Wisdom; in hope of your Goodness: the Fields growing every day, by the Improvement and Recovery of Grounds, from the Desert to the Garden; the City grown from Wood to Brick; your Sea-walls, or *Pomarium* of your Island, surveyed, and improving; your Merchants embracing the whole Compass of the World, East, West, North and South; the Times give you Peace; and yet offer you Opportunities of Action abroad: and lastly, your excellent royal Issue entails these Blessings of God to all Posterity. It remains therefore, God having done so great things for your Majesty, and you for others; that you would do so much for your self, as to go thro' with the rectifying and settling of your Estate and Means: which only is wanting; *hoc rebus desuit unum*. I therefore, whom only Love and Duty to your Majesty, and your royal Line, has made a *Financier*, intend to present your Majesty a perfect Book of your Estate, like a Perspective-Glass, to draw your Estate nearer to your Sight; beseeching your Majesty to conceive, that if I have not attain'd to what I would do, in that which is not proper for me; in my Element; I shall make your Majesty amends in some other thing, in which I am better versed.

Jan. 2. 1618.

XXXVII.

*To Mr. MATTHEWS; believing his Danger less than
be found it.*

I Say to you, upon the occasion you gave me in your last, *modicæ Fidei, quare dubitasti?* I would not have my Friends too apprehensive either of me, or for me; for, I thank God, my Ways are sound and good: and I hope God will bless me in them. When once my Master, and afterwards myself, were in extremity of Sickness, (which was no time to dissemble) I never had so great Pledges and Certainties of his Love and Favour: and what I knew then; such as took a little poor advantage of these later times, know since. As for the Nobleman who pass'd that way by you, I think he is faln out with me for his pleasure; or else, perhaps, to make good some of his own mistakings. For he cannot, in his heart, but think worthily of my Affection, and Well-deserving towards him; and as for me, I am very sure that I love his Nature and Parts.

XXXVIII.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; intimating his Apprehension of some Danger.

TIS not for nothing, that I have deferred my Essay *De amicitia* ^a, whereby it has expected the Proof of your great Friendship towards me. Whatsoever the Event be, (wherein I depend upon God, who ordains the Effects, the Instrument, all,) yet your incessant thinking of me, without loss of a Moment of Time, or a Hint of Occasion, or a Circumstance of Endeavour, or the Stroke of a Pulse, in Demonstration of your Affection to me, infinitely ties me to you. Secrecy I need not recommend; otherwise than that you may recommend it over to your Friend; both because it prevents Opposition; and because 'tis the King's and my Lord Marquis's nature, to do things unexpected.

XXXIX.

To Mr. MATTHEWS.

THE Report of this Act, which I hope will prove the last of this Business, will probably, by the Weight it carries, fall and seize on me. And, therefore, not now at will, but upon necessity, it becomes me to call to mind what passed; and (my Head being then wholly employed about Invention) I may the worse put things, upon account of my own Memory. I shall take Physick to-day upon this change of Weather, and advantage of Leisure; and I pray you not to allow your self so much Business, but that you may have time to bring me your friendly Aid before Night, &c.

XL.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Upper House of Parliament assembled ^b.

I Humbly pray your Lordships all, to make a favourable and true Construction of my Absence. 'Tis no feigning or fainting, but Sickness both of my Heart and of my Back; tho' join'd with that Comfort of Mind, which persuades me, I am not far from Heaven, whereof I feel the first Fruits.

And

^a See the Author's Essay on Friendship, Vol. II. Pag. 70.

^b Taken from the Journal of the House of Lords.

And because, whether I live or die, I wou'd be glad to preserve my Honour and Fame, so far as I am worthy; hearing that some Complaints of base Bribery are coming before your Lordships; my Requests unto your Lordships are:

First, That you will maintain me in your good Opinion, without Prejudice, until my Cause be heard.

Secondly, That in regard I have sequestred my Mind at this time, in great part, from worldly matters; thinking of my Account and Answers in a higher Court; your Lordships will give me convenient time, according to the Course of other Courts, to advise with my Counsel, and to make my Answer; wherein, nevertheless, my Counsel's part will be the least: for I shall not, by the Grace of God, trick up an Innocency with Cavils; but plainly and ingenuously (as your Lordships know my manner is) declare what I know or remember.

Thirdly, That according to the Course of Justice, I may be allowed to except to the Witnesses brought against me; and to move Questions to your Lordships for their cross Examinations; and likewise to produce my own Witnesses, for the Discovery of the Truth.

And lastly; That if there be any more Petitions of the like nature, that your Lordships wou'd be pleased, not to take any Prejudice or Apprehension of any number or muster of them; especially against a Judge that makes 2000 Orders and Decrees in a Year: not to speak of the courses that have been taken for hunting out Complaints against me; but that I may answer them, according to the Rules of Justice, severally and respectively.

These Requests, I hope, appear to your Lordships no other than just. And so thinking myself happy, to have such noble Peers, and reverend Prelates, to discern of my Cause; and desiring no privilege of Greatness, for subterfuge of Guilt; but meaning to deal fairly and plainly with your Lordships, and to put myself upon your Honours and Favours; I pray God to bless your Counsels and Persons.

March 19. 1620.

XLI.

To the KING; imploring Remittance of his Sentence.

IT has pleas'd God, for these three Days, to visit me with such extremity of Head-ach, upon the hinder part of my Head, fixed in one place, that I thought verily it had been some Impostumation. And then the little Physick I have, told me, that either it must grow to a Congelation, and so to a Lethargy; or break, and so to a mortal Fever and sudden Death: which Apprehension, and chiefly the Anguish of the Pain, made

made me unable to think of any Business. But now the Pain itself is assuaged; I resume the Care of my Business; and therein prostrate myself again, by my Letter, at your Majesty's Feet.

Your Majesty can bear me witness, that at my last so comfortable access, I did not so much as move your Majesty, by your absolute Power of Pardon, or otherwise, to take my Cause into your hands; and to interpose between the Sentence of the House: and, according to my own desire, your Majesty left it to the Sentence of the House; and it was reported by my Lord Treasurer.

But now, if not *per omnipotentiam*, as the Divines speak, but *per potestatem suaviter disponentem*, your Majesty will graciously save me from a Sentence, with the good liking of the House; and that the Cup may pass from me, is the utmost of my desires.

This I move with the more belief, because I assure my self, that if it be Reformation which is sought, the very taking away of the Seal, upon my general Submission, will be as much in example, for these four hundred years, as any farther Severities.

The means of this, I most humbly leave to your Majesty. But surely, I conceive, that your Majesty opening your self in this kind to the Lords Counsellors, and a Motion from the Prince, after my submission, and my Lord Marquis using his interest with his Friends in the House, may effect the sparing of a Sentence; I making my humble Suit to the House for that purpose, join'd with the Delivery of the Seal into your Majesty's hands.

This is the last Suit I shall make to your Majesty in this Business; prostrating my self at your Mercy-seat, after fifteen Years Service; wherein I have served your Majesty, in my poor Endeavours, with an entire Heart; and as I presumed to say to your Majesty, am still a Virgin, for Matters which concern your Person or Crown: and now only craving, that after eight steps of Honour, I be not precipitated all at once. But because he that has taken Bribes, is apt to give them; I will go farther, and present your Majesty with a Bribe. For if your Majesty give me Peace and Leisure, and God give me Life, I will present your Majesty with a good History of *England*; and a better Digest of your Laws.

March 21. 1621.

XLII.

To the KING; imploring Favour.

TIME has been, when I have brought you *G-mitum Columbæ* from others; now I bring it from my self. I fly to your Majesty with the Wings of a Dove; which once within these seven days I thought would have carried me a higher flight^a. When I enter into my self, I find not the Materials of such a Tempest as is come upon me: I have been, as
your

^a See the preceding Letter.

your Majesty knows best, never Author of any immoderate Counsel; but always desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaricious Oppressor of the People. I have been no haughty, intolerable, or hateful Man, in my Conversation or Carriage. I have inherited no Hatred from my Father; but am a good Patriot born. Whence should this be? For these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the House of Commons; I began my credit there; and now it must be the Place of the Sepulture thereof: and yet in this Parliament, upon the Message touching Religion, the old Love revived; and they said, I was the same Man still; only Honesty was turned into Honour.

For the Upper-House, even within these days, before these Troubles, they seem'd as to take me into their Arms, finding in me Ingenuity; which they took to be the true strait Line of Nobleness, without any Crooks or Angles.

And for the Briberies and Gifts, wherewith I am charged; when the Books of Hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled Fountain of a corrupt Heart, in a depraved Habit of taking Rewards to pervert Justice: however, I may be frail, and partake of the Abuses of the Times.

Therefore, I am resolv'd, when I come to my Answer, not to trick up my Innocence by Cavils or Voidances; but to speak to them the Language that my Heart speaks to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuously confessing; praying to God to give me Grace to see the bottom of my Faults; and that no Hardness of Heart may steal upon me, under shew of more Neateness of Conscience, than is cause. But not to trouble your Majesty any longer, craving pardon for this long mourning Letter; what I thirst after, as the Hart after the Streams, is, that I may know, by my matchless Friend that presents you this Letter^a, your Majesty's Heart, (which is an *Abyss* of Goodness, as I am an *Abyss* of Misery) towards me. I have been ever your Man, and counted my self but an Usufructuary of myself; the Property being yours. And now make my self an Oblation, to do with me as may best conduce to the Honour of your Justice, the Honour of your Mercy, and the Use of your Service; resting as Clay in your Majesty's gracious Hands.

March 25. 1621.

XLIII.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of Parliament, in the Upper-House assembled; the humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor^b.

I Humbly crave, at your Lordships hands, a benign Interpretation of what I now write: for Words that come from wasted Spirits, and an oppressed Mind, are safer deposited in a noble Construction, than circled with any reserved Caution.

V O L. I.

O O O

This

^a Viz. The Marquis of Buckingham.

^b From the Journal of the House of Lords.

This being moved, and, as I hope, obtain'd, in the nature of a Protection for all that I shall say; I make into the rest of that, wherewith I shall at this time trouble your Lordships, a very strange Entrance! for in the midst of a State of as great Affliction as I think a mortal Man can endure; (Honour being above Life) I begin with the professing of Gladness in some Particulars.

The *First* is, That hereafter the Greatness of a Judge or Magistrate, shall be no Sanctuary or Protection of Guilt; which, in few words, is the Beginning of a golden World.

The *next*. That after this Example, perhaps Judges will fly from every thing like Corruption, tho' it were at a great distance, as from a Serpent; which tends to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and the reducing them to their true Honour and Splendor.

And in these two Points, God is my Witness, that tho' it be my Fortune to be the Anvil, whereon those good Effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort.

But to pass from the Motions of my Heart, whereof God only is Judge, to the Merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are Judges, under God, and his Lieutenant; I understand there has been heretofore expected from me some Justification: and therefore I have chosen one only Justification instead of all others, out of the Justification of *Job*. For after the clear Submission, and Confession, which I shall now make to your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justify, with *Job* in these Words, *I have not hid my Sin, as Adam did, nor concealed my Faults in my Bosom*. This is the only Justification which I will use.

It remains therefore, that, without Fig-leaves, I ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having understood the Particulars of this Charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my Conscience and Memory; I find Matters sufficient and full, both to move me to desert my Defence; and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.

Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling those Particulars which I think might fall off: *Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the Proofs, where they come not home; or the Scruple touching the Credit of the Witnesses. Neither will I represent to your Lordships, how far a Defence in divers things might extenuate the Offence, in respect of the Time and Manner of the Gift, or the like Circumstances: But only leave these things to spring out of your own noble Thoughts, and Observations, of the Evidence and Examinations themselves; and charitably to wind about the Particulars of the Charge, here and there, as God shall put into your Minds, and so submit my self wholly to your Piety and Grace.

And now I have spoken to your Lordships as Judges, I shall say a few Words to you as Peers and Prelates; humbly commending my Cause to your noble Minds, and magnanimous Affections.

Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but Parliamentary Judges; you have a farther extent of arbitrary Power than other Courts: and if your Lordships

ships be not tied by ordinary Courses of Courts, or Precedents, in Point of Strictness and Severity; much more in Points of Mercy and Mitigation.

And yet, if anything I shall move shou'd be contrary to your worthy Ends of introducing a Reformation, I would not seek it; but herein I beseech your Lordships leave to tell you a Piece of History. *Titus Manlius* took his Son's Life for giving battle against the Prohibition of his General: not many Years after, the like Severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor*, the Dictator, against *Quintus Maximus*; who being upon the point to be sentenced; by the Intercession of some principal Persons of the Senate, was spared: whereupon *Livy* makes this grave and gracious Observation; *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris Periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miserabili Supplicio Titi Manlii*; the Discipline of War was no less established by the questioning of *Quintus Maximus*; than by the punishing of *Titus Manlius*. And there is the same reason in the Reformation of Justice; for the questioning of Men of eminent Places has the same Terror, tho' not of the same Rigor with the Punishment.

But my Case stands not there; for my humble Desire is, that his Majesty would take the Seal into his hands: which is a great Downfal; and may serve, I hope, in itself for an Expiation of my Faults.

Therefore, if Mercy and Mitigation be in your power, and do no way cross your noble Ends; why should not I hope for your Lordships Favour and Commiseration?

Your Lordships will be pleased to behold your chief Pattern, the King, our Sovereign; a King of incomparable Clemency; and whose Heart is inscrutable for Wisdom and Goodness. Your Lordships will remember, that there sat not these hundred Years before, a Prince in your House; and never such a Prince; whose Presence deserves to be made memorable by Records and Acts mixed of Mercy and Justice. Your Lordships are either Nobles, (and Compassion ever beats in the Veins of noble Blood;) or reverend Prelates, who are the Servants of him, *that would not break the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoking Flax*. You all sit upon one high Stage; and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the Changes of the World, and of the Fall of any of high Place.

Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *Vitia Temporis*, as well as *Vitia Hominis*; and that the Beginning of Reformations has the contrary Power to the Pool of *Bethesda*; which had Strength to cure him only that was first cast in; whereas this has commonly Strength to hurt him only that is first cast in. And for my part, I wish it may stay there; and go no farther^a.

Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me; as a Member of your own Body; and one, that, in this very Session, had some taste of your loving Affections; which, I hope, was not a Lightning before the Death of them; but rather a Spark of that Grace, which now, in the conclusion, will more appear.

Therefore, my humble Suit to your Lordships is, that my penitent Submission may be my Sentence; and the Loss of the Seal my Punishment; and that

^a It is plain, that the Author looked upon himself as a kind of *Sacrifice*; and in Speech to the King wished, that as he was the *first*, so he might be the *last* Sacrifice in that Reign. See the *Account of his Life*, prefixed to this Volume.

your Lordships will spare any farther Sentence; but recommend me to his Majesty's Grace and Pardon for all that is past. God's holy Spirit be among you.

April 22. 1621.

XLIV.

To the KING; imploring Assistance.

IN the midst of my Misery, which is rather assuaged by Remembrance, than by Hope; my chiefest worldly Comfort is, to think, that since the time I had the first Vote of the Commons House of Parliament, for Commissioner of the Union, till the time I was this last Parliament chosen, by both Houses, their Messenger to your Majesty in the Petition of Religion, (which two were my first and last Services;) I was evermore so happy, as to have my poor Services graciously accepted by your Majesty; and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my hands. Neither of which Points I can any way take to my self, but ascribe the former to your Majesty's Goodness, and the latter to your prudent Directions; which I was ever careful to have and keep. For, as I have often said to your Majesty, I was towards you but as a Bucket and Cistern, to draw forth and conserve; whilst your self was the Fountain. To this Comfort of nineteen Years Prosperity, there succeeded a Comfort in my greatest Adversity, somewhat of the same nature; which is, that in those Offences wherewith I was charged, there was not one that had special relation to your Majesty; or any of your particular Commands. For as towards Almighty God, there are Offences against the first and second Table, and yet all against God; so with the Servants of Kings, there are Offences more immediate against the Sovereign; tho' all Offences against Law, are also against the King. To which Comfort there is added this Circumstance, that as my Faults were not against your Majesty, otherwise than as all Faults are; so my Fall was not your Majesty's Act, otherwise than as all Acts of Justice are yours. This I write not to insinuate with your Majesty; but as a most humble Appeal to your Majesty's gracious Remembrance, how honest and direct you have ever found me in your Service: whereby I have an assured Belief, that there is in your Majesty's own princely Thoughts, a great deal of Serenity and Clearness towards me, your Majesty's now prostrate and cast down Servant. Neither, my most gracious Sovereign, do I by this mention of my Services, lay claim to your princely Grace and Bounty; tho' the Privilege of Calamity doth bear that Form of Petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounden Duty. Nay, I must also confess, they were, from time to time, far above my Merit over and super-rewarded by your Majesty's Benefits heaped upon me. Your Majesty was, and is that Master to me, who raised and advanced me nine times; thrice in Dignity, and six times in Office. The Places indeed were the painfullest of all your Services; but then they had both Honour and Profits. And the then Profits might have maintain'd my now Honour, if I had been wise. Neither was your Majesty's immediate Liberality wanting towards me in some Gifts; if I may hold them. All this I do most thankfully acknowledge; and herewith conclude, that for any thing arising from my self to move your Eye of Pity towards

towards me, there is much more in my present Misery, than in my past Services; save that the same, your Majesty's Goodness, which may give relief to the one, may give value to the other.

And indeed, if it may please your Majesty, this Theme of my Misery is so plentiful, as it need not be coupled with any thing else. I have been some Body, by your Majesty's singular and undeserved Favour; even the prime Officer of your Kingdom: your Majesty's Arm has been often laid over mine in Council, when you presided at the Table: so near I was. I have born your Majesty's Image in Metal; much more in Heart. I was never, in nineteen Years Service, chidden by your Majesty, but contrarywise, often overjoyed, when your Majesty would sometimes say, I was a good Husband for you, tho' none for my self: sometimes, that I had a way to deal in Business, *juvibus modis*; which was the way most according to your own Heart: and other most gracious Speeches of Affection and Trust, which I feed on to this day. But why should I speak of these things, which are now vanish'd; only the better to express the Downfall?

For now 'tis thus with me; I am a Year and a half old in Misery, tho', I must ever acknowledge, not without some Mixture of your Majesty's Grace and Mercy: for I do not think it possible, that any one whom you once loved, should be totally miserable. My own Means, thro' my own Imprudence, are poor and weak; little better than my Father left me. The poor things that I have had from your Majesty, are either in question or at courtesy. My Dignities remain Marks of your past Favour, but Burdens of my present Fortune. The poor Remnants I had of my former Fortunes, in Plate or Jewels, I have spread upon poor Men, to whom I owed; scarce leaving my self a convenient Subsistence. So that, to conclude, I must pour out my Misery before your Majesty; and say, *si deseris tu, perimus*.

But as I can offer to your Majesty's Compassion little arising from myself to move you, except it be my extreme Misery, which I have truly laid open; so looking up to your Majesty's own self, I should think I committed *Cain's* Fault, if I should despair. Your Majesty is a King, whose Heart is as inscrutable for secret Motions of Goodness, as for Depth of Wisdom. You are Creator-like, factive, and not destructive. You are the Prince, in whom has ever been noted an Aversion to any thing that favoured of a hard Heart; as, on the other side, your princely Eye was wont to meet with any Motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore, as one that had the happiness to know your Majesty near hand, I have, most gracious Sovereign, Faith enough for a Miracle, and much more for a Grace, that your Majesty will not suffer your poor Creature to be utterly defaced; nor blot that Name quite out of your Book, upon which your sacred Hand has been so oft, for the giving him new Ornaments and Additions.

To this degree of Compassion, I hope God will dispose your princely Heart, already prepared to all Piety. And why should I not think, but that the thrice noble Prince, who would have pull'd me out of the Fire of a Sentence, will help to pull me out of an abject and fordid Condition in my last Days? And that excellent Favourite of yours, the Goodness of whose Nature contends

tends with the Greatness of his Fortune; will kiss your hands with Joy for any work of Piety you shall do for me. And as all commiserable Persons, especially such as find their Hearts void of all Malice, are apt to think all Men pity them; so I assure myself, that the Lords of your Council, who, out of their Wisdom and Nobleness, cannot but be sensible of human Events, will, in this way which I go, for the relief of my Estate, further and advance your Majesty's Goodness towards me. For there is, as I conceive, a kind of Fraternity between great Men that are, and those that have been; being but the several Tenses of one Verb. Nay, I further presume, that both Houses of Parliament will love their Justice the better, if it end not in my ruin: for I have been often told, by many of my Lords, as it were in the way of excusing the Severity of the Sentence, that they knew they left me in good hands. And your Majesty knows well, I have been all my Life long acceptable to those Assemblies; not by Flattery, but by Moderation, and by the honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But, if it may please your Majesty (for Saints, I shall give them Reverence, but no Adoration; my Address is to your Majesty, the Fountain of Goodness,) your Majesty shall, by the Grace of God, not feel that in Gift, which I shall extremely feel in Help: for my Desires are moderate; and my Courses measured to a Life orderly and reserved; hoping still to do your Majesty honour in my way. Only I most humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to conclude with those Words which Necessity speaks: Help me, dear Sovereign Lord and Master; and pity me so far, as that I, who have born a Bag, be not now in my Age, forced, in effect, to bear a Waller; nor that I, who desire to live to study, may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave pardon for a long Letter, after a long silence. God of Heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your Majesty.

Ann. 1622.

XLV.

To the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM; recommending Mr. Matthews.

THOUGH I have troubled your Lordship with many Letters, oftener than I think I should, save that Affection keeps no account; yet upon the repair of Mr. *Matthews*, a Gentleman so much your Lordship's Servant, and to me another self, as your Lordship best knows, you would not have thought me a Man alive, except I had put a Letter into his hand; and withal by so faithful and approved a mean, commended my Fortunes afresh to your Lordship.

To speak my Heart to your Lordship, I never felt my Misfortunes so much as now: not for that part which may concern my self; who profit both in Patience, and settling my own Courses; but when I look abroad, and see the Times so

so stirring, so much Dissimulation and Falshood, Baseness and Envy in the World, and so many idle Clocks going in Men's Heads; then it grieves me much, that I am not sometimes at your Lordship's Elbow, that I might give you some of the Fruits of the careful Advice, modest Liberty, and true Information of a Friend, that loves your Lordship as I do: for tho' your Lordship's Fortunes be above the Thunders and Storms of inferior Regions; nevertheless, to hear the Wind, and not to feel it, will make one sleep the better.

My good Lord; somewhat I have been, and much have I read; so that few things, which concern States, or Greatness, are new Cases to me: and therefore, I hope, I may be no unprofitable Servant to your Lordship. I remember, the King used to make a Character of me, far above my worth, that I was not made for small matters: and your Lordship would sometimes bring me from his Majesty, that *Latin Sentence*, *De minimis non curat Lex*. And it has so fallen out, that since my retiring, Times have been fuller of great matters than before; wherein, perhaps, if I had continued near his Majesty, he might have found more use of my Service; if my Gift lay that way. But that is but a vain Imagination of mine. True it is, that as I do not aspire to use my Talent in the King's great Affairs; yet for what may concern your Lordship, and your Fortune, no Man living shall give you a better account of Faith, Industry and Affection, than I shall. I must conclude with that which gave me the occasion of this Letter; which is, Mr. *Matthews's* Employment, to your Lordship, in those parts wherein I am verily persuaded your Lordship will find him a wise and able Gentleman; and one that will bend his Knowledge of the World, to serve his Majesty and the Prince; and especially your Lordship.

Grays-Inn, Apr. 18. 1623.

XLVI.

To the KING; petitioning for a total Remission of his Sentence.

BEFORE I make my Petition to your Majesty, I make my Prayers to God above, *pectore ab imo*; that if I have held any thing so dear as your Majesty's Service; nay, your Heart's Ease, and your Honour's, I may be repulsed with a Denial: but if that has been the Principal with me; then that God, who knows my Heart, would move your Majesty's royal Heart to take Compassion of me, and to grant my desire.

I prostrate my self at your Majesty's Feet; I, your ancient Servant, now sixtyfour Years old in Age, and three Years five Months old in Misery. I desire not from your Majesty, Means, nor Place, nor Employment; but only after so long a time of Expiation, a compleat, and total Remission of the Sentence of the Upper-House; to the end, that Blot of Ignominy may be removed from
me;

me; and from my Memory with Posterity; that I die not a condemned Man, but may be to your Majesty, as I am to God, *nova Creatura*. Your Majesty has pardoned the like to Sir *John Bennet*^a; between whose Case and mine, not being partial to my self, but speaking out of the general Opinion, there was as much difference, I will not say, as between black and white; but as between black and grey. Look therefore down, dear Sovereign, upon me also in pity. I know your Majesty's Heart is inscrutable for Goodness; and my Lord of *Buckingham* used to tell me, you were the best-natured Man in the World: and its God's Property, that those he has loved, he loves to the end. Let your Majesty's Grace, in this my Desire, stream down upon me; and let it be out of the Fountain and Spring-head, and *ex mero motu*; that living or dying, the Print of the Goodness of King *James* may be in my Heart; and his Praises in my Mouth. This, my most humble request, granted, may make me live a Year or two happily; and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the last thing that will die in me, will be the Heart and Affection of, &c.

July 30. 1624.

XLVII.

To the Earl of ARUNDEL and SURREY.

I Was likely to have the Fortune of the Elder *Pliny*, who lost his Life by trying an Experiment about the burning of the Mount *Vesuvius*; for I was also desirous to try an Experiment or two, upon the Conservation and Induration of Bodies. For the Experiment itself, it succeeded excellently; but in the Journey between *London* and *Highbate*, I was taken with such a Fit of Vomiting, as I knew not whether 'twere the Stone, or some Surfeit, or Cold; or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your Lordship's House, I was not able to go back; and therefore was forced to take up my Lodging here; where your House-keeper is very careful and diligent about me; which, I assure my self, your Lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your Lordship's House was happy to me; and I kiss your noble Hands for the Welcome, which, I am sure, you give me to it, &c.

I know how unfit it is for me to write to your Lordship with any other Hand than my own; but my Fingers are so dis-jointed with this Fit of Sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a Pen b.

An. 1626.

^a Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, was in the Year 1621, accused, convicted, and censured in Parliament, for taking Bribes; and committing several Misdemeanors relating to his Office.

^b The Author died a few Days after this Letter was wrote.

S E C T. II.

Letters relating to the AUTHOR'S Writings.

I.

To his Brother, Mr. ANTHONY BACON^a; dedicating the first Edition of his Essays to him.

I Now act like one that has an Orchard ill-neighbour'd, and gathers his Fruit, before 'tis ripe, to prevent stealing. These Fragments of my Conceits were going to the Press: to endeavour their stay had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them pass, had been to venture the wrong they might receive by untrue Copies, or some garnishment, which it might please any one to bestow upon them. I therefore held it best to publish them myself, as they pass'd long ago from my Pen; without any farther disgrace than the weakness of the Author. And as I ever thought there might be as great a vanity in with-holding men's Conceits from the World, as in obtruding them; so in these Particulars I have play'd my self the Inquisitor; and find nothing, to my understanding, in them, contrary or infectious to the state of Religion, or Manners; but rather medicinal. Only I disliked now to publish them, because they will be like the late new half-pence; which tho' the Silver were good, yet the Pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needs go abroad, I have prefer'd them to you, who are next my self; dedicating them, such as they are, to our love; in the depth whereof, I sometimes wish your^b Infirmities translated upon my self; that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a Mind; and I might be, with excuse, confin'd to these Contemplations and Studies, for which I am fittest.

Gray's-Inn, Jan. 30. 1597.

II.

^a Elder and only Brother to the Author, said to have been his equal in Genius; but inferior in Learning and Knowledge.

^b The Gentleman was lame in his Feet; and troubled with the Gout.

II.

To the Earl of NORTHAMPTON^a; desiring him to present the Advancement of Learning to the KING.

HAVING finish'd a work upon the *Advancement of Learning*, and dedicated it to his Majesty, whom I dare avouch, if the Records of Time err not, to be the most learned King that has reign'd; I was desirous, in a kind of congruity, to present it by the most learned Counsellor in this Kingdom; to the end that so good an Argument, lighting upon so bad an Author, might receive some reputation by the hands into which, and by which, it should be delivered. And, therefore, I make it my humble Suit to your Lordship, to present this mean, but well-meant Writing to his Majesty; and with it my humble and zealous Duty: and also, my like humble Request of pardon, if I have too often taken his name in vain; not only in the Dedication, but also in vouching the authority of his Speeches and Writings.

Ann. 1605.

III.

To Sir THOMAS BODLEY^b; upon presenting him the Advancement of Learning.

I Think no man may more truly say with the Psalm, *multum incola fuit anima mea*, than my self; for I confess, since I was of any understanding, my Mind has, in effect, been absent from what I have done: and in absence are many Errors, which I willingly acknowledge; and among the rest, this great one, which led the rest; that knowing my self, by inward calling, to be fitter to hold a Book than to play a Part, I have led my life in civil Causes; for which I was not very fit by Nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my Mind. Therefore calling my self home, I have now, for a time, enjoy'd my self; whereof likewise I desire to make the World partaker. My Labours, (if I may so term that, which was the comfort of my other Labours) I have dedicated to the King; desirous, if there be any good in them, it may be as the Fat of a Sacrifice, incensed to his honour. And the second Copy I have sent to you; not only in good Affection, but in a kind

^a Author of a Book against the Poison of supposed Prophecies; dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, Ann. 1583.

^b The Founder of the Bodlean Library at Oxford.

kind of Congruity, in regard of your great and rare Defect of Learning. For Books are the Shrines where the Saint is, or is believed to be. And you having built an Ark to save Learning from Deluge, deserve propriety in a new Instrument or Engine, whereby Learning should be improved or advanced.

Ann. 1605.

IV.

To the Earl of SALISBURY^a; upon presenting him the Advancement of Learning.

I Present your Lordship with a Work of my vacant time; which if it had been more, the Work had been better. It appertains to your Lordship, (besides my particular respects) in some propriety; in regard you are a great Governor in a Province of Learning. And, what is more, you have added to your place Affection towards Learning; and to your Affection, Judgment: the latter whereof, I could be content were less for the time; that you might the less exquisitely censure what I offer you. But sure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good Author. But I shall content myself to awake better Spirits, like a Bell-ringer, who is first up to call others to Church. So with my humble desire of your Lordship's good acceptation, I remain, &c.

Ann. 1605.

V.

To the University of CAMBRIDGE; upon presenting his Advancement of Learning to their Public Library.

I Would, to my ability, hereby discharge the Duties of a Son; and exhort you all to pursue the same method; and, with a becoming Moderation, yet a freedom of the Understanding, in earnest, endeavour the *Advancement of the Sciences*: not burying in a napkin the Talent lent you by the Ancients. Questionless the divine Light will favour and shine upon you, if you do but humble and submit Philosophy to Religion; dextrously make a right use of the Keys of the Senses; and, dropping all eagerness of opposition, each of you calmly dispute with his fellow, as it were with himself.

^a *Viz.* Sir Robert Cecil, Son to the Lord *Burghley*; he was long Secretary of State, and for some years Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor, of the University of *Cambridge*.

VI.

To TRINITY-COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; upon presenting them the Advancement of Learning.

THE state and progress of all things is owing to their Origins: and therefore as I drew the Origins of the *Sciences* from your Fountains; I judge it proper to return you their increase. I have also hopes that these Plants of mine may thrive and flourish with you, as in their native Soil. Let me therefore exhort you to promote the growth of the *Sciences*, so far as may consist with Discretion; and the Respect due to the Ancients: and next after the sacred Volume of God's *Word*, the Scriptures, to study diligently that great Volume of his *Works*; to which all other Books serve but as Comments.

VII.

To the University of OXFORD; upon presenting them the Advancement of Learning.

AS I have wrote to the *University of Cambridge*, whose Pupil I am, I should be wanting in my Duty, not to present her *Sister* the same token of my Affection. And as I have exhorted them, so likewise I exhort you, strenuously to endeavour the *Advancement of the Sciences*; not esteeming the Labours of the Ancients as nothing, nor as every thing: but discreetly considering your own proper strength, sometimes to prove and try it. No doubt of a happy issue, if you do not take arms against one another; but, with united force, make your attack upon the *Nature of Things*: which alone will afford sufficient matter of Victory and Glory.

VIII.

To Mr. MATTHEWS^a; with the Advancement of Learning.

I Perceive you have some time when you can be content to think of your Friends; from whom, since you have borrow'd yourself, you do well, not paying the Principal, to send the Interest, at six month's day.

^a Son to Dr. *Toby Matthews*, Bishop of *Durham*, and afterwards of *York*. He wrote an *Eulogy on the Duke of Florence's Felicity*. See Sect. I. Letter 19. *ad finem*.

I have now at last taught that Child to go, at the swadling whereof you were. My Work upon the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, I have put into two Books; whereof the former^a, which you saw, I can't but account as a Page to the latter^b. I have now publish'd them both; whereof I thought it a small Adventure to send you a Copy, who have more right to it than any Man, except Bishop *Andrews*, who was my Inquisitor.

I write this, in answer to your good Wishes; which I return, not as Flowers of *Florence*, but as you mean them: whom, I conceive, Place can't alter, no more than Time shall me, except it be for the better.

Ann. 1605.

IX.

To the Lord Chancellor EGERTON^c; presenting him the Advancement of Learning.

I Humbly present your Lordship with a Work, wherein, as you have much Command over the Author; so you have great Interest in the Argument: for, to speak without flattery, few have such Use of Learning, or such Judgment in Learning, as I have observed in your Lordship. And, again, your Lordship has been a great Planter of Learning, not only in those places in the Church, which have been in your own Gift; but also in your commendatory Vote, no Man has more constantly held, *detur digniori*. And therefore, both your Lordship is beholden to Learning, and Learning to your Lordship: which makes me presume that you will accept of these my Labours; the rather, because your Lordship, in private Speech, has often begun to me in expressing your admiration of his Majesty's Learning, to whom I have dedicated this Work; and whose Virtue and Perfection in that kind, chiefly moved me to a Work of this nature.

Ann. 1605.

X.

To the Lord Treasurer BUCKHURST^d; upon presenting him the Advancement of Learning.

I Have finished a Work upon the *Advancement or setting forward of Learning*, which I have dedicated to his Majesty, the most learned of a Sovereign, or Temporal Prince, that Time has known; and upon reason,

not

^a *De Dignitate Scientiarum.*

^b *De Augmentis Scientiarum.*

^c Lord Ellesmere.

^d Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Lord Treasurer, and Earl of Dorset, celebrated as a Poet, an Orator, and a Writer.

not unlike, I humbly present one of the Books to your Lordship; not only, as a Chancellor of an *University*, but as one that was excellently bred in all Learning; which I have ever noted to shine in all your Speeches and Behaviour: and therefore your Lordship will yield a gracious aspect to your first Love; and take pleasure in the adorning of that wherewith your self are so much adorned. And so humbly desiring your favourable acceptance thereof, I remain, &c.

Ann. 1605.

XI.

To Dr. PLAYFER ²; *desiring him to translate the Advancement into Latin.*

A Great Desire will take a small occasion to hope, and put in a trial, that which is desired. It pleased you, a good while since, to express to me the liking you conceived of my Book of the *Advancement of Learning*; and that more significantly, as it seem'd to me, than out of Courtesy or civil Respect. As I then took content in your Approbation thereof; so I should esteem and acknowledge, not only my Content increased, but my Labours advanced, if I might obtain your good Help in that nature which I desire: wherein, before I set down in plain terms my Request, I will open my self, what 'twas I chiefly sought, and proposed in that Work; that you may perceive what I now desire, to be pursuant thereupon. If I do not much err (for any Judgment that a Man makes of his own doings, had need be spoken with a *si nunquam fallat imago*;) I have this Opinion, that if I had sought my own Reputation, it had been a much fitter Course for me to have done as Gardeners use to do, by taking their Seed and Slips, and rearing them first into Plants, and so uttering them in Pots, when they are in Flower, and in their best State. But as my end was Merit of the State of Learning, and not Glory; and as my Purpose was rather to excite other Mens Wits, than to magnify my own, I was desirous to prevent the uncertainty of my own Life and Times, by uttering rather Seeds than Plants: nay, and farther, as the Proverb is, by sowing with the Basket, rather than with the Hand. Wherefore, since I have only taken upon me to ring a Bell, to call other Wits together, which is the meanest Office; it cannot but be agreeable to my desire, to have that Bell heard as far as possible. And since they are but as Sparks which can work only upon Matter prepared, I have the more reason to wish, that those Sparks may fly abroad; that they may the better find and light upon such Minds and Spirits as are apt to be kindled. And therefore, the Privacy of the Language considered, wherein it is written, excluding

² Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

ding so many Readers ; as, on the other side, the obscurity of the Argument, in many parts of it, excludes many others ; I must account it a second Birth of that Work, if it might be translated into *Latin* ; without manifest loss of the Sense and Matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to my self any Man, into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that Work should fall, than your self ; for by what I have heard and read, I know no Man a greater Master in commanding Words to serve Matter. Nevertheless, I am not ignorant of the Worth of your Labours ; whether such as your Place and Profession imposes, or such as your own Virtue may, upon your voluntary Election, take in hand. But I can lay before you no other persuasions, than either the Work it self may affect you with ; or the Honour of his Majesty to whom 'tis dedicated ; or your particular Inclination to my self : who, as I never took such comfort in any Labours of my own ; so I shall never acknowledge my self more obliged in any thing to the Labours of another, than in that which shall assist it : which your Labour, if I can, by my Place, Profession, Means, Friends, Travel, Work, Deed, requite to you, I shall esteem my self so strictly bound thereto, as I shall be ever most ready both to take and seek occasion of thankfulness. So leaving it nevertheless, *salva amicitia*, as reason is, to your good liking, I remain,
 &c.^a

XII.

To the King; with the Discourse of the Plantation of Ireland.

I Know not better how to express my good Wishes of a new Year to your Majesty, than by this little Book, which in all humbleness I send you. The Style is a Style of Business, rather than curious or elaborate. And herein I was encouraged by my Experience of your Majesty's former Grace, in accepting of the like poor Field-fruits upon the *Union*. And certainly I reckon this Action as a second Brother to the *Union*. For I assure my self, that *England, Scotland and Ireland* well united, is such a Trefoil, as no Prince, except your self, wears in his Crown ; *si potentia reducatur in actum*. I well know, that for me to beat my Brains about these things, is, *Majora quam pro fortuna* ; but yet, *Minora quam pro studio ac voluntate*. For as I still bear an extreme Zeal to the Memory of my old Mistress, *Queen Elizabeth* ; to whom I was rather bound for her Trust, than her Favour ; so I must acknowledge my self more bound to your Majesty,

^a The Doctor eagerly embraced the Proposal, and returned a Specimen of a Translation, the *Latinity* whereof was found too exquisite ; so that the Author, who required strong and masculine Expression, did not encourage him to proceed. See *Bacon's Remains*, by *Tennison*, pag. 26.

jeſty, both for Truſt and Favour: whereof I will never deceive the one, as I can never deſerve the other.

Ann. 1606.

Of the PLANTATION of IRELAND.

IT ſeems God has reſerved to your Majeſty's times *two Works*, which among the Works of Kings have the ſupreme Preheminence; *viz.* the *uniting*, and *planting* of Kingdoms. For tho' it be great fortune for a King to deliver his Kingdom from long Calamities; yet in the Judgment of thoſe who have diſtinguiſh'd the Degrees of Sovereign Honour, to be a Founder of States excels all the reſt. For as in Arts and Sciences, to be the firſt Inventor, is more than to illuſtrate or amplify; and in the Works of God, the Creation is greater than the Preſervation; and as in the Works of Nature, the Birth and Nativity is more than the Continuance: ſo in Kingdoms, the firſt Foundation, or Plantation, is of nobler Dignity and Merit than all that follows. Theſe Foundations are but of two kinds; the firſt, that which makes one of more; and the ſecond, that which makes one of none; the latter reſembling the Creation of the World *out of nothing*, and the former the Edification of the Church to *Simplicity and Unity*. And it has pleaſed the divine Providence to put both theſe Foundations into your hands; the one, in the *Union of Britain*; the other, in the Plantation of great parts of *Ireland*. Which Enterprizes being once happily accompliſhed, you may juſtly be ſaid to have given new Birth to *Britain and Ireland*. For Unions and Plantations are the very Nativities or Birth-days of Kingdoms. And herein likewiſe your Majeſty has yet a Fortune extraordinary, and differing from former Examples in the ſame kind. For moſt Unions and Plantations of Kingdoms have been founded in the effuſion of Blood; but your Majeſty builds *in ſolo puro, & in area pura*, that needs no expiatory Sacrifice for Blood; and therefore, no doubt, this is under a higher and more aſſured Bleſſing.

I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the Excellency of the Work; and then of the Means to compaſs and effect it. For the Excellence of the Work, I will divide it into four noble and worthy Conſequences, that will follow thereupon.

The *firſt* is *Honour*; whereof I have ſaid enough already, were it not that the Harp of *Ireland* reminds me of that glorious Emblem, or Allegory, wherein the Wiſdom of Antiquity ſhadowed out Works of this nature. For the Poets feigned, that *Orpheus*, by the virtue and ſweetneſs of his Harp, aſſembled the Beaſts and Birds, of their nature wild and ſavage, to ſtand about him, as in a Theatre; forgetting their Affections of Fierceneſs, of Luſt, and of Prey; and liſtning to the Tunes and Harmonies of the Harp: and ſoon after, called likewiſe the Stones and the Woods to remove, and
ſtand

stand in order about him. Which Fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and planting of Kingdoms; when People of barbarous Manners are brought to give over their Customs of Revenge and Blood, and of dissolute Life, Theft, and Rapine; and to give ear to the Wisdom of Laws and Governments: whereupon immediately follows the calling of Stones for Building and Habitation; and of Trees, for the Seats of Houses, Orchards, Enclosures, and the like. This Work therefore, of all others, the most memorable and honourable, your Majesty has now in hand; and may the better effect, by joining the Harp of *David*, in casting out the evil Spirit of Superstition, with the Harp of *Orpheus*, in the casting out Desolation and Barbarism.

The *second* Consequence of this Enterprize, is the *avoiding of an Inconvenience*, which commonly attends upon happy Times; and is a bad effect of a good Cause. The present Age seems generally inclined to Peace in these Parts; and your Majesty's most Christian Temper promises the same; more especially to these your Kingdoms. But the effect of Peace in a fruitful Kingdom, where the Stock of People, receiving no diminution by War, must continually multiply and increase, will in the end be a Surcharge or Overflow of People, more than the Territory can well maintain; which often insinuating a general Necessity and want of Means into States, turns external Peace into internal Troubles and Seditions. Now, what an excellent Diversion of this Inconvenience is ministred to your Majesty in this Plantation of *Ireland*? Wherein so many Families may receive Sustenance and Fortunes: and the Discharge of them also out of *England* and *Scotland*, may prevent many Seeds of future Perturbations. So that, the Issue will be, as if a Man were at a loss to discharge a Flood of Waters from the place where he has built his House, and should afterwards turn them into fair Ponds or Streams, for Pleasure, Provision, or Use. For thus your Majesty will have a double Convenience, in discharging of People here; and in making use of them there.

The *third* Consequence is, the great Safety likely to ensue to your Majesty's State, in general, by this Act; in discomfiting all hostile Attempts of Foreigners, which the Weakness of that Kingdom has heretofore invited. A general Reason is, because, as one of the *Romans* said of *Peloponnesus*, *The Tortoise is safe within her Shell* ^a; but if she put forth any part of her Body, it endangers, not only the part so put forth, but all the rest: and in the human Body, if there be any weak or affected Part, this is sufficient to draw Rheums or Humours to it; to the disturbance of the Health of the whole Body. And for Particulars; the example is too fresh, that the Indisposition of that Kingdom has been a continual Attractive of Troubles and Infections upon this State: and tho' your Majesty's Greatness in some measure discharges this Fear; yet without your increase of Power, Envy must likewise increase.

The *fourth* and last Consequence is, the great Profit and Strength likely to redound to your Crown, by working upon this unpolished part thereof:

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whence

^a *Testudo intra tegumen tuta est.*

whence your Majesty, being in the Prime of Life, is likely to receive more than the First-Fruits; and your Posterity, a growing and springing Vein of Riches and Power. For this Island being another *Britain*, as *Britain* was said to be another World, has so many Dowries of Nature; the Fruitfulness of the Soil, the Ports, the Rivers, the Fishing, the Quarries, the Woods; and especially its Race of valiant, hardy, and active Men; that it is not easy, even upon the Continent, to find such a Conflux of Commodities; if the hand of Man did but join with the hand of Nature. And so much for the Excellence of the Work, in point of Honour, Policy, Safety, and Utility.

For the Means to effect this Work, your Majesty will not want the Information of expert and industrious Persons, who have served you there, and know the Country; nor the Advice of a grave and prudent Council here, which knows the Pulses of the Hearts of People; and the ways and passages of conducting great Actions: besides that Fountain of Wisdom and Universality, which is in your self. Yet in a thing of so publick a nature, it is not amiss for your Majesty to hear variety of Opinions: for as *Demosthenes* says well; “the good Fortune of a Prince or State, sometimes puts a good Motion into a Fool’s mouth.”

I think, therefore, the Means of accomplishing this Work, consists of two principal Parts. The *first*, the Invitation and Encouragement of Undertakers: the *second*, the Order and Policy of the Project it self. For as in all Engines of the Hand, there is somewhat that gives the Motion and Force, and the rest serves to guide and govern it; the Case is the same in these Enterprizes or Engines of State. For the former; no doubt, but next to the Providence and Finger of God, which writes these excellent Desires in the Tables of your Majesty’s Heart; your Authority and your Affection is the first Mover in this Cause: and therefore, the more strongly and fully your Majesty shall declare your self in it, the more shall you quicken and animate the whole Proceeding. For this is an Action, which, as its worthiness supports it, so its Nature requires it to be carried in some height of Reputation: and ’tis fit, in my Opinion, for Pulpits and Parliaments, and all Places to ring and resound of it. For what may seem Vanity, in some things, I mean matter of Fame, is of great efficacy in this.

But now to descend to the inferior Spheres; and speak of what Co-operation in the Subjects or Undertakers may be raised, and by what means. And to take plain Grounds, which are the surest; all Men are drawn into Actions by three things; *viz.* (1.) *Pleasure*, (2.) *Honour*, and (3.) *Profit*. But before I pursue these three Motives, it is fit to interlace a word or two, as to the quality of the Undertakers; wherein my Opinion is simply this, that if your Majesty shall make these Portions of Land to be planted, but as Rewards, or as Suits, or as Fortunes for those in want, and are likeliest to seek most after them; they will not be able to go through with the Charge of good substantial Plantations; but will, *deficere in Opere medio*; and then this Work will succeed, as *Tacitus* says, *acribus Initiis Fine incurioso*. So that, this must rather be an Adventure for such as are full, than a setting

ting up of those that are low of Means: for such Men are fit to perform these Undertakings, as are fit to purchase dry Reversions after Lives or Years; or such as are fit to put out Money upon long Returns. So that the Undertakers themselves should be Men of Estates and Plenty.

(1.) To come now to the Motives. *First*, for Pleasure. In this tract of Soil, there are no warm Winters, nor Orange-Trees, nor strange Beasts, nor Birds, or other Points of Curiosity and Diversion, as there are in the *Indies*, and the like: so that there can be no Foundation made upon matter of Pleasure, otherwise, than that the very desire of Novelty and Experiment in some stirring Natures may work somewhat; and therefore, 'tis the other two Points of Honour and Profit, whereon we are wholly to rest.

(2.) For *Honour* or *Countenance*, if I mention to your Majesty, whether in Wisdom you shall think convenient, the better to express your Affection to the Enterprize, and for a Pledge thereof, to add the Earldom of *Ulster* to the Prince's Titles; I shall but learn it out of the Practice of King *Edward I.* who used the like Course, as a means the better to restrain the Country of *Wales*. And I take it, the Prince of *Spain* has the addition of a Province in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and other Precedents, I think there are: and 'tis likely to put more Life and Encouragement in the Undertakers.

Again, considering the large Territories to be planted, it is not improbable your Majesty will think of raising some Nobility there; which if done, merely upon new Titles of Dignity, without any reference to the old; and if done, also, without putting too many Portions into one hand; and lastly, without any great Franchises or Commands, I do not see any Danger can ensue: as, on the other side, it may draw some Persons of great Estate and Means into the Action; to the great furtherance and supply of the Charges thereof.

And for Knighthood; to such Persons as have not attained it; or otherwise Knighthood, with some new Difference and Precedence, may no doubt work with many. And if any Man think that these things are *aliquid nimis*, for the Proportion of this Action; I confess, plainly, that if your Majesty will have it really and effectually performed, my Opinion is, you cannot bestow too much Sun-shine upon it. For *Lunæ radiis non maturefcit botrus*. Thus much for Honour.

(3.) For *Profit*; it will consist in three Parts; *viz.* *First*, the easy Rates that your Majesty shall be pleased to give the Undertakers of the Land, they receive.

Secondly, The Liberties you may be pleased to confer upon them. I mean not Liberties of Jurisdiction; as Counties Palatine, or the like; which has been the Error of the ancient Donations and Plantations in that Country: but only Liberties tending to Convenience; as of transporting any of the Commodities growing upon the Country new planted; or importing from hence all things appertaining to their necessary use, Custom-free; and liberty of taking Timber, or other Materials, in your Majesty's Woods there, and the like.

The *third* Part is, Ease of Charges; that the whole mass of the Charge do not rest upon the private Purse of the Undertakers.

The two former of these Parts, I pass over; because in that Project, which with good diligence and providence has been presented to your Majesty, by your Ministers of that Kingdom, they are, in my opinion, well handled.

For the third; I despair not, but that the Parliament of *England*, if it perceive, that this Action is not a flash, but a solid and settled Pursuit, will give aid to a Work so Religious, so Politick, and so Profitable. And the distribution of the Charge falls naturally into three kinds; each whereof respectively ought to have its proper Fountain and Issue. For as there proceeds from your Majesty's Royal Bounty, and Munificence, the Gift of the Land, and other Materials, together with the Endowment of Liberties; and as the Charge, which is private, *viz.* the building of Houses, stocking of Grounds, Provisions, &c. is to rest upon the particular Undertakers: so whatever is publick, as the building of Churches, walling of Towns Town-houses, Bridges, Cause-ways, or High-ways, and the like, ought not properly to be upon particular Persons, but to come from the publick State of this Kingdom; to which the Work is likely to return so great an addition of Glory, Strength, and Commodity.

Of the Project it self, I shall need to speak the less, in regard 'tis so considerably digested already for the County of *Tyrone*: and therefore my Labour shall be but in those things, wherein I shall either add to, or dissent from what is set down; which will include five Points or Articles.

And *First*, They mention a Commission for this Plantation; which of all things is most necessary, both to direct and appease Controversies, and the like.

To this I add two Proposals: the *one*, that the Commissioners should, for certain time, reside and abide in some habitable Town of *Ireland*, near the new-planted Country; to the end, that they may be more at hand, for the Execution of the Parts of their Commission. And probably, by drawing a concourse of People and Tradesmen to such Towns, it will be some Help and Commodity to the Undertakers, for the things they shall stand in need of. And likewise, it will be a more safe Place of Receipt and Store, wherein to unlade and deposite such Provisions, as are afterwards to be employ'd.

The *second* is, that your Majesty would make a Correspondence between the *Commission* there, and a *Council of Plantation* here; according to the Precedent of the like *Council of Plantation* for *Virginia*: an Enterprize, in my opinion, differing as much from this, as *Amadis de Gaul* differs from *Cæsar's* Commentaries. By a Council of Plantation, I mean some Persons chosen by way of Reference, upon whom the Labour may rest, to prepare and report things to the Council of State here, concerning that Business. For altho' your Majesty has a grave and sufficient Council in *Ireland*, from whom, and upon whom, the Commissioners are to have Assistance and Dependance; yet that answers not the purpose I intend. For as, upon

the Advice both of Commissioners, and the Council of *Ireland* itself, there will be many Occasions to crave Directions from your Majesty, and your Privy Council here, which are busied with a world of Affairs; it cannot but give a greater Expedition, and better Perfection to some Directions and Resolutions, if the matters may be considered of before-hand, by such, as may have a continual Care of the Cause. And it will be likewise a Comfort and Satisfaction to some principal Undertakers, if they may be admitted of that Council.

Secondly, There is a Clause, wherein the Undertakers are restrain'd, that they shall execute the Plantation in Person; from which I must dissent, upon the Grounds I have already taken. For 'tis not probable that Men of great Means and plentiful Estates will endure the Fatigue, Disorders, and Adventures of going thither in Person; but rather, I suppose, many will undertake Portions, as an Advancement for their younger Children or Relations; or for the Sweetness of the Expectation of a great Purchase in the end. And therefore, 'tis likely, they will employ Sons, Kinsfolks, Servants, or Tenants; and yet be glad to have the Estate in themselves. And perhaps some again will join their Purves together, and make, as it were, a Partnership, or Joint-Adventure; and yet send some one Person by Consent, for executing the Plantation.

Thirdly, There is a main Point, wherein I fear the Project form'd has too much of the Line and Compass; and will not be so natural and easy to execute; nor yet so political and convenient: *viz.* that the Buildings should be scatter'd upon every Portion; and the Castle or principal House draw the Tenements and Farms about it, as it were, into Villages and Hamlets; and that there should be four *corporate Towns*, for the Artificers and Tradesmen.

My Opinion is, that the Building be altogether in Towns; to be composed as well of Husbandries as of Arts. My Reasons are, *First*, when Men come into a Country waste, and void of all things necessary for the use of Man; if they set up together in a place, one of them will better supply the wants of the other. Workmen of all sorts will be the more continually at work, without loss of time; when, if Work fail in one place, they may have it near hand. The Ways will be more passable for Carriage to those Seats or Towns, than they can be to a number of dispersed solitary Places: and infinite other Helps and Easements, scarcely to be comprehended in Thought, will ensue from a Vicinity and Society of People. Whereas, if they build scattered, every Man must have a *Cornu-Copia* in himself, for all things he shall use; which cannot but cause much Difficulty and Waste. *Secondly*, It will draw Provisions and Necessaries out of the inhabited Country, because they will be sure of vent; whereas in dispersed Habitations, every Man must reckon only upon what he brings with him, as they do in the storing of Ships. *Thirdly*, The Charge of *Bawnes*, as they call them, to be made about every Castle or House, may be spared; when the Habitations shall be congregated only into Towns. And *lastly*, it will be a means to secure the Country against future Dangers; in case of any Revolt and Defection: for by a slight Fortification of no great charge, the Danger of any Attempts
of

of *Kierns* and *Sword-men* may be prevented: the Omission of which Point, in the last Plantation of *Munster*, made the Work of Years to be but the Spoil of Days. And if any Man think it will draw People too far off from the Grounds they are to labour; 'tis to be understood, that the number of the Towns be increased accordingly; and likewise, that the Situation of them be as in a Center, with respect to the Portions assigned them: for in the champaign Countries of *England*, where the Habitation is in Towns, and not dispersed, 'tis no new thing to go two Miles to plough part of their Grounds; and two Miles compass will take up a good deal of Country.

The *fourth* Point, is a Point wherein I shall differ from the Project, rather in Quantity and Proportion, than in Matter. It is allowed the Undertaker, within the five Years of Restraint, to alien a third part in Fee-Farm, and to demise another for forty Years; which I fear will mangle the Portions, and be but a shift to make Money of two Parts: whereas I am of Opinion, the more the first Undertaker is forced to keep in his own hands, the more the Work is likely to prosper. For, *First*, the Person liable to the State here to perform the Plantation, is the immediate Undertaker. *Secondly*, The more his Profit depends upon the annual and springing Commodity, the more sweetness he will find in putting forward the husbanding of Grounds; and therefore is likely to take more care of it. *Thirdly*, Since the Natives are excluded, I do not see that any Persons are likely to be drawn over of that condition, as to give Fines, and undertake the Charge of Building: for I am persuaded, that the People transported will consist of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of Labourers and Hinds; and not of wealthy Yeomen: and therefore the charge of building, as well of the Tenements and Farms, as of the capital Houses themselves, will probably rest upon the Undertakers; which may be recompensed in the end to the full, if they make no long Estates or Leases: and therefore this Article is to receive some Qualification. *Fifthly*, I think it requisite that Men of Experience in that Kingdom, should enter into some particular Consideration of the Charges and Provisions, of all kinds, that will be incident to the Plantations; that thereupon some Advice may be taken for the furnishing and accommodating them most conveniently: thus assisting private Industry, with publick Care and Order.

XIII.

To Sir THOMAS BODLEY; desiring him to return the Author's Cogitata & Vifa.

AS I am going to my House in the Country, I shall want my Papers; which I beg you, therefore, to return. You are, I bear you witness, slothful; and you help me nothing; so that I am half in conceit you affect not the Argument: for my self, I know well you love and affect.

no more to you; but *Non canimus surdis, respondēt omnia Sylva*. If you be not of the Lodgings chalked up, whereof I speak in my Preface^a, I am but to pass by your Door. But if I had you a fortnight at *Gorbambury*, I wou'd make you tell me another tale; or else I wou'd add a *Cogitation* against Libraries, and be revenged on you that way.

XIV.

^a There is no Preface of the Author to the *Cogitata & Visa*, as published by *Gruter*; and that whole Piece appears no more than a very imperfect Sketch of the first Part of the *Novum Organum*, and never intended to be published. Yet as the Sentiments, so far as they go, are generally the same with those of the *Novum Organum*; it may not be amiss to know the Opinion entertain'd of them, by that very learned Gentleman Sir *Thomas Bodley*. We will, therefore, here annex his Letter in Answer, as it should seem, to the Author upon that Subject.

“ I think you know I have read your *Cogitata & Visa*; which I protest I have done with great desire; reputeing it a Token of your singular Love, that you joined me with those of your chiefest Friends, to whom you would commend the first perusal of your Draught: for which I pray give me leave to say but this to you.

“ *First*, That if the Depth of my Affection to your Person and Spirit; to your Work and your Words; and to all your Abilities; were as highly to be valued as your Affection is to me, it might walk with yours arm in arm, and claim your Love by just Desert. But there can be no comparison, where our States are so uneven; and our Means to demonstrate our Affections so different: in so much that for my own, I must leave it to be prized in the Nature that it is; and you shall ever find it most addicted to your worth.

“ As touching the Subject of your Book, you have set on foot so many rare and noble Speculations, as I cannot chuse but wonder (and I shall wonder at it ever) that, your Expence of time considered, in your publick Profession, which hath, in a manner, no acquaintance with Scholarship or Learning, you should have culled out the Quintessence, and sucked up the Sap of the chiefest kind of Learning.

“ For however, in some Points, you vary altogether from that which is, and has been ever, the received Doctrine of our Schools; and was always by the wisest, as still they have been deemed, of all Nations and Ages, adjudged the truest: yet it is apparent, that in those very Points, and in all your Proposals and Plots in that Book, you shew yourself a Master-Workman.

“ For my self, I must confess, and I speak it *ingenuè*, that for the matter of Learning, I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of Smatterers. And yet because it may seem, that being willing to communicate your Treatise with your Friends, you are likewise willing to listen to whatever I, or others can, except against it: I must deliver to you, for my private opinion, that I am one of the Crew, that lay there is, and we profess, a far greater Hold-fast of Certainty in the Sciences, than you by your Discourse will seem to acknowledge.

“ For whereas, *first*, you object the ill Success and Errors of Practitioners in Physick; you know as well they proceed from the Patient's Unruliness: for not one of a hundred obeys his Physician, in observing his Cautions; or by Misinformations of their own Indispositions, for few are able in this kind to explain themselves; or because their Diseases are by Nature incurable; which is incident, you know, to many sorts of Maladies; or for some other hidden cause, which cannot be discovered by Course of Conjecture: tho' I am full of this Belief, that as Physick is administr'd now-a-days by Physicians, it is much to be ascribed to their Negligence, or Ignorance, or other touch of Imperfection, that they succeed no better in their Practice: for few are found of that Profession, so well instructed in their Art, as they might be, by the Precepts which their Art affords: which tho' it be defective in regard of such Perfection; yet for certain it flourishes with admirable Remedies, such as tract of time has taught by experimental Events, and are the open Highway to that principal Knowledge you recommend.

“ As for Alchymy and Magick; some Conclusions they have that are worthy the preserving; but all their Skill is so accompanied with Subtleties and Guiles, as both the Crafts and Craft-masters are not only despised, but named with Derision: whereupon, to make good your principal Assertion, methinks you should have drawn your Examples from thar, which is taught in the liberal Sciences; not by picking out Cases that happen very seldom, and may
“ by

XIV.

To the Bishop of ELY^a; along with the Cogitata & Vifa.

NOW your Lordship has been so long in the Church and Palace, disputing between Kings and Popes^b; methinks you should take pleasure to look into the Field; and refresh your Mind, with some matter of Philosophy: tho' that Science be now, thro' Age, grown a Child again,

“ by all Confession be subject to Reproof; but by controlling the Generals and Grounds, and eminent Positions, and Aphorisms, which the greatest Artists and Philosophers have from time to time defended. For it goes for current among Men of Learning, that those kind of Arts, which the Ancients term'd *Quadriviales*, confirm their Propositions by infallible Demonstrations.

“ And likewise in the *Triviales*, such Lessons and Directions are delivered us, as will effect very near, or as much altogether, as every Faculty promises. Now in case we should concur to do as you advise; which is to renounce our common Notions; and cancel all our Theorems, Axioms, Rules and Tenets; and so to come Babes *ad Regnum Nature*, as we are willed by Scriptures to come *ad Regnum Caelorum*; there is nothing more certain, in my Understanding, than that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism; and after many thousand Years, leave us more unprovided of theoretical Furniture than we are at this present: for that were indeed to become very Babes, or *Tabula rasa*, when we shall leave no Impression of any former Principles, but be driven to begin the World again, and to travel by trials of Axioms and Sense (which are your Proofs by Particulars) what to place *in Intellectu*, for our general Conceptions; it being a Maxim of all Men's approving, *in Intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in Sensu*: and so, in appearance, it would befall us, that 'till *Plato's* Year be come about, our Insight in Learning would be of less Reckoning than now it is accounted.

“ As for that which you inculcate, of a Knowledge more excellent than now is among us; which Experience might produce; if we would but essay to extract it out of Nature by particular Probations: it is no more, upon the matter, but to incite us unto that, which, without Intigation, by a natural Instinct, Men will practise of themselves. For it cannot in reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite Numbers in all parts of the World; (for we may not in this Case confine our *Cogitations* within the Bounds of *Europe*;) which embrace the course that you propose, with all the Diligence and Care, that Ability can perform: for every Man is born with an Appetite of Knowledge; wherewith he cannot be so glutted, but still, as in a Dropsy, thirst after more. But yet why they should hearken to any such Persuasions, as wholly to abolish these fettered Opinions and general Theorems, to which they attained by their own and their Ancestor's Experience; I see nothing yet alledged, to induce me to think it.

“ Moreover, I may speak, as I should suppose, with good Probability, that if we should make a mental Survey, what is likely to be effected all the World over, those five or six Inventions, which you have selected *, and imagine to be but of modern standing, would make but a slender shew amongst so many hundreds of all kinds, and which are daily brought to light by the Enforcement of Wit, or casual Events, and may be compared, or partly preferred, above those that you have named.

“ But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require, for the Augmentation of our Knowledge; and that all our Theorems and general Positions were utterly extinguished

“ with

* Suppose Printing, the Sea-Compass, Gunpowder, Ordnance, Silk, Sugar, Paper, &c.

^a Viz. Dr. Andrews, afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

^b He was concerned in the Dispute betwixt King James, Bellarmine, and Baronius.

again, and left to Boys and young Men. And because you used to make me believe you took a liking to my Writings, I send you some of this Vacation's Fruits; and thus much more of my Mind and Purpose. I hasten not to publish; perishing I would prevent; and I am forced to respect, as well my times, as the matter. For with me, 'tis thus; and I think, with all Men in my Case: if I bind my self to an Argument, it loads my Mind; but

“ with a new Substitution of others in their places; what hope may we have of any Benefit of Learning by this Alteration?

“ Assuredly as soon as the new are brought, with their Additions, to Perfection, by the Inventors and their Followers, by an interchangeable Course of natural things, they will fall by degrees to be buried in oblivion, and so on Continuance to perish out-right; and that perchance upon the like to your present Pretences, by proposal of some means to advance our Knowledge to an higher pitch of Perfection: for still the same Defects, that Antiquity found, will reside in Mankind. And therefore, other Issues of their Actions, Devices, and Studies, are not to be expected, than, is apparent by Records, were in former times observed.

“ I remember here a Note, which *Patriculus* made of the incomparable Wits of the *Grecians* and *Romans* in their flourishing State; that there might be this Reason of their notable Downfall in their Issue that came after; because by Nature, *Quod summo studio petatum est ascendit in summum, difficilisque in perfecto mora est*; insomuch that Men, perceiving they could go no further; being come to the top; they turned back again of their own accord; forsaking those Studies that are most in Request, and betaking themselves to new Endeavours; as if the thing that they sought had been by prevention surpris'd by others.

“ So it fared in particular with the Eloquence of that Age, when their Successors found, they could hardly equal, by no means excel their Predecessors; they began to neglect the Study thereof; and both to write and speak for many hundred Years in a rustical Manner; 'till this later Revolution brought the Wheel about again, by inflaming gallant Spirits to give the Onset afresh; with straining and striving to climb to the top and height of Perfection, not in that Gift only, but in every other Skill in any part of Learning.

“ For I do not hold it an erroneous Conceit to think of every Science, that as now they are professed, so they have been before in all precedent Ages; tho' not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same place; but according to the Changings and Twinnings of Times, with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of teaching. And if the Question should be asked, what proof I have of it; I have the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of most of the learned Men, of whom we have any Means to take any notice; that as there is of other things, so there is of Sciences, *ortus & interitus*; which is also the Meaning, if I should expound it, of *nihil novum sub Sole*: and it is as well to be applied *ad facta*, as *ad dicta*, *ut nihil neque dictum, neque factum, quod non sit dictum & factum prius*. I have farther for my Warrant, that famous Complaint of *Solomon* to his Son, against 'ne infinite making of Books in his time; of which in all Congruity, it must needs be understood, that a great part were Observations and Instructions in all kind of Literature; and of those there is not now so much as one petty Pamphlet, only some part of the Bible excepted, remaining to Posterity.

“ As then there was not, in like manner, any footing to be found of millions of Authors, that were long before *Solomon*; and yet we must give credit to what he affirmed, that whatsoever was then, or had been before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, *Behold this is new*.

“ Whereupon I must, for my final Conclusion, infer, seeing all the Endeavours, Study, and Knowledge of Mankind, in whatsoever Art or Science, have ever been the same, as they are at this present, tho' full of Mutabilities, according to the Changes and accidental Occasions of Ages and Countries, and learned Men's Dispositions; which can never but be subject to Intention and Remission, both in their Devices and Practices of their Knowledge; if now we should accord in Opinion with you: *First*, To condemn our present Knowledge of Doubts and Incertitudes, which you confirm but by Averment, without other force of Argument; and then to disclaim all our *Axioms* and *Maxims*, and general Assertions, that are left by

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but if I rid my Mind of the present Thought, 'tis rather a Recreation. This has put me upon these *Miscellanies*^a; which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect Volume of Philosophy^b; which I go on with, tho' slowly. I send not your Lordship too much; lest it should glut you. Now let me tell you what my desire is. If your Lordship be still so good, as when you were the good Dean of *Westminster*; my request is, that not by Points, but by Notes, you would mark to me whatever shall seem, either not current in the Style, harsh to Credit and Opinion, or inconvenient for the Person of the Writer; for no Man can be Judge and Party: and when our Minds judge by Reflexion on our selves, they are more subject to Error. And tho', for the matter it self, my

Judgment

“ Tradition from our Elders to us; which (for so it is to be pretended) have passed all Probations
 “ of the sharpest Wits that ever were: And *lastly*, to imagine, being now become again, as
 “ it were, *Abecedarii*, by the frequent spelling of Particulars, to come to the notice of the
 “ true Generals; and so afresh to create new Principles of Sciences; the end of all would be,
 “ that when we shall be dispossessed of the Learning, which we have; all our consequent Tra-
 “ vails will but help us, in a Circle, to conduct us to the Place from whence we set forward;
 “ and bring us to the Happiness to be restored *in integrum*: which will require as many Ages
 “ as have marched before us to be achieved.

“ And this I write with no Dislike of increasing our Knowledge with new-found Devices;
 “ which is undoubtedly a Practice of high Commendation, in regard of the Benefit they will
 “ yield for the present; that the World has ever been, and will assuredly for ever continue, full
 “ of such Devils, whose Industry has been very obstinate and eminent that Way; and has
 “ produced strange Effects above the reach, and the hope of Men's common Capacities; and
 “ yet our Notions and Theorems have always kept in Grace, both with them, and with the
 “ rarest that ever were named among the Learned.

“ By this you see to what Boldness I am brought by your Kindness; that if I seem to be
 “ too saucy in this Contradiction, it is the Opinion that I hold of your noble Disposition; and
 “ of the Freedom in these Cases that you will afford your special Friend, that hath induced me
 “ to do it. And although I my self, like a Carrier's Horse, cannot balk the beaten Way, in
 “ which I have been trained; yet such is my Censure of your *Cogitata*, that I must tell you,
 “ to be plain, you have very much wronged your self and the World to smother such a Trea-
 “ sure so long in your Coffer; for though I stand well assured, for the tenor and subject of
 “ your main Discourse, you are not able to impanel a substantial Jury in any *University*, that
 “ will give a Verdict to acquit you of Error: yet it cannot be gain-said, but all your Treatise
 “ does overabound with choice Conceits of the present State of Learning; and with so worthy
 “ Contemplations of the Means to procure it, as may persuade any Student to look more nar-
 “ rowly to his Business; not only by aspiring to the greatest Perfection of that, which is now-
 “ a-days divulged in the Sciences; but by diving yet deeper into (as it were) the Bowels and
 “ Secrets of Nature; and by enforcing of the Powers of his Judgment and Wit, to learn of
 “ *St. Paul. confectari meliora Dona*: which Course, would to God (to whisper so much in your
 “ Ear) you had followed at the first; when you fell into the study of such a Study, as was
 “ not worthy such a Student. Nevertheless, being so as it is, that you are therein settled, and
 “ your Country soundly served; I cannot but wish, with all my Heart, as I do very often, that
 “ you may gain a fit Reward to the full of your Deserts: which I hope will come with heaps
 “ of Happiness and Honour*.

Fulham, Feb. 19. 1607.

* For Answer to the Doctrinal Points of this Letter, See Nov. Organ. Part I. Aph. 92—115.

^a *Viz.* The *Cogitata & Visa*, which are miscellaneous, but reduced to order in the *Novum Organum*.

^b *Viz.* Not only the *Novum Organum*, but the whole *Insauration*, See the Author's Letter to Father *Fulgentius*; at the end of this Section.

Judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any Man's Judgment that goes not my way; yet even in those things, the Admonition of a Friend may make me express my self differently ^a.

XV.

To Sir GEORGE CAREW ^b; *presenting him the Memoir*
in felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ.

BEing asked a Question by this Bearer, an old Servant of my Brother *Anthony Bacon's*, whether I would command him any thing into *France*; and being at better leisure than I would, in regard of Sicknes; I began to remember, that neither your Business nor mine, tho' great and continual, can be, upon an exact Account, any just Occasion, why so much goodwill as has passed between us, should be so much discontinued as it has been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke your Remembrance of me, by a Letter: and thinking to fill it with somewhat besides Salutations; it came to my mind, that this last Summer's Vacation, upon occasion of a factious Book, that endeavoured to verify, *Misera Fœmina*, (the Addition of the *Pope's Bull*,) upon Queen *Elizabeth*; I wrote a few Lines in her *Memorial* ^c, which I thought you would be pleased to read; both for the Argument, and because you used to bear Affection to my Pen. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handsomely to pass, I would be glad the *President de Thou*, who has wrote a History of that Fame and Diligence, saw it; chiefly because it may perhaps serve him for some use in his History; wherein I should be glad he did right to the Truth, and to the Memory of that Lady; as I perceive, by what he has already written, he is well inclined to do. I should be glad also, it were some Occasion, such as Absence may permit, of some Acquaintance, or mutual Notice between us. For tho' he has many ways the precedence; yet this is common to us both, that we serve our Sovereigns in eminent places of Law; and not our selves only, but that our Fathers did so before us. And lastly, that both of us love Learning, and the liberal Sciences; which was ever a Bond of Friendship in the greatest distance of Places. But of this I make no farther Request, than your own Occasions and Respects may advance or limit; my principal purpose being to salute you and send you this Token.

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XVI.

^a The Author appears to have taken deliberate Advice concerning his *Novum Organum*, and has endeavoured to remove all the considerable Objections he could any way learn were made to it. See *Part I. Sect. IV. V. VI. &c.* of that Work.

^b Sent Ambassador to *Poland*, in the Year 1597; and Ambassador to *France*, in the Year 1606.

^c See Pag. 320, of the present Volume.

XVI.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; along with a part of the Instauration ^a.

I Plainly perceive by your affectionate Writing, as to my Work, that one and the same thing affects us both; viz. the good end whereto 'tis dedicated: for as to any Ability of mine, it cannot merit that Degree of Approbation. As for your Caution about Church-men, and Church-Matters; for any impediment it might be to the Reputation of my Work; it moves me not; but as it may hinder the Fruit and Good which might come of a quiet and calm Passage to the good Port whereto 'tis bound, I hold it a just Respect; provided, that to fetch a fair Wind, I go not too far about. But the truth is, that I have no occasion to meet them in my way; unless, as they will needs confederate themselves with *Aristotle*; who, you know, is intemperately magnified by the School-men; and is also allied, as I take it, to the Jesuits, by *Faber*, who was a Companion of *Loyola*, and a great *Aristotelian*. I send you at this time the only part which has any harshness ^b; and yet I framed to my self an Opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that *Preface* ^c you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike this other Speech of Preparation; for 'tis written out of the same Spirit, and out of the same Necessity: nay, it does more fully lay open, that the Question between me and the Antients, is not of the Virtue of the Race, but as to the Rightness of the Way. And to speak truth, 'tis to the other but as *palma* to *pugnus*; part of the same thing, more at large. You conceive right, that in this, and the other, you have Commission to impart and communicate them to others; according to your Discretion. Other Matters I write not of. For my self, I am like the Miller of *Granchester*, who used to pray for Peace among the Willows; for while the Winds blew, the Wind-Mills wrought, and the Water-Mill was less customed. So I see that Controversies of Religion must hinder the Advancement of the *Sciences*. Let me conclude, with my perpetual Wish towards your self, that the Approbation of your self, by your discreet and temperate Carriage, may restore you to your Country, and your Fiends to your Society ^d.

Grays-Inn, Octob. 10. 1609.

XVII.

^a Viz. the *Novum Organum*; or rather, perhaps, the *Cogitata & Visa*; which was the Foundation of the *Novum Organum*.

^b See *Novum Organum*. Part I. Sect. 2, 3, 4, &c.

^c See the Introduction to the *Nov Organ*. which probably is of the same Tenour with the unpublished Preface to the *Cogitata & Visa*.

^d This perhaps relates to Mr. *Matthews's* having turned Papist.

XVII.

To the Lord Chancellor ; with a Proposal for a compleat British History.

SOME late Act of his Majesty, referred to some former Discourse I have heard from your Lordship, bred in me a great Desire, and the strength of a Desire, a Boldness to make an humble Proposal to your Lordship, such as in me can be no better than a Wish ; but which if your Lordship should apprehend it, may take some good and worthy Effect. The Act I speak of, is the Order given by his Majesty for erecting a Monument for our late Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth* : wherein I observe, that as her Majesty did always right to his Majesty's Hopes ; so he does in all things right to her Memory : a very just and princely Retribution. But from this Occasion, by a very easy Ascent, I have pass'd farther, from the Representative of her Person, to the more true and feeling Representation of her Life and Government : for as Statues and Pictures are dumb Histories, so Histories are speaking Pictures ; wherein, if my Affection be not too great, or my Reading too small, I am of opinion, that if *Plutarch* were alive to write Lives by Parallels, it would gravel him, both for Virtue and Fortune, to find her Parallel among Women. And tho' she was of the passive Sex, yet her Government was so active, as, in my simple Opinion, it made more Impression upon the several States of *Europe*, than it received from thence. But I confess to your Lordship, I could not stay here, but went a little farther into the Consideration of Times, which have pass'd since King *Henry VIII* ; wherein I find the strangest Variety, that in so little number of Successions of any Hereditary Monarchy, has ever been known. The Reign of a Child ; the Offer of an Usurpation, tho' it were but as a quotidian Ague ; the Reign of a Lady married to a Foreigner ; and the Reign of a Lady solitary and unmarried : so that, as it comes to pass in massy Bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle ; it seems, that by the Providence of God, this Monarchy, before 'twas to settle in his Majesty, and his Generations, has had its pre-lusive Changes in these barren Princes. Neither could I contain my self here ; but calling to remembrance the Unworthiness of the History of *England* ^a, in the grand Continuance thereof ; and the Partiality and Obliquity of that of *Scotland*, in the latest and largest Author that I have seen ; I conceived it would be Honour for his Majesty, and a Work very memorable, if this Island of *Great Britain*, as 'tis now join'd in Monarchy for the Ages to come ; so it were join'd in History for the Times past ; and that one just and compleat History were compiled of both Nations. And if
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^a See Pag. 50, and 52, of this *Volume*.

any Man should think it may refresh the Memory of former Discords ; he may satisfy himself with this Verse, *olim hæc meminisse juvabit* : for the Case being now altered, 'tis a Matter of Comfort and Gratulation to remember former Troubles. Thus much, if it may please your Lordship, is in the operative Mood ; and 'tis time that I look'd a little into the Potential ; wherein the hope I conceived was grounded upon three Observations. *First*, The nature of these times, flourishing in Learning, both of Art and Language ; which gives hope, not only that it may be done, but that it may be well done. *Secondly*, I see that which all the World sees in his Majesty, both a wonderful Judgment in Learning, and a singular Affection towards Learning ; and Works which are of the Mind, more than of the Hand. For there cannot be the like Honour sought and found, in building of Galleries, and planting of Elms along Highways, and in such outward Ornaments, wherein *France* is now so busy ; as there is in the uniting of States, settling of Controversies, nourishing and augmenting of Learning and Arts, and the particular Actions appertaining to these ; of which kind *Cicero* judged truly, when he said to *Cæsar*, *quantum operibus tuis detrabet vetustas, tantum addet laudibus*. And *lastly*, I call to mind, that your Lordship, at some times, has express'd to me a great desire, that something of this nature should be perform'd ; answerable indeed to your other noble and worthy Courses and Actions ; joining and adding to the great Services towards his Majesty, other great Deservings, both of the Church, Commonwealth, and particular Men : so that the opinion of so great and wise a Man, seems to me a good Warrant, both of the Possibility and Worth of this matter. But all this while, I assure my self, I cannot be so far mistaken by your Lordship, as if I sought an Office or Employment for my self : for no Man knows better than your Lordship, that if there were in me any Faculty thereto ; yet neither my Course of Life, nor Profession, would permit it. But as there are so many good Painters, both for Hand and Colours, it needs only Encouragement and Instructions to give life to it. Thus in all Humbleness I conclude, presenting to your Lordship this Wish ; which, if it perish, 'tis but a loss of that which is not.

XVIII.

To the KING ; relating to the History of his Majesty's Times.

Hearing your Majesty is at leisure to peruse History, a desire took me to make an experiment what I cou'd do in your Majesty's Times ; which being but a leaf or two, I beg your pardon, if I send it for your Recreation ; considering that Love must creep, where it cannot go. But to this I add these Petitions : *First*, That if your Majesty dislike any thing, you wou'd conceive I can amend it upon the least beck. *Next*, That if I have

not spoken of your Majesty encomiastically, you would be pleas'd only to ascribe it to the Law of a History ; which does not clutter together Praises upon the first mention of a Name ; but rather disperses, and weaves them through the whole Narrative. And as for the proper place of Commemoration, which is in the Period of Life, I pray God I may not live to write it. *Thirdly*, That the reason why I presum'd to think of this Oblation, was because, whatever my inability be, yet I shall have that advantage, which almost no Writer of History has had ; for I shall write of Times, not only since I cou'd remember, but since I cou'd observe. And *lastly*, that 'tis only for your Majesty's reading^a.

XIX.

*To the University of CAMBRIDGE ; upon presenting them
his Book De Sapiencia Veterum.*

AS I would not wish to live without the Helps and Comforts of Philosophy ; I must have the highest value for the place that derived them to me. And as, on this account, I profess both my self, and all that is mine, owing to you ; 'tis the less wonder if I restore you what is your own ; that it may return, by a natural motion, to its Origin. And yet I know not how, there are but few things return'd to you ; tho' numberless have proceeded from you.

It may not, perhaps, be too assuming if I should hope, that by a moderate Conversation with things, which my Course and Manner of Life has necessarily brought along with it, I have made some addition to the Discoveries of learned Men. I am well persuaded that Contemplations, transferr'd to active Life, acquire somewhat of new Grace and Vigour : and perhaps where a plentiful stock of matter is supplied, they take deeper root ; or at least grow taller and more leafy. Neither, possibly, may you yourselves be aware, how extensive your own Learning is ; or to how many things it may be applied. 'Tis however but justice to attribute the whole to you ; as all increase is principally owing to the first Beginnings. From a Man of full employ you will not expect any thing finish'd ; or a prodigy of time and leisure : but attribute it to my affection for you, that among the Thorns of civil Business, these Seeds have not quite been choak'd ; but that your own has been preserv'd for you^b.

XX.

^a See the Sketch here mention'd, pag. 303. of this Volume.

^b See *Supplement VII.*

XX.

To the Earl of SALISBURY^a; *presenting him the Book De Sapiientia Veterum.*

WHatever is dedicated to the Univerfity of *Cambridge*, belongs to you of course, by your right of Chancellorship; but all, that I can give, is due to you in your own particular. The thing moft to be confidered is, whether what I here prefent, as your due, be worthy of you: and if the leaft thing therein, the Genius of the Author, prove, through your good opinion of me, no Obftacle; the reft will be no Difhonour to you. For if the Time be weigh'd, primitive Antiquity has the higheft Veneration; if the Form of teaching, *Parable* is like the Ark, wherein the richeft Treafures of the Sciences are preferved; if the Matter of the Work, 'tis *Philofophy*; the fecond Ornament of Life, and of the human Soul. For altho' *Philofophy*, now as in its old Age, growing childish again, is with us given up to young Men and Children; yet, next to Religion, I judge it of all things the moft momentous, and moft worthy of human Nature. Nay, civil Policy, in which you are fo great a Mafter, flows from this Fountain; and makes no fmall part of it.

But if any one fhall think the matters here treated are trite and vulgar; I do not take upon me to judge of my own Performance; but have endeavoured to go deeper than firft Appearances, beaten Paths, or the Roads of Common-Place; and to produce fomewhat towards the higher parts of Life, and the Secrets of the Sciences. The Fables may indeed be vulgar things to vulgar Capacities; but they perhaps require, and I hope will find, fublimier Underftandings to fathom them. But whilft I endeavour to reflect fome Dignity upon the Work, becaufe 'tis dedicated to you: I run the rifque of paffing the Bounds of Modesty, as I am the Author. Be it as it will, I defire you wou'd receive it as a Token of the Affection, and high Reverence I bear you; and afford it the fhelter of your Name.

XXI.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; *along with the Book De Sapiientia Veterum.*

IHeartily thank you for your Letter, of the 24th of *Auguft*, from *Salamanca*; and, in recompence, fend you a little Work of mine, that has begun to pafs the World. They tell me my *Latin* is turned into Silver, and

^a Lord High Treafurer of *England*, and Chancellor of the Univerfity of *Cambridge*.

and become current. Had you been here, you shou'd have been my Inquisitor, before it came forth: but I think the greatest Inquisitor in *Spain* will allow it. One thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, that the World should be grown to such an Ecstasy, as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author dissents in Religion; no more than they do by *Aristotle* or *Acerroes*. My great Work goes forward; and after my manner, I always alter when I add: So that nothing is finish'd 'till all is finish'd. This I have wrote in the midst of a Term and Parliament; thinking no time so possess'd, but that I should talk of these Matters with so good and dear a Friend.

Gray's-Inn, Feb. 27, 1610.

XXII.

To his Brother, Sir JOHN CONSTABLE; dedicating a new Edition of his Essays.

MY last *Essays* I dedicated to my dear Brother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*^a, who is with God. Looking amongst my Papers this Vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which, if I my self shall not suffer to be lost, it seems the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I have found you next, in respect of Bond, both of near Alliance, and of strict Friendship and Society; and particularly of Communication in Studies: wherein I must acknowledge my self beholden to you. For as my Business found rest in my Contemplations; so my Contemplations ever found rest in your loving Conference and Judgment.

1612.

XXIII.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; upon the Subject of his Writings.

I Heartily thank you for your Letter, of the tenth of *February*; and I am glad to receive from you Matter of Encouragement and Advertisement about my Writings. For my part, I wish; that since there is no *Lumen siccum* in the World; but all *madidum*, and *maceratum*, infused in Affections, and Bloods or Humours; that these Things of mine had such Separations as might make them more acceptable: provided they claim'd not so much acquaintance with the present Times, as to be thereby less apt to last. And to shew you that I purpose to new mould them, I send you a Leaf or two of the Preface, carrying some Figure of the whole Work; wherein I propose to take

^a See above Letter I.

take what I count real and effectual of both Writings^a. And chiefly, to add a Pledge, if not Payment, to my Promises; I send you also a Memorial of Queen *Elizabeth*^b, to requite your Eulogy of the late Duke of *Florence*'s Felicity. Of this, when you were here, I shew'd you a Model; when I thought, you seem'd more willing to hear *Julius Cæsar* commended than Queen *Elizabeth*. But this I now send you is more full; and has more of the Narrative: and besides has one part which, I think, will not be disagreeable either to you, or that place; being the true Tract of her Proceedings towards the Catholics: which are infinitely mistaken. And tho' I do not imagine they will pass there, yet they will gain upon excuse. I find Mr. *le Zure* to use you well, I mean his Tongue of you; which shews you either honest, or wise: but this I speak merrily. For in truth, I conceive hope, you will so govern yourself, that we may take you as assuredly for a good Subject and Patriot, as you take yourself for a good Christian; and so we again enjoy your Company, and you your Conscience; if it may no otherways be. For my part, assure yourself, as we say in the Law, *mutatis mutandis*, my Love and good Wishes to you are not diminish'd^c.

XXIV.

To Mr. MATTHEWS; upon the Memorial of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth, and the Instauration.

I Thank you for your last; and beg you would believe, that your liberty in giving opinion of those Writings I sent you, is what I sought, expected, and take in exceeding good part: so that it makes me continue my hearty Wishes for your Company here; to use the same liberty upon my Actions, as you now exercise upon my Writings. For that of Queen *Elizabeth*; your Judgment, of the Temper and Truth of the Part which concerns some of her foreign Proceedings, concurs fully with the Judgment of some others; and as Things go, I suppose they are likely to be more and more justified and allowed. And, as you say, for another Part, that it opens a broad Way to a Field of Contradiction; on the other side, 'tis written me from the Leiger at *Paris*, and some others, that it *carries a manifest Impression of Truth; and even convinces as it goes*. These are their very Words; which I write not for my own Glory, but to shew what variety of opinion rises from the disposition of several Readers. And I must confess my desire to be, that my Writings should not court the present Time, or some few Places; so as to make them either less general, or less permanent in future Ages.

For

^a I conceive this relates to the Author's *Cogitata & Visa*, whereof there were several Copies, in different Forms; till at length the whole was published by the Author, in the form of the first or preliminary Part of his *Novum Organum*.

^b See pag. 320, of the present Volume.

^c See above Letter XIII.

For the *Instauration*^a; I read your full Approbation thereof, with much Pleasure; as my Heart is much more upon it; and as I less expected your Concurrence in a Matter so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many Things of great hope decay with Youth; and tho' Multiplicity of Civil Business uses to diminish the price of Contemplations; yet the proceeding in that Work gains upon my Affection and Desire, both by Years and Business. And therefore I hope, even by this, that 'tis well-pleasing to God; from whom, and to whom, all Good moves^b.

XXV.

To Sir HENRY SAVILLE^c; concerning a Discourse upon
the INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

RETURNING from your Invitation at *Eaton*, where I had refresh'd my self with Company I loved, I fell into a Consideration of that part of Policy, whereof Philosophy speaks too much, and Laws too little; viz. *the Education of Youth*. Whereupon fixing my Mind a while, I soon found and noted in the Discourses of Philosophers, which are so large on this Subject, a strange Silence concerning one principal Part, as to the framing and seasoning of Youth to moral Virtues. They handle it indeed; but as to the Improvement and Help of the intellectual Powers; for instance the Imagination, Memory, and Judgment; they say nothing: whether they thought it a matter, wherein Nature only prevail'd; or referred it to the several Arts, which teach the use of Reason and Speech. But for the former, however they distinguish betwixt Habits and Powers, it is manifest by Experience, that the Motions and Faculties of the Wit and Memory may not only be governed and guided; but also confirm'd and enlarged by Custom, and Practice duly applied; as a Man, by the practice of shooting, will not only learn to come nearer the Mark; but also to draw a stronger Bow. And for comprehending these Precepts within the Arts of *Logick* and *Rhetorick*; if it be rightly considered, their Office is altogether distinct from this point: for 'tis no part of the Doctrine of the use of an Instrument, to teach how to whet or grind it; how to quench it, or give it a stronger Temper. Wherefore, finding this part of Knowledge not broken, I have, but *tanquam aliud agens*, entered into it; and salute you with it: dedicating it, after the ancient manner, first to a dear Friend, and next to a proper Person; as you have both Place to practise it; and Judgment and Leisure to look deeper into it. Herein I must call you to mind, *Ἄριστον μὲν ἕδωρ*: For though the Argument be not of great Depth and Dignity, 'tis of great and universal use. Nor do I see why, to consider it rightly, that shou'd not be a Learning of Dignity, which

S f f 2

teaches

^a Viz. *The Nozum Organum*.

^b See the Letter to Father *Fulgentio*, at the end of this Section.

^c The Founder of a Geometry and Astronomy Professorship at *Oxford*; and the Editor of *St. Chrysostom's Works*, &c.

teaches to raise and ennoble the highest and worthiest part of the Mind. But however that be, if the World receives any Benefit from this Writing; let the Thanks be to the good Friendship and Acquaintance between us.

The first Draught of a Discourse upon Helps for the INTELLECTUAL POWERS^a.

I Ever held it for an insolent and unlucky Saying, *Faber quisque Fortuna sue*; except it be meant only as a Hortative, or Spur, to correct Sloth: otherwise, if it be taken as it sounds; and a Man enters into a high Imagination, that he can compass and fathom all Accidents; and ascribes all Successes to his Drifts and Reachés; and the contrary, to his Slips and Errors: 'tis commonly seen, that the evening Fortune of that Man is not so prosperous, as of him, who, without slackening his Industry, attributes much to Felicity and Providence above him. But if the Sentence run thus, *Faber quisque Ingenii sui*, it were somewhat true; and much more profitable. Because it would teach Men to bend themselves, to reform those Imperfections they now seek but to cover; and to attain those Virtues, which they now seek to have only in appearance and shew. Yet every Man attempts to be of the *first* Trade of Carpenters; and few bind themselves to the *second*: tho' the rising in Fortune seldom mends the Mind. On the other hand, the removing of the Stands and Impediments of the Mind, often clears the Passage and Current to a Man's Fortune. But 'tis certain, that as the most excellent of Metals, Gold, is of all others the softest, and most ductile; so the perfectest of breathing Substances, Man, is the most susceptible of Help, Improvement, Impression, and Alteration; not only in his Body, but in his Mind and Spirit: and there again, not only in his Appetite and Affections; but in his Faculties of Wit and Reason.

As to the human Body; we find many strange Instances, how Nature is master'd by Custom; even in Actions that seem of the greatest Difficulty, and least Possibility. Thus in the Improvement of voluntary Motions, what surprising things are effected by the Application and Practice of Tumblers and Rope-dancers; as to feats of Activity and Agility? And again in suffering Pain, which is thought so contrary to the Nature of Man, there are many Examples of Penances, in strict Orders of Superstitions, that may well verify the Report of the *Spartan* Boys, scourged upon the Altar so cruelly, that they sometimes died thereof; and yet were never heard to complain. And, for those Faculties, reckoned more involuntary, as Fasting, and Abstinence, Voracity, great Drinking, living without Drink, enduring vehement Cold, &c. there are various Examples of strange Victories over the Body.

Nay, as to Respiration, some by the continual Use of Diving and Working under the Water, have brought themselves to hold their Breath an incredible while; and others been able, without Suffocation, to endure the stifling Breath

^a Both the preceding *Letter*, and the following *Draught*, seem put down rather in the way of *Hints*, for farther Correction, Improvement, and Enlargement, than as any thing finished; or fitted for the Press.

of an Oven or Furnace. Some Impostors and Counterfeits, likewise, have been able to wreath and turn their Bodies into strange Forms and Postures; and others to bring themselves into Trances, &c. all which demonstrate how variously, and to what a high pitch, the Body of Man may be moulded and wrought.

If it be objected that it is some secret Property of Nature in these Persons, whereby they have attain'd to those Points; and that 'tis not for every Man to do the like, tho' he had been put to it; whence such things come but rarely to-pas: 'Tis true, some Persons are apter than others; but tho' the greater Aptness causes Perfection, yet the less does not disable: so that the more apt Child, taken to be made a Rope-dancer, will prove more excellent; but the less apt will be a Rope-dancer too, tho' of the second Rank. And doubtless these Abilities wou'd have been more common; and others of the same kind have been likewise brought upon the Stage, but for two Reasons: the one, because of Men's diffidence in prejudging them as Impossibilities; for it holds in these things, as the Poet says, *possunt quia posse videntur*; for no Man will know how much may be done, unless he believe that a great deal may be done. The other Reason is, because they are Practices ignoble and inglorious, of no great use, and therefore excluded from the Reward of Value: and, on the other side, they are painful; so that the Recompence balances not the Labour.

And for the Will of Man; this is of all things most manageable and obedient; or admits many Medicines to cure and alter it. The most sovereign of all is *Religion*; which proves able to change and transform the Will in the deepest and most inward Inclinations and Motions. *Next* to this is *Opinion* and *Apprehension*, whether infused by Tradition and Teaching, or wrought in by Dispute and Persuasion. The *third* is *Example*, which transforms the Will into the Similitude of what is most familiar to it. The *fourth* is, when one Affection heals and corrects another; as when Cowardice is cured by Shame and Dishonour; or Sluggishness and Backwardness, by Indignation and Emulation; and so of the like. And *lastly*, when all these Means, or any of them, have new formed the human Will, then Custom and Habit corroborates and confirms the rest. No wonder, therefore, if this Faculty of the Will, which inclines the Affection and Appetite, as being but the Beginnings and Rudiments of the Will; may be so well managed; since it admits access to such various Remedies. The Effects hereof are so numerous, and so well known, as to require no Enumeration; but generally they proceed as Medicines: which are of two kinds, Curative and Palliative: for either the intention is really and truly to reform the Affections, restrain them if too violent; and raise them if too soft and weak; or else to cover them; or, if occasion be, to act and represent them. Of the former sort, Examples are plentiful in the Schools of Philosophers, and all other Institutions of moral Virtue; and of the other sort, Examples are more plentiful in the Courts of Princes, and all political Traffick: where 'tis ordinary to find, not only deep Dissimulations, which so suffocate the Affections, that no Mark appears of them
out.

outwardly ; but also lively Simulations and Affectations, carrying the tokens of Passions which are not real ; as Laughter, Tears, &c. ^a.

XXVI.

To Mr. MATTHEWS ; entreating Judgment upon his Writings.

BEcause you should not lose your Labour this Afternoon, which I must needs spend with my Lord *Chancellor* ^b, I desire you will not leave the Writing, I left you last, with any Man, so long, as that he may take a Copy of it ; because, first, it must be censured by you, and then considered again by me. The thing I most expect from you is, that you would read it carefully over by your self ; and make some little Note in Writing, where you think, that I do, perhaps *indormiscere* ; or where I do *indulgere Genio* ; or where, in fine, I give any manner of Disadvantage to my self. This, *super totam materiam*, you must not fail to note ; besides, all such Words and Phrases as you cannot like : for you know in how high Esteem I have your Judgment.

XXVII.

Dedication of the NOVUM ORGANUM to King James.

YOUR Majesty may perhaps accuse me of Theft ; in stealing from your Affairs so much Time, as is necessary for a Work of this nature ^c. I have no Excuse to plead : for there is no making a Restitution of Time ; unless, possibly, if the Things I here offer, shou'd prove of value ; the Time, that was taken from your Business, may be paid back to the Memory of your Name, and the Honour of your Reign. This I may say of them, they are every way new ; tho' copied from a very old Original ; the World itself, and the Nature of the Mind and of Things. And to declare my Thoughts freely ; I usually esteem this Work more as the Birth of Time than of Genius. The only strange part is, how the Seeds of the Matter, and such strong Suspicions of the Weakness of the Things that have so long prevail'd, could come into any one's Mind : for all the rest will easily follow.

And, without dispute, there is somewhat fortuitous, or casual, in the Thoughts of Men, as well as in their Actions and Discourse. But for this Casu-

^a This Piece was left very imperfect : and only a few loose Hints farther added, in order to its being continued. See *de Augm. Scient.* Pag. 195.—197. &c.

^b This seems pleasantly meant of himself ; being perhaps at this time Chancellor ; and the Letter regarding some part of the *Novum Organum*.

^c This Piece was publish'd whilst the Author was Chancellor.

Casualty ; if there be any Good in what is here produced, I owe it, *first*, to the boundless Mercy and Goodness of God ; and *next*, to the Felicity of your Times : that as, whilst living, I have served your Majesty with the sincerest Affection, I may perhaps, when I am dead, hold out a Light to Posterity, by this new *Torch*, set up in the Obscurity of *Philosophy*^a. And doubtless, the Restoration and new Building up of the Sciences, is a Work well befitting the Times of the wisest and most learned of our Kings.

And here I have a Petition to offer, no way unworthy of your Majesty ; but of the utmost importance to the Work in view. 'Tis this ; that since in many Instances you resemble *Solomon* ; as in your discerning Judgment ; the Peace of your Kingdom ; the Largeness of your Heart ; and the noble Variety of the Books you have composed ; you would go on to imitate that King ; and, after his Example, procure such a just and scrupulous *Natural and Experimental History* to be collected, as may supply Materials for a sound and serviceable Philosophy^b : that at last, after so many Ages of the World are run, *Philosophy* and the *Sciences* may no longer remain pendant and airy ; but be settled upon the solid Foundations of an universal and thoroughly weighed Experience. I have supplied the *Crane*^c ; but the *Materials* for the Building must be fetched from Things themselves.

XXVIII.

To the University of CAMBRIDGE ; upon presenting the
NOVUM ORGANUM *to their Public Library.*

AS I am your Son and Pupil, it will be a Pleasure for me to give into your Bosom, the Birth I am lately delivered of ; and should otherwise esteem as a Child exposed. Be not concerned, that the Way I tread is new ; for such Things must necessarily happen thro' the Revolutions of Times and of Ages. The Ancients are still left in possession of their Glory ; the Glory of Genius and fine Parts : but for *Faith* ; that is only due to the *Word of God*, and to *Experience*. To bring the *Sciences* back to *Experience* is impossible ; but to build them up a-new from Experience, tho' it be a Work of difficulty, is still practicable.

York-House, Octob. 3. 1620.

XXIX.

^a The Author seems once to have designed *Novum Lumen Scientiarum*, for his Title, instead of *Novum Organum*.

^b See the Method of compiling this History, Vol. III. pag. 8,—16.

^c *Organum præbui*. This may shew that the Title *Novum Organum*, has a Metaphorical Sense. See the Author's Introduction to the Piece. Vol. II. pag. 338.

XXIX.

To the King; presenting the History of HENRY VII. and a Proposal for a new Digest of the Laws of England.

I Acknowledge my self, in all humility, infinitely obliged to your Majesty's Grace and Goodness; for that, at the Intercession of my noble and constant Friend, my Lord *Marquis*, your Majesty has been pleased to grant me, that which the Civilians say is *res inæstimabilis*, my Liberty. So that now, whenever God calls me, I shall not die a Prisoner. Nay, farther, your Majesty has vouchsafed to cast a second and iterate Aspect of your Eye of Compassion upon me; in referring the Consideration of my broken Estate to my good Lord the Treasurer: which, as it is a singular Bounty in your Majesty; so I have yet so much left of a late Commissioner of your Treasury, that I would be sorry to sue for any thing, that might seem immodest. These your Majesty's great Benefits, *in casting your Bread upon the Waters*, because my Thanks cannot any ways be sufficient to attain; I have raised your Progenitor, of famous Memory, and now, I hope, of more famous Memory than before, King *Henry VII.* to give your Majesty thanks for me: which Work, most humbly kissing your Majesty's Hands, I do present. And because in the beginning of my Trouble, when in the midst of the Tempest, I had a kenning of the Harbour, which I hope now by your Majesty's Favour I am entering into; I made a tender to your Majesty of two Works, a History of *England*, and a *Digest of your Laws*: as I have performed a Part of the one; so I have herewith sent your Majesty, by way of an Epistle, a new Offer of the other^a. But my desire is farther, if it stand with your Majesty's good Pleasure, since now my Study is my Exchange, and my Pen my Factor, for the use of my Talent; that your Majesty, who is a great Master in these things, would be pleased to appoint me some Task to write; and that I shall take for an Oracle. And because my *Instauration*, which I esteem my great Work, and do still go on with in silence, was dedicated to your Majesty; and this History of King *Henry VII.* to your lively and excellent Image, the Prince: if now your Majesty will be pleased to give me a Theme, to dedicate to my Lord of *Buckingham*, whom I have so much reason to honour; I should with more Alacrity embrace your Majesty's Direction than my own Choice. Your Majesty will pardon me for troubling you thus long.

Gorbambury, March 20. 1621.

XXX.

^a See Supplement XIV.

XXX.

DEDICATION of *the* HISTORY OF WINDS to *Prince*
CHARLES.

THE First-Fruit of my *Natural History*^a, is here most humbly offered to your Highness: and tho' it be a thing very small in bulk, like a Grain of Mustard-Seed, 'tis still an *Earnest* of what, God willing, shall follow. For I have obliged my self, as it were by a Vow, every Month of my Life, to publish one or more Parts thereof; according as the Subject shall prove more or less difficult or copious. And, perhaps, others may, by my Example, be stirred up to the like Industry; especially after they shall thoroughly understand the Nature of the Business on foot: for in a just and well-appointed *Natural History*, are lodged the Keys both of the Sciences, and of Works.

XXXI.

To the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, Lord High Admiral of
ENGLAND; *dedicating the last Edition of his Essays.*

Solomon says, a good Name is as precious Ointment; and I assure my self, such will your Grace's Name be with Posterity. For your Fortune and Merit have both been eminent; and you have planted Things that are likely to last. I now publish my *Essays*; which of all my Works have been most current: because, as it seems, they come home to Mens Business and Bosoms. I have enlarged them, both in Number and Weight; so that they are, indeed, a new Work. I thought it, therefore, agreeable to my Affection and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name to them, both in *English* and *Latin*: for I conceive, that the *Latin* Volume of them, being in the universal Language, may last as long as Books last. My *Instauration*^b I have dedicated to the King; my History of *Henry* the Seventh, and my Portions of *Natural History*, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being the best Fruits, that, by the good increase which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yield.

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^a See Vol. III. pag. 8—16.^b *Viz.* The *Novum Organum*.

XXXII.

To the Bishop of WINCHESTER^a; concerning the Author's published and intended Writings.

REpresenting to one's self like Examples of Calamity in others, is no small Consolation. For Examples have a quicker Impression than Arguments; and at the same time certify us, *that no new Thing has happened to us*. This they do the better, the more the Examples are alike in Circumstances to our own; especially, if they happen in Persons greater and worthier than our selves. For as it favours of Vanity, to match our selves highly in our own Conceit; 'tis, on the other hand, a found Conclusion, that if our Betters have felt the like Misfortunes, we have the less cause to be grieved.

In this kind of Consolation, I have not been wanting to my self: tho' as a Christian, I have tasted, thro' God's Goodness, of higher Remedies. Having therefore, thro' the Variety of my Reading, set before me many Examples, both of ancient and later times, my thoughts have chiefly rested upon three Particulars, as the most eminent and the most resembling. All three were Persons that had held high place of Authority in their Countries; all three ruined, not by War, or other Disaster, but by Justice and Sentence, as Delinquents and Criminals; all three famous Writers, in so much, that the remembrance of their Calamities is now to Posterity, but as a little Picture of Night-work, remaining among the fair and excellent Tables of their Acts and Works: and all three fit Examples to quench any Man's Ambition of rising again; for they were every one of them restored with great Glory, only to their farther Ruin and Destruction, ending in a violent Death. The Men were *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca*; Persons that I durst not claim affinity with, if the similitude of our Fortunes had not contracted it. When I had considered these Examples, I was carried on farther to observe, how they bore their Fortunes; and principally how they employ'd their Time, when banished, and disabled for publick Business: that I might learn by them; and they be as well my Counsellors as my Comforters. And here I noted how differently their Fortunes wrought upon them; especially as to employing their Time and Pen. *Cicero*, during his Banishment, which lasted almost two Years, was so softened and dejected, that he wrote nothing but a few womanish Epistles. Yet, in my opinion, he had least reason of the three to be discouraged: for altho' it was judged by the highest kind of Judgment, in form of a Statute, or Law, that he should be banished; his whole Estate confiscated and seized;

^a Viz. Dr. Lancelot Andrews.

seized; his Houses pulled down; and that it should be highly penal for any Man to propose a Repeal; yet his Case, even then, had no great blot of Ignominy; for it was thought but a Tempest of Popularity that overthrew him. *Demosthenes*, on the contrary, tho' his Case was black, being condemned for Bribery; and not simple Bribery, but Bribery in the nature of Treason, and Disloyalty; yet took so little notice of his Fortune, that during his Banishment, he intermeddled considerably with political Matters; and took upon him to counsel the State, as if he had been still at the Helm; as appears from some Epistles of his, which are extant. *Seneca*, indeed, who was condemned for many Corruptions and Crimes, and banished into a solitary Island, kept a mean; and tho' his Pen did not freeze, yet he abstained from intruding into Matters of Business; but spent his time in writing upon excellent Subjects, of use for all Ages.

These Examples confirmed me in my Resolution, whereto I was otherwise inclined, of employing my time wholly in Writing; and to put that Talent, or Half-Talent, that God has given me, not as before, to particular Exchanges, but to Banks or Mounts of Perpetuity, which will not break. Therefore, having lately published a part of my *Instauration*, which is the Work, that in my own Judgment I most esteem^a; I think to proceed in some new Parts thereof. And tho' I have received from many places abroad, such Testimonies, with relation to that Work, as I could not expect at first, in so abstruse an Argument; yet I have just cause to doubt, that it flies too high over Mens Heads: I therefore purpose, tho' I break the Order of Time, to draw it down to the Sense, by some Examples of Natural History and Enquiry.

And as my Book of the *Advancement of Learning*, may be some Preparative, or Key, for the better opening of the *Instauration*; because it exhibits a Mixture of new and old Thoughts; whereas the *Novum Organum* gives the new unmixed, otherwise than with some little sprinkling of the old for the Taste's sake; I have thought proper to procure a Translation of that Book into the general Language, with great and ample Additions and Enrichments, especially in the second Part, which treats of the Division of the Sciences; inasmuch, as to serve for the first part of the *Instauration*; and acquit my promise in that part.

Again, because I cannot altogether desert the civil Character I have born; which if I should forget, enow would remember; I have also entered into a *Work of Laws*, proposing a Character of Justice in a middle Term, between the speculative and grave Discourses of Philosophers, and the Writings of Lawyers; which are tied and obnoxious to their particular Laws^b. And altho' I purposed to make a particular Digest, or Recompilment of the Laws of my own Nation; yet, as 'tis a Work of Assistance, and what I cannot master by my own Forces and Pen, I have laid it aside.

^a The *Novum Organum*.

^b See Vol. I. Pag 242—261.

Now having in the Work of my *Instauration* had a View to the general good of Men, in their very Being, and the Dowries of Nature; and in my Work of Laws, to the general Good of Men in Society, and the Dowries of Government; I thought that in Duty I owed somewhat to my own Country, which I ever loved: insomuch, that altho' my Place has been far above my Desert; yet my Thoughts and Cares concerning the Good thereof, were beyond, and over and above my Place. So now being, as I am, no more able to do my Country Service; it remains that I do it Honour: which I have endeavoured in my Work of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh.

As for my *Essays*, and some other Particulars of that nature; I count them but as the Recreations of my other Studies; and in that manner purpose to continue them: tho' I am not ignorant that those kind of Writings would, with less pains and assiduity, perhaps, yield more Lustre and Reputation to my Name, than the others I have in hand. But I judge the use a Man should seek in publishing his Writings before his Death, to be but an untimely Anticipation of that which is proper to follow, and not to go along with him.

Ann. 1622.

XXXIII.

*To Dr. WILLIAMS, Bishop of Lincoln; concerning
the Author's Letters and Speeches.*

I Find that the Antients, as *Cicero*, *Demosthenes*, the younger *Pliny*, and others, have preserved both their *Orations* and *Epistles*: In imitation of whom, I have done the like by my own; which nevertheless I will not publish while I live: but I have been bold to bequeath them to your Lordship, and Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy. My *Speeches*, perhaps, you will think fit to publish: the *Letters*, many of them, touch too much upon late Matters of State, to be published; yet I was willing they should not be lost. I have also, by my Will, erected two Lectures in Perpetuity, in each University one, with an Endowment of 200 *l.* per Annum severally. They are to be for *Natural Philosophy*, and the *Sciences* thereupon depending: which Foundations I have required my Executors to order, by the Advice and Direction of your Lordship, and my Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. These are my present Thoughts ^a.

XXXIV.

^a See the Life of the Author.

XXXIV.

To Father FULGENTIO^a; giving some Account of his Views and Designs in his Writings.

I Acknowledge my self a Letter in your debt: but my Excuse is too just; being no other than a severe Illness, from which I am not yet recovered.

'Tis my desire you should know the Views I have in the Works whereon my Thoughts are bent; not with any Hopes of perfecting, but thro' a Spirit of attempting, and serving After-Ages, which may be riper for these Matters.

I judge it best to have them all in *Latin*^b, and to divide them into Volumes; the first whereof to consist of the Books *de Augmentis Scientiarum*; which are already perfected and published; as the first part of my *Instauration*.

The *Novum Organum* should immediately follow; but my *Moral* and *Political Writings* step in between, as being more finished. These are the History of King *Henry the Seventh*; and the small Book which in your Language you have called *Saggi Morali*; but I give it a graver Title, that of *Sermones Fideles*^c, or *Interiora Rerum*^d. And these Essays will not only be enlarged in Number, but still more in Substance^e. Along with them goes also the little Piece *de Sapientia Veterum*. But this Volume, as I said, comes in between; not in the order of the *Instauration*^f.

Then shall follow the *Novum Organum*; whereto a second Part is still to be added; tho' I have already conceived, and measured it out in my Mind^g. And thus the *second Part* of the *Instauration* will be perfected.

As to the *third Part*, viz. *The History of Nature*; 'tis a Work worthy of some King, or Pope, College, or Order; and can never be laboured, as it requires, by a private Hand. And for those Parts of it already published, viz. of *Winds*, and of *Life and Death*; they are not purely Historical, because of the *Axioms* and larger Observations intersper'd; but a mix'd kind of Writing, consisting of *Natural History*, and a rude imperfect *Machinery* of the Understanding^h, designed for the *fourth Part* of the

^a A Learned Jesuit at *Venice*, who wrote the Life of Father *Paul*.

^b The Author in putting his Works into *Latin*, seems to have considerably improved them.

^c Faithful Counsels.

^d Inside of Things.

^e The Author appears to have wrote several Essays originally in *Latin*, which were not formerly printed along with the *English*.

^f The *Latin* Edition seems to observe this intended Order.

^g But this *Second Part* was never published; tho' the Heads for it are laid down in the *Novum Organum*; Part II. Aph. 21.

^h See the *Novum Organum*, Part II. Sect. I. and II. See also Vol. I. pag. 15.

the *Instauration*: Which *fourth* Part is therefore to follow; and will contain numerous Examples of our new Machine ^a, more exactly suited to the Rules of Induction ^b.

In the *fifth* place is to come the Book I call the *Introduction to Secondary Philosophy*, containing my Discoveries about *New Axioms* raised from Experiments, so as to set up the Pillars of the Fabrick, which before lay at length. And this we make a *fifth* Part of the *Instauration*.

In the *sixth* and last place comes the *Secondary Philosophy* it self, which I absolutely despair of; but perhaps it may grow up with Posterity: as there are some considerable Foundations laid for it, in such of our Preliminaries, as reach almost to the Universalities of Nature ^c.

Thus you see, my Weakness is attempting great Things; with this only Hope, that they seem to proceed from the Providence and abundant Goodness of God; because the Constancy of my Mind, has hitherto neither slackened in the Design, nor my Ardor cool'd after all this time. For 'tis now forty Years since I wrote a Juvenile Treatise upon the very same Subject; and with great assurance gave it the pompous Title of *Temporis Partus maximus* ^d. And another Reason is, that, for its extreme Utility, this my Labour seems already blessed with the *Divine Earnest* of future Success ^e.

^a *Viz.* The *Novum Organum*.

^b See Pag. 15. Vol. I.

^c This seems to require the utmost Attention of Philosophers; and all the Assistance they can give to finish it.

^d The Great Birth of Time.

^e See above *Letter* XXXII. pag. 507.



S U P P L E M E N T VI.

A

C O L L E C T I O N

O F

A P O P H T H E G M S :

Serving as a H E L P to D I S C O U R S E *.

* See the *de Augment. Scientiar.* pag. 56.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

JULIUS CÆSAR wrote a Collection of Apophthegms, as appears by an Epistle to Cicero; so did Macrobius, a consular Man. 'Tis pity Cæsar's Book should be lost; for I imagine it was collected with Judgment: whereas those of Plutarch, Stobæus, and especially the Moderns, draw much of the Dregs. Certainly, Apophthegms are of excellent use. They are pointed Speeches: the Words of the Wise are as Goads, says Solomon. Cicero prettily calls them Salt-pits; out of which you may take Salt, and sprinkle it where you please. They serve to interlace in continued Discourse; they serve to recite upon occasion, of themselves: and they may serve, if you take out their Kernel, as your own. I have, for my Recreation, amidst more serious Studies, collected a few; not neglecting the common ones; many of that kind being excellent; and added some new ones, which might otherwise have been lost^a.

^a This Collection of Apophthegms is no way perfect; or such as had passed the Judgment of the Author. We have therefore rejected many of the less considerable sort; and thrown the rest into Alphabetical Order; that Additions and Improvements may the more readily be made to them. Several of those omitted turned either upon Pun; or a particular kind of Pleasantry, which has been censured, as unbecoming the Gravity of the Author. Indeed they do not appear to have been put to the Press by himself. It should rather seem that some of his Domesticks published them; for we find several of his own Sayings among them, delivered as of a second Person, under his name. What Dr. Temison thought of them, may appear from his *Account of the Author's Works*, Pag. 59.

A
C O L L E C T I O N
O F
A P O P H T H E G M S.

1. **A** GATHOCLES, after taking *Syracuse*, the Inhabitants where- Agathocles;
of, during the Siege, had spoke all manner of ill of him, sold
them for Slaves, and then said to them; *Now, if you use such*
Words again, I will tell your Masters of you.

2. *Alcibiades* visiting *Pericles*, stay'd a while before he was admitted. When *Alcibiades*;
he came in, *Pericles* civilly excused it, and said; I was studying how to
give my Account: But *Alcibiades* replied, if you will be ruled by me,
study rather how to give no Account.

3. *Cæsar Borgia*, after a long Division between him and the Lords of Ro- Alexander;
magna, came to agree with them. In this Agreement, there was an Ar- the Pope,
ticle, that he should not at any time call them all together in Person. The
meaning was, that knowing his dangerous Nature, if he meant them Treason,
he might have an opportunity to oppress them all at once. Yet he
used such a fine Art, and fair Carriage, that he won their Confidence to
meet all together in Council at *Cinigaglia*, where he murdered them all.
This Act, when related to Pope *Alexander*, his Father, by a Cardinal, as a
happy thing, but very perfidious; the Pope said, *it was they that broke*
their Covenant first, by coming together.

4. It being represented to *Alexander*, to the advantage of *Antipater*, a stern Alexander she
and imperious Man; that he only of all his Lieutenants wore no Purple, Great:
but kept the *Macedonian* Habit of Black; *Alexander* said, *Yes, but Antipater*
is all Purple within.

5. *Alexander* used to say, of his two Friends, *Craterus* and *Hephaestion*; that *Hephaestion* loved *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loved the King.

6. *Alexander*, after the Battle of *Granicum*, had very great offers made him by *Darius*; but consulting with his Captains concerning them, *Parmenio* said, Sure I would accept of these Offers, if I were *Alexander*. *Alexander* answered; *So would I, if I were Parmenio*.

7. *Alexander*, used to say, he knew himself to be mortal, chiefly by two things; Lust, and Sleep.

8. When *Alexander* passed into *Asia*, he gave large Donatives to his Captains, and other principal Men of Virtue; infomuch, that *Parmenio* asked him; Sir, what do you keep for your self? He answered, *Hope*.

9. *Alexander*, when his Father wished him to run for the Prize, at the *Olympick* Games; for he was very swift; answered, he would, if he might run with Kings.

Alonso.

10. *Alonso of Aragon* used to say, in commendation of Age, that Age appeared best in four things: old Wood best to burn; old Wine to drink; old Friends to trust; and old Authors to read.

11. *Alonso Cartilio* being informed, by his Steward, that his Income would not hold way with his Expence: the Bishop asked him, whence it chiefly arose? The Steward told him, from the Multitude of his Servants. The Bishop bid him make a List of such as were necessary, and such as might be spared: which he did; and the Bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his Servants, said to his Steward; Well, let these remain, because I have need of them; and these also, because they have need of me.

Anacharsis.

12. *Anacharsis* would say, concerning the popular States of *Greece*, that he wondered how, at *Athens*, wise Men proposed, and Fools disposed.

Anaxagoras.

13. When it was told *Anaxagoras*, that the *Athenians* had condemned him to die; he said again; *And Nature them*.

Ann Bullen.

14. Queen *Ann Bullen*, as she was led to the Block, call'd one of the King's Privy Chamber, and said to him; Commend me to the King; and tell him, he has been ever constant in his course of advancing me: from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marchioness; from a Marchioness, a Queen; and now having left me no higher Degree of earthly Honour, he crowns my Innocence with Martyrdom.

Anonymous.

15. A *French* Gentleman, discoursing with an *English* one, of the Salique Law, that excludes Women from inheriting the Crown of *France*; the *English* Gentleman said, that it was meant of Women themselves; not of such Males as claim'd by Women. The *French* Gentleman asked, where do you find that Gloss? The *English* one, replied, Sir, look on the backside of the Salique Law, and there you will find it indorsed; implying, that the Salique Law is but a mere Fiction.

16. A Nobleman, upon the complaint of his Servant, laid a Citizen by the heels, thinking to bend him to his Servant's bow; but the Fellow being stubborn, the Servant came to his Lord, and told him, Your Lordship I know has gone as far as you well may, but it works not; for the Fellow is
more

more perverse than before. Said my Lord, *Let's forget him a while, and then he will remember himself.*

17. One came to a Cardinal in *Rome*, and told him, he had brought his Eminence a curious white Palfry; but that he fell lame by the way. Says the Cardinal to him, I'll tell thee what thou shalt do; go to such a Cardinal, and such a Cardinal, naming him half a dozen of Cardinals, and tell them as much; and thus, tho' by thy Horse, if he had been found, thou could'st have obliged but one; with thy lame Horse thou may'st please half a dozen.

18. A Captain being sent upon an Enterprize, by his General, with Forces unlikely to atchieve it; the Captain said to him, Sir, appoint but half so many. Why, says the General? The Captain answered; *because 'tis better that few die than many.*

19. A parcel of Scholars going a Rabbit-hunting, carried a Scholar with them, who had not much more Wit than he was born with; and gave him in charge, that if he saw any, he should be silent, for fear of scaring them; but he no sooner espied Rabbits before the rest, but he cried aloud, *Ecce multi cuniculi!* which he had no sooner said, but the Rabbits fled to their Burrows: and he being rebuked by them for it, cry'd, who the Devil would have thought, that Rabbits understood *Latin*?

20. It was said of *Augustus*, and afterwards of *Septimius Severus*, both doing infinite Mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their end; that they should either never have been born, or never died.

21. A great Officer in *France* was in danger of losing his Place, but his Wife, by her suit, made his Peace; whereupon a pleasant Fellow said, the Officer had been crush'd, but that he saved himself upon his Horns.

22. There was a Conference in Parliament, between the Lords and Commons, about a Bill of Accountants, which came down from the Lords, praying, that the Lands of Accountants, whereof they were seized, when they entred upon their Office, might be liable for their Arrears to the Queen. The Commons desired, that the Bill might not look back to former Accountants, but extend only to the future. Upon this, the Lord Treasurer said; Why, if you had lost your Purse by the way, would you look forwards for it, or backwards? *The Queen has lost her Purse.*

23. The Deputies of the Reformed Religion, after the Massacre at *Paris* upon *St. Bartholomew's Day*, treating with the King and Queen-Mother for a Peace; both sides agreed upon the Articles: the Question was, about Security for the Performance. After some particulars proposed and rejected, the Queen-Mother said, Why is not the Word of a King sufficient? One of the Deputies answered, No, by *St. Bartholomew*, Madam.

24. A Friar of *France*, in earnest dispute about the Salique Law, would needs prove it by Scripture; citing that Verse of the Gospel, *The Lillies of the Field do neither labour, nor spin*: applying it thus; that the *Flower-de-Luces* of *France* cannot descend, neither to the Distaff, nor to the Spade; that is, neither to Women, nor to Peasants.

25. A Minister being deprived for Nonconformity, said to some People, *it should cost a hundred Men their Lives*: some who understood this, as to his being a turbulent Fellow, that would have moved Sedition, complained of him; whereupon being examined, he said, his meaning was, *that he would practise Physick.*

26. Many Men, especially such as affect Gravity, have a manner after other Men's Speech to shake their Heads. A great Officer of this Country would say, it was as Men shake a Bottle; to see if there be any Wit in their Heads or no.

27. A Man being very jealous of his Wife, inso much, that which way soever she went, he would be prying at her heels; and she being offended thereat, told him in plain Terms, that if he did not leave off his Proceedings, in that nature, she would graft such a pair of Horns upon his Head, as should hinder him from coming out of any Door in the House.

28. A Lady of the West Country gave great Entertainment to most of the polite Gentlemen thereabouts; and amongst others, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one. This Lady, tho' otherwise a stately Dame, was a notable Housewife; and in the Morning early, she called to one of her Maids, and asked, *Are the Pigs served?* Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Chamber joined to the Lady's, so that he heard her: a little before Dinner, the Lady coming down in great State into a Room full of Gentlemen; as soon as Sir *Walter Raleigh* set eyes upon her; Madam, said he, *are the Pigs served?* The Lady answered, *you know best, whether you have had your Breakfast.*

29. A Master of Requests to Queen *Elizabeth*, had often moved for Audience, and been put off; at last he came to the Queen in Progress; and had a new Pair of Boots on. The Queen, who hated the smell of new Leather, said to him, *Fie, Sloven, thy new Boots stink.* Madam, said he, *'tis not my new Boots that stink; but the stale Bills I have kept so long.*

30. A King of Hungary took a Bishop in Battle, and kept him Prisoner: whereupon the Pope writ a Monitory to him, as having broke the Privilege of Holy Church, and taken his Son. The King sent an Embassy to him, and withal the Armour wherein the Bishop was taken, with this Inscription; *Vide num hæc sit vestis filii tui!* see now whether this be thy Son's Coat!

31. A Merchant dying greatly in debt, his Goods were set to Sale; a Stranger would needs buy a Pillow there; saying, this Pillow sure is good to sleep on; since he could sleep, upon it, who owed so much Money.

32. A Lover met his Lady in a close Chair; she thinking to have gone unknown, he came and spoke to her: she asked him, *how did you know me?* He said, *because my Wounds bleed at the approach of my Murtheress.*

33. A Gentleman brought Musick to his Lady's Window. She hated him, and had warned him often away; and when he would not desist, she threw Stones at him: whereupon, one in Company, said to him, *What greater Honour can your Musick have, than that Stones come about you, as they did about Orpheus?*

34. A Painter turning Physician ; one said to him, You have done well : for before, the Faults of your Work were seen ; but now they are hid.

35. There was a Gentleman came to the Tilt, all in Orange-Tawny, and ran very ill. The next Day, he came again, all in Green, and ran worse. One of the Lookers-on asked another, the Reason why this Gentleman changed his Colours. The other answered, surely, because it may be reported, that he in Green, ran worse than he in the Orange-Tawny.

36. It was said, amongst some of the grave Prelates of the Council of *Trent*, where the School-Divines bore the sway ; that the School-Men were like the Astronomers, who, to solve the *Phænomena*, supposed Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and a wonderful Engine of Orbs ; tho' no such Things existed : so they, to solve the practice of the Church, had devised a great number of strange Positions.

37. They said of *Henry Duke of Guise* ; that he was the greatest Usurer of *France* ; because he had turned all his Estate into Obligations: meaning, that he had sold and mortgaged all his Patrimony, to give large Donatives to other Men.

38. A Philosopher disputing with *Adrian the Emperor*, did it but weakly ; one of his Friends that stood by, afterwards said to him ; methinks you were not like your self yesterday, in Argument with the Emperor ; I could have answered better my self. Why, said the Philosopher, would you have me contend with a Man that commands thirty Legions?

39. *Nerva* the Emperor succeeded *Domitian*, who had been tyrannical ; and in his time many noble Houses were over-thrown by false Accusations ; the Instruments whereof were chiefly, *Marcellus* and *Regulus*. *Nerva* one night supped privately with six or seven ; amongst whom, there was one, a dangerous Man ; who began to take the like courses as *Marcellus* and *Regulus* had done. The Emperor fell into discourse of the Injustice and Tyranny of the former time ; and particularly of the two Accusers, and said, what should we do with them, if we had them now? One of them that was at Supper, and a free-spoken Senator, said, Marry, they should sup with us.

40. One having found a great Treasure hid under ground, in his Grandfather's House ; being somewhat doubtful of the Case, signified his Discovery to the Emperor. The Emperor made a Rescript thus, *Use it*. He writ back again, that the Sum was greater than his Condition could use. The Emperor writ a new Rescript thus, *Abuse it*.

41. At a Banquet, where those call'd the seven Wise Men of *Greece*, were invited by the Embassador of a Foreign King ; the Embassador related, that there was a Neighbour mightier than his Master, picked Quarrels with him, by making impossible Demands, otherwise threatening War ; and now at present demanded of him, to drink up the Sea. To which one of the wise Men said, I would have him undertake it. Why, saith the Embassador, how shall he come off? Thus said the Sage, Let the King first stop the Rivers which run into the Sea, and are no part of the Bargain ; and then your Master will perform it.

42. At the same Banquet, the Embassador desired the seven, and some other wife Men, to deliver each some Sentence, or Parable, that he might Report to his King the Wisdom of *Greece*. This they did; only one was silent: which the Embassador perceiving, said to him, Sir, why do not you say somewhat, that I may report? He answered, report to your Lord, that *there are some of the Grecians who can hold their tongue.*

43. One of the Philosophers was asked, how a Wife-Man differed from a Fool? He answered, send them both naked to a Stranger, and you will see.

44. An *Epicurean* vaunted, that many other Sects of Philosophers turned *Epicureans*; but never any *Epicureans* turned of another Sect: whereupon a Philosopher of another Sect, said, the Reason was plain; for Cocks might be made Capons, but Capons could never be made Cocks.

45. The *Turks* made an Expedition into *Persia*; and because of the strait Jaws of the Mountains of *Armenia*, the *Bashaws* consulted which way they should get in. One who heard the debate, said, here's a deal to do how you should get in; but no care is taken how you should get out.

46. *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, maintaining an Argument with a Musician, in points of his Art, somewhat peremptorily; the Musician said to him, *God forbid, Sir, your Fortune were so hard, that you should know these things better than me.*

47. There was a Conspiracy against the Emperor *Claudius*, by *Scribonianus*, examined in the Senate, where *Claudius* sat in his Chair; and one of his freed Servants stood at the back of it. In the Examination, that freed Servant, who had much power with *Claudius*, very saucily had almost all the Words; and amongst other things, asked in scorn, one of the examined, who was also a freed Servant of *Scribonianus*; I pray, if *Scribonianus* had been Emperor, what would you have done? He answered, I would have stood behind his Chair, and held my peace.

48. One was saying, that his Great-Grandfather, and Grandfather, and Father died at Sea. Quoth another, who heard him, If I were you, I would never go to Sea. Why, said the other, where did your Great-Grandfather, and Grandfather, and Father die? He answered, in their Beds? Then said the first, And if I were you, I would never go to Bed.

49. One of the Fathers said, there is but this difference, between the death of old Men, and young ones; that old Men go to Death, and Death comes to young Men.

50. The Ambassadors of *Asia Minor* came to *Antonius*, after he had imposed a double Tax upon them, and said plainly to him; that if he would have two Tributes in one Year, he must give them two Seed-times, and two Harvests.

51. A Nobleman said to a great Counsellor; that he would have made the worst Farrier in the World; because he never shod a Horse, but he pricked him: for he never commended any Man to the King, but he would come in the end with a *But*; and drive a Nail to his disadvantage.

52. A Gentleman fell sick, and a Friend of his said to him; Surely, you are in danger; pray send for a Physician. The sick Man answered; *'tis no matter: for if I die, I will die at leisure.*

53. One of the Seven used to say, that Laws were like Cobwebs, which caught the small Flies, but let the great ones break through.

54. A cowardly *Spanish* Soldier, in a Defeat given by the *Moors*, ran away with the foremost: afterwards, when the Army in general fled, this Soldier was missing; whereupon, it was said by some, that he was slain: No sure, says another, he is alive; for the *Moors* eat no Hare's Flesh.

55. A Gentleman, who was punctual of his Word, and loved the fame in others; when he heard, that two Persons had agreed upon a meeting about serious Affairs, at a certain time and place; and that the one failed in the performance, or neglected his Hour; would usually say of him, *he is a young Man then.*

56. *Philip*, *Alexander's* Father, gave Sentence against a Prisoner, at a time he was drowsy, and seemed to give little Attention. The Prisoner, after Sentence was pronounced, said, *I appeal.* The King somewhat moved, said, to whom do you appeal? The Prisoner answered; from *Philip*, when he gave no ear, to *Philip*, when he shall give ear.

57. *Antaclidas*, when an *Athenian* said to him, the *Spartans* are unlearned; *Antaclidas* said again, true, *for we have learned no Vice of you.*

58. *Antigonus*, being told that the Enemy had such Volleys of Arrows, *Antigonus* that they hid the Sun; said, it falls out well, for 'tis warm Weather, and so we shall fight in the Shade.

59. *Antigonus* used often to go disguised, and to listen at the Tents of his Soldiers; and at one time heard some speak very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the Tent a little, and said to them; *if you would speak ill of me, you should go farther off.*

60. *Demades* the Orator, in his old Age was talkative, and would eat *Antipater* hard: *Antipater* would say of him, that he was like a Sacrifice; whereof nothing was left, but the Tongue and the Paunch.

61. *Antisthenes* being asked, what Learning was most necessary in human Life; answered, to unlearn that which is bad.

62. *Vespasian* asked *Apollonius*, what was the Cause of *Nero's* Ruin? He *Apollonius* answered, *Nero* could tune the Harp well; but in Government, he always wound up the Strings too high, or let them down too low.

63. *Aristippus* was an earnest Suitor for some Grant to *Dionysius*, who giving *Aristippus* no ear to his Suit, *Aristippus* fell at his Feet, and then *Dionysius* granted it. One who stood by, said afterwards to *Aristippus*; You a Philosopher, and so base as to throw your self at a Tyrant's Feet to obtain a Favour! *Aristippus* answered; the Fault is not mine, but *Dionysius's*, that carries his Ears in his Feet.

64. One said to *Aristippus*; 'Tis a strange thing, that Men should rather give to the Poor, than to Philosophers: he answered, 'Tis because they think themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to be Philosophers.

65. *Aristippus* being reproached of Luxury, by one that was not rich, for giving six Crowns for a small Fish; answered, Why, what would you have given? The other said, twelve Pence. *Aristippus* replied; and six Crowns is no more with me.

66. *Aristippus* sailing in a Tempest, shewed signs of Fear. One of the Seamen said to him, in an insulting manner; We Plebeians are under no concern; but you, a Philosopher, are afraid. *Aristippus* answered; It is not an equal Wager, whether you should perish or me.

67. There was an Orator, who defended a Cause of *Aristippus*, and prevailed: afterwards he asked *Aristippus*; Now, in your Distress, what good did *Socrates* do you? *Aristippus* answered; in making what you said of me, to be true.

68. *Aristippus* said, those who studied particular Sciences, and neglected Philosophy, were like *Penelope's* Suitors; that made love to the Waiting-Woman.

Bacon.

69. Queen *Elizabeth*, in her Progress, coming to the House of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, then Keeper of the Great-Seal, said to him; my Lord, what a little House you have got? He answered, Madam, *my House is well enough, only you have made me too great for it.*

70. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* being appointed a Judge for the Northern Circuit, and coming to pass Sentence on the Malefactors, one of them mightily importuned him to save his Life; but when nothing he said could avail, he at length desired his Mercy on account of Kindred. Prithee, said my Lord, how came that in? Why, if it please you, my Lord, your Name is *Bacon*, and mine is *Hog*; and in all Ages *Hog* and *Bacon* have been a-kin. Nay, but replied the Judge; you and I cannot be kindred, unless you be hanged; for a *Hog* is not *Bacon* until it be hanged.

71. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, when a certain nimble-witted Counsellor at the Bar, interrupted him often; replied, there is a great difference betwixt you and me: *a pain to me to speak, and a pain to you to hold your tongue.*

72. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, upon Bills exhibited to discover where Lands lay, upon proof, that they had a certain quantity of Land, but could not set it forth, used to say; *and if you cannot find your Land in the Country, how will you have me find it in the Chancery?*

73. When Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the Lord-Keeper, lived, every Room in *Gorbambury* was served with a Pipe of Water from the Ponds, distant about a Mile off. In the Life-time of Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, the Water ceased: after whose death his Lordship coming to the Inheritance, could not recover the Water without infinite Charge. When he was Lord-Chancellor, he built *Verulam House*, close by the Pond-yard; for a place of Privacy, when called upon to dispatch any urgent Business. And being asked, why he built that House there, his Lordship answered, that since he could not carry the Water to his House, he would carry his House to the Water.

74. When my Lord-President of the Council came first to be Lord-Treasurer, he complained to my Lord-Chancellor of the troublefomness of the Place, because the Exchequer was empty. The Lord Chancellor answered; my Lord, be of good cheer, *for now you shall see the bottom of your Business at first.*

75. A Lady walking with Mr. *Bacon*^a in *Grays-Inn Walks*, asked him, whose was that Piece of Ground that lay next under the Walls? He answered, theirs.

Then

^a Viz. The Author: as the *Apophthegms* above were those of his Father. See the Note to the Preface of this Piece.

Then she asked him, if those Fields beyond the Walks were theirs too? He answered, Yes, Madam, as you are ours, to look on, and no more.

76. One day, Queen *Elizabeth* told Mr. *Bacon*, that my Lord of *Effex*, after a great Protestation of Penitence and Affection, fell in the end only upon the suit of renewing his Farm of sweet Wines: he answered, I read that in Nature, there are two kinds of sympathetic Motions or Appetites; the one, as of Iron, to the Load-stone, for Perfection; the other, as of the young Vine to the Stake, for Support; and, that her Majesty was the one, and the Earl's Suit the other.

77. The Book of deposing King *Richard* the Second, and the coming in of King *Henry* the Fourth, supposed to be written by Dr. *Hayward*, who was committed to the *Tower* for it, having much incensed Queen *Elizabeth*; she asked Mr. *Bacon*, then of her learned Counsel, whether there were any Treason contained in it? Who intending to take off the Queen's Bitterness, answered; No, Madam, for Treason I cannot say there is any, but very much Felony. The Queen apprehending it gladly, asked, how? and wherein? Mr. *Bacon* answered; because he had stolen many things out of *Tacitus*.

78. There were Fishermen drawing the River at *Chelsea*: Mr. *Bacon* came thither by chance in the Afternoon, and offered to buy their Draught: they were willing for thirty Shillings. Mr. *Bacon* offered ten. They refused it. Why then, says Mr. *Bacon*, I will be only a Looker-on. They drew, and caught nothing. Says Mr. *Bacon*, are not you mad Fellows now, that might have had an Angel in your Purse, to have made merry withal, and now you must go home with nothing? Ay but, say the Fishermen, we had hope to make a better gain of it. Says Mr. *Bacon*, Well then, I'll tell you; *Hope is a good Breakfast, but a bad Supper.*

79. Mr. *Bacon*, having been vehement in Parliament against Depopulation and Inclosures; the Queen soon after told him, she had referred the hearing of Mr. *Mills's* Cause to certain Counsellors and Judges; and asking him how he liked it; he answered, Oh Madam! my Mind is known; I am against all Inclosures, and especially against inclosed Justice.

80. Sir *Francis Bacon*, newly made Lord Keeper, being in *Gray's-Inn* Walks, with Sir *Walter Raleigh*; one came and told him, that the Earl of *Exeter* was above. He continued, upon the occasion, still walking a good while. At last, when he came up, my Lord of *Exeter* met him, and said; My Lord, I have made a great venture, to come up so high Stairs, being a gouty Man. His Lordship answered; Pardon me, my Lord, I have made the greatest venture of all; for I have ventured upon your Patience.

81. When Sir *Francis Bacon* was made the King's Attorney, Sir *Edward Coke* was advanced from Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, to Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*; which is a Place of greater Honour, but less Profit; and withal was made Privy Counsellor. A few days after, the Lord *Coke* meeting the King's Attorney, said to him; Mr. Attorney, this is all your doing. 'Tis you that have made this stir. Mr. Attorney answered, Ah, my Lord! Your Lordship all this while has grown in breadth; you must now grow in height, or else you would be a Monster.

82. In Eighty-eight, when the Queen went from *Temple-Bar* along *Fleet-street*, the Lawyers were rank'd on one Side, and the Companies of the City on the other: said Mr. *Bacon* to a Lawyer who stood next him, Now observe the Courtiers; if they bow first to the Citizens, they are in Debt; if first to us, they are in Law.

83. When Mr. Attorney *Coke*, in the Exchequer, gave high Words to Sir *Francis Bacon*, and stood much upon his higher Place; Sir *Francis* said to him, Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your Greatness, the more I shall think of it; and the more, the less.

84. Sir *Francis Bacon* used to say of an angry Man who suppress'd his Passion, that he thought worse than he spoke; and of an angry Man who would chide, that he spoke worse than he thought.

85. He used to say, that Power in an ill Man, was like the Power of a black Witch, that did hurt, but no good. He would add, that the Magicians could turn Water into Blood; but could not turn the Blood again to Water.

86. Sir *Francis Bacon* coming into the Earl of *Arundel's* Garden, where there were a great Number of antient Statues of naked Men and Women, made a Stand; and as astonish'd, cried out, The Resurrection!

87. Sir *Francis Bacon*, who was always for moderate Counsels, when one was speaking for such a Reformation of the Church of *England*, as would in effect make it no Church, said thus to him; Sir, the Subject we now talk of is the Eye of *England*, and if there be a Speck or two in the Eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange Oculist, who would pull out the Eye.

88. Sir *Francis Bacon* used to say, that those who left useful Studies for scholastic Speculations, were like the *Olympick* Gamesters; who abstain'd from necessary Labours, that they might be fit for such as were unnecessary.

89. He also frequently used this Comparison; the Empirical Philosophers are like Ants; they only lay up and use their Store; the Rationalists are like Spiders; they spin all out of their own Bowels: But give me a Philosopher, who, like the Bee, has a middle Faculty, gathering from abroad, but digesting what is gathered by his own Virtue.

90. The Lord *Bacon* used to commend the Advice of a plain old Man at *Buxton*, who sold Brooms. A proud lazy young Fellow came to him for a Broom upon trust, to whom the old Man said; Friend, hast thou no Money? borrow of thy Back, and borrow of thy Belly, they'll ne'er ask thee again; I shall be dunning thee every day.

91. The Lord *St. Albans*, who was not over-hasty to raise Theories, but proceeded slowly by Experiments, used to say to some Philosophers who would not go his pace; Gentlemen, Nature is a Labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with, will make you lose your Way.

92. The same Lord speaking of the *Dutch*, used to say, that we could not abandon them, for our Safety; nor keep them, to our Profit: and sometimes expressed the same Sense by saying, We hold the *Belgic* Lion by the Ears.

93. The same Lord, when a Gentleman seemed not much to approve of his Liberality to his Retinue, said to him ; Sir, I am all of a piece ; if the Head be lifted up, the inferior Parts of the Body must rise too.

94. Mr. *Bettenham*, Reader of *Grays-Inn*, used to say, That Riches were like *Bettenham*. Muck, which when it lay in a Heap, gave but an ill Odour ; but when spread upon the Ground, it was the Cause of much Fruit.

95. Mr. *Bettenham* said, virtuous Men were like some Herbs and Spices, that give not out their sweet Smell till they are broken or crush'd.

96. *Bias* gives in Precept, Love as if you should hereafter hate ; and hate as if you should hereafter love. *Bias.*

97. *Bion*, an Atheist, being shewed at a Port-City, in a Temple of *Neptune*, many Pictures of such as had in Tempest made their Vows to *Neptune*, and escaped Shipwreck ; was ask'd, how say you now ? Do you not acknowledge the Power of the Gods ? Nay, but says he, where are they painted who were drowned after their Vows ? *Bion.*

98. *Bion* ask'd an envious Man, who was very sad, What harm had befallen him ; or what Good had befallen another ?

99. *Bion* was sailing, and there happen'd a great Tempest, when the Mariners, that were wicked and dissolute Fellows, call'd upon the Gods ; but *Bion* said to them, *Peace, let them not know you are here.*

100. *Bresquet*, Jester to *Francis* the First of *France*, kept a Calendar of Fools, wherein he used to make the King sport ; telling him always the Reason why he put any one into his Calendar. When the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, upon Confidence of the noble Nature of *Francis*, pass'd thro' *France*, for appeasing the Rebellion of *Gaunt* ; *Bresquet* put him into his Calendar. The King asked him the Cause ; he answer'd, Because you having suffer'd from *Charles* the greatest Bitterness that ever one Prince did from another, he would nevertheless trust his Person in your hands. Why, *Bresquet*, cries the King, what wilt thou say, to see him pass back in as great safety as if he marched through the midst of *Spain* ? Says *Bresquet*, Why then I will put him out, and put you in. *Bresquet.*

101. Sir *Edward Dyer*, a grave and wise Gentleman, believed in *Kelley* the *Alchemist*, that he did indeed the Work, and made Gold ; infomuch that he went into *Germany*, where *Kelley* then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his Return, he dined with my Lord of *Canterbury* ; when Dr. *Brown* the Physician was at Table. They fell in talk of *Kelley* : Sir *Edward Dyer* turning to the Archbishop, said, I do assure your Grace that what I shall tell you is truth ; I am an Eye-witness thereof, and if I had not seen it, I should not have believed it. I saw Mr. *Kelley* put of the base Metal into the Crucible, and after it was set a little upon the Fire, and a very small quantity of the Medicine put in, and stirred with a Stick, it came forth in great proportion perfect Gold ; to the Touch, to the Hammer, and to the Test. My Lord Archbishop said ; You had need take care what you say, Sir *Edward*, for here is an Infidel at the Board. Sir *Edward Dyer* replied pleasantly, I should have looked for an Infidel sooner in any Place than at your Grace's Table. What say you, Dr. *Brown*, cried the Archbishop ? Dr.

Brown answer'd, after his blunt and huddling manner; The Gentleman has spoken enough for me. Why, says the Archbishop, what has he said? Marry, quoth Dr. *Brown*, he said he would not have belived it, except he had seen it; no more will I.

Burleigh.

102. Queen *Elizabeth* was naturally dilatory in Suits; and the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, being a wife Man, and willing to feed her humour, wou'd say to her, Madam, you do well to let Suitors wait: for, *bis dat, qui cito dat*; if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner.

Cæsar.

103. The *Romans*, when they spoke to the People, used to style them *ye Romans*: But when Commanders in War spoke to their Army, they styled them *my Soldiers*. There was a Mutiny in *Cæsar's* Army; for somewhat the Soldiers wou'd have, yet did not declare themselves in it; but only demanded a Discharge, tho' with no intent it should be granted: but knowing *Cæsar* had now great need of their Service, thought by that means to wrest him to their Views; whereupon with one Cry they asked Dismission. *Cæsar*, after Silence made, said, For my part, *ye Romans*; which Title actually spoke them dismissed; when immediately they mutinied again, and would not suffer him to go on with his Speech, till he had called them by the Name of his *Soldiers*: and so with one Word he appeas'd the Sedition.

104. There was a Soldier who vaunted before *Julius Cæsar*, of the hurts he had received in his Face. *Julius Cæsar* knowing him to be but a Coward, told him, you had best take heed the next time you run away, how you look back.

105. *Julius Cæsar* as he pass'd by, was by acclamation of some that stood in the way, termed King; to try how the People would take it. The People shew'd great Distaste at it. *Cæsar* finding where the Wind stood, slighted it; and said, I am not King, but *Cæsar*; as if they had mistaken his Name. For *Rex* was a Sirname amongst the *Romans*, as *King* is with us.

106. *Cæsar*, when he first got possession of *Rome*, after *Pompey's* flight, offered to enter the sacred Treasury to seize the Money: But *Metellus*, Tribune of the People, forbid him; and when *Metellus* was violent in it, and would not desist, *Cæsar* turn'd to him and said, Presume no farther, or I will lay you dead. And when *Metellus* with those Words was somewhat astonish'd; *Cæsar* added, Young Man, it had been easier for me to do it, than to speak it.

107. *Augustus Cæsar* would say, He wonder'd *Alexander* should fear to want Work, having no more Worlds to conquer; as if it were not as hard to keep, as to conquer.

108. *Cæsar*, in the Book he wrote against *Cato*, (which is lost) to shew the force of Opinion and Reverence of a Man that had once obtain'd a popular Reputation, says, That some Persons finding *Cato* drunk, were ashamed instead of *Cato*.

109. *Augustus Cæsar*, out of great Indignation against his two Daughters, and *Posthumus Agrippa*, his Grand-child; whereof the two first were infamous, and the last other wise unworthy; would say, That they were not his Seed, but some Imposthumes that had broke from him.

110. *Francis Carvajal*, the great Captain of the Rebels of *Peru*, had often given chase to *Diego Centeno*, a principal Commander of the Emperor's Party : He was afterwards taken by the Emperor's Lieutenant *Gasca*, and committed to the Custody of *Diego Centeno*, who used him with all possible Courtesy ; inso much that *Carvajal* asked him, I pray Sir, who are you that use me with this Courtesy ? *Centeno* said, Do you not know *Diego Centeno* ? *Carvajal* answer'd ; Truly Sir, I have been so used to see your Back, that I know not your Face.

111. *Cassius*, after the Defeat of *Crassus* by the *Partians*, whose Weapons were chiefly Arrows, fled to the City of *Charras* ; where he durst not stay any time, fearing to be pursued and besieged : He had with him an Astrologer, who said to him, Sir, I would not have you go hence while the Moon is in *Scorpio*. *Cassius* answered, I am more afraid of *Sagittarius*.

112. The elder *Cato* used to say, The *Romans* were like Sheep ; a Man could better drive a Flock of them than one.

113. The elder *Cato* buried his Wife, and married a young Woman in his old Age : His Son came to him and said, Sir, wherein have I offended, that you have brought a Step-mother into your House ? The old Man answer'd ; Nay, Son, thou pleasest me so well, that I would be glad to have more such.

114. *Cato* would say, That wise Men learn'd more by Fools, than Fools by wise Men.

115. *Cato* at a time that many of the *Romans* had Statues erected to their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder, why he had none ? He answer'd, He had much rather that Men should wonder why he had no Statue, than why he had.

116. *Cledius* was acquitted by a corrupt Jury, that had palpably taken Money, before they gave their Verdict ; but asked of the Senate a Guard, that they might go according to their Consciences ; because *Cledius* was a seditious young Nobleman. Whereupon, all the World gave him for condemned ; but he was acquitted. *Catulus* the next day seeing some of them together that had acquitted him, said to them, What made you ask us for a Guard ? Were you afraid your Money should have been taken from you ?

117. *Charles*, King of *Sweden*, a great Enemy to the Jesuits, when he took any of their Colleges, would hang the old Jesuits, and send the young ones to his Mines ; saying, Since they wrought so hard above ground, he would try how they could work under ground.

118. *Chilon* would say, That Gold was try'd by the Touch-stone ; and Men by Gold.

119. *Cineas*, an excellent Orator, Statesman, and principal Friend to *Pyrrhus*, falling into intimate Discourse with that King, discern'd his endless Ambition ; and when *Pyrrhus* told him in confidence, how he intended first a War upon *Italy*, and hoped to succeed ; *Cineas* asked, What will you do then ? Then says he, We will attempt *Sicily*. *Cineas* replies, Well Sir, what then ? Said *Pyrrhus*, if the Gods favour us, we may conquer *Africa* and *Carthage*. What then, Sir, says *Cineas* ? Why then, says *Pyrrhus*, we may

may take our Rest, and sacrifice and feast every day, and make merry with our Friends. Alas, Sir, said *Cineas*, we may do that now ; without all this ado.

Cicero. 120. *Cicero* giving evidence upon Oath, and the Jury, which consisted of fifty seven, having determined against it ; when after in the Senate *Cicero* and *Clodius* being in dispute, *Clodius* upbraided him and said, the Jury gave him no credit : *Cicero* answered, Five and twenty gave me credit, but there were two and thirty that gave you none ; for they had their Money before-hand.

121. *Cicero* was at dinner where an antient Lady spoke of her Years, and said, She was but forty. One who sat by *Cicero*, whisper'd him in the ear, and said, She talks of old, but she must be much more. *Cicero* answer'd him again, I must believe her ; for I have heard her say so any time these ten Years.

122. There was a Law made by the *Romans*, against the Bribery and Extortion of the Governors of Provinces ; whereupon *Cicero* said in a Speech to the People ; That he thought the Provinces would petition the State of *Rome*, to have that Law repealed : For, said he, the Governours bribed and extorted before, as much as was sufficient for themselves ; but now they bribe and extort not only for themselves, but for the Judges, and Jurors, and Magistrates.

Clearchus. 123. After the Defeat of the younger *Cyrus*, *Falinus* was sent by the King to the *Grecians*, who had rather the Victory than otherwise, to command them to yield their Arms ; which being denied, *Falinus* said to *Clearchus*, Well then, the King lets you know, that if you remove from the Place where you are now encamped, 'tis War ; if you stay, a Truce : Which shall I say you will do ? *Clearchus* answer'd, It pleases us as it pleases the King. How is that, said *Falinus* ? *Clearchus* answer'd, If we remove, 'tis War ; if we stay, a Truce : and so would not disclose his Purpose.

Clement. 124. *Michael Angelo*, painting in the Pope's Chapel, a Piece of Hell and the damned Souls, made one of the damned Souls so like a Cardinal who was his Enemy, that every body at first sight knew him ; whereupon the Cardinal complained to Pope *Clement*, humbly praying it might be defaced. The Pope said to him, Why, 'tis true, I have power to deliver a Soul out of Purgatory ; but not out of Hell.

Craffus. 125. *Craffus* the Orator had a Fish, by the *Romans* called *Muræna*, which he made very tame, and fond of him : The Fish died, and *Craffus* wept for it. One day falling in a Contention with *Domitius* in the Senate, *Domitius* said, Foolish *Craffus*, you wept for your *Muræna* : *Craffus* replied, That's more than you did for both your Wives.

Demosthenes 126. *Demosthenes* fled from Battle ; being afterwards reproached with it, said, *He that flies, might fight again.*

127. An Orator at *Athens* said to *Demosthenes*, The *Athenians* will kill you if they grow mad : *Demosthenes* replied, And they will kill you, if they are in their Senses.

Diogenes. 128. *Diogenes* begging, as many Philosophers then used ; begg'd more of a prodigal Man than of the rest who were present : whereupon one said to him,

him, See your Baseness, that when you find a liberal Mind, you take most of him. No, said *Diogenes*; for I mean to beg of the rest again.

129. *Diogenes*, when Mice came about him as he was eating, said, I see that even *Diogenes* feeds Parasites.

130. *Diogenes* call'd an ill Physician, Cock; Why so, says he? *Diogenes* answer'd, Because when you crow, Men rise.

131. *Diogenes* having seen the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which before was contemptible and low, begin to rise aloft before he died; and being asked how he would be buried? He answer'd, With my Face downwards: for within a while the World will be turn'd upside down; and then I shall lie right.

132. *Dionysius* the Tyrant, after he was deposed and brought to *Corinth*, Dionysius. kept a School, where many used to visit him; and amongst others, one, who when he came in, open'd his Mantle, and shook his Clothes, thinking to give *Dionysius* a gentle Scorn; because it was the manner to do so at coming in to see him while he was Tyrant: But *Dionysius* said to him, I prithee do so rather when thou goest out; that we may see thou stealest nothing.

133. When King *Edward* the Second was among his Torturers, who hurri-K. Edward: ed him to and fro, that no Man should know where he was, they once set him down upon a Bank; and the more to disguise his Face, shaved him, and washed him with cold Water out of the Ditch. The King said, Well, yet I will have warm Water for my Beard; and so shed tears in abundance.

134. It being the Custom to release Prisoners at the Inauguration of a Q. Elizabeth: Prince; as Queen *Elizabeth* went to the Chapel, the day after her Coronation, a Courtier, well known to her, either of his own head, or by the instigation of a wiser Man, presented her a Petition; and before a great Audience, besought her with a loud Voice, that now this good Time there might be four or five principal Prisoners more released; which were the four Evangelists and the Apostle *Paul*, who had been long shut up in an unknown Tongue. The Queen answer'd gravely, It were best to enquire of them first, whether they would be released or no.

135. The Lord of *Effex*, at the Succour of *Roan*, made twenty four Knights; a great Number for that Time: And several of them being Gentlemen of small Fortunes, Queen *Elizabeth* said upon it, that my Lord might have done well to have built his Alms-houses, before he made his Knights.

136. Queen *Elizabeth* seeing Sir *Edward* — in her Garden, look'd out at her Window, and asked him; What does a Man think of, when he thinks of nothing? Sir *Edward*, who had not felt the Effects of some of the Queen's Grants so soon as he hoped, answer'd; Madam, he thinks of a Woman's Promise. The Queen shrunk in her Head, but was heard to say; Well, Sir *Edward*, I must not confute you: Anger makes dull Men witty, but it keeps them poor.

137. When any great Officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, Queen *Elizabeth* would enquire after the Piety, Integrity, and Learning of the Man; and when satisfied in these Qualifications, she considered of his Personage: And upon such an Occasion, she was once pleased to say to me;
Bacon,

Bacon, How can the Magistrate maintain his Authority, when the Man is despised?

- Ellesmere*. 138. My Lord Chancellor *Ellesmere*, when he had read a Petition which he dislike'd, would say; What, you would have my Hand to this now? And the Party answering, yes; he would say farther, Well, so you shall: nay, you shall have both my Hands to it; and so would tear it to pieces.
- Epaninondas* 139. The *Lacedemonians* had a Custom of speaking very short, which being an Empire, they might do at pleasure: But after their Defeat at *Levetra*, in an Assembly of the *Grecians*, they made a long Invective against *Epaninondas*, who stood up and said no more than this; *I am glad we have brought you to your Speech.*
- Epiſtetus*. 140. *Epiſtetus* used to say; that the Vulgar, in any ill that befell them, blame others; Novices in Philosophy blame themselves; but Philosophers blame neither themselves nor others.
- Ethelwold*. 141. *Ethelwold*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*, in a Famine, sold all the rich Vessels and Ornaments of the Church, to relieve the Poor with Bread, and said; there was no reason that the dead Temples of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the living Temples suffer want.
- Gardiner*. 142. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*, a great Champion for the Popish Religion, used to say of the Protestants who ground upon the Scripture; that they were like Posts, who bring Truth in their Letters, and Lyes in their Mouths.
- Gondomar*. 143. When his Lordship^a was newly advanced to the great Seal, *Gondomar* came to visit him. My Lord said, he was to thank God and the King for that Honour; but yet, so he might be rid of the Burthen, he could very willingly forego the Honour: And that he formerly desired, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private Life. *Gondomar* answered; he would tell him a Tale of an old Rat, that would needs leave the World; and acquainted the young Rats that he would retire into his Hole, and spend his Days solitary, and enjoy no more Comfort; and commanded them upon his high Displeasure, not to offer to come to him. They forbore two or three Days: At last, one more hardy than the rest, incited some of his Fellows to go along with him, and he would venture to see how his Father did; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old Rat sitting in the midst of a rich *Parmezan* Cheese.
- Gonſalvo*. 144. *Gonſalvo* would say, The Honour of a Soldier ought to be of a strong Web; meaning, it should not be so fine and curious, that every little Disgrace should catch and stick in it.
- Grevil*. 145. Sir *Fulk Grevil*, afterwards Lord *Brook*, in Parliament, when the House Commons, in a great Business, stood much upon Precedents, said to them; Why do you stand so much upon Precedents? The Times hereafter will be good or bad. If good, Precedents will do harm; if bad, Power will make a way where it finds none.
- Hannibal*. 146. *Hannibal* said of *Fabius Maximus*, and of *Marcellus*, the former whereof waited upon him, so as he could make no Progress, and the latter had many sharp

^a See the Preface.

sharp fights with him ; that he feared *Fabius* like a Tutor, and *Marcellus* like an Enemy.

147. *Fabius Maximus* being resolved to spin out the War, still waited upon *Hannibal's* Progress to curb him ; and for that purpose encamped upon the high Ground : but *Terentius*, his Colleague, fought with *Hannibal*, and was in great danger of an over-throw : but then *Fabius* came down from the high Grounds, and won the day. Whereupon *Hannibal* said, he always thought the Cloud which hung upon the Hills, would at one time or other cause a Tempest.

148. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, was sent Commissioner by the State, after the second *Carthaginian* War, to supplicate for Peace ; and in the end obtained it : but one of the sharper Senators said ; As you have often broke the Peace, whereto you had sworn, pray by what God will you now swear ? *Hanno* answered ; By the same Gods that have so severely punished us for forswearing our selves.

149. In Chancery, once when the Counsel of the Parties set forth the Boundaries of the Land in question, by the Plot ; and the Counsel of one part said, we lie on this side, my Lord ; and the Counsel of the other part said, we lie on this side: the Lord Chancellor *Hatton* stood up, and said ; If you lie on both sides, whom will you have me to believe ?

150. *Heraclitus* the obscure said ; the dry Light is the best Soul : meaning, when the intellectual Faculties are in vigour, not drenched, or as it were, blooded by the Affections.

151. Mr. *Howland*, arguing a Case, with a young Student, happened to say, I would ask you but this Question. The Student presently interrupted him, to give him an Answer : whereupon, Mr. *Howland* gravely said ; Nay, tho' I ask you a Question, I did not design you should answer me ; I mean to answer my self.

152. King *James*, having made a full Declaration to his Parliament, concluded thus ; I have now given you a Mirror of my Mind ; use it therefore like a Mirror, and beware how you let it fall, or soil it with your Breath.

153. His Majesty said to his Parliament another time, finding some causeless Jealousies among them ; that the King and his People, were as Husband and Wife ; and therefore, of all things, Jealousy between them was most pernicious.

154. His Majesty, if he apprehended his Council might think he varied in Business, tho' he remained constant ; would say, that the Sun often shines watery ; but that this is not owing to the Sun, but to some Cloud, which being dissipated, the Sun receives its usual brightness.

155. Cardinal *Evereux*, having, in a grave subject of Divinity, sprinkled many witty Ornaments of Learning ; his Majesty said, they were like the blue, and yellow, and red Flowers in Corn ; which make a pleasant shew, but hurt the Corn.

156. His Majesty used to be very earnest with the Country Gentlemen to go from *London* to their Seats : and sometimes he would say thus to them ; Gentlemen, at *London* you are like Ships in the Sea, which shew like nothing,

but in your own Country Villages, you are like Ships in a River, which look like great things.

157. Soon after the Death of a great Officer, who was judged no Advancer of the King's Matters; the King said to his Sollicitor *Bacon*; Now tell me truly, what say you of your Cousin that is gone? Mr. *Bacon* answered, Sir, since your Majesty charges me, I'll e'en deal plainly with you; and give you such a Character of him, as if I were to write his History. I do think he was no fit Counsellor to make your Affairs better; but yet he was fit to have kept them from growing worse. The King said, On my So'l, Man, in the first place, thou speakest like a true Man; and in the latter, like a Kinsman.

158. His Majesty, as he was a Prince of Judgment, so he was a Prince of a pleasant Humour. As he was going thro' *Lewisbam* to *Greenwich*; he asked what Town it was? They said *Lewisbam*. He asked a good while after, what Town is this we are now in? They said still it was *Lewisbam*. On my So'l, said the King, I will be King of *Lewisbam*.

159. In some other of his Progresses, he asked how far 'twas to a certain Town; they said, six Miles. Half an hour after, he asked again. One said, six Miles and an half. The King alighted out of his Coach, and crept under the Shoulder of his led Horse. And when some asked his Majesty what he meant? I must stalk, said he, for yonder Town is shy, and flies me.

Jafon. 160. *Jafon*, the *Thessalian*, used to say; some things must be done unjustly, and many others may be done justly.

Johnson. 161. Dr. *Johnson* said, that in Sicknes there were three things material; the Physician, the Disease, and the Patient: and if any two of these joined, then they get the Victory. If the Physician and the Patient join, down goes the Disease; if the Physician and the Disease join, down goes the Patient; but if the Patient and the Disease join, then down goes the Physician.

Isabella. 162. Queen *Isabella*, of *Spain*, used to say, 'Whoever has a good Presence, and a good Address, carries continual Letters of Recommendation.

Judæus. 163. *Philo Judæus* says, that the Sense is like the Sun; for the Sun seals up the Globe of Heaven, and opens the Globe of Earth: so the Sense obscures heavenly Things, and reveals the Earthly.

Latimer. 164. Bishop *Latimer* said, in a Sermon at Court, that he heard great Speech how the King was poor; and many ways were propounded to make him rich: for his part, he thought of one way, which was, that they should help the King to some good Office; for all his Officers were rich.

Lewis. 165. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, having much abated the greatness and power of the Peers, Nobility, and Court of Parliament, would say, that he had brought the Crown out of Ward.

Livia. 166. As *Livia* went abroad in *Rome*, there met her naked young Men sporting in the Streets, whom *Augustus* going about to punish severely: *Livia* spoke for them, and said, 'twas no more to chaste Women, than so many Statues.

167. *Pompey* finished the War against *Sertorius*, when *Metellus* had brought *Lucullus* the Enemy low. He also ended the War against the Fugitives; whom *Craffus* had before defeated in a great Battel. So when *Lucullus* had attained great and glorious Victories over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; yet *Pompey*, by the means his Friends made, was sent to put an end to that War. Whereat *Lucullus* taking indignation, as at a Disgrace offered to him, said, *Pompey* was a Carrion-Crow; because when others had struck down the Bodies, then *Pompey* came and prey'd upon them.

168. When *Lycurgus* was to reform and alter the State of *Sparta*; one advised *Lycurgus* in Consultation, that it should be reduced to an absolute popular Equality: but *Lycurgus* said to him; Sir, begin it in your own House.

169. Mr. *Marbury*, the Preacher, would say, that God was fain to do with wicked Men, as Men do with frisky Jades in a Pasture, who cannot catch them, till they get them at a Gate: so wicked Men will not be taken till the hour of Death.

170. *Caius Marius*, was General among the *Romans* against the *Cimbers*, who came with such a deluge of People upon *Italy*. In the fight, a band of the *Cadurcians*, of a thousand, did notable Service; wherefore, after the fight, *Marius* denison'd them all for Citizens of *Rome*, tho' there was no Law to warrant it. One of his Friends represented to him, that he had transgressed the Law; because that Privilege was not to be granted, but to the People: whereto *Marius* answered; that he could not hear the Laws for the din of Arms.

171. *Mendoza*, the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, used to say, that the Government of *Peru* was the best place the King of *Spain* gave; only it was somewhat too near *Madrid*.

172. Sir *Thomas More* had only Daughters at the first; and his Wife ever pray'd for a Boy; who being come to Man's Estate, proved but simple. Sir *Thomas* said to his Wife, Thou prayedst so long for a Boy, that he will be a Boy as long as he lives.

173. Sir *Thomas More*, on the day that he was beheaded, had a Barber sent to him, because his Hair was long; which 'twas thought, would make him more commiserated by the People. The Barber asked him, whether he would please to be trim'd? In good Faith, honest Fellow, said Sir *Thomas*, the King and I have a suit for my Head; and till the Title be cleared, I will bestow no Cost upon it.

174. Sir *Thomas More* had sent him by a Suitor in Chancery, two Silver Flaggons: when they were presented by the Gentleman's Servant, he bid one of his Men, take him to the Cellar, and let him have of the best Wine: and turning to the Servant, said, Tell thy Master, if he like it, let him not spare it.

175. Sir *Thomas More*, when the Counsel of the Party pressed him for a longer Day to perform the Decree, said, Take Saint *Barnaby's* Day, which is the longest Day of the Year. Now Saint *Barnaby's* Day was within a few Days following.

176. A Friend of Sir *Thomas More's* taking great pains about a Book he intended to publish, being better conceited of his own Wit than any Man else, brought it first to Sir *Thomas* for his Judgment ; who finding nothing therein worthy the Press, said to him gravely ; that if it were in Verse, it would be more worthy. Upon which the Author went immediately and turned it into Verse, then brought it to Sir *Thomas* again ; who looking thereon, said soberly ; Yes marry, now 'tis somewhat ; for now 'tis rhyme, but before it was neither rhyme nor reason.
- Nero. 177. *Nero* used to say of his Master *Seneca*, that his Style was like Mortar without Lime.
- Pace. 178. *Pace*, the severe Fool, was not suffered to come at *Queen Elizabeth*, because of his bitter Humour ; yet at one time some persuaded the Queen to let him come to her, undertaking for him, that he should keep within compass. So he was brought, and the Queen said, Come on *Pace* ; now we shall hear of our Faults : Says *Pace*, I do not use to talk of that which all the Town talks of.
- Pawlet. 179. Sir *Amyas Pavolet*, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, used to say ; Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.
- Philip. 180. *Philip of Macedon* was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him ; but *Philip* answered, 'tis better he should speak where we are both known, than where we are both unknown.
- Phocion. 181. *Alexander* sent *Phocion* a great Present of Money : *Phocion* said to the Messenger, Why does the King send to me, and to none else ? The Messenger answered, because he takes you for the only good Man in *Athens*. *Phocion* replied, if he think so, pray let him suffer me to be so still.
- Plato. 182. *Diogenes*, one terrible frosty Morning, came into the Market-Place and stood naked, shivering, to shew his tolerance : Many came about him, pitying him ; but *Plato* passing by, and knowing he did it to be seen, said to the People ; if you pity him indeed, leave him to himself.
183. *Plato* severely reprehended a young Man for entering into a dissolute House : The young Man said, why do you reprehend so sharply for so small a matter ? *Plato* replied, But Custom is no small matter.
- Plutarch. 184. *Plutarch* said well, 'tis otherwise in a Commonwealth of Men than of Bees : The Hive of a Kingdom is in best Condition, when there is least of Noise or Buz in it.
185. *Plutarch* said, of Men of weak Abilities put in great Places ; that they were like little Statues set on great Bases ; made to appear the less by their Advancement.
186. *Plutarch* said, Good Fame is like a Fire : when once you have kindled it, you may easily preserve it : but if once extinguished, you will not so easily kindle it again.
- Pompey. 187. *Pompey* being Commissioner for sending Grain to *Rome* in a time of Dearth, when he came to Sea, found it very tempestuous and dangerous ; insomuch that those about him advised him not to embark : but *Pompey* said, 'tis of Necessity that I should go, not that I should live.

188. Mr. *Popham*, afterwards Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, when he was Speaker, and the House of Commons had sate long, and done in effect nothing; coming one day to Queen *Elizabeth*, she said to him; Now Mr. Speaker, what has pass'd in the House of Commons? He answer'd, if it please your Majesty, seven Weeks.

189. *Hiero* being visited by *Pythagoras*, ask'd him, of what Condition he was? *Pythagoras* answered; Sir, you have been at the *Olympian Games*. Yes, said *Hiero*. Thither, said *Pythagoras*, some come to win Prizes; some to sell their Merchandize; some to meet their Friends, and to make merry; and others only to look on. I am one of the Lookers on; meaning it of Philosophy, and a contemplative Life.

190. *Titus Quinctius* was in the Council of the *Achaians*, when they deliberated, whether in the ensuing War, between the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, they should confederate with the *Romans* or with King *Antiochus*. In that Council the *Ætoliens*, who incited the *Achaians* against the *Romans*, to disable their Forces, gave great Words, as if the late Victory which the *Romans* had obtained against *Philip King of Macedon*, had been chiefly by the Strength and Forces of the *Ætoliens* themselves: And on the other side, the Embassador of *Antiochus* extol'd the Forces of his Master; founding what an innumerable Company he had brought in his Army, and gave the Nations strange Names, as *Elymæans*, *Caducians*, and others. After both their Harangues, *Titus Quinctius* rose up and said; 'twas an easy matter to perceive what had join'd *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens* together; viz. the reciprocal lying of each as to the other's Forces

191. When *Rabelais*, the great Jester of *France*, lay on his Death-bed, they gave him the extreme Unction; and a familiar Friend of his coming to him afterwards, asked him how he did. *Rabelais* answered, just going my Journey; they have greas'd my Boots already.

192. *Rabelais* tells a Tale of one who was very fortunate in compounding Differences. His Son undertook the said Course, but could never compound any: Whereupon he came to his Father, and asked him; what Art he had to reconcile Differences? He answer'd, he had no other but this; to watch when the two Parties were wearied, and their Hearts too great to seek Reconcilement at each other's hands; then to mediate betwixt them: and upon no other Terms. After which, the Son went home, and prospered in the same Undertaking.

193. A cowardly Fellow in *Oxford* who was a very good Archer, being grossly abused by another, applied to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, then a Scholar; and asked what he should do to repair the Wrong he had suffered? *Raleigh* answer'd; why challenge him at a match of Shooting.

194. Sir *Henry Savil* being asked his Opinion of the Poets, by my Lord *Savil*. *Effex*; he answer'd, that he thought them the best Writers, next to those that wrote Prose.

195. Pope *Adrian* was talking with the Duke of *Sessa*, that *Pasquin* gave great Scandal; and that he would have him thrown into the River: But *Sessa* answer'd; do it not, holy Father, for then he will turn Frog; and whereas now he chants but by day, he will then chant both day and night.

- Simonides. 196. *Simonides* being asked by *Hiero*, what he thought of God? asked a Week's time to consider of it; and at the Week's end he asked a Fortnight's time; at the Fortnight's end, a Month. At which *Hiero* wondering: *Simonides* answered, that the longer he thought upon the matter, the more difficult he found it.
- Sixtus. 197. Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, who was a very poor Man's Son, and his Father's House ill thatched; so that the Sun shone through it in many Places; would sport with his Ignobility, and say; he was *Nato di Casa illustre*, Son of an illustrious House.
198. They feign a Tale of *Sixtus Quintus*, whom they called Size-Ace; that after his Death he went to Hell, and the Porter of Hell said to him; You have some reason to offer your self here, because you were a wicked Man; yet because you were a Pope, I have Orders not to receive you: But there is your own Place, Purgatory, you may go thither. So he went and fought about a great while for Purgatory; but could find no such Place. Upon that he took heart, and went to Heaven and knocked: Saint *Peter* asked who was there? He answered, Pope *Sixtus*. *Peter* said, why do you knock? you have the Keys. *Sixtus* answered, 'tis true; but 'tis so long since they were given, that I doubt the Wards of the Lock are altered.
- Socrates. 199. *Socrates* was pronounced by the Oracle of *Delphos* to be the wisest Man of *Greece*, which he would evade ironically; saying, there could be nothing in him to verify the Oracle but this; that he was unwise, and knew it; and others unwise, and knew it not.
200. *Socrates* being shewed the Book of *Heraclitus* the obscure, and asked his Opinion of it, answered; those Things which I understood of it are excellent, so I imagine are the rest, but they require a *Delian Diver*.
- Solon. 201. *Solon* compared the People to the Sea, and Orators and Counsellors to the Winds; because the Sea would be calm and quiet, if the Winds did not trouble it.
202. *Solon*, when he wept for his Son's Death, and one said to him; weeping will do no good; answer'd, 'tis therefore I weep.
203. *Solon* being asked, whether he had given the *Athenians* the best Laws, answered; the best of those they will receive.
204. When *Craesus*, out of his Glory, shewed *Solon* his great Treasures of Gold, *Solon* said to him; if another King come that has better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.
- Stilpo. 205. A Croud gathering about *Stilpo* the Philosopher, one said to him; the People come wondering about you, as to see some strange Beast; no, says he, 'tis to see a Man, which *Diogenes* fought with his Lanthorn at Noon-day.
- Sylvius. 206. *Aeneas Sylvius*, who was Pope *Pius Secundus*, used to say; that the former Popes did wisely to set Lawyers to debate, whether the Donation of *Constantine* the Great to *Sylvester*, of St. *Peter's* Patrimony, were good in Law or no; the better to skip over the Matter of Fact, whether there was ever any such Thing or no.

207. *Themistocles*, when an Ambaffador from a mean State spoke great Matters, said to him ; Friend, thy Words would require a City. Themistocles.

208. *Theodosius*, when he was pressed by a Suitor, and denied him, the Suitor said ; Why Sir, you promis'd it. He answer'd, I said it ; but I did not promise it, if it be unjust. Theodosius.

209. *Trajan* would say of the vain Jealousy of Princes, who seek to make away such as aspire to the Succession ; that there never was a King who put his Successor to death. Trajan.

210. A Suitor to *Vespasian*, to lay his Suit the fairer, said, 'twas for his Brother ; tho' indeed 'twas for a Piece of Money. The Emperor was informed of the false Pretence, sent for the Party interested, and asked him ; whether his Agent was his Brother or no ? He durst not tell the Emperor an untruth, and confess'd 'twas not his Brother. Whereupon the Emperor said, fetch me the Money, and you shall have your Suit dispatched ; which he did. The Courtier, who was Agent, sollicitated *Vespasian* soon after about this Suit : Why, said *Vespasian*, I gave it t'other day to a Brother of mine. Vespasian.

211. *Vespasian* set a Tax upon Urine ; *Titus* his Son undertook to speak of it to his Father, and represented it as a sordid thing. *Vespasian* said nothing for that time ; but a while after, when 'twas forgotten, sent for a Piece of Silver out of the Money so raised ; and calling his Son, bid him smell to it ; and asked him whether he found any Offence ? who said, no. Yet, says *Vespasian*, this comes out of Urine.

212. When *Vespasian* passed from *Jewry* to take upon him the Empire, he went by *Alexandria*, where were two famous Philosophers, *Apollonius* and *Euphrates*. The Emperor heard their Discourse, as to Matter of State, in the presence of many ; and when he was weary of them, he broke off, and in a secret Derision, finding their Discourses but speculative, and not to be put in practice, said ; Oh that I might govern wise Men ; and wise Men govern me !

213. *Jack Weeks* said of a great Man, just then dead, who pretended to some Religion, but was none of the best Livers ; Well, I hope he is in Heaven : Every Man thinks as he wishes ; but if he be in Heaven, 'twere pity it should be known. Weeks.

214. A *Welchman* being at the Sessions-house, and seeing the Prisoners hold up their Hands at the Bar, said to some of his Acquaintance there ; that the Judges were excellent Fortune-tellers : for if they did but look upon a Man's Hand, they would certainly tell whether he should live or die. Welchman.

215. *Whitehead*, a grave Divine, of a blunt stoical Nature, was much esteemed by Queen *Elizabeth* ; but not preferred, because he was against Episcopal Government. He came one day to the Queen, and the Queen happen'd to say to him ; I like thee better, *Whitehead*, because thou livest unmarried : He answered, in troth I like you the worse, for the same Reason. Whitehead.

216. Sir *Henry Wotton* used to say that Criticks were like the Brushers of Noblemen's Clothes. Wotton.

Ximenes.

217. Cardinal *Ximenes*, upon a Muster taken against the *Moors*, was desired by a Servant of his to stand a little out of the smoak of the Fire-Arms ; but he said again, that was his Incense.

Zelim.

218. *Zelim* was the first of the *Ottomans* that shaved his Beard ; whereas his Predecessors wore it long. One of his Bashaws asked him, why he altered the Custom of his Predecessors ? He answered, because you Bashaws shall not lead me by the Beard, as you did them.

219. The Lord *Bacon* said of Apophthegms ; he is no wise Man who will lose his Friend for his Wit ; but he is less wise, who will lose his Friend for another Man's Wit.

A P P E N D I X.

Containing short Sentences, and certain Rules for Discourse.

1. **A** Gamester, the greater Master he is of his Art, the worse Man.
2. Much bending, breaks the Bow ; much unbending, the Mind.
3. He conquers twice, who upon Victory overcomes himself.
4. If Vices were profitable upon the whole, the virtuous Man would be a Sinner.
5. He sleeps well, who feels not that he sleeps ill.
6. To deliberate upon useful Things, is the safest Delay.
7. Grief decreases, when it can swell no higher.
8. Pain makes even the innocent Men Lyars.
9. In Desire, Expedition it self is Delay.
10. The smallest Hair has its Shadow.
11. He who has lost his Faith, what has he left to live on ?
12. Fortune makes her Favourites Fools.
13. Fortune is not content to do a Man but one ill Turn.
14. 'Tis invisible Fortune that makes a Man happy, and unenvied.
15. A beautiful Face is a silent Commendation.
16. 'Tis a miserable Thing to be injured by one 'tis in vain to complain of.
17. A Man dies as often as he loses his Friends.
18. The Tears of an Heir are Laughter under a Vizard.
19. Nothing is pleasant without a mixture of Variety.
20. He bears Envy best, who is either courageous or happy.
21. None but a virtuous Man can hope well in bad Circumstances.
22. In taking Revenge, Hasten is criminal.
23. When Men are in Calamity, 'tis offensive even to laugh.
24. He accuses *Neptune* unjustly, who has been twice ship-wreck'd.
25. He who injures one, threatens an hundred.
26. All Delay is ungrateful ; but we are not wise without it.

27. Happy is he who dies before he calls for Death.
28. A bad Man, when he pretends to be a Saint, is then the worst of all.
29. Lock and Key will scarce secure what pleases every body.
30. They live ill, who think of living always.
31. That Sick Man is unwise, who makes his Physician his Heir.
32. He of whom many are afraid, has himself many to fear.
33. There's no Fortune so good, but it bates an Ace.
34. 'Tis part of the Gift to deny gencelly.
35. The Coward calls himself cautious: And the Miser calls himself frugal.
36. Life is an Age to the Miserable; but to the Happy a Moment.

Short Rules for Conversation.

1. **T**O deceive Men's Expectations, generally argues a settled Mind, and unexpected Constancy; as in matter of Fear, Anger, sudden Joy, Grief, and all Things that may affect or alter the Mind, on publick or sudden Accidents.

2. 'Tis necessary to use a stedfast Countenance, not wavering with Action, as in moving the Head or Hand too much; which shews a fantastical, light, and fickle Operation of the Mind: It is sufficient, with leisure, to use a modest Action of either.

3. In all kinds of Speech, 'tis proper to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly, than hastily; because hasty Speech confounds the Memory, and often drives a Man to a *Non-plus*, or an unseemly stammering: whereas slow Speech confirms the Memory, and begets an Opinion of Wisdom in the Hearers.

4. To desire in Discourse to hold all Arguments, is ridiculous, and a want of true Judgment; for no Man can be exquisite in all Things.

5. To have common-Places of Discourse, and to want variety, is odious to the Hearers, and shews a Shallowness of Thought: 'tis therefore good to vary, and suit Speeches to the present occasion; as also to hold a Moderation in all Discourse, especially of Religion, the State, great Persons, important Business, Poverty, or any thing deserving Pity.

6. A long continued Discourse, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness: and a good Reply, without a good Set of Speech, shews Shallowness and Weakness.

7. To use many Circumstances, before you come to the Matter, is wearisome; and to use none at all, is blunt.

8. Bashfulness is a great hindrance to a Man, both in uttering his Sentiments, and understanding what is propos'd to him; 'tis therefore good to press forwards, with Discretion, both in Discourse and Company of the better Sort.

S U P P L E M E N T V I I .

De Sapiencia Veterum :

T H E

M Y T H O L O G Y

O R

C O N C E A L E D K N O W L E D G E

O F T H E

A N C I E N T S ,

D E C Y P H E R E D a n d E X P L A I N E D ;

In Natural Philosophy, Morality and Civil Policy *.

Z z z 2

* See the *de Augment. Scientiar.* pag. 58.



P R E F A C E.

THE present Piece appears like a rich Cabinet of Antiques, opened and set to View. The happy Talent, which the Author, in his Physical Works, employs to interpret Nature; is here employed to interpret the dark Oracles of Men. And to say the Truth, he seems to have used the like Artifice in both; proceeding according to the Inductive Method, delivered in the second Part of the Novum Organum: without which, or something of the kind, it would not be easy to derive such Depths of Knowledge from the Ænigma's, or dark Parables of Antiquity. For Example, he first culls out his Fable, with Choice and Judgment; then trims or prunes it; rejecting what is superfluous or spurious; next turns and views it in different Lights; and at length finds out the Key for Decyphering it, in the most natural and advantageous Manner: and thus having got the right End of the Thread; the Interpretation follows as it were spontaneously. Tho' the whole still remains to be coolly sate upon and revised; in order to discover, if the Imagination has not been too busy in working off the Interpretation; or if no Levity, misbecoming the Ancient Sages, has crept in. And as the Author certainly bestowed this, or perhaps much greater, Diligence and Application, in trimming these ancient Fables, and fitting them with suitable Interpretations; it seems but

P R E F A C E.

but a piece of Justice in the Reader, that he be not over-hasty to pronounce upon the Performance. This is mentioned the rather, because some have thought, that the Author here employed his Imagination more than his Judgment. But the Appeal from Men's first Thoughts to their second, is the Privilege of every careful Writer.



T H E

THE
MYTHOLOGY
OR
CONCEALED KNOWLEDGE
OF THE
ANCIENTS,
DECYPHERED and EXPLAINED.

 I N T R O D U C T I O N :

Containing a short Critique upon the MYTHOLOGY of the Ancients.

I. **T**HE earliest Antiquity lies buried in Silence and Oblivion; excepting the Remains we have of it in sacred *Writ.* ^{Mythology earlier than} This Silence was succeeded by *Poetical Fables*; and ^{our present} *History.* these, at length, by the Writings we now enjoy: so that the concealed and secret Learning of the Ancients, seems separated from the History and Knowledge of the following Ages, by a *Veil*, or *Partition-Wall of Fables*, interposing between the Things that are lost, and those that remain ^a.

2. Many may imagine that I am here entering upon a Work of Fancy, ^{Has been} or Amusement; and design to use a Poetical Liberty, in explaining ^{wrested and} *Poetical Fables.* 'Tis true, Fables in general are composed of ductile Matter, that may be drawn into great Variety, by a witty Talent, or an inventive Genius; and be delivered of plausible Meanings which they never contain'd. But this Procedure has already been carried to excess: and great numbers, to procure the Sanction of Antiquity to their own Notions and Inventions, have miserably wrested and abused the *Fables* of the Ancients.

3. Nor is this only a late or unfrequent Practice; but of ancient ^{But not there-} date, and common, even to this day. Thus *Chrysippus*, like an In- ^{fore to be re-} terpreter of Dreams, attributed the Opinions of the *Stoicks* to the ^{jected.} Poets of old: and the Chemists, at present, more childishly apply the *Poetical Transformations* to their Experiments of the Furnace.

^a *Varro* distributes the Ages of the World into three Periods; viz. the *Unknown*, the *Fabulous*, and the *Historical*. Of the former we have no Accounts but in *Scripture*; for the second, we must consult the *Ancient Poets*; such as *Hesiod*, *Homer*, or those who wrote still earlier; and then again come back to *Ovid*, who in his *Metamorphoses*, seems in imitation, perhaps, of some ancient *Greek Poet*, to have intended a complete Collection, or a kind of continued and connected *History* of the fabulous Age; especially with regard to *Changes*, *Revolutions*, or *Transformations*.

And tho' I have well weighed and considered all this; and throughly seen into the Levity which the Mind indulges for Allegories and Allusions; yet I cannot but retain a high Value for the *ancient Mythology*. And certainly, it were very injudicious to suffer the fondness and licentiousness of a few, to detract from the honour of Allegory and Parable in general. This would be rash, and almost prophane: for, since *Religion* delights in such Shadows and Disguises; to abolish them were, in a manner, to prohibit all Intercourse betwixt Things divine and human.

That certain Fables are designedly Allegorical.

4. Upon deliberate Consideration, my Judgment is, that a *concealed Instruction and Allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient Fables*. This Opinion may, in some respect, be owing to the Veneration I have for Antiquity; but more to observing, that some *Fables* discover a great and evident Similitude, Relation and Connection with the Thing they signify; as well in the structure of the Fable, as in the propriety of the Names, whereby the Persons or Actors are characterized: infomuch, that no one could positively deny a Sense and Meaning, to be from the first intended, and purposely shadowed out in them. For who can hear, that *Fame after the Giants were destroyed, sprung up as their posthumous Sister*; and not apply it to the Clamour of Parties, and the seditious Rumours which commonly fly about for a time, upon the quelling of Insurrections^a? Or who can read, how *the Giant Typhon cut out and carried away Jupiter's Sinews*; which Mercury afterwards stole, and again restored to Jupiter; and not presently observe, that this Allegory denotes strong and powerful Rebellions; which cut away from Kings their Sinews, both of Money and Authority: and that the way to have them restored, is by Lenity, Affability, and prudent Edicts; which soon reconcile, and as it were steal upon the Affections of the Subject^b? Or who, upon hearing that memorable *Expedition of the Gods against the Giants, when the Braying of Silenus's Ass greatly contributed in putting the Giants to flight*; does not clearly conceive, that this directly points at the monstrous Enterprises of rebellious Subjects; which are frequently frustrated and disappointed by vain Fears and empty Rumours?

The Conformity of the Names employ'd.

5. Again, the Conformity and Purport of the *Names*, is frequently manifest, and self-evident. Thus *Metis*, the Wife of *Jupiter*, plainly signifies *Counsel*; *Typhon*, Swelling; *Pan*, Universality; *Nemesis*, Revenge, &c. Nor is it a wonder, if sometimes

^a See hereafter, Sect. III. Fab. 7.

^b See hereafter, Sect. III. Fab. 8.

a piece of History, or other things are introduced, by way of Ornament; or if the Times of the Action are confounded; or if part of one *Fable* be tacked to another; or if the Allegory be new turned: for all this must necessarily happen; as the *Fables* were the Inventions of Men who lived in different Ages, and had different Views; some of them being ancient, others more modern; some having an Eye to *Natural Philosophy*^a; and others, to *Morality*, or *Civil Policy*.

6. It may pass for a farther Indication of a concealed and secret Meaning, that some of these *Fables* are so absurd, and idle, in their Narration, as to shew and proclaim an Allegory, even afar off. The Absurdity of some Fables a token of their being Allegorical. A *Fable* that carries probability with it, may be supposed invented for pleasure, or in imitation of History; but those that could never be conceived, or related in this way, must surely have a different use. For example, what a monstrous Fiction is this, that Jupiter should take Metis to Wife; and as soon as he found her pregnant, eat her up; whereby he also conceived, and out of his Head brought forth Pallas armed? Certainly no Mortal could, but for the sake of the Moral it couches, invent such an absurd Dream as this; so much out of the Road of Thought!

7. But the Argument of most weight with me is this; that many of these *Fables*, by no means appear to have been invented by the Persons who relate and divulge them; whether *Homer*, *Hesiod*, or others: for if I were assured they first flowed from those later Times and Authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect any Thing singularly great or noble from such an Origin. But whoever attentively considers the Thing, will find that these *Fables* are delivered down, and related by those Writers, not as Matters then first invented and proposed; but as Things received and embraced in earlier Ages. Besides, as they are differently related by Writers nearly of the same Ages, 'tis easily perceived, that the Relators drew from the common Stock of ancient Tradition; and varied but in point of Embelishment, which is their own. And this principally raises my Esteem of these *Fables*; which I receive, not as the Product of the Age, or Invention, of the Poets; but as sacred Reliques, gentle Whispers, and the Breath of better Times; that from the Traditions of more ancient Nations came, at length, into the Flutes and Trumpets of the *Greeks*. But, if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that Allegories are always adventitious, or

A a a a 2 imposed

^a See with regard to *Natural History* and *Physicks*, Dr. Hoo's Discourse of Earthquakes.

imposed upon the ancient Fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them; we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of Judgment he affects; (tho' we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatic) and if it were worth the trouble, proceed to another kind of Argument.

A double use of Parables. viz. Teaching and Concealing.

8. Men have proposed to answer two different, and contrary Ends, by the use of Parable; for Parables serve, as well to instruct or illustrate, as to wrap up and envelope: so that tho', for the present, we drop the concealed use; and suppose the ancient *Fables* to be vague, undeterminate Things, formed for Amusement; still the other use must remain, and can never be given up. And every Man, of any Learning, must readily allow, that this Method of instructing is grave, sober, or exceedingly useful; and sometimes necessary in the Sciences: as it opens an easy and familiar Passage to the human Understanding, in all new Discoveries that are abstruse, and out of the road of vulgar Opinions. Hence, in the first Ages, when such Inventions and Conclusions of the human Reason, as are now trite and common, were new and little known; all things abounded with Fables, Parables, Similes, Comparisons, and Allusions; which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach: whilst the Minds of Men continued rude and unpractised in Matters of Subtily and Speculation; or even impatient, and in a manner incapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the Senses. For as *Hieroglyphicks were in use before Writing; so were Parables in use before Arguments.* And even, to this day, if any Man would let new Light in upon the human Understanding; and conquer Prejudice, without raising Contests, Animosities, Opposition, or Disturbance, he must still go in the same Path; and have recourse to the like Method of Allegory; Metaphor, and Allusion ^a.

The Mythology of the Ancients great or happy.

9. To conclude, the Knowledge of the early Ages was either *great or happy*; great, if they by Design made this use of Trope and Figure; happy, if whilst they had other Views, they afforded Matter and Occasion to such noble Contemplations. Let either be the Case, our Pains, perhaps, will not be misemploy'd; whether we illustrate Antiquity, or Things themselves.

10.

^a What use the Author has made of this Art, will appear to a careful Reader of his *de Augmentis Scientiarum* and *Novum Organum*. And tho' some are of Opinion that Knowledge is so far improved of late, and Men's Minds so opened and prepared, that new Discoveries, and the naked Truth will be best received, when delivered in plain and simple Language, without foreign Art or Ornament; yet he, who acts upon such a Supposition, will perhaps find it erroneous; even tho' the Subject be but of a Physical, and not of a Moral, Political, or Religious Nature.

10. The like indeed has been attempted by others ; but to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous Labours have almost destroy'd the Energy, the Efficacy and Grace of the Thing ; whilst being unskilled in Nature, and their Learning no more than that of Common-Place, they have applied the Sense of the Parables to certain general and vulgar Matters ; without reaching to their real Purport, genuine Interpretation, and full Depth. For my self, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common Things ; because, leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain, and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich ^a.

Its Explanation attempted by others.

^a In effect, the Author appears to have judiciously chose his *Fables*, as they were pregnant with useful Matter ; yet not of the easiest kind to interpret : thus, in his usual Way, setting others an Example for prosecuting the Thing farther ; as not having himself exhausted this fruitful Subject. See *de Augment. Scientiar.* pag. 56—69.



SECT.

S E C T. I.

The concealed Physical Knowledge of
the Ancients decyphered.

I.

*The Fable of Cœlum; explained of the Creation, or
Origin of all Things.*

The FABLE.

Cœlum, his
Character.

1. **T**HE Poets relate, that Cœlum (a) was the most ancient of all the Gods; that his Parts of Generation were cut off by his Son Saturn; that Saturn (b) had a numerous Offspring;

Jupiter usurps
the Kingdom.

but devoured all his Sons, as soon as they were born (c); that Jupiter, at length, escaped the common Fate; and when grown up, drove his Father Saturn into Tartarus; usurped the Kingdom; cut off his Father's Genitals, with the same Knife wherewith Saturn had dismembred Cœlum (d); and throwing them into the Sea, thence sprung Venus (e).

Two Wars on
Jupiter.

2. Before Jupiter was well established in his Empire, two memorable Wars were made upon him; the first by the Titans, in subduing of whom Sol, the only one of the Titans who favoured Jupiter, performed him singular Service: The second by the Giants; who being destroyed and subdued by the Thunder and Arms of Jupiter, he now reigned secure (f).

The EXPLANATION.

The Fable
a physical Ac-
count of the
Origin of the
World.

3. **T**HIS Fable appears to be an enigmatical Account of the Origin of all Things; not greatly differing from the Philosophy afterwards embraced by Democritus, who expressly asserts the Eternity of Matter; but denies

denies the Eternity of the World: thereby approaching to the Truth of sacred Writ, which makes *Chaos*, or un-informed Matter to exist before the six Days Works.

4. The meaning of the Fable seems to be this. (a) *Cælum* denotes the concave Space, or vaulted Roof that incloses all Matter; and (b) *Saturn* the Matter it self; which cuts off all Power of Generation from his Father: as one and the same quantity of Matter remains invariable in Nature, without Addition or Diminution^a. (c) But the Agitations and struggling Motions of Matter, first produced certain imperfect and ill-join'd Compositions of Things, as it were so many first Rudiments, or Essays of Worlds; till, in process of Time, there arose a Fabrick capable of preserving its Form and Structure. (d) Whence the first *Age* was shadowed out by the Reign of *Saturn*; who, on account of the frequent Dissolutions, and short Durations of Things, was said to devour his Children. And the second *Age* was denoted by the Reign of *Jupiter*; who thrust, or drove those frequent and transitory Changes into *Tartarus*; a place expressive of Disorder. This Place seems to be the middle Space, between the lower Heavens, and the internal Parts of the Earth; wherein Disorder, Imperfection, Mutation, Mortality, Destruction, and Corruption are principally found.

5. (e) *Venus* was not born during the former Generation of Things, under the Reign of *Saturn*: for whilst Discord and Jar had the upper hand of Concord and Uniformity in the Matter of the Universe, a change of the entire Structure was necessary. And in this manner, Things were generated and destroy'd, before *Saturn* was dismembered. But when this manner of Generation ceased^b, there immediately followed another, brought about by *Venus*, or a perfect and established Harmony of Things; whereby Changes were wrought in the Parts, whilst the universal Fabrick remained entire and undisturbed. *Saturn*, however, is said to be thrust out and dethroned, not killed, and become extinct; because agreeably to the Opinion of *Democritus*, the World might relapse into its old Confusion and Disorder: which *Lucretius* hoped would not happen in his Time^c.

6. (f) But now, when the World was compact, and held together by its own bulk and energy; yet there was no Rest from the beginning: for first, there followed considerable Motions and Disturbances in the Celestial Regions; tho' so regulated and moderated by the Power of the *Sun*, prevailing over the Heavenly Bodies, as to continue the World in its State. Afterwards there followed the like in the lower Parts, by *Inundations*, *Storms*, *Winds*, general *Earthquakes*, &c. which, however, being subdued and kept under, there ensued a more peaceable and lasting Harmony and Consent of Things.

7. It

^a See the *Introduction* to the Author's *History of Rarefaction and Condensation*, Vol. III. The original Quantity of Matter remaining invariably the same, explains that Circumstance in the *Fable*, of the same Knife being used for the dismembering of *Saturn*, as had before been used for the dismembering of *Cælum*.

^b *Viz.* When *Jupiter* possessed the Throne; or after a durable World was formed. Let the figurative or personifying Manner of Expression, usual among the Poets, be all along consider'd.

^c *Quod procul à nobis spectat Fortuna gubernans;
Et Ratio potius, quam Res persuadent ipsa.*

The Fable involves Philosophy.

7. It may be said of this *Fable*, that it includes *Philosophy*; and again, that *Philosophy* includes the *Fable*: for we know, by Faith, that all these Things are but the *Oracles of Sense*, long since ceased and decayed; both the Matter and Fabrick of the World being justly attributed to a Creator ^a.

II.

The Fable of PROMETHEUS; explained of an overruling Providence, and of Human Nature.

The FABLE.

Prometheus creates Man, and steals Fire from Heaven.

I. **T**HE Ancients relate that Man was the Work of Prometheus, and formed of Clay (a); only the Artificer mixed in with the Mass, Particles taken from different Animals (b). And being desirous to improve his Workmanship, and endow as well as create the Human Race; he stole up to Heaven with a bundle of Birch Rods; and kindling them at the Chariot of the Sun, thence brought down Fire to the Earth, for the Service of Men (c).

Accused to the Gods.

2. They add, that for this meritorious Act, Prometheus was repay'd with ingratitude by Mankind; so that, forming a Conspiracy, they accused both him and his Invention to Jupiter. But the matter was otherwise received, than they imagined: for the Accusation proved extremely grateful to Jupiter, and the Gods; in-somuch, that delighted with the Action (d), they not only indulged Mankind the use of Fire; but moreover conferred upon them a most acceptable and desirable Present, viz. Perpetual Youth (e).

Perpetual Youth bestowed on Men.

The Gift laid upon an Ass,

3. But Men, foolishly overjoyed hereat, laid this Present of the Gods upon an Ass; who, in returning back with it, being extremely thirsty, and coming to a Fountain; the Serpent, who was Guardian thereof, would not suffer him to drink, but upon Condition of receiving the Burden he carried, whatever it should be. The silly Ass complied; and thus the perpetual Renewal of Youth was, for a Sup of Water, transferred from Men to the Race of Serpents (f).

And transferred to Serpents.

Prometheus offers a Mock Sacrifice.

4. Prometheus, not desisting from his unwarrantable Practices, tho' now reconciled to Mankind, after they were thus tricked of their Present (g); but still continuing inveterate against Jupiter; had the boldness to attempt Deceit, even in a Sacrifice; and is said

^a Next should follow the Fable of Pan, explained in the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*; for that Fable seems naturally to succeed the present: as the *Phænomena* of the Universe, come to be considered immediately after its Origin. See *de Augment. Scientiar.* pag. 59, &c.

said to have once offered up two Bulls to Jupiter; but so, as in the Hide of one of them, to wrap all the Flesh and Fat of both; and stuffing out the other Hide only with the Bones; then in a religious and devout Manner, gave Jupiter his choice of the two. Jupiter detesting this sly Fraud and Hypocrisy, but having thus an opportunity of punishing the Offender, purposely chose the Mock-Bull (b).

5. And now giving way to Revenge, but finding he could not chastise the insolence of Prometheus, without afflicting the human Race, (in the Production whereof, Prometheus had strangely and insufferably prided himself;) he commanded Vulcan to form a beautiful and graceful Woman; to whom every God presented a certain Gift; whence she was called Pandora^a. They put into her Hands an elegant Box, containing all sorts of Miseries and Misfortunes; but Hope was placed at the bottom of it. With this Box she first goes to Prometheus, to try if she could prevail upon him to receive and open it; but he being upon his Guard, warily refused the offer. Upon this refusal, she comes to his Brother Epimetheus, a Man of a very different Temper, who rashly and inconsiderately opens the Box. (i) When finding all kinds of Miseries and Misfortunes issued out of it, he grew Wise too late; and with great hurry and struggle endeavoured to clap the Cover on again: but with all his Endeavour, could scarce keep in Hope, which lay at the Bottom (k).

6. Lastly, Jupiter arraigned Prometheus of many heinous Crimes; as that he formerly stole Fire from Heaven; that he contemptuously, and deceitfully mocked him by a Sacrifice of Bones; that he despised his Present^b; adding withal a new Crime, that he attempted to ravish Pallas: for all which he was sentenced to be bound in Chains; and doomed to perpetual Torments. Accordingly, by Jupiter's Command, he was brought to Mount Caucasus; and there fastned to a Pillar, so firmly, that he could no way stir. A Vulture, or Eagle stood by him, which in the day-time gnawed and consumed his Liver; but in the night the wasted Parts were supplied again: whence Matter for his Pain was never wanting (l).

7. They relate, however, that his Punishment had an End; for Hercules sailing the Ocean, in a Cup, or Pitcher, presented him by the Sun, came at length to Caucasus; shot the Eagle with his Arrows; and set Prometheus free (m). In certain Nations also there were instituted particular Games of the Torch, to the honour of Prometheus; in which they, who run for the Prize, carried lighted Torches; and as any one of these Torches happened to go out, the

^a As if it were All-Gift.

^b viz. that by Pandora.

Demetrius emithdreas himself, and gave way to the next; and that Person was allowed to win the Prize, who first brought in his lighted Torch to the Goal (n).

The EXPLANATION.

Prometheus denotes Providence.

Man the Work of Providence,

on Account of Cosmical Ends.

Man a mixture of Clay, and the Particles of all Animals.

8. (a) **T**HIS *Fable* contains and enforces many just and serious Considerations; some whereof have been, long since, well observed; but some again remain perfectly untouched. *Prometheus* clearly and expressly signifies *Providence*; for of all the Things in Nature, the formation and endowment of Man was singled out by the Ancients, and esteemed the peculiar Work of Providence. The Reason hereof seems, (1.) That the Nature of Man includes a Mind and Understanding, which is the Seat of Providence; (2.) That it is harsh and incredible, to suppose Reason and Mind should be raised, and drawn out of senseless and irrational Principles; whence it becomes almost inevitable, that Providence is implanted in the human Mind; in Conformity with, and by the Direction and the Design of the greater over-ruling Providence. But, (3.) The principal Cause is this; that Man seems to be the Thing, in which the whole World centers, with respect to *final Causes*; so that if he were away, all other Things would stray and fluctuate, without End or Intention; or become perfectly disjointed, and out of frame. For all Things are made subservient to Man; and he receives use and benefit from them all. Thus the Revolutions, Places, and Periods of the celestial Bodies, serve him for distinguishing Times and Seasons; and for dividing the World into different Regions: the Meteors afford him Prognostications of the Weather; the Winds sail our Ships, drive our Mills, and move other Machines; and the Vegetables and Animals of all kinds, either afford us Matter for Houses and Habitations, Cloathing, Food, Physick, or tend to ease, or delight, support, or refresh us: so that every Thing in Nature seems not made for it self, but for Man.

9. (b) And 'tis not without Reason added, that the Mass of Matter, whereof Man was formed, should be mixed up with Particles taken from different Animals, and wrought in with the Clay; because, 'tis certain, that of all Things in the Universe, Man is the most compounded, and recomposed Body; so that the Ancients not improperly styled him a *Microcosm*, or little World within himself. For altho' the Chemists have absurdly, and too literally, wrested and perverted the Elegance of the Term *Microcosm*, whilst they pretend to find all kind of mineral and vegetable Matters, or something corresponding to them, in Man; yet it remains firm and unshaken, that the human Body is of all Substances the most mixed, and organical: whence it has surprizing Powers and Faculties. For the Powers of simple Bodies are but few, tho' certain and quick; as being little broken, or weakened; and not counterbalanced by Mixture: But *Excellence, and Quantity of Energy reside in Mixture and Composition* ^a. 10.

^a The Instances of this *Position* deserve to be collected. Consider of the Mechanical Powers, Medicines, Poisons, Plants, Companies, Government, Arts, the advancement of Philosophy, &c.

10. Man, however, in his first Origin, seems to be a defenceless, naked The Invention of Fire. Creature; slow in assisting himself, and standing in need of numerous Things. *Prometheus*, therefore, hastened to the Invention of Fire, which supplies and administers to nearly all human Uses and Necessities; insomuch, that if the Soul may be called the *Form of Forms*; if the Hand may be called the *Instrument of Instruments*; Fire may, as properly, be called the *Assistant of Assistants*, or the *Helper of Helps*. For hence proceed numberless Operations; hence all the *Mechanic Arts*; and hence infinite Assurances are afforded to the Sciences themselves.

11. (c) The manner wherein *Prometheus* stole this Fire, is properly described How stole by Prometheus. from the Nature of the Thing; he being said to have done it by applying a Rod of Birch, to the Chariot of the Sun: for Birch is used in striking and beating; which clearly denotes the Generation of Fire to be from the violent Percussions, and Collisions of Bodies; whereby the Matters struck are subtilized, rarified, put into Motion, and so prepared to receive the Heat of the Celestial Bodies; whence they, in a clandestine and secret manner, collect and snatch Fire, as it were by stealth, from the Chariot of the Sun^a.

12. (d) The next is a remarkable part of the *Fable*; which represents, that Jupiter pleas'd with the apparent Ingratitude of Men to Prometheus. Men, instead of Gratitude and Thanks, fell into Indignation and Expostulation; accusing both *Prometheus* and his Fire to *Jupiter*: and yet the Accusation proved highly pleasing to *Jupiter*; so that he, for this Reason, crowned these Benefits of Mankind, with a new Bounty. Here it may seem strange, that the Sin of Ingratitude to a Creator and Benefactor; a Sin so heinous as to include almost all others; should meet with Approbation and Reward. But the Allegory has another View; and denotes, that the Accusation and Arraignment both of *human Nature*, and *human Art*, among Mankind, proceeds from a most noble and laudable Temper of the Mind; and tends to a very good purpose: whereas the contrary Temper is odious to the Gods; and unbeneficial in it self. For they who break into extravagant Praises of *human Nature*, and the Arts in vogue; lay themselves out in admiring the Things they already possess; and will needs have the *Sciences* cultivated among them, to be thought absolutely perfect and compleat; in the *first* place, show little Regard to the *Divine Nature*: whilst they extol their own Inventions, almost as high as his Perfection. In the *next* place, Men of this Temper are unserviceable and prejudicial in Life; whilst they imagine themselves already got to the Top of Things, and there rest, without farther Enquiry. On the contrary; they who arraign and accuse both Nature and Arts, and are always full of Complaints against them, not only preserve a more just and modest Sense of Mind; but are also perpetually stirred up to fresh Industry, and new Discoveries. Is not then the Ignorance and Fatality of Mankind to be extremely pitied, whilst they remain Slaves to the Arrogance of a few of their own Fellows; and are doatingly fond of that Scrap of *Grecian Knowledge*, the *Peripatetic Philosophy*;

B b b b 2

^a See the Author's Example of an Enquiry into the *Form of Heat*, in the *Novum Organum*. Part II. Sect. I. See also the Chapter of *Fire* in *Eoerhaave's Chemistry*.

fophy; and this to such a Degree, as not only to think all Accusation or Arraignment thereof useless; but even hold it suspect and dangerous? Certainly, the Procedure of *Empedocles*, tho' furious; but especially that of *Democritus* (who with great Modesty complained, that all Things were abstruse; that we know nothing; that Truth lies hid in deep Pits; that Falshood is strangely joined and twisted along with Truth, &c.) is to be preferred before the confident, assuming and dogmatical School of *Aristotle*^a. Mankind are, therefore, to be admonished, that the Arraignment of Nature and of Art, is pleasing to the Gods; and that a sharp and vehement Accusation of *Prometheus*, tho' a Creator, a Founder, and a Master, obtained new Blessings and Presents from the Divine Bounty; and proved more sound and serviceable than a diffusive Harangue of Praise and Gratulation. And let Men be assured, that a *fond Opinion they have already acquired enough, is a principal Reason why they have acquired so little*^b.

Perpetual
Youth the re-
ward of ac-
cusing Pro-
metheus.

13. (e) That the perpetual Flower of Youth should be the Present which Mankind received as a Reward for their Accusation, carries this Moral; that the Ancients seem not to have despaired of discovering Methods, and Remedies, for retarding old Age, and prolonging the Period of Human Life; but rather reckoned it among those things which, thro' sloth and want of diligent Enquiry, perish and come to nothing, after having been once undertaken; than among such as are absolutely impossible, or not placed within the reach of the human Power. For they signify, and intimate, from the true use of Fire, and the just and strenuous Accusation, and Conviction of the Errors of Art; that the divine Bounty is not wanting to Men in such kind of Presents; but that Men indeed are wanting to themselves; and lay such an inestimable Gift upon the back of a *slow-paced Ass*: that is, upon the back of the heavy, dull, lingring Thing, Experience; from whose sluggish and tortoise Pace proceeds that ancient Complaint of the shortness of Life, and the slow advancement of Arts^c. And certainly it may well seem, that the two Faculties of *Reasoning* and *Experience*, are not hitherto properly joined, and coupled together; but to be still new Gifts of the Gods, separately laid, the one upon the back of a light Bird, or *abstract Philosophy*; and the other upon an Ass, or slow-paced Practice and Trial. And yet good Hopes might be conceived of this Ass; if it were not for his Thirst, and the Accidents of the Way. For we judge, that if any one would

^a The Address of the Author may here deserve to be observed. What he is forced on many occasions to stifle, or at most to speak only by halves, for fear of offending; he here openly avouches, in a manner that is scarce liable to exception. Indeed, he appears to have chose the present Subject, the rather because the Course and Nature of *decyphering the Mythology of the Ancients*, would give him an opportunity of freely, or less offensively expressing his Sentiments, for the improvement of Arts and Sciences, and the general Advantage of Mankind.

^b Certainly, few appear sensible, what a number of great Things are still wanting in Philosophy, for the Accommodation of Human Life; or even to prevent dreadful Calamities; such as happen by Fire, Water, Storms, &c. Things wherein Men seem either quite regardless, or confounded; as if they had no Faculties for procuring a Command over Nature in these Particulars. And to examine it closely, we shall perhaps find the *moral* and *political World* subject to their Calamities, no less than the *physical*. See Vol. II. pag. 61.

^c See the Introduction to the *History of Life and Death*. Vol. III. p. 335.

would constantly proceed, by a certain Law and Method, in the Road of Experience; and not by the way, thirst after such Experiments as make for *Profit* or *Ostentation*^a; nor exchange his Burden, or quit the original Design, for the sake of those^b; he might be an useful Bearer of a new and accumulated divine Bounty to Mankind^c.

14. (f) That this Gift of perpetual Youth should pass from Men to *The Gift of Serpents*, seems added by way of Ornament, and Illustration to the *Fable*^d; perpetual Youth transferr'd to Serpents. perhaps intimating, at the same time, the shame it is for Men, that they, with their *Fire*, and numerous *Arts*, cannot procure to themselves those Things which Nature has bestowed upon many other Creatures^e.

15. (g) The sudden Reconciliation of *Prometheus* to Mankind, after being disappointed of their Hopes, contains a prudent and useful Admonition. It points out the Levity and Temerity of Men in new Experiments; which, not presently succeeding, or answering to Expectation, Men precipitantly quit their new Undertakings, hurry back to their old ones, and grow reconciled thereto^f. *The Reconciliation of Prometheus to Mankind.*

16. (h) After the *Fable* has described the State of Man, with regard to *Arts* and *intellectual Matters*, it passes on to *Religion*: for after the inventing and settling of *Arts*, follows the establishment of divine Worship; which Hypocrisy presently enters into, and corrupts. So that by the two Sacrifices we have elegantly painted the Person of a Man truly Religious, and of an Hypocrite. One of these Sacrifices contained the Fat, or the *Portion of God*, used for burning and incensing; thereby denoting Affection and Zeal, incensed up to his Glory. It likewise contained the Bowels, which are expressive of Charity; along with the good and useful Flesh. But the other contained nothing more than dry Bones; which nevertheless stuffed out the Hide, so as to make it resemble a fair, beautiful, and magnificent Sacrifice; hereby finely denoting the external and empty Rites and barren Ceremonies, wherewith Men burden and stuff out the divine Worship: Things rather intended for Show and Ostentation, than conducing to Piety. Nor are Mankind simply content with this Mock-Worship of God; but also impose and father it upon him, as if he had chose and ordained it. Certainly the Prophet, in the Person of God, has a fine Expostulation, as to this Matter of Choice. *Is this the fasting which I have chosen, that a Man should afflict his Soul for a Day; and bow down his Head like a Bulrush?* *The Mock-Sacrifice.*

17. (i) After thus touching the State of Religion, the *Fable* next turns to *Manners*, and the Conditions of human Life. And tho' it be a very common, yet is it a just Interpretation, that *Pandora* denotes the Pleasures and Licentiousness, which the Cultivation and Luxury of the *Arts* of civil Life introduce, as it were, by the instrumental Efficacy of *Fire*: whence the Works of the voluptuary *Arts* are properly attributed to *Vulcan*, the God of *Pandora*. *Vulcan forming Pandora.*

^a See the *Fable of Atalanta*, Fab. V. below.

^b As almost the whole Body of Mankind, both Philosophers and others, seem to have done.

^c See the Author's Method of *Learned Experience*; *de Augment. Scientiar.* Sect. XII.

^d See *Introduction*, § 5. &c.

^e See the Author's *History of Life and Death*.

^f Which is one principal Reason of the slow Advancement of *Arts*.

of Fire. And hence infinite Miseries and Calamities have proceeded to the Minds, the Bodies, and the Fortunes of Men, together with a late Repentance; and this not only in each Man's particular, but also in Kingdoms and States: for Wars and Tumults, and Tyrannies, have all arisen from this same Fountain, or Box of *Pandora*.

The Behaviour of Epimetheus to Pandora.

18. (k) 'Tis worth observing how beautifully, and elegantly, the *Fable* has drawn two reigning Characters in human Life; and given two Examples, or Tablatures of them, under the Persons of *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*. The Followers of *Epimetheus* are improvident; see not far before them; and prefer such Things as are agreeable for the present; whence they are oppressed with numerous Straits, Difficulties, and Calamities; with which they almost continually struggle: but in the mean time gratify their own Temper; and, for want of a better Knowledge of Things, feed their Minds with many vain Hopes: and as with so many pleasing Dreams, delight themselves; and sweeten the Miseries of Life.

That of Prometheus.

19. (l) But the Followers of *Prometheus* are the prudent, wary Men, that look into Futurity; and cautiously guard against, prevent, and undermine many Calamities and Misfortunes. But this watchful, provident Temper is attended with a deprivation of numerous Pleasures, and the loss of various Delights; whilst such Men debar themselves the use even of innocent Things: and what is still worse, rack and torture themselves with Cares, Fears, and Disquiets; being bound fast to the Pillar of Necessity; and tormented with numberless Thoughts (which for their swiftness are well compared to an Eagle) that continually wound, tear, and gnaw their Liver, or Mind; unless, perhaps they find some small Remission by Intervals, or as it were at Nights: but then new Anxieties, Dreads, and Fears, soon return again, as it were in the Morning. And therefore, very few Men, of either Temper, have secured to themselves the Advantages of Providence; and kept clear of Disquiets, Troubles, and Misfortunes.

Assisted by Hercules.

20. (m) Nor indeed can any Man obtain this End, without the Assistance of *Hercules*; that is, of such Fortitude and Constancy of Mind, as stands prepared against every Event; and remains indifferent to every Change; looking forward without being daunted; enjoying the Good without disdain; and enduring the Bad without impatience. And it must be observed, that even *Prometheus* had not the Power to free himself; but owed his Deliverance to another: for no natural, inbred Force and Fortitude could prove equal to such a Task. The Power of releasing him came from the utmost Confines of the *Ocean*, and from the *Sun*; that is, from *Apollo*, or *Knowledge*; and again, from a due Consideration of the uncertainty, instability, and fluctuating State of human Life; which is aptly represented by sailing the *Ocean*. Accordingly *Virgil* has prudently joined these two together; accounting him happy who *knows the Causes of Things*; and has conquered all his *Fears, Apprehensions, and Superstitions* ^a.

21.

^a *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere Causas,
Quique metus omnes & inexorabile Fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

21. 'Tis added, with great Elegance, for supporting and confirming the human Mind, that the great *Hero* who thus delivered him, sail'd the Ocean in a Cup or Pitcher; to prevent the Fear, or Complaint, as if, through the Narrowness of our Nature, or a too great Fragility thereof, we were absolutely incapable of that Fortitude and Constancy, to which *Seneca* finely alludes, when he says, *'Tis a noble Thing, at once to participate the Frailty of Man, and the Security of a God.*

22. We have hitherto, that we might not break the connexion of Things, designedly omitted the last Crime of *Prometheus*, that of attempting the Chastity of *Minerva*; which heinous Offence, it doubtless was, that caused the Punishment of having his Liver gnaw'd by the *Vulture*. The Meaning seems to be this; that when Men are puffed up with Arts and Knowledge, they often try to subdue even the divine Wisdom; and bring it under the Dominion of Sense and Reason: whence inevitably follows a perpetual, and restless rending and tearing of the Mind. A sober and humble Distinction must, therefore, be made betwixt *divine* and *human* Things; and betwixt the Oracles of Sense and Faith; unless Mankind had rather chuse an *heretical Religion*, and a *fictitious* and *romantic Philosophy*.

23. (n) The last Particular in the Fable is the *Games of the Torch*, instituted to *Prometheus*; which again relates to *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as the Invention of Fire, for the Commemoration and Celebration whereof, these Games were held. And here we have an extremely prudent Admonition, directing us to expect the *Perfection of the Sciences from Succession*; and not from the Swiftness and Abilities of any single Person: for he who is fleetest and strongest in the Course, may perhaps be less fit to keep his Torch alight, since there is danger of its going out from too rapid, as well as from too slow a motion. But this kind of contest with the Torch seems to have been long dropt, and neglected; the Sciences appearing to have flourished principally in their first Authors, as *Aristotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid*, *Ptolemy*, &c. whilst their Successors have done very little, or scarce made any attempts. But it were highly to be wished, that these Games might be renewed, to the honour of *Prometheus*, or human Nature; and that they might excite Contest, Emulation and laudable Endeavours; and the Design meet with such Success, as not to hang tottering, tremulous, and hazarded upon the Torch of any single Person. Mankind, therefore, should be admonished to rouse themselves, and try and exert their own Strength and Chance; and not place all their Dependence upon a few Men, whose Abilities and Capacities, perhaps, are not greater than their own.

24. These are the Particulars which appear to us shadowed out by this trite and vulgar Fable; tho' without denying that there may be contained in it several Intimations that have a surprizing Correspondence with the *Christian Mysteries*.

I

Mysteries.

^a See the *De Augment. Scientiar.* Sect. XXVIII. and *Supplem.* XV.

^b This Matter is abundantly explained in the *de Augmentis*, and *Novum Organum*.

^c The Author here seems to have had himself in view; as being the only Restorer or Promoter of these Games, in his Time. See the Doctrine of the *Traditive Lamp*, in the *de Augment. Scientiar.* Vol. I. pag. 146, 147.

Mysteries. In particular, the Voyage of *Hercules*, made in a Pitcher, to release *Prometheus*, bears an allusion to the *Word of God*, coming in the frail Vessel of the Flesh to redeem Mankind. But we indulge our selves no such Liberties as these ; for fear of using *strange Fire at the Altar of the Lord*^a.

III.

The FABLE of ORPHEUS explained ; of NATURAL and MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

The Fable of Orpheus how explained.

I. **T**HE *Fable of Orpheus*, tho' trite and common, has never been well interpreted ; and seems to hold out a Picture of *universal Philosophy* : for to this Sense may be easily transferr'd what is said of his being a wonderful and perfectly divine Person, skill'd in all kinds of Harmony, subduing and drawing all Things after him by sweet and gentle Methods and Modulations. For the Labours of *Orpheus* exceed the Labours of *Hercules*, both in power and dignity ; as the Works of *Knowledge* exceed the Works of *Strength*.

The FABLE.

Eurydice recovered.

2. **O**Rpheus having his beloved Wife snatched from him by sudden Death, resolv'd upon descending to the Infernal Regions ; to try, if by the Power of his Harp he could re-obtain her. And in effect, he so appeas'd and soothed the Infernal Powers by the Melody and Sweetness of his Harp and Voice, that they indulg'd him the Liberty of taking her back ; on condition that she should follow him behind, and he not turn to look upon her 'till they came into open Day (a) : But he, thro' the impatience of his Care and Affection, and thinking himself almost past danger, at length look'd behind him ; whereby the Condition was violat'd, and she again precipitated to Pluto's Regions. From this time Orpheus

And lost again.

^a This Fable, and its Explanation may deserve to be read again and again, as a little System of *Physic, Morality, Religion*, and all kinds of Learning. And perhaps the full Interpretation and Elegance of the whole can scarce be perceiv'd, without having frequent Recourse from the Parts of the Explanation to the corresponding Parts of the Fable.

Orpheus grew *pensive and sad*, a *Hater of the Sex*, and went into *Solitude* (b); where by the same *Sweetness of his Harp and Voice* he first drew the wild *Beasts of all sorts* about him; so that, *for-^{Orpheus, by his Music moves the Beasts.} getting their Natures, they were neither actuated by Revenge, Cruelty, Lust, Hunger, or the Desire of Prey; but stood gazing about him, in a tame and gentle manner; listening attentively to his Music.* Nay, so great was the *Power and Efficacy of his Harmony*, that it even caused the *Trees and Stones to remove, and^{The Trees and Stones.} place themselves, in a regular Manner, about him.* When he had for a time, and with great admiration, continued to do this; at length the *Thracian Women, raised by the Instigation of Bacchus, first blew a deep and hoarse-sounding Horn, in such an outrageous manner, that it quite drowned the Music of Orpheus.* *And thus^{His Music drowned.} the Power, which, as the Link of their Society, held all Things in order, being dissolved; Disturbance reign'd anew; each^{Things return to their own Natures.} Creature returned to its own Nature; and pursued and prey'd upon its Fellow, as before.* The *Rocks and Woods also started back to their former Places; and even Orpheus himself was at last torn^{Orpheus torn to pieces.} to pieces by these female Furies; and his Limbs scattered all over the Desert.* But, in *Sorrow and Revenge for his Death, the^{Helicon sinks and rises again.} River Helicon, sacred to the Muses, hid its Waters under Ground; and rose again in other Places* (c).

The EXPLANATION.

3.(a) **T**HE *Fable* receives this Explanation. The *Music of Orpheus* ^{Orpheus's Music of two kinds.} is of two kinds; one that appeases the *infernal Powers*; and the other that draws together the wild *Beasts and Trees*. The former properly relates to *natural*, and the latter to *moral Philosophy*, or civil Society. ^{Regarding Morals and Physics.} The Re-instatement and Restoration of corruptible Things, is the noblest Work of *natural Philosophy*; and, in a less degree, the Preservation of Bodies in their own State, or a prevention of their Dissolution and Corruption. And if this be possible, it can certainly be effected no other way than by proper and exquisite Attemperations of Nature; as it were by the Harmony and fine touching of the Harp^a. But as this is a Thing of exceeding great Difficulty, the End is seldom obtained; and that, probably, for

^a Without an Allegory, by discovering and acting according to the Laws of Nature; as those of *Attraction, Gravitation, Motion, Separation, Mixture, Preservation, Putrefaction, Regeneration, &c.* See the *Sylva Sylvarum passim*, and the *History of Life and Death*.

no reason more than a curious and unseasonable Impatience and Sollicitude^a.

Philosophy transferred to civil Affairs. 4. (b) And therefore Philosophy being almost unequal to the Task, has cause to grow sad; and hence betakes it self to *human Affairs*; insinuating into Men's minds the love of Virtue, Equity and Peace, by means of Eloquence and Persuasion: thus forming Men into Societies; bringing them under Laws and Regulations; and making them forget their unbridled Passions and Affections; so long as they hearken to Precepts, and submit to Discipline. And thus they soon after build themselves Habitations, form Cities, cultivate Lands, plant Orchards, Gardens, &c. So that they may not improperly be said to remove and call the Trees and Stones together.

After finding that Death is unavoidable. 5. And this regard to *Civil Affairs*, is justly and regularly placed after diligent Trial made for restoring the *mortal Body*^b; the Attempt being frustrated in the end: because the unavoidable Necessity of Death, thus evidently laid before Mankind, animates them to seek a kind of Eternity by Works of Perpetuity, Character and Fame.

Orpheus averse to Women and Wedlock. 6. 'Tis also prudently added, that *Orpheus* was afterwards averse to Women and Wedlock; because the Indulgence of a married State, and the natural Affections which Men have for their Children, often prevent them from entering upon any grand, noble, or meritorious Enterprize for the public Good^c; as thinking it sufficient to obtain Immortality by their Descendants, without endeavouring at great Actions.

Orpheus torn, and Helicon &c. 7. (c) And even the Works of Knowledge, tho' the most excellent among human Things, have their Periods: for after Kingdoms and Commonwealths have flourished for a time; Disturbances, Seditions and Wars often arise: in the Din whereof, first the Laws are silent, and not heard^d; and then Men return to their own depraved Natures: whence cultivated Lands and Cities soon become desolate and waste. And if this Disorder continues, Learning and Philosophy is infallibly torn to pieces; so that only some scattered Fragments thereof can afterwards be found up and down, in a few places, like Planks after a Shipwreck. And barbarous Times succeeding, the River *Helicon* dips under Ground; that is, Letters are buried, till Things having undergone their due Course of Changes, Learning rises again, and shews its Head; tho' seldom in the same Place, but in some other Nation^e.

I

V.

^a Men being eager to see the end of *natural Philosophy*, without having Patience to pursue the means: for the Laws of Nature are not easily found; especially in that preposterous and absurd manner, by Reasoning and *Speculation*, without proper *Tryals*, and *Experimental Enquiries*.

^b See above §. 3.

^c See the Essay on Marriage and Single Life. Vol II. pag. 102.

^d Here lies the Allegory of the *deep-sounding Horn*, mentioned in the *Fable*.

^e Thus we see that

Orpheus denotes Learning,
Eurydice, Things, or the Subject of Learning,
Bacchus and
 the *Thracian Women* } Men's ungovern'd Passions and Appetites, &c.

And in the same manner, these *Fables* might be familiarly illustrated, and brought down to the Capacities of Children; who usually learn them in an unscientific manner at School.

V.

The FABLE of ATALANTA and HIPPOMENES;
explained of the Contest betwixt ART and NATURE.

The FABLE.

1. **A**Talanta, who was exceeding fleet, contended with Hippomenes in the Course; on condition, that if Hippomenes won, he should espouse her; or forfeit his Life, if he lost. The Match was very unequal; for Atalanta had conquered Numbers, to their destruction. Hippomenes, therefore, had recourse to Stratagem. He procured three golden Apples; and purposely carried them with him: they started; Atalanta out-stripped him soon; then Hippomenes bowled one of his Apples before her, a-cross the Course, in order, not only to make her stoop; but to draw her out of the Path. She, prompted by female Curiosity, and the Beauty of the golden Fruit, starts from the Course to take up the Apple. Hippomenes, in the mean time, holds on his way, and steps before her; but she, by her natural Swiftnes, soon fetches up her lost Ground; and leaves him again behind. Hippomenes however, by rightly timing his second and third Throw, at length, won the Race; not by his Swiftnes, but his Cunning.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable seems to contain a noble Allegory of the Contest betwixt Art and Nature. For Art, here denoted by Atalanta, is much swifter, or more expeditious, in its Operations than Nature, when all Obstacles and Impediments are removed; and sooner arrives at its End. This appears almost in every Instance. Thus Fruit comes slowly from the Kernel, but soon by Inoculation or Insition: Clay, left to it self, is a long time in acquiring a stony Hardnes; but is presently burnt by Fire into Brick^a. So again in human Life, Nature is a long while in alleviating and abolishing the remembrance of Pain, and assuaging the Troubles of the Mind; but moral Philosophy, which is the Art of living, performs it presently.

C c c c 2

Yet

^a A proper Collection of these Instances should be made for the Encouragement of Men in their Endeavours to advance Arts, and produce considerable Effects.

Yet this Prerogative and singular Efficacy of Art, is stopt and retarded, to the infinite detriment of human Life, by *certain golden Apples*: for there is no one Science, or Art, that constantly holds on its true and proper Course to the end; but they are all continually stopping short, forsaking the track, and turning aside to Profit and Convenience; exactly like *Atalanta*. Whence, 'tis no wonder that *Art* gets not the Victory over *Nature*; nor, according to the Condition of the Contest, brings her under Subjection: but, on the contrary, remains subject to her, as a Wife to a Husband ^a.

VI.

The FABLE of ERICHTHONIUS; explained of the improper Use of Force in NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

The FABLE.

THE Poets feign that Vulcan attempted the Chastity of Minerva; and impatient of Refusal, had recourse to Force: but in the Struggle, his Semen fell upon the Ground, and produced Ericthonius; whose Body from the Middle upwards was comely, and well proportioned; but his Thighs and Legs, small, shrunk, and deformed, like an Eel. Conscious of this Defect, he became the Inventor of Chariots; so as to shew the graceful, but conceal the deformed Part of his Body.

The EXPLANATION.

THIS strange and monstrous Fable seems to carry this Meaning. *Art* is here represented under the Person of *Vulcan*; by reason of the various Uses it makes of Fire: and *Nature* under the Person of *Minerva*; by reason of the Industry employed in her Works. Art, therefore, whenever it

^a The Author in all his physical Works, proceeds upon this Foundation; that it is possible, and practicable, for Art to obtain the Victory over Nature; that is, for human Industry and Power to procure, by the means of proper Knowledge, such things as are necessary to render Life as happy and commodious as its mortal State will allow: For instance, that it is possible to lengthen the present Period of human Life; bring the Winds more under Command, and every way extend and enlarge the Dominion, or Empire, of Man over the Works of Nature. And let no one fearfully apprehend, that there is danger in thus endeavouring to take the Reins of Government out of Nature's hands, and putting them into the weak hands of Men: for the Distinction betwixt Men and Nature, is imaginary, and only made to help the Understanding; Man himself being necessarily subject to the *Laws of Nature*: tho' within the Compass of these Laws he has a very extensive Power, that will always be commensurate to Knowledge.

it offers violence to Nature, in order to conquer, subdue, and bend her to its Purpose, by Tortures and Force of all kinds; seldom obtains the End proposed^a: Yet upon great Struggle and Application, there proceed certain imperfect Births; or lame abortive Works; specious in appearance, but weak and unstable in use: which are, nevertheless, with great Pomp, and deceitful Appearances, triumphantly carried about, and shewn by Impostors. A Procedure very familiar, and remarkable, in *chemical Productions*, and new *mechanical Inventions*; especially when the Inventors rather hug their Errors, than improve upon them; and go on *struggling with Nature*, not *courting her*, in the proper obsequious manner, for an intimate Embrace^b.

VII.

The FABLE of ICARUS, and that of SCYLLA and CHARYBDIS; explained of Mediocrity in NATURAL and MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

The FABLE.

1. **M**ediocrity, or the holding of a middle Course, has been highly extolled in Morality; but little in matters of Science; tho' Mediocrity useful in the Sciences, no less useful and proper here: whilst in Politicks 'tis held suspected, or to be employ'd with Judgment. The Ancients described Mediocrity in Manners, by the Course prescribed to Icarus; and in matters of the Understanding, by the Steering betwixt Scylla and Charybdis; on account of the great difficulty and danger in passing those Streights.

2. Icarus, being to fly cross the Sea, was ordered by his Father neither to soar too high, nor fly too low; for as his Wings were fastened together with Wax, there was danger of its melting by the Sun's heat in too high a flight; and of its becoming less tenacious by the moisture, if he kept too near the vapour of the Sea. But he, with a juvenile Confidence, soars aloft; and fell down headlong. Icarus's Flight and Fall.

The

^a See below, *Fable VIII.*

^b 'Tis a fundamental Position with the Author, that Nature, like the Ladies, can only be won by Submission. See the *Novum Organum* passim.

The EXPLANATION.

The Difference betwixt Excess and Defect.

3. **T**HE *Fable* is vulgar, and easily interpreted; for the Path of Virtue lies strait, between Excess on the one side, and Defect on the other. And no wonder that Excess should prove the bane of *Icarus*, exulting in juvenile Strength and Vigour: for Excess is the natural Vice of Youth; as Defect is that of old Age. And if a Man must perish by either, *Icarus* chose the better of the two; for all Defects are justly esteemed more depraved than Excesses. There is some Magnanimity in Excess, that, like a Bird, claims kindred with the Heavens: but Defect is a Reptile, that basely crawls upon the Earth. 'Twas excellently said by *Heraclitus*; *a dry Light makes the best Soul*: for if the Soul contracts moisture from the Earth, it perfectly degenerates and sinks. On the other hand, Moderation must be observed, to prevent this fine Light from burning, by its too great Subtilty and Dryness. But these Observations are common.

The Allegory of Scylla and Charybdis.

4. In Matters of the Understanding it requires great Skill, and a particular Felicity, to steer clear of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. If the Ship strikes upon *Scylla*, 'tis dashed in pieces against the Rocks: if upon *Charybdis*, it is swallowed outright. This Allegory is pregnant with matter; but we shall only observe the Force of it lies here, that a Mean be observed in every Doctrine and Science, and in the Rules and Axioms thereof, between the Rocks of *Distinctions*, and the Whirl-pools of *Universalties*: for these two are the Bane and Shipwreck of fine Genius's and Arts^a.

VIII.

The FABLE of PROTEUS; explained of Matter and its Changes.

The FABLE.

Proteus, Neptune's Herdsman and a Prophet.

1. **P**ROTEUS, according to the Poets, was Neptune's Herdsman; an old Man (a), and a most extraordinary Prophet; who understood Things past and present as well as future; so that besides the

^a For Arts are founded on Particulars, as we see in the Arts of Paper, Sugar, Gunpowder, &c. so that Generals let Arts slip thro' them: and subtle Distinctions and Divisions ipse and grind Nature so far, as to render the Objects unfit for the Hand, the Sense, or even the Understanding to work with, to advantage. Hence those fruitless and barren Speculations of the Schoolmen; the infinite Divisibility of Matter; and mathematical Notions, and metaphysical Powers introduced into Physicks.

the business of Divination, he was the Revealer and Interpreter of all Antiquity, and Secrets of every kind. He lived in a vast Cave; where his Custom was to tell over his Herd of Sea-Catves at Noon, and then to sleep (b). Whoever consulted him, had no other way of obtaining an Answer, but by binding him with Manacles and Fetters; when he, endeavouring to free himself, would change into all kinds of Shapes and miraculous Forms; as of Fire, Water, wild Beasts, &c. till at length he resumed his own Shape again (c). His Transformations.

The EXPLANATION.

2. (a) **T**His Fable seems to point at the Secrets of Nature; and the States of Matter. For the Person of *Proteus* denotes *Matter*, the oldest of all Things, after God himself^a; that resides, as in a Cave, under the vast Concavity of the Heavens. He is represented as the Servant of *Neptune*; because the various Operations and Modifications of Matter, are principally wrought in a fluid State. The Herd, or Flock of *Proteus*, seems to be no other than the several kinds of Animals, Plants and Minerals, in which Matter appears to diffuse and spend it self; so that after having formed these several Species, and as it were finished its Task, it seems to sleep and repose; without otherwise attempting to produce any new ones. And this is the Moral of *Proteus's* counting his Herd, then going to sleep. Proteus denotes Matter.
His Herd, what.

3. (b) This is said to be done at Noon, not in the Morning or Evening; by which is meant the Time best fitted and disposed for the Production of Species; from a Matter duly prepared, and made ready before-hand; and now lying in a middle State between its first Rushments and Decline: which, we learn from sacred History, was the Case at the time of the Creation; when, by the efficacy of the divine Command, Matter directly came together, without any transformation or intermediate Changes, which it affects; instantly obeyed the Order; and appeared in the form of Creatures. Counting them at Noon.

4. (c) And thus far the Fable reaches of *Proteus*, and his Flock, at liberty and unrestrained. For the Universe, with the common Structures and Fabricks of the Creatures, is the Face of Matter, not under constraint; or as the Flock wrought upon, and tortured, by human means. But if any skillful *Minister of Nature* shall apply Force to Matter; and by design torture and vex it, in order to its Annihilation; it, on the contrary, being brought under this Necessity, changes and transforms it self into a strange Variety of Shapes and Appearances; for nothing but the Power of the Creator can annihilate, or truly destroy it: so that at length, running thro' the whole Circle of Transformations, and completing its Period, it in some degree Proteus bound.

^a *Proteus* properly signifies primary, oldest, or first.

gree restores it self, if the Force be continued. And that Method of binding, torturing, or detaining, will prove the most effectual and expeditious, which makes use of *Manacles* and *Fetters*; that is, lays hold and works upon Matter in the extremest Degrees^a.

*His Prophe-
tic Gift.*

5. The addition in the Fable that makes *Proteus* a Prophet, who had the Knowledge of Things past, present and future, excellently agrees with the nature of Matter; as he who knows the Properties, the Changes, and the Processes of Matter, must, of necessity, understand the Effects and Sum of what it does, has done, or can do; tho' his Knowledge extends not to all the Parts and Particulars thereof^b.

IX.

*The FABLE of CUPID; explained of the Corpuscular
Philosophy.*

The FABLE.

*The elder
Cupid.*

1. **T**HE Particulars related by the Poets of Cupid, or LOVE, do not properly agree to the same Person; yet they differ only so far, that if the Confusion of Persons be rejected, the Correspondence may hold. They say, that Love was the most ancient of all the Gods; and existed before every thing else, except Chaos, which is held coeval therewith (a). But for Chaos, the Ancients never paid divine Honours, nor gave the Title of a God thereto. Love is represented absolutely without Progenitor (b); excepting only that he is said to have proceeded from the Egg of Nox; but that himself begot the Gods, and all Things else, on Chaos (c). His Attributes are four; viz. 1. Perpetual Infancy (d), 2. Blindness (e), 3. Nakedness (f), and 4. Archery (g).

The younger.

2. There was also another Cupid, or Love, the youngest Son of the Gods, born of Venus; and upon him the Attributes of the elder are transferred, with some degree of Correspondence (h).

The

^a The Author has proposed a certain Method of working in this manner, by means of a new Engine, or particular Digestor applied to the Fire. See *Sylva Sylvarum*, pag. 93. and the *History of Rarity and Density*, Sect. V. 7, 8, 9.

^b See above *Fable V. ad finem*. See also the *Nov. Organ.* Part II. Aph. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

The EXPLANATION.

3. (a) **T**His *Fable* points at, and enters, the Cradle of Nature. *Love* seems to be the *Appetite*, or *Incentive*, of the primitive Matter; or, to speak more distinctly, the *natural Motion*, or *moving Principle*, of the original Corpuscles, or Atoms: this being the most ancient, and only Power that made and wrought all Things out of Matter. (b) 'Tis absolutely without Parent, that is, without *Cause*; for *Causes* are as Parents to *Effects*: but this Power or Efficacy could have no *natural Cause*; for, excepting God, nothing was before it: and therefore it could have no Efficient in Nature. And as nothing is more inward with Nature, it can neither be a *Genus* nor a *Form*; and therefore, whatever it is, it must be somewhat positive, tho' inexpressible. (c) And if it were possible to conceive its *Modus* and *Process*; yet it could not be known from its *Cause*; as being, next to God, the *Cause of Causes*, and it self without a Cause. And perhaps we are not to hope that the *Modus* of it should fall, or be comprehended; under human Enquiry. Whence 'tis properly feigned to be the Egg of *Nox*; or laid in the dark^a.

4. The divine Philosopher declares, that *God has made every Thing beautiful in its Season; and has given over the World to our Disputes and Enquiries: but that Man cannot find out the Work which God has wrought, from its Beginning up to its End.* Thus the summary or collective Law of Nature, or the *Principle of Love*, impressed by God upon the original Particles of all Things, so as to make them attract each other and come together; by the repetition and multiplication whereof, all the variety in the Universe is produced; can scarce possibly find full admittance into the Thoughts of Men; tho' some faint Notion may be had thereof. The *Greek Philosophy* is subtle, and busied in discovering the *material Principles of Things*; but negligent and languid in discovering the *Principles of Motion*; in which the Energy and Efficacy of every Operation consists. And here the *Greek Philosophers* seem perfectly blind and childish: for the Opinion of the *Peripateticks*, as to the *Stimulus of Matter*, by *Privation*, is little more than Words; or rather Sound than Signification. And they who refer it to God, tho' they do well therein, yet they do it by a Start; and not by proper Degrees of Assent: for doubtless *there is one summary or capital Law* in which Nature meets, *subordinate to God*; viz. the Law mentioned in the Passage above quoted from *Solomon*; or *the Work which God has wrought from its Beginning up to its End*^b.

5. *Democritus*, who farther considered this Subject, having first supposed an Atom, or Corpuscle, of some dimension or figure, attributed thereto

^a Let it be examined what Approximations have been made by the modern Philosophers to the Investigation of this Principle; in their *Doctrines, Calculations, and Attempts* to align the Cause of *Gravity*.

^b *Viz.* The Chain of Causes and Effects, traced gradually up to its last Link; where Philosophy ends: but not before it has discovered every intermediate Link.

one Appetite, Desire, or first Motion simply ; and another comparatively : imagining that all Things properly tended to the Centre of the World ; those containing more Matter falling faster to the Center, and thereby removing, and in the Shock driving away, such as held less. But this is a slender Conceit, and regards too few Particulars ; for neither the Revolutions of the celestial Bodies, nor the Contractions and Expansions of Things, can be reduced to this Principle. And for the Opinion of *Epicurus*, as to the *declination and fortuitous agitation of Atoms* ; this only brings the Matter back again to a Trifle, and wraps it up in Ignorance and *Night* ^a.

and Epicurus.

6. (d) *Cupid* is elegantly drawn a perpetual *Child* : for Compounds are larger Things, and have their Periods of Age ; but the first Seeds or Atoms of Bodies are small, and remain in a perpetual infant State ^b.

Cupid drawn a Child.

Naked.

7. (e) He is again justly represented *naked* ; as all Compounds may properly be said to be dressed and cloathed, or to assume a Personage ; whence nothing remains truly naked, but the original Particles of Things.

Blind.

8. (f) The Blindness of *Cupid* contains a deep Allegory ; for this same *Cupid*, *Love*, or Appetite of the World, seems to have very little Foresight ; but directs his Steps and Motions conformably to what he finds next him ; as blind Men do when they feel out their way : which renders the divine and over-ruling Providence and Foresight the more surprizing ; as by a certain steady *Law*, it brings such a beautiful Order, and Regularity, of Things out of what seems extremely casual, void of Design, and as it were really blind.

An Archer.

9. (g) The last Attribute of *Cupid* is *Archery* ; viz. a Virtue or Power operating at a distance : for every thing that operates at a distance, may seem, as it were, to dart, or shoot with Arrows. And whoever allows of Atoms and Vacuity, necessarily supposes that the Virtue of Atoms operates at a distance ; for without this Operation, no Motion could be excited, on account of the *Vacuum* interposing ; but all Things would remain sluggish and unmoved.

The younger Cupid.

10. (h) As to the other *Cupid*, he is properly said to be the youngest Son of the Gods ; as his Power could not take place before the formation of Species, or particular Bodies. The Description given us of him transfers the Allegory to Morality ; tho' he still retains some resemblance with the ancient *Cupid* : for as *Venus* universally excites the Affection of Association, and the desire of Procreation ; her Son *Cupid* applies the Affection to Individuals : so that the general Disposition proceeds from *Venus*, but the more close Sympathy from *Cupid*. The former depends upon a near Approximation of Causes ; but the latter upon deeper, more necessitating and uncontrollable Principles ; as if they proceeded from the antient *Cupid*, on whom all exquisite Sympathies depend ^c.

X. *The*

^a See above §. 3.

^b See Sir *Isaac Newton* of the *Original Particles of Matter*, in the *Queries* at the End of his *Opticks*.

^c See this *Fable* farther illustrated at the Beginning of the *fifth Part* of the Author's *Inflation*. Vol. III.

X.

The FABLE of DEUCALION; explained of an useful Hint in Natural Philosophy.

The FABLE.

1. **T**HE Poets tell us, that the Inhabitants of the old World being The Oracle of Deucalion and Pyrrha. totally destroyed by the universal Deluge, excepting Deucalion and Pyrrha; these two, desiring with zealous and fervent Devotion, to restore Mankind, received this Oracle for Answer; that they should succeed by throwing their Mother's Bones behind them. This at first cast them into great sorrow and despair; because, as all Things were levelled by the Deluge, it was in vain to seek their Mother's Tomb: but at length, they understood the Expression of the Oracle to signify the Stones of the Earth, which is esteemed the Mother of all Things.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable seems to reveal a Secret of Nature, and correct an Error Reveals a Secret of Nature. familiar to the Mind; for Men's Ignorance leads them to expect the Renovation or Restauration of Things, from their Corruption and Remains; as the Phœnix is said to be restored out of its Ashes: which is a very improper Procedure; because such kind of Materials have finished their Course; and are become absolutely unfit to supply the first Rudiments of the same Things again: whence, in Cases of Renovation, recourse should be had to more common Principles^a.

^a See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, and the History of Life and Death, *passim*.

XI.

*The FABLE of SPHINX ; explained of the Sciences.**The FABLE.*Sphinx de-
scribed.

1. **T**hey relate that Sphinx was a Monster, variously formed ; having the Face and Voice of a Virgin (a), the Wings of a Bird (b), and the Talons of a Gryphin (c). She resided on the Top of a Mountain, near the City Thebes (d) ; and also beset the Highways (e). Her manner was to lie in ambush, and seize on Travellers ; and having them in her power, proposed to them certain dark and perplexed Riddles (f), which it was thought she received from the Muses (g) : And if her wretched Captives could not solve, and interpret, these Riddles, she with great Cruelty fell upon them, in their Hesitation and Confusion ; and tore them to pieces (h). This Plague having reigned a long time, the Thebans at length offered their Kingdom to the Man who could interpret her Riddles ; there being no other way to subdue her (i). Oedipus, a penetrating and prudent Man, tho' lame in his Feet, excited by so great a Reward, accepted the Condition (k) ; and with a good Assurance of Mind, cheerfully presented himself before the Monster ; who directly asked him, What Creature that was, which being born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and lastly four-footed again ? Oedipus, with a presence of mind, replied it was Man ; who, upon his first birth, and infant State, crawl'd upon all four, in endeavouring to walk ; but not long after that, went upright upon his two natural Feet ; again, in old Age walked three-footed, with a Stick ; and at last growing decrepid, lay four-footed confined to his Bed. And having by this exact Solution obtained the Victory, he slew the Monster ; and laying the Carcass upon an Ass (l), led her away as in triumph. And upon this he was, according to the Agreement, made King of Thebes.

Her Riddle.

Solved by
Oedipus.

The

The EXPLANATION.

2. (a) **T**HIS is an elegant, instructive Fable ; and seems invented to represent *Science*, especially as join'd with *Practice*. For *Science* may, without absurdity, be called a *Monster* ; being strangely gazed at, and admired, by the ignorant and unskilful. Her Figure and Form is various ; by reason of the vast variety of Subjects that *Science* considers. Her Voice and Countenance are represented female ; by reason of her gay Appearance and Volubility of Speech ^a. (b) Wings are added, because the Sciences and their Inventions run, and fly about, in a moment ; for Knowledge, like Light communicated from one Torch to another, is presently catch'd, and copiously diffused. (c) Sharp and hooked Talons are elegantly attributed to her ; because the Axioms and Arguments of *Science* enter the Mind, lay hold of it, fix it down, and keep it from moving or slipping away. This the sacred Philosopher observed, when he said, *The Words of the Wise are like Goats, or Nails, driven far in*. (d) Again, all *Science* seems placed on high, as it were on the tops of Mountains, that are hard to climb : for *Science* is justly imagined a sublime and lofty Thing, looking down upon Ignorance from an Eminence ; and at the same time taking an extensive View on all sides, as is usual on the Tops of Mountains. (e) *Science* is said to beset the Highways ; because thro' all the Journey and Peregrination of human Life, there is Matter and Occasion offered of Contemplation.

3. (f) *Sphinx* is said to propose various difficult Questions, and Riddles, to Men, which she received from the *Muses* ; and these Questions, so long as they remain with the *Muses*, may very well be unaccompanied with Severity : for while there is no other End of Contemplation and Enquiry but that of Knowledge alone ; the Understanding is not oppressed, or driven to Straits and Difficulties ; but expatiates and ranges at large ; and even receives a degree of Pleasure from Doubt and Variety. (g) But after the *Muses* have given over their Riddles to *Sphinx* ; that is, to *Practice* (b), which urges and impels to Action, Choice and Determination ; then it is that they become torturing, severe, and trying : and unless solved and interpreted, strangely perplex and harass the human Mind ; rend it every way, and perfectly tear it to pieces ^b. All the Riddles of *Sphinx*, therefore, have two Conditions

^a For *Science* or Philosophy has, in the general, rather been a shewy and talkative Thing, than solid, serviceable, and effective.

^b To gain the clearer Notion of this, we need only consider the Necessities and Inconveniences, under which the Inhabitants, even of civiliz'd Countries, frequently labour, from Inundations, Conflagrations, Dearths, Storms, Lightning, Wars, Devastations, Tyrannical Governments, blind and furious Zeal, Superstition, want of Commerce and certain Commodities ; all which Particulars, when they come to be practically considered, in order to their being remedied, removed or prevented, distract and perplex the Mind ; especially when the Causes of these Effects remain unknown, so as not to be governable by human Means.

Conditions annexed; viz. *Dilaceration* to those who do not solve them; and *Empire* to those that do. For he who understands the Thing proposed, obtains his End: and every Artificer rules over his Work ^a.

Of two kinds. 4. (i) *Sphinx* has no more than two kinds of Riddles; one relating to the Nature of Things; the other to the Nature of Man: and correspondent to these, the Prizes of the Solution are two kinds of *Empire*; the *Empire over Nature*, and the *Empire over Man*. For the true and ultimate End of *natural Philosophy*, is Dominion over natural Things, natural Bodies, Remedies, Machines, and numberless other Particulars: tho' the Schools, contented with what spontaneously offers, and swollen with their own Discourses, neglect, and in a manner despise, both Things and Works ^b.

Oedipus solves the Riddle relating to Man. 5. (k) But the Riddle proposed to *Oedipus*, the Solution whereof acquired him the *Theban Kingdom*, regarded the Nature of Man; for he who has thoroughly looked into and examined human Nature, may, in a manner, command his own Fortune; and seems born to acquire Dominion and Rule ^c. Accordingly, *Virgil* properly makes the Arts of Government to be the Arts of the *Romans* ^d. It was, therefore, extremely apposite in *Augustus Cæsar*, to use the Image of *Sphinx* in his Signet; whether this happened by accident or by design; for he of all Men was deeply versed in *Politics*; and through the course of his Life very happily solved abundance of new Riddles, with regard to the Nature of Man: and unless he had done this with great Dexterity and ready Address, he would frequently have been involved in imminent Danger, if not Destruction.

Sphinx's Carcass laid upon an Ass. 6. (l) 'Tis, with the utmost elegance, added in the *Fable*, that when *Sphinx* was conquered, her Carcass was laid upon an Ass; for there is nothing so subtle and abstruse, but after being once made plain, intelligible and common, it may be received by the slowest Capacity.

The Lameness of Oedipus. 7. (m) We must not omit, that *Sphinx* was conquered by a lame Man, and impotent in his Feet; for Men usually make too much haste to the Solution of *Sphinx's* Riddles: whence it happens, that the prevailing, their Minds are rather racked and torn by Disputes, than an Empire gained by *Works and Effects* ^e.

XII.

^a This is what the Author so frequently inculcates in his *Novum Organum*; viz. that Knowledge and Power are reciprocal; so that to improve in Knowledge, is to improve in the Power of Commanding Nature, by introducing new Arts, and producing Works and Effects.

^b This is largely prosecuted in the *Novum Organum*.

^c See the *de Augment. Scientiar.* Sect. XXV. of *Self-Policy*, or the *Doctrine of Raising in Life*.

^d *Tu regere Imperio Populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt Artes.*

^e See the first Part of the *Novum Organum*, passim.

XII.

The FABLE of PROSERPINE; explained of the SPIRIT included in natural Bodies.

The FABLE.

I. **T**hey tell us, Pluto having, upon that memorable Division of Empire among the Gods, received the infernal Regions for his Share, despaired of winning any one of the Goddesses in Marriage, by an obsequious Courtship; and therefore, through Necessity, resolved upon a Rape (a): And watching his Opportunity, he suddenly seizes upon Proserpine, a most beautiful Virgin, the Daughter of Ceres, as she was gathering Narcissus Flowers (b) in the Meads of Sicily; and hurrying her to his Chariot, carried her with him to the subterranean Regions; where she was treated with the highest Reverence, and styled the Lady of Dis (c). But Ceres missing her only Daughter, whom she extremely loved, grew pensive and anxious, beyond measure (d); and taking a lighted Torch (e) in her Hand, wandered the World over in quest of her Daughter: but all to no purpose; 'till suspecting she might be carried to the infernal Regions, she with great lamentation, and abundance of tears, importuned Jupiter to restore her; and with much ado prevailed, so far as to recover and bring her away, if she had tasted nothing there. This proved a hard Condition upon the Mother; for Proserpine was found to have eaten three Kernels of a Pomgranate (f). Ceres, however, desisted not, but fell to her entreaties and lamentations afresh; insomuch that, at last, it was indulged her, that Proserpine should divide the Year betwixt her Husband and her Mother; and live six Months with the one, and as many with the other (g). After this, Theseus and Perithous, with uncommon audacity, attempted to force Proserpine away from Pluto's Bed; but happening to grow tired in their Journey, and resting themselves upon a Stone, in the Realms below, they could never rise from it again; but remain sitting there for ever (h). Proserpine, therefore, still continued Queen of the lower Regions; in honour of whom there was also added this grand Privilege, that tho' it had

Pluto carries away Proserpine.

Gathering Narcissus.

Ceres goes out to seek her.

Recovers her; upon Condition.

Theseus and Perithous attempt to force Proserpine from Pluto.

Proserpine divides the Year betwixt her Mother never and Husband,

never been permitted any one to return, after having once descended thither, a particular exception was made, that he who brought a golden Bough, as a Present to Proserpine, might on that condition descend and return. This was an only Bough, that grew in a large dark Grove, not from a Tree of its own, but, like the Mistletoe, from another; and when plucked away, a fresh one always shot out in its stead (i).

Receives the Present of the golden Bough.

The EXPLANATION.

Proserpine, or Ætherial Spirit.

Ravished.

Whilst gathering Narcissus.

Made the Lady of Dis.

Ceres, or the Efficacy of the celestial Bodies.

2. (a) **T**His *Fable* seems to regard *natural Philosophy*; and searches deep into that rich and fruitful *Virtue and Supply*, in subterraneous Bodies, from whence all the Things upon the Earth's Surface spring, and into which they again resolve and return. By *Proserpine* the Ancients denoted that *Ætherial Spirit* shut up and detained within the *Earth*, here represented by *Pluto*; the Spirit being separated from the superior *Globe*, according to the Expression of the Poet ^a. This Spirit is conceived as ravished, or snatched up by the *Earth*; because it can no way be detained, when it has time and opportunity to fly off; but is only wrought together and fixed by sudden Intermixture and Comminution, in the same manner as if one should endeavour to mix Air with Water; which cannot otherwise be done, than by a quick and rapid agitation, that joins them together in Froth; whilst the Air is thus catched up by the Water (b). And it is elegantly added, that *Proserpine* was ravished whilst she gathered *Narcissus* Flowers; which have their Name from Numbedness or Stupefaction; for the Spirit we speak of, is in the fittest disposition to be catched up by terrestrial Matter, when it begins to coagulate, or grow torpid, as it were.

3. (c) 'Tis an Honour justly attributed to *Proserpine*, and not to any other Wife of the Gods, that of being the Lady, or Mistress, of her Husband; because this *Spirit* performs all the Operations in the subterranean Regions; whilst *Pluto*, or the *Earth*, remains stupid, or as it were ignorant of them ^b.

4. (d) The *Æther*, or the Efficacy of the heavenly Bodies, denoted by *Ceres*, endeavours with infinite diligence, to force out this Spirit; and restore it to its pristine State (e). And by the Torch in the Hand of *Ceres*, or the *Æther*, is doubtless meant the *Sun*, which disperses Light over the whole *Globe* of the *Earth*; and if the Thing were possible, must have the greatest share

^a *Sive recens Tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto Æthere, cognati retinebat semina Cœli.*

^b See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Imagination*, *Nature*, *Spirit* and *Sympathy*. See also the *Axioms* at the End of the *History* of *Life* and *Death*.

share in recovering *Proserpine*, or re-inflating the *subterranean Spirit*. (f) Yet *Proserpine* still continues and dwells below; after the manner excellently described in the Condition betwixt *Jupiter* and *Ceres*. For first, 'tis certain that there are two ways of detaining the Spirit, in solid and terrestrial Matter; the one by *Condensation* or *Obstruction*, which is mere violence and Imprisonment: the other, by *administring a proper Aliment*; which is spontaneous and free. For after the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish it self, 'tis not in a hurry to fly off; but remains as it were fixed in its own Earth. And this is the Moral of *Proserpine's* tasting the Pomgranate: *Tasting the Pomgranate.* and were it not for this, she must long ago have been carried up by *Ceres*, who with her Torch wandered the World over; and so the Earth have been left without its Spirit. For tho' the Spirit, in Metals and Minerals, may perhaps be, after a particular manner, wrought in by the Solidity of the Mass; yet the Spirit of Vegetables and Animals has open Passages to escape at; unless it be willingly detained, in the way of sipping and tasting them^a.

5. (g) The second Article of Agreement, that of *Proserpine's* remaining six Months with her Mother, and six with her Husband, is an elegant Description of the division of the Year: for the Spirit diffused thro' the Earth, lives above Ground in the vegetable World, during the Summer Months; but in the Winter returns under Ground again. *Living six Months with her Husband, and six with her Mother.*

6. (b) The Attempt of *Theseus* and *Perithous* to bring *Proserpine* away, denotes that the more subtile Spirits, which descend in many Bodies to the Earth, may frequently be unable to drink in, unite with themselves, and carry off the subterraneous Spirit; but, on the contrary, be coagulated by it, and rise no more; so as to increase the Inhabitants, and add to the Dominion of *Proserpine*^b. *The Attempt of Theseus and Perithous.*

7. (i) The Alchemists will be apt to fall in with our Interpretation of the *golden Bough*, whether we will or no; because they promise golden Mountains, and the Restoration of natural Bodies from their Stone; as from the Gates of *Pluto*: but we are well assured, that their Theory has no just Foundation; and suspect they have no very encouraging practical Proofs of its Soundness. Leaving, therefore, their Conceits to themselves; we shall freely declare our own Sentiments upon this last Part of the *Fable*. We are certain from numerous Figures and Expressions of the Ancients, that they judged the *golden Bough*.

^a This Point is largely explained in the *Author's History of Life and Death*; but still deserves to be set in a more full and general Light, by new Instances and Enforcements; as a Particular, which, tho' neglected, or almost overlooked, infinitely regards the Improvement of natural Philosophy. See the *Sylva Sylvarum*, under the Articles *Imagination, Nature, Spirits, Sympathy, &c.*

^b Many Philosophers have certain Speculations to this Purpose. Sir *Isaac Newton*, in particular, suspects that the Earth receives its vivifying Spirit from the Comets. And the Philosophical *Chemists* and *Astrologers* have spun the Thought into many phantastical Distinctions and Varieties. See *Newton. Princip. Lib. III. p. 473, &c.* See alio *Sylva Sylvarum*, p. 222, &c.

the Conservation, and in some degree, the Renovation of natural Bodies, to be no desperate or impossible Thing; but rather abstruse, and out of the common Road, than wholly impracticable^a. And this seems to be their Opinion in the present Case; as they have placed this *Bough* among an infinite number of Shrubs, in a spacious and thick Wood. They supposed it of Gold, because Gold is the Emblem of Duration. They feign'd it adventitious, not native, because such an effect is to be expected from Art; and not from any Medicine, or any simple or mere natural Way of working^b.

^a See above, pag. 557. §. 14.

^b The Author's *History of Life and Death* is a Comment upon this Text.



S E C T.

S E C T. II.

The concealed Moral Philosophy of the
Ancients.

I.

*The FABLE of MEMNON; explained of the fatal
Precipitancy of YOUTH.*

The FABLE.

1. **T**HE Poets make Memnon the Son of Aurora; and bring ^{Memnon's} him to the Trojan War in beautiful Armour, and flushed ^{Elate.} with popular Praise; where, thirsting after farther Glory, and rashly hurrying on to the greatest Enterprizes, he engages the bravest Warrior of all the Greeks, Achilles; and falls by his Hand, in single Combat. Jupiter, in commiseration of his Death, sent Birds to grace his Funeral, that perpetually chanted certain mournful and bewailing Dirges. 'Tis also reported, that the Rays of the rising Sun striking his Statue, used to give a lamenting Sound.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable regards the unfortunate End of those promising Youths, who, ^{The Son of the} like Sons of the Morning, elate with empty Hopes and glittering ^{Morning.} Outfides, attempt things beyond their strength; challenge the bravest Heroes; provoke them to the Combat; and proving unequal, die in their high Attempts.

Dies bewail'd.

3. The Death of such Youths seldom fails to meet with infinite Pity; as no mortal Calamity is more moving and afflicting, than to see the Flower of Virtue cropt before its time^a. Nay, the Prime of Life enjoyed to the full, or even to a degree of Envy, does not assuage or moderate the Grief occasioned by the untimely Death of such hopeful Youths: But Lamentations and Bewailings fly, like mournful Birds, about their Tombs, for a long while after: especially upon all fresh Occasions, new Commotions, and the beginning of great Actions, the passionate Desire of them is renewed, as *by the Sun's Morning Rays*.

II.

The FABLE of TYTHONUS; explained of predominant Passions.

The FABLE.

Tythonus
made immor-
tal.

I. **T**IS elegantly fabled of Tythonus, that being exceedingly beloved by Aurora, she petitioned Jupiter that he might prove immortal; thereby to secure herself the everlasting Enjoyment of his Company: but through Female Inadvertence she forgot to add, that he might never grow old: so, that though he proved immortal, he became miserably worn and consumed with Age; insomuch, that Jupiter, out of pity, at length transformed him to a Grasshopper.

But at length
turned to a
Grasshopper.

The EXPLANATION.

Describes
Pleasure.

2. **T**His Fable seems to contain an ingenious Description of Pleasure; which at first, as it were in the *Morning of the Day*, is so welcome, that Men pray to have it everlasting: but forget that *Satiety* and *Weariness* of it will, like old Age, overtake them; tho' they think not of it: so that at length, when their Appetite for pleasurable Actions is gone, their Desires and Affections often continue: whence we commonly find that aged Persons delight themselves with the Discourse and Remembrance of the things agreeable to them in their better days. This is very remarkable in Men of a loose, and Men of a military Life: the former whereof are always talking over their Amours; and the latter the Exploits of their Youth; like Grasshoppers, that show their Vigour only by their chirping^b.

And Satiety.

In old Age.

III. *The*

^a See the Author's *Speech against Duelling*, Vol. I. pag. 393.

^b See the *History of Life and Death*, Vol. III. pag. 416, 417.

III.

*The FABLE of NARCISSUS; explained of SELF-LOVE.**The FABLE.*

1. **N**Arcissus is said to have been extremely beautiful and comely, Narcissus but intolerably proud and disdainful; so that, pleased with graced by Nature. himself, and scorning the World, he led a solitary Life in the Woods; hunting only with a few Followers, who were his profess'd Admirers: and amongst the rest, the Nymph Echo was his constant Attendant. In this Method of Life 'twas once his fate to approach a clear Fountain; where he laid himself down to rest, in the noon-day Heat; when, beholding his Image in the Water, he fell into such a A Self-Admirer. Rapture and Admiration of himself, that he could by no means be got away; but remain'd continually fixed and gazing; till at length he was turn'd into a Flower, of his own Name, which appears early And turned into a Flower. in the Spring, and is consecrated to the infernal Deities, Pluto, Proserpine and the Furies.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS *Fable* seems to paint the Behaviour and Fortune of those, who, Represents Self-Lovers. for their Beauty, or other Endowments, wherewith Nature, (without any Industry of their own,) has graced and adorned them, are extravagantly fond of themselves. For Men of such a Disposition generally affect retirement, and absence from publick Affairs; as a Life of Business must necessarily subject them to many Neglects and Contempts, which might disturb and ruffle their Minds: whence such Persons commonly lead a solitary, private and shadowy Life; see little Company; and those only such as highly admire and reverence them; or, like an Echo, assent to all they say.

3. And they who are depraved, and rendered still fonder of themselves by Who prove indolent. this Custom, grow strangely indolent, unactive, and perfectly stupid. *Narcissus*, a Spring-flower, is an elegant Emblem of this Temper; which at first flourishes, and is talked of; but when ripe, frustrates the Expectation conceived of it.

4. And that this Flower should be sacred to the *infernal Powers*, carries on And become as Flowers of less little value. the Allusion still farther; because Men of this humour are perfectly use-

less in all respects: for whatever yields no Fruit, but passes, and is no more, like the Way of a Ship in the Sea, was by the Ancients consecrated to the infernal Shades and Powers.

IV.

The FABLE of JUNO'S COURTSHIP; explained of Submission, and Abjection.

The FABLE.

Jupiter's
Transformation.

1. **T**HE Poets tell us, that Jupiter, to carry on his Love-Intrigues, assumed many different Shapes; as of a Bull, an Eagle, a Swan, a Golden Shower, &c. but when he attempted Juno, he turned himself into the most ignoble and ridiculous Creature; even that of a wretched, wet, weather-beaten, affrighted, trembling, and half-starved Cuckow.

Into a Cuc-
kow.

The EXPLANATION.

The Moral.

2. **T**HIS is a wise *Fable*; and drawn from the very Entrails of Morality. The *Moral* is, that Men should not be *conceited of themselves*; and imagine that a Discovery of their Excellencies will always render them acceptable: for this *can only succeed according to the Nature and Manners of the Person they court, or solicit*; who, if he be a Man not of the same Gifts and Endowments, but altogether of a *haughty and contemptuous Behaviour*, here represented by the Person of *Juno*; they must entirely drop the Character that *carries the least Show of Worth, or Gracefulness*: If they proceed upon any other footing, 'tis downright Folly. Nor is it sufficient to act the *Deformity of Obsequiousness*, unless they really change themselves; and become object and contemptible in their Persons^a.

V. *The*

^a Those, who, upon a superficial reading of the Author's submissive *Letters* to King *James*, have been forward to censure them, as indecently *mean, sordid* and *begging*; may here be taught to correct their Judgment.

V.

*The FABLE of CASSANDRA; explained of too free
and UNSEASONABLE ADVICE.**The FABLE.*

1. **T**HE Poets relate, that Apollo falling in Love with *Cassandra*, was still deluded and put off by her; yet fed with *Hopes*, till she had got from him the Gift of Prophecy: and having now obtain'd her End, she flatly rejected his Suit. Apollo, unable to recall his rash Gift; yet enraged to be out-witted by a Girl; annex'd this Penalty to it; that though she should always prophesy true, she should never be believed: whence her Divinations were always slighted; even when she again and again predicted the Ruin of her Country.

*Cassandra de-
ceives Apollo.*

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable seems invented to express the Insignificance of unseasonable Advice. For they who are conceited, stubborn, or intractable; and listen not to the Instructions of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony; so as to learn and observe the Modulations and Measures of Affairs, the Sharps and Flats of Discourse, the difference betwixt judicious and vulgar Ears, and the proper Times of Speech and Silence; let them be ever so intelligent, and ever so frank of their Advice; or their Counsels ever so good and just; yet all their Endeavours, either of Persuasion or Force, are of little significance; and rather hasten the Ruin of those they advise. But at last, when the calamitous Event has made the Sufferers feel the effect of their neglect; they too late reverence their Advisers, as deep, foreseeing and faithful Prophets.

The Moral.

3. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in *Cato of Utica*, who discovered afar off, and long foretold, the approaching Ruin of his Country; both in the first Conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; yet did no good the while; but rather hurt the Commonwealth, and hurried on its destruction: which *Cicero* wisely observed in these Words. “*Cato, indeed, judges excellently; but prejudices the State: for he speaks as in the Commonwealth of Plato; and not as in the Dregs of Romulus*.”

Illustration.

VI. *The*

* The Fable of *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus*, explained of the human Passions, should have come next after this, so as immediately to precede the Fable of the *Sirens*; had it not been already made use of, by way of Example, in the *de Augustis Scientiarum*. See Vol. I. pag. 66.

VI.

The FABLE of the SIRENS; explained of Mens Passion for Pleasures.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

1. **T**HE *Fable* of the *Sirens* is, in a vulgar Sense, justly enough explained of the pernicious Incentives to Pleasure: but the *Ancient Mythology* seems to us like a Vintage ill press'd and trod: for though something has been drawn from it; yet all the more excellent Parts remain behind, in the Grapes that are untouched.

The FABLE.

*The Sirens
who.*

2. **T**HE Sirens are said to be the Daughters of Achelous, and Terpsichore one of the Muses (a). In their early days they had Wings; but lost them upon being conquered by the Muses; with whom they rashly contended (b). And with the Feathers of these Wings, the Muses made themselves Crowns; so that from this time the Muses wore Wings on their Heads; excepting only the Mother to the Sirens (c).

*Their Place of
Residence.*

3. These Sirens resided in certain pleasant Islands; and when, from their Watch-tower, they saw any Ship approaching; they first detained the Sailors by their Music; then enticing them to Shore, destroyed them (d).

Their Music.

4. Their Singing was not of one and the same kind; but they adapted their Tunes exactly to the Nature of each Person; in order to captivate and secure him. And so destructive had they been, that these Islands of the Sirens appeared, to a very great distance, white with the Bones of their unburied Captives (e).

*Remedies
against their
deluding
Power.*

5. Two different Remedies were invented to protect Persons against them; the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses commanded his Associates to stop their Ears close with Wax: and he determining to make the Trial; and yet avoid
the

the Danger; ordered himself to be tied fast to a Mast of the Ship; giving a strict Charge not to be unbound, even tho' himself shou'd entreat it (f). But Orpheus, without any binding at all, escaped the Danger, by loudly chanting to his Harp the Praises of the Gods; whereby he drowned the Voices of the Sirens (g).

The EXPLANATION.

6. (a) **T**HIS Fable is of the moral kind; and appears no less elegant, The Sirens, or Pleasures, anciently wing'd. than easy to intepret. For Pleasures proceed from Plenty and Affluence; attended with Activity or Exultation of the Mind^a. Anciently, their first Incentives were quick; and seiz'd upon Men, as if they had been winged: but Learning and Philosophy afterwards prevailing, had, at least, the Power to lay the Mind under some restraint, and make it consider the Issue of Things; and thus deprived Pleasures of their Wings.

7. (b) This Conquest redounded greatly to the Honour and Ornament of The loss of the Sirens Wings an Honour to the Muses. the Muses; for after it appeared, by the Example of a few, that Philosophy cou'd introduce a Contempt of Pleasures; it immediately seem'd to be a sublime Thing that cou'd raise and elevate the Soul, fix'd in a manner down to Earth; and thus render Men's Thoughts, which reside in the Head, winged as it were, or sublime.

8. (c) Only the Mother of the Sirens was not thus plumed on the Head: Terpsichore not plumed on the Head. which doubtless denotes *superficial Learning*; invented and used for Delight, and Levity. An eminent Example whereof we have in *Petronius*, who, after receiving Sentence of Death, still continued his gay frothy Humour; and, as *Tacitus* observes, used his Learning to solace or divert himself; and instead of such Discourses as give a firmness and constancy of Mind, read nothing but loose Poems and Verses^b. Such Learning as this seems to pluck the Crowns again from the Muses Heads, and restore them to the Sirens.

9. (d) The Sirens are said to inhabit certain Islands, because Pleasures ge- The Sirens inhabit Islands. nerally seek Retirement, and often shun Society. And for their Songs, with the manifold Artifice and Destructiveness thereof; this is too obvious, and common, to need any Explanation. (e) But that particular, of the Bones stretching like white Cliffs, along the Shores, and appearing afar off, White with the Bones of their Captives. contains a more subtle Allegory; and denotes, that the Examples of others

^a The one denoted by the River *Achelous*; and the other by *Terpsichore*, the Muse that invented the *Cithara*, and delighted in *Dancing*.

^b *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus;
Rumoresque Senum severiorum
Omnes unius astimemus Assis.*

And again.

*Jura Senes norint, & quod sit Esque Nefasque
Inquirant tristes; Legumque examina servant.*

Calamity and Misfortunes, tho' ever so manifest and apparent, have yet but little force to deter the corrupt Nature of Man from Pleasures.

*The Remedies
against the
Sirens.*

10. (f) The Allegory of the Remedies against the *Sirens* is not difficult; but very wise and noble. It proposes, in effect, three Remedies, as well against subtle as violent Mischiefs; two drawn from Philosophy, and one from Religion.

*The first Re-
medy.*

11. (1) The first means of escaping, is to resist the earliest Temptation in the beginning; and diligently avoid and cut off all occasions that may sollicit or sway the Mind; and this is well represented, by stopping of the Ears: a kind of Remedy to be necessarily used with mean and vulgar Minds, such as the Retinue of *Ulysses*.

The second.

12. (2) But nobler Spirits may converse, even in the midst of Pleasures; if the Mind be well guarded with Constancy and Resolution. And thus some delight to make a severe Trial of their own Virtue; and thoroughly acquaint themselves with the folly and madness of Pleasures, without complying, or being wholly given up to them: which is what *Solomon* professes of himself, when he closes the account of all the numerous Pleasures he gave a loose to, with this Expression, *but Wisdom still continued with me*. Such *Heroes* in Virtue may, therefore, remain unmov'd by the greatest Incentives to Pleasure; and stop themselves on the very precipice of Danger; if, according to the Example of *Ulysses*, they interdict themselves all pernicious Counsel, and Obsequiousness of their Friends and Companions; which have the greatest power to shake and unsettle the Mind.

The third.

13. (3) But the most excellent Remedy, in every Temptation, is that of *Orpheus*; who, by loudly chanting and resounding the Praises of the Gods, confounded the Voices, and kept himself from hearing the Musick of the *Sirens*: for *divine Contemplations* exceed the Pleasures of Sense; not only in Power, *but also in Sweetness*.

VIII.

*The FABLE of DIOMED; explained of Persecution, or
Zeal for Religion.*

The FABLE.

*Diomed
wounds Venus.*

I. **D**ioméd acquired great Glory and Honour, at the Trojan War; and was highly favoured by Pallas, who encouraged and excited him, by no means to spare Venus; if he should casually meet her in Fight. He followed the Advice with too much Eagerness and Intrepidity; and accordingly wounded that Goddess in her Hand.

Hand (a). This presumptuous Action remained unpunished for a time: and when the War was ended, he returned, with great glory and renown, to his own Country; where finding himself embroiled with domestick Affairs, he retired into Italy. Here also, at first he was well received, and nobly entertained by King Daunus; who, is honourably received by Daunus. besides other Gifts and Honours, erected Statues for him over all his Dominions. But upon the first Calamity that afflicted the People after the Stranger's Arrival, Daunus immediately reflected, that he entertained a devoted Person in his Palace, an Enemy to the Gods, and one who had sacrilegiously wounded a Goddess with his Sword, whom it was impious but to touch. To expiate, therefore, his Country's Guilt; he without regard to the Laws of Hospitality, which were less regarded by him than the Law of Religion, directly slew his Guest; and commanded his Statues, and all his Honours to be rased and abolished (b). Nor was it safe for others to commiserate, or bewail, so cruel a Destiny; but even his Companions His Companions forbid to lament his Death. in Arms, whilst they lamented the Death of their Leader, and filled all Places with their complaints, were turned into a kind of Swans; which are said, at the approach of their own Death, to chaunt sweet melancholy Dirges (c).

The EXPLANATION.

2. (a) **T**HIS Fable intimates an extraordinary and almost singular Thing. For no Hero, besides Diomed, is recorded to have wounded any of the Gods. Doubtless, we have here described the Nature and Fate of a Man, who professedly makes any divine Worship, or Sect of Religion, tho' in it self vain and light, the only scope of his Actions; and resolves to propagate it by Fire and Sword. For although the bloody Dissentions and Differences about Religion were unknown to the Ancients; yet so copious and diffusive was their Knowledge, that what they knew not by Experience, they comprehended in Thought and Representation. Those, therefore, who endeavour to reform, or establish, any Sect of Religion, tho' vain, corrupt, and infamous, (which is here denoted under the Person of Venus) not by the force of Reason, Learning, Sanctity of Manners, the weight of Arguments, and Examples; but would spread or extirpate it by Persecution, Pains, Penalties, Tortures, Fire and Sword; may, perhaps, be instigated hereto by Pallas; that is, by a certain rigid, prudential Consideration, and a Severity of Judgment; by the Vigour and Efficacy whereof, they see throughly into the Fallacies and Fictions of the Delusions of this kind: and thro' aversion to depravity and a well-meant Zeal, these Men usually, for a time, acquire great Fame and Glory; and are, by the Vulgar, to whom no moderate Measures can be acceptable, extolled, and almost Displays the Fate of a Zealot for Religion. adored

adored, as the only Patrons and Protectors of Truth and Religion; Men of any other Disposition seeming, in comparison with these, to be lukewarm, mean-spirited, and cowardly. This Fame and Felicity, however, seldom endures to the end; but all Violence, unless it escape the Reverses and Changes of Things by untimely Death, is commonly unprosperous in the issue. And if a change of Affairs happens, and that Sect of Religion, which was persecuted and oppress'd, gains strength, and rises again; then the Zeal and warm Endeavours of this sort of Men are condemned; their very name becomes odious; and all their Honours terminate in Disgrace.

*Diomed slain
by his Enter-
tainer.*

3. (b) As to the point that *Diomed* should be slain by his hospitable Entertainer; this denotes that religious Dissentions may cause Treachery, bloody Animosities and Deceit, even between the nearest Friends.

4. (c) That Complaining or Bewailing should not, in so enormous a Case, be permitted to Friends affected by the *Catastrophe*, without Punishment, includes this prudent Admonition; that almost in all kinds of Wickedness and Depravity, Men have still room left for Commiseration; so that they who hate the Crime, may yet pity the Person, and bewail his Calamity, from a Principle of Humanity and Good-Nature: and to forbid the Overflowings and Intercourses of Pity upon such occasions, were the extremest of Evils: yet in the *Cause of Religion and Impiety*, the very Commiserations of Men are noted and suspected. On the other hand, the Lamentations and Complainings of the Followers and Attendants of *Diomed*, that is, of Men of the same Sect, or Persuasion, are usually very sweet, agreeable, and moving, like the dying Notes of Swans; or the Birds of *Diomed*. This also is a noble and remarkable part of the Allegory, denoting, that the last Words of those who suffer for the sake of Religion, strongly affect and sway Mens Minds; and leave a lasting Impression upon the Sense and Memory^a.

^a See the *de Augment. Scientiar.* Vol. I. Sect. XXVIII. pag. 261. and Vol. II. pag. 161:



S E C T. III.

The secret Political Knowledge of the
Ancients.

I.

*The FABLES of ACTEON and PENTHEUS; explained of
Curiosity, or Prying into the Secrets of Princes, and
Divine Mysteries.*

The FABLE.

I. **T**HE Ancients afford us two Examples, for suppressing the
impertinent Curiosity of Mankind, in diving into Secrets;
and imprudently longing and endeavouring to discover them. The one
of these, is in the Person of ACTEON; and the other, in that of Pen-
theus. ACTEON undesignedly chancing to see Diana naked, was ^{ACTEON'S} turned into a Stag; and torn to pieces by his own Hounds (a). ^{Crime.}
And Pentheus desiring to pry into the hidden Mysteries of Bacchus's
Sacrifice; and climbing a Tree for that purpose; was struck with a ^{That of Pen-} Phrenzy. This Phrenzy of Pentheus caused him to see Things ^{theus.}
double; particularly the Sun, and his own City Thebes; so that
running homewards, and immediately espying another Thebes, he
runs towards that; and thus continues incessantly tending first to
the one, and then to the other, without coming at either (b).

The

The EXPLANATION.

Acteon's relates to discovering the Secrets of Princes.

2. (a) **T**HE first of these *Fables* may relate to the *Secrets of Princes*; and the second to *divine Mysteries*. For they who are not intimate with a Prince; yet against his will have a Knowledge of his Secrets; inevitably incur his Displeasure: and therefore, being aware that they are singled out, and all opportunities watched against them, they lead the Life of a Stag, full of Fears and Suspicions. It likewise frequently happens, that their Servants and Domesticks accuse them, and plot their Overthrow; in order to procure Favour with the Prince: for whenever the King manifests his Displeasure, the Person it falls upon must expect his Servants to betray him, and worry him down, as *Acteon* was worried by his own Dogs.

That of Pentheus to Divine Mysteries.

3. (b) The Punishment of *Pentheus* is of another kind: for they who, unmindful of their mortal State, rashly aspire to *divine Mysteries*, by climbing the Heights of Nature and Philosophy, here represented by climbing a Tree; their Fate is perpetual Inconstancy, Perplexity and Instability of Judgment. For as there is one Light of Nature, and another Light that is divine; they see, as it were, *two Suns*. And as the Actions of Life, and the Determinations of the Will, depend upon the Understanding; they are distracted as much in Opinion, as in Will: and therefore judge very inconsistently, or contradictorily; and see as it were *Thebes* double: for *Thebes* being the Refuge and Habitation of *Pentheus*, here denotes the *Ends of Actions*: whence they know not what course to take; but remaining undetermined and unresolved in their Views and Designs, they are merely driven about by every sudden Gust, and Impulse of the Mind^a.

II.

The FABLE of the GODS swearing by the RIVER STYX; explained of Necessity, in the Oaths or solemn Leagues of Princes.

The FABLE.

The Oath of Styx.

I. **T**HE only solemn Oath, by which the Gods irrevocably obliged themselves, is a well-known Thing; and makes a part of many ancient Fables. To this Oath they did not invoke any celestial

^a See the *de Augment. Scientiar.* Sect. XXVIII.

celestial Divinity, or divine Attribute; but only called to witness the River Styx; which, with many Meanders, surrounds the infernal Court of Dis. For this Form alone, and none but this, was held inviolable and obligatory: and the Punishment of falsifying it was, that dreaded one of being excluded, for a certain number of Years, the Table of the Gods.

The Punishment of its Violation.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable seems invented to shew the Nature of the *Compacts* and Confederacies of Princes; which, tho' ever so solemnly and religiously sworn to, prove but little the more binding for it: so that Oaths in this Case seem used, rather for Decorum, Reputation, and Ceremony; than for Fidelity, Security, and Effectuating. And tho' these Oaths were strengthened with the Bonds of Affinity, which are the Links and Ties of Nature; and again, by mutual Services and good Offices; yet we see all this will generally give way to Ambition, Convenience, and the Thirst of Power: the rather, because 'tis easy for Princes, under various, specious Pretences, to defend, disguise, and conceal their ambitious Desires, and Insincerity; having no Judge to call them to account. There is, however, one true and proper *Confirmation of their Faith*, tho' no celestial Divinity; but, that great Divinity of Princes, *Necessity*; or, the *Danger of the State*; and the *Securing of Advantage*.

3. This *Necessity* is elegantly represented by *Styx*, the fatal River, that can never be crossed back. And this Deity it was, which *Iphicrates*, the Athenian, invoked in making a League: and because he roundly and openly avows what most others studiously conceal, it may be proper to give his own Words. Observing, that the *Lacedemonians* were inventing and proposing a variety of Securities, Sanctions and Bonds of Alliance; he interrupted them thus: *There may indeed, my Friends, be one Bond and Means of Security between us; and that is, for you to demonstrate you have delivered into our hands, such things as that if you had the greatest desire to hurt us, you could not be able.* Therefore, if the Power of offending be taken away; or if by a Breach of Compact there be danger of Destruction or Diminution to the State, or Tribute, then it is that Covenants will be ratified, and confirmed, as it were by the *Stygian Oath*; whilst there remains an impending Danger of being prohibited and excluded the *Banquet of the Gods*: by which Expression the Ancients denoted the Rights and Prerogatives, the Affluence and the Felicities of Empire and Dominion.

‡ See de *Augment. Scientiar.* pag. 234. &c.

III.

The FABLE of JUPITER and METIS; explained of Princes and their Council.

The FABLE.

Jupiter mar- 1. **T**HE ancient Poets relate that Jupiter took Metis to Wife, ries Metis, whose name plainly denotes Counsel; and that she being pregnant by him, and he perceiving it, would by no means wait the time of her Delivery; but directly devoured her: whence himself also became pregnant, and was delivered in a wonderful manner; for he, from his Head or Brain, brought forth Pallas armed.

And brings forth Pallas.

The EXPLANATION.

So Kings marry their Council. 2. **T**HIS Fable, which in its literal Sense appears monstrously absurd, seems to contain a *State Secret*; and shews with what Art Kings usually carry themselves towards their Council; in order to preserve their own Authority and Majesty, not only inviolate; but so as to have it magnified and heightened among the People. For Kings commonly link themselves, as it were in a nuptial Bond, to their Council, and deliberate and communicate with them after a prudent and laudable Custom, upon Matters of the greatest importance; at the same time, justly conceiving this no diminution of their Majesty: but when the Matter once ripens to a Decree or Order, which is a kind of Birth; the King then suffers the Council to go on no further; lest the Act should seem to depend upon their Pleasure. Now therefore, the King usually assumes to himself whatever was wrought, elaborated, or formed, as it were, in the Womb of the Council, (unless it be a Matter of an invidious nature, which he is sure to put from him) so that the Decree and the Execution shall seem to flow from himself. And as this Decree, or Execution, proceeds with Prudence, and Power, so as to imply Necessity, 'tis elegantly wrapt up under the Figure of *Pallas* armed.

And Decree,

As from themselves. 3. Nor are Kings content to have this seem the effect of their own Authority, Free-Will, and uncontrollable Choice; unless they also take the whole Honour to themselves; and make the People imagine that all good and wholesome Decrees proceed entirely from their own *Head*; that is, their own sole Prudence and Judgment ^a.

^a See the Essay on State Counsel, Vol. II. pag. 137.

IV.

*The FABLE of ENDYMION; explained of COURT-FAVOURITES.**The FABLE.*

1. **T**HE Goddess Luna is said to have fallen in Love with Luna's Amour with Endymion sleeping, the Shepherd Endymion; and to have carried on her Amours with him, in a new and singular manner: it being her Custom, whilst he lay reposing in a native Cave, under Mount Latmus, to descend frequently from her Sphere; enjoy his Company whilst he slept; and then go up to Heaven again. And all this while, Endymion's Fortune was no way prejudiced by his unactive Turns to his Advantage. and sleepy Life; the Goddess causing his Flocks to thrive, and grow so exceeing numerous, that none of the other Shepherds could compare with him.

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HIS Fable seems to describe the Tempers and Dispositions of So Kings make choice of sleeping Favourites. Princes, who being thoughtful and suspicious, do not easily admit to their Privacies such Men as are prying, curious, and vigilant, or as it were *sleepless*; but rather such as are of an easy, obliging Nature; and indulge them in their Pleasures, without seeking any thing farther: but seeming ignorant, insensible, or as it were lulled asleep before them. Princes usually treat such Persons familiarly; and quitting their Throne like *Luna*, think they may with safety unbosom to them. This Temper was very remarkable in *Tiberius*, a Prince exceeding difficult to please; and who had no Favourites but those that perfectly understood his Ways; and at the same time, obstinately dissembled their Knowledge, almost to a degree of Stupidity.

3. The *Cave* is not improperly mentioned in the *Fable*; it being a common thing for the Favourites of a Prince to have their pleasant Retreats; Endymion's Cave. whither to invite him, by way of Relaxation; tho' without Prejudice to their own Fortunes: these Favourites usually making a good Provision for themselves. For tho' their Prince should not, perhaps, promote them to Dig-

nities; yet out of real Affection, and not only for Convenience, they generally feel the enriching Influence of his Bounty.

V.

The FABLE of NEMESIS; explained of the Reverses of FORTUNE.

The FABLE.

Nemesis the
Daughter of
Nox and
Oceanus.
Her Ensigns.

I. **N**EMESIS is represented as a Goddess venerated by all; but feared by the Powerful and the Fortunate (a). She is said to be the Daughter of Nox and Oceanus (b). She is drawn with Wings (c), and a Crown (d); a Javelin of Ash in her right Hand (e); a Glass containing Ethiopians in her left (f); and riding upon a Stag (g).

The EXPLANATION.

Nemesis denotes
Retribution.

2. (a) **T**HE *Fable* receives this Explanation. The word *Nemesis* manifestly signifies Revenge, or Retribution: for the Office of this Goddess consisted in interposing, like the Roman Tribunes, with an *I forbid it*, in all Courses of constant and perpetual Felicity: so as not only to chastise Haughtiness; but also to repay, even innocent and moderate Happiness with Adversity: as if it were decreed, that none of human Race should be admitted to the *Banquet of the Gods*, but for Sport ^a. And, indeed, to read over that Chapter of *Pliny*, wherein he has collected the Miseries and Misfortunes of *Augustus Cæsar*, whom of all Mankind one would judge most fortunate; as he had a certain Art of using and enjoying Prosperity, with a Mind no way tumid, light, effeminate, confused, or melancholic; one cannot but think this a very great and powerful Goddess, who could bring such a Victim to her Altar ^b.

Her Parents.

3. (b) The Parents of this Goddess were *Oceanus* and *Nox*; that is, the fluctuating Change of Things, and the obscure and secret divine Decrees. The Changes of Things are aptly represented by the *Ocean*, on account of its perpetual ebbing and flowing; and secret Providence is justly expressed by

^a See above. pag. 591. §. 3.

^b As she also brought the Author himself. For the Character of *Augustus*, see pag. 313. of the present Volume.

by *Night*. Even the *Heathens* have observed this *Secret Nemesis of the Night*; or the difference betwixt divine and human Judgment ^a.

4. (c) Wings are given to *Nemesis*, because of the sudden and unforeseen *Her Wings*. changes of things; for, from the earliest Account of Time, it has been common for great and prudent Men to fall by the Dangers they most despised. Thus *Cicero*, when admonished by *Brutus* of the Infidelity and Rancour of *Octavius*, coolly wrote back, "I cannot, however, but be obliged to you, *Brutus*, as I ought, for informing me, tho' of such a "trifle."

5. (d) *Nemesis* also has her Crown, by reason of the invidious and malignant Nature of the Vulgar, who generally rejoice, triumph, and crown her, at the fall of the Fortunate, and the Powerful. (e) And for the Javelin *Javelin*. in her right Hand; it has regard to those whom she has actually struck and transfix'd. (f) But whoever escapes her Stroke, or feels not actual Calamity or Misfortune, she affrights with a black and dismal Sight in her left Hand: for doubtless, Mortals on the highest Pinnacle of Felicity, have a prospect of Death, Diseases, Calamities, perfidious Friends, undermining Enemies, Reverses of Fortune, &c. represented by the *Ethiopians* *Bottle of* in her Glafs. Thus *Virgil*, with great Elegance; describing the Battle of *Ethiopians*. *Actium*, says of *Cleopatra*, that *she did not yet perceive the two Asps behind her*^b; but soon after, which way soever she turned, she saw whole Troops of *Ethiopians* still before her.

6. (g) Lastly, 'tis significantly added, that *Nemesis* rides upon a Stag, *Riding upon a* which is a very long-lived Creature; for tho', perhaps, some by an untimely *Stag*. Death in Youth, may prevent or escape this Goddess; yet they who enjoy a long flow of Happiness and Power, doubtless, become subject to her at length; and are brought to yield.

VI.

The FABLE of the CYCLOPS DEATH; explained of
base COURT-OFFICERS.

The FABLE.

I. **T**IS related that the Cyclops, for their Savageness and *The Cyclops* Cruelty, were by Jupiter first thrown into Tartarus; and ^{imprisoned,} there condemned to perpetual Imprisonment (a): but that after-

G g g g 2

wards

^a ——— *Cadit Ripheus, justissimus unus,
Qui fuit ex Teucris, & servantissimus equi:
Dis alter visum.*

^b *Regina in mediis patrio vocat Agmina sistro;
Necdum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.*

And released. *wards Tellus persuaded Jupiter it would be for his Service to release them; and employ them in forging Thunder-bolts. (2) This he accordingly did; and they, with unwearied Pains and Diligence, hammered out his Bolts, and other Instruments of Terror, with a frightful and continual Din of the Anvil (c).*

Æsculapius restores a dead Man, *2. It happened long after, that Jupiter was displeas'd with Æsculapius, the Son of Apollo, for having, by the Art of Medicine, restored a dead Man to Life (d): but concealing his Indignation; because the Action in it self was pious and illustrious; he secretly incens'd the Cyclops against him; who, without re-*

And is slain by the Cyclops, who are slain by Apollo. *morse, presently slew him with their Thunder-bolts: in Revenge whereof, Apollo, with Jupiter's connivance, shot them all dead with his Arrows (e).*

The EXPLANATION.

The Cyclops are the Cruel Ministers of Princes; confin'd 3. (a) **T**HIS Fable seems to point at the Behaviour of Princes; who having cruel, bloody, and oppressive Ministers; first punish and displace them: but afterwards, by the Advice of *Tellus (b)*, that is, some earthly-minded and ignoble Person, employ them again, to serve a turn; when there is occasion for Cruelty in Execution, or Severity in Exaction: *Released to serve a Turn;* (c) but these Ministers being base in their Nature, whet by their former Disgrace, and well aware of what is expected from them, use double Diligence in their Office; till proceeding unwarily, and over-eager to gain Favour, they sometimes (d) from the private Nods, and ambiguous Orders of their Prince, perform some odious or execrable Action: (e) When Princes, to decline the Envy themselves; and knowing they shall never want such Tools at their beck; drop them, and give them up to the Friends and Followers of the injured Person; thus exposing them, as Sacrifices to revenge and popular Odium: whence with great Applause, Acclamations, and good Wishes to the Prince, these Miscreants at last meet with their desert.

VII.

The FABLE of the GIANTS Sister; explained of Publick Detraction.

The FABLE.

1. **T**HE Poets relate, that the Giants, produced from the The Giants Earth (a), made War upon Jupiter, and the other Gods (b); Earth-born. but were repulsed and conquered by Thunder (c): whereat the Earth, provoked, brought forth Fame (d), the youngest Sister of the Giants, in Revenge for the Death of her Sons (e).

The EXPLANATION.

2. **T**HE Meaning of the *Fable* seems to be this. (a) The *Earth* denotes Denote the the Nature of the Vulgar; who are always swelling, and rising Vulgar, apt against their Rulers; and endeavouring at Changes. (b) This Disposition to rebel: getting a fit opportunity, breeds Rebels and Traitors; who, with impetuous Rage, threaten and contrive the overthrow and destruction of Princes.

3. (c) And when brought under and subdued, the same vile and restless And spread Nature of the People, impatient of Peace, (d) produces Rumours, De- Rumours and tractions, Slanders, Libels, &c. to blacken those in Authority: (e) so that Defamations. rebellious Actions, and seditious Rumours differ not in Origin and Stock, but only as it were in Sex; Treasons, and Rebellions, being the Brothers; and Scandal, or Detraction, the Sister ^a.

VIII. *The*

^a See the *Essay upon Seditions and Troubles*, Vol. II. pag. 156.

VIII.

*The FABLE of TYPHON; explained of REBELLION.**The FABLE.*

Juno produces Typhon without Jupiter. I. **T**HE Fable runs, that Juno, enraged at Jupiter's bringing forth Pallas without her Assistance, incessantly solicited all the Gods and Goddeses, that she might produce without Jupiter: and having by violence and importunity obtained the Grant, she struck the Earth, and thence immediately sprung up Typhon; a huge and dreadful Monster; whom she committed to the nursing of a Serpent. As soon as he was grown up, this Monster waged War on Jupiter; and taking him Prisoner in the Battel, carried him away on his Shoulders, into a remote and obscure Quarter: and there cutting out the Sinews of his Hands and Feet, he bore them off; leaving Jupiter behind miserably maimed and mangled (a).

Typhon takes Jupiter Prisoner.

Steals his Nerves. These Nerves recovered. 2. But Mercury afterwards stole these Sinews from Typhon; and restored them to Jupiter. Hence, recovering his Strength, Jupiter again pursues the Monster; first wounds him with a Stroke of his Thunder; when Serpents arose from the Blood of the Wound: and now the Monster being dismay'd, and taking to flight, Jupiter next darted Mount Ætna upon him; and crushed him with the Weight (b).

And Typhon subdued.

The EXPLANATION.

This shows the Fate of Kings. 3. (a) **T**HIS Fable seems designed to express the various Fates of Kings; and the turns that Rebellions sometimes take, in Kingdoms. For Princes may be justly esteemed married to their States, as *Jupiter to Juno*: but it sometimes happens, that being depraved by long wielding of the Scepter; and growing tyrannical; they would engross all to themselves; and slighting the Counsel of their Senators and Nobles, conceive by themselves; that is, govern according to their own arbitrary Will and Pleasure. This inflames the People; and makes them endeavour to create and set up some Head of their own. Such Designs are generally set on foot by the secret Motion and Instigation of the Peers and Nobles; under whose connivance the common sort are prepared for rising: whence proceeds a *Swell* in

And the Rebellions of their Subjects.

in the State, which is appositely denoted by the nursing of *Typhon*. This growing Posture of Affairs is fed by the natural Pravity, and malignant Disposition of the Vulgar; which to Kings is an envenomed Serpent. And now the Disaffected uniting their Force, at length break out into open Rebellion; which, producing infinite Mischiefs, both to Prince and People, is represented by the horrid and multiplied Deformity of *Typhon*, with his hundred Heads, denoting the divided Powers; his flaming Mouths, denoting Fire and Devastation; his Girdles of Snakes denoting Sieges and Destruction; his Iron Hands, Slaughter and Cruelty; his Eagles Talons, Rapine and Plunder; his plumed Boly, perpetual Rumours, contradictory Accounts, &c. And sometimes these Rebellions grow so high, that Kings are obliged, as if carried on the backs of the Rebels, to quit the Throne; and retire to some remote and obscure part of their Dominions; with the loss of their *Sinews*, both of Money and Majesty.

4. (b) But if now they prudently bear this Reverse of Fortune, they ^{How allay'd} may, in a short time, by the assistance of *Mercury*, recover their *Sinews* ^{and suppressed} again; that is, by becoming moderate and affable; reconciling the Minds and Affections of the People to them, by *gracious Speeches*, and *prudent Proclamations*; which will win over the Subject cheerfully to afford new Aids and Supplies; and add fresh Vigour to Authority. But prudent and wary Princes here seldom incline to try their Fortune by a War; yet do their utmost, by some grand Exploit, to crush the Reputation of the Rebels: and if the Attempt succeeds, the Rebels, conscious of the Wound received, and distrustful of their Cause, first betake themselves to broken and empty Threats, like the *bissings of Serpents*; and next, when matters are grown desperate, to flight. And now, when they thus begin to shrink, 'tis safe and seasonable for Kings to pursue them with their Forces, and the whole Strength of the Kingdom; thus effectually quashing and suppressing them, as it were by the weight of a Mountain ^a.

IX.

The FABLE of ACHELOUS; explained of WAR, by Invasion.

The FABLE.

1. **T**HE Ancients relate, that Hercules and Achelous being ^{The Combat} Rivals in the Courtship of Deianira; the Matter was con- ^{of Hercules} tested by single Combat: when Achelous having transformed him- ^{and Achelous.} self,

^a See *Essays*, Vol. II. pag. 155—160.

self, as he had Power to do, into various Shapes, by way of Trial; at length, in the form of a fierce wild Bull, prepares himself for the Fight (a): But Hercules still retains his human Shape, engages sharply with him, and in the issue broke off one of the Bull's Horns; and now Achelous in great Pain and Fright, to redeem his Horn, presents Hercules with the Cornu-copia (b).

THE EXPLANATION.

Represents
War on the
Defensive,

2. (a) **T**HIS Fable relates to military Expeditions and Preparations: for the Preparation of War on the defensive side, here denoted by *Achelous*, appears in various Shapes; whilst the invading side has but one simple Form; consisting either in an Army, or perhaps a Fleet. But the Country that expects the Invasion, is employed infinite ways; in fortifying Towns, blockading Passes, Rivers, and Ports; raising Soldiers; disposing Garrisons; building and breaking down Bridges; procuring Aids; securing Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, &c. So that there appears a new face of things every day; and at length when the Country is sufficiently fortified and prepared, it represents to the Life, the Form, and Threats of a fierce, fighting Bull.

And Offensive.

3. (b) On the other side; the Invader presses on to the Fight; fearing to be distressed in an Enemy's Country. And if after the Battle he remains Master of the Field, and has now broke, as it were, *the Horn of his Enemy*; the Besieged, of course, retire inglorious, affrighted, and dismay'd, to their Strong-holds; there endeavouring to secure themselves, and repair their Strength; leaving at the same time their Country a Prey to the Conqueror: which is well expressed by the *Amalthean Horn*, or *Cornu-copia* ^a.

X. The

^a The Fable of *Perseus*, explained of War, should immediately follow this of *Achelous*; but that is already inserted in the *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, pag. 64.

X.

*The FABLE of DÆDALUS; explained of Arts and Artists;
in KINGDOMS and STATES.*

The FABLE.

1. **T**HE Ancients have left us a Description of mechanical Skill, Industry, and curious Arts converted to ill Uses, in the Person of Dædalus; a most ingenious but execrable Artist. This Dædalus was banished for the Murder of his brother Artist, and Rival (a); yet found a kind Reception in his Banishment, from the Kings and States where he came (b). He raised many incomparable Edifices to the Honour of the Gods, and invented many new Contrivances for the beautifying and ennobling of Cities and publick Places; but still he was most famous for wicked Inventions. Among the rest he contrived the Engine for satisfying the monstrous Lust of Pasiphae with a Bull; wherein, by his abominable Industry and destructive Genius, he assisted to the fatal and infamous Production of the Monster Minotaur; that devourer of promising Youths (c). And then, to cover one Mischief with another, and provide for the Security of this Monster, he invented and built a Labyrinth; a Work infamous for its End and Design, but admirable and prodigious for Art and Workmanship (d). After this, that he might not only be celebrated for wicked Inventions; but be sought after, as well for Prevention as for Instruments of Mischief; he formed that ingenious Device of his Clue, which led directly thro' all the windings of the Labyrinth (e). This Dædalus was persecuted by Minos, with the utmost Severity, Diligence, and Enquiry; but he always found Refuge and means of escaping (f). Lastly, endeavouring to teach his Son Icarus the Art of flying; the Novice trusting too much to his Wings, fell from his towering flight and was drowned in the Sea (g).

Dædalus murders his Brother Artist.

Is banished.

Invents many mechanical Structures.

His Labyrinth and the Clue.

Persecuted by Minos.

Teaches Icarus to fly.

The EXPLANATION.

This shews the Envy of Artists. 2. **T**HE Sense of the Fable runs thus. (a) It first denotes Envy ; which is continually upon the watch, and strangely prevails among excellent Artificers ; for no kind of People are observed to be more implacably and destructively envious to one another than these.

That Artists are impolitick-ly banished. 3. (b) In the next place, it observes an impolitick and improvident kind of Punishment inflicted upon *Dædalus*, that of *Banishment* ; for good Workmen are gladly received every where : so that Banishment to an excellent Artificer, is scarce any Punishment at all ; whereas other Conditions of Life cannot easily flourish from home. For the admiration of Artists is propagated and increased among Foreigners and Strangers ; it being a Principle in the Minds of Men, to flight and despise the mechanical Operators of their own Nation.

Use of Arts. 4. (c) The succeeding Part of the Fable is plain, concerning the use of mechanick Arts, whereto human Life stands greatly indebted ; as receiving from this Treasury numerous Particulars for the Service of Religion, the Ornament of civil Society, and the whole Provision and Apparatus of Life : but then the same Magazine supplies Instruments of Lust, Cruelty, and Death. For, not to mention the Arts of Luxury and Debauchery, we plainly see how far the Business of exquisite Poisons, Guns, Engines of War, and such kind of destructive Inventions, exceeds the Cruelty and Barbarity of the *Minotaur* himself.

The Labyrinth. 5. (d) The Addition of the Labyrinth contains a beautiful Allegory, representing the nature of mechanick Arts in general : for all ingenious and accurate mechanical Inventions may be conceived as a Labyrinth, which, by reason of their subtilty, intricacy, crossing, and interfering with one another, and the apparent resemblances they have among themselves, scarce any Power of the Judgment can unravel and distinguish ; so that they are only to be understood and traced by the Clue of Experience ^a.

The Clue. 6. (e) 'Tis no less prudently added, that he who invented the windings of the Labyrinth, should also shew the Use and Management of the *Clue* : for mechanical Arts have an ambiguous or double Use ; and serve as well to produce as to prevent Mischief and Destruction ; so that their Virtue almost destroys or unwinds it self.

Arts persecuted. 7. (f) Unlawful Arts, and indeed frequently Arts themselves, are persecuted by *Minos* ; that is, by Laws, which prohibit and forbid their Use among the People : but notwithstanding this, they are hid, concealed, retained, and every where find reception and sculking-places ; a thing well observed by

^a In this light we are to consider all the Furniture and Apparatus of Shops, Warehouses and Magazines.

by *Tacitus* of the *Astrologers* and *Fortune-tellers* of his Time. These, says he, are a kind of Men that will always be prohibited, and yet will always be retained in our City.

8. (g) But lastly, all unlawful and vain Arts, of what kind soever, lose their Reputation in tract of time; grow contemptible and perish, thro' their over-confidence, like *Icarus*; being commonly unable to perform what they boasted. And to say the truth, such Arts are better suppressed by their own vain Pretensions, than checked or restrained by the bridle of Laws ^{Unlawful or vain Arts, how best suppressed.} ^a.

^a The Author's *Essays* are Writings nearly of the same kind with the present; tho' more reserved, and guarded. Indeed, he scarce seems any where to speak his Sentiments with so great Freedom and Perspicuity, as under the *Pretext*, or *Intention*, of explaining these *ancient Fables*: For which Reason, this Piece may deserve to be the more read, by such as desire to understand the rest of his Works.

The End of the First Volume.



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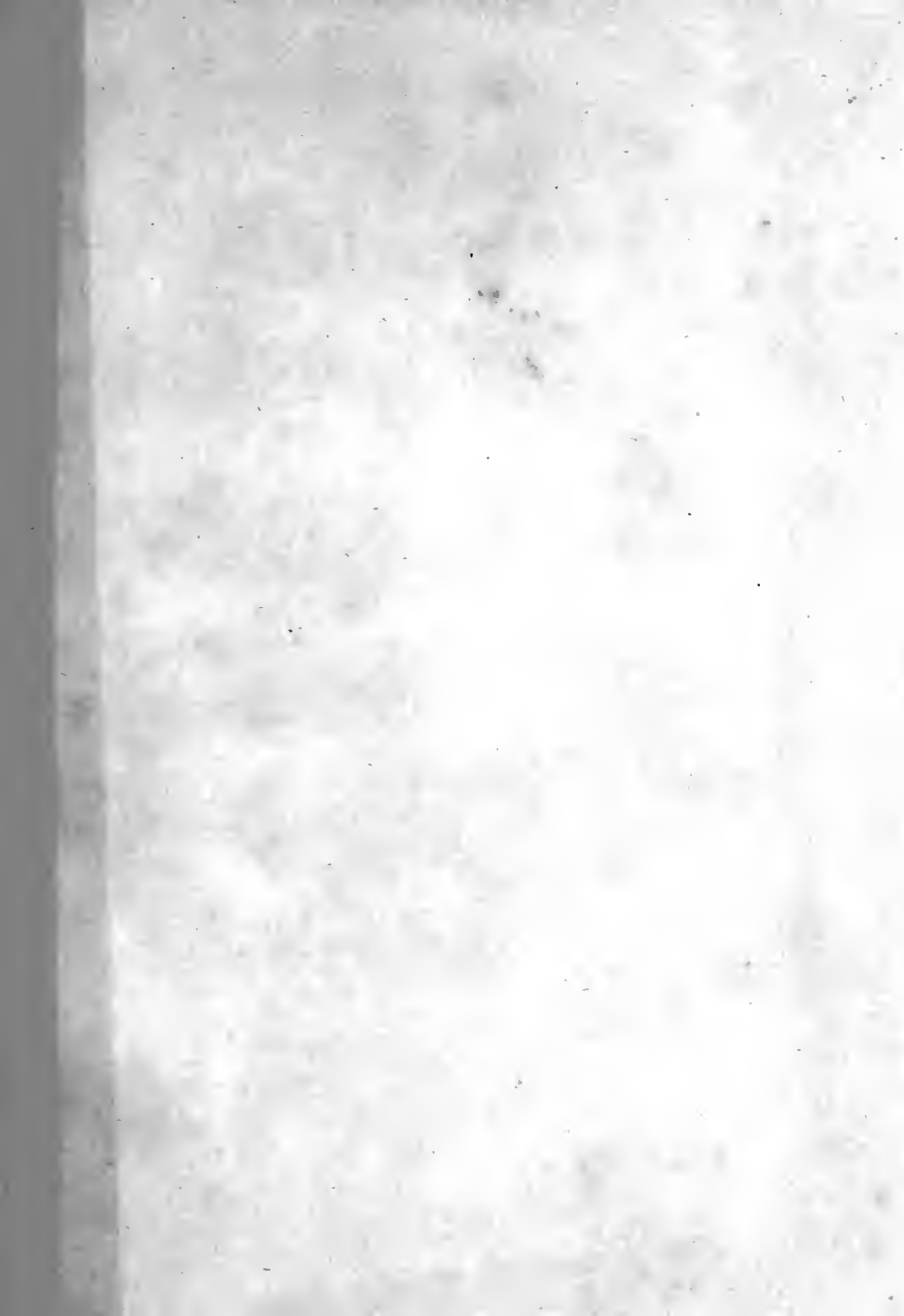
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